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P. O. BOX 198, 814 99 Bratislava, Klemensova 19

Tel.: +421-2-529 25 753

Fax: +421-2-529 61 645

E-mail: histcaso@gmail.com

<http://www.historickyecasopis.sk>

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SLOVENSKO NA CESTE K DEMOKRACII



Natália Krajčovičová

ARTICLES

THE LEGAL POSITION OF WIDOWS IN MEDIEVAL HUNGARY UP TO 1222 AND THE QUESTION OF DOWER

PAVOL HUDÁČEK

HUDÁČEK, Pavol. The Legal Position of Widows in Medieval Hungary up to 1222 and the Question of Dower. *Historický časopis*, 2014, 62, Supplement, pp. 3-39, Bratislava.

In this study, the author is concerned with the position of widows in medieval society. He considers the development of basic ideas about their position on the basis of the decrees of Frankish synods and Early Medieval laws. The main part of the work is devoted to widows in the medieval Kingdom of Hungary during the earliest period from the 11th century to the issuing of the Golden Bull in 1222. The subject of this is the position of widows according to the individual points of the Hungarian law codes of St. Stephen, St. Ladislav and Koloman. The main question is the claim of widows to property and the gradual changes in this area up to the beginning of the 13th century. The main emphasis is placed on the search for the beginnings of the dowry as property, which the woman kept after the death of her husband. The study includes a detailed analysis of the wills of important women, widows, but also widowers. Evidence of the property rights of widows and the first indications of the existence of the dower are sought in these documents.

Medieval Kingdom of Hungary. Early medieval laws. Medieval property rights. Widows. Dower. Medieval wills. Important women.

Like in any other past age, medieval society was significantly differentiated.¹ However, women are usually forgotten when describing it. Apart from the social or legal position of individual groups in the population, most historians have concentrated their attention on men. Until recently, not enough attention was devoted to women. However, apart from interest in noblemen, burghers, the clergy or intellectuals, some historians are now also considering the question of the position of women in the past. In spite of the fact that their position was not the same in different cultures and historical periods, they were

1 CONSTABLE, Giles. The Orders of Society in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries. In BERMAN, H. Constance (ed.). *Medieval Religion*. New York, London : Routledge, 2005, p. 62. ISBN 0415316863; BARDSLEY, Sandy. *Women's Roles in the Middle Ages*. Westport, London : Greenwood Press, 2007, p. 40-41. ISBN 0313336350; MITCHELL, E. Linda. *Family Life in the Middle Ages*. Westport, London : Greenwood Press, 2007, p. 15, 21. ISBN 031333630X; ARNOLD, John. Gender and Sexuality. In LANSING, Carol - ENGLISH, D. Edward. (eds.). *A Companion to the Medieval World*. Chichester : Wiley-Blackwell, 2009, p. 164-165. ISBN 9781405109222.

almost always in a subordinate position. Therefore, they were always perceived in relation to men as daughters, wives, mothers or widows.²

In the Middle Ages,³ as in earlier periods, women were regarded as the weaker sex (*infirmitas, fragilitas*). Precisely for this reason, they needed to be more consistently protected in a society where men played a more important role and had a stronger position in comparison with women.⁴ As a result, the idea still prevails that the Middle Ages was a period shaped mainly by male activity. Therefore, until recently historians usually only described the heroic deeds and destinies of important men. However, medieval sources offer a large amount of interesting information about exceptional women and widows. Some of them played an important role in medieval society beside their men, or often also without them. With their activities and independent actions, they proved that in pursuing their interests, they were no worse than their husbands, fathers or brothers.⁵

In connection with the important position of some women in medieval society, one of the main research questions is the position of widows. The historiographic approach known as *gender history* has been concerned with this problem for some time. It does not strive only to specially study the history of women, but rather to analyse the mutual relations between men and women in the framework of a particular society.⁶ Increased

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- 2 MACLEAN, Simon. Queenship, Nunneries and Royal Widowhood in Carolingian Europe. In *Past & Present*, 2003, year 52, no. 178, p. 10-11. ISSN 1477-464X; BARDSLEY, ref. 1, p. 2-11, 91-92; ARNOLD, ref. 1, p. 164-165. Considerable attention was already devoted to widows in Antiquity, when Roman law shaped their position. On this see: GRUBBS, E. Judith. *Women and the Law in the Roman Empire : A Sourcebook on Marriage, Divorce and Widowhood*. London, New York : Routledge, 2002, p. 16-23. ISBN 0415152410; GRUBBS, E. Judith. Abduction Marriage in Antiquity : A Law of Constantine (CTH IX. 24. I) and Its Social Context. In *The Journal of Roman Studies*, 1989, year 79, p. 70-74, 77-78. ISSN 0075-4358.
 - 3 For general information on medieval women see the basic work: DUBY, Georges - PERROT, Michelle (eds.) *Geschichte der Frauen II. : Mittelalter*. Frankfurt; New York : Campus Verlag, 1993, 582 p. ISBN 3593349114.
 - 4 GREEN, H. Dennis. *Women and Marriage in German Medieval Romance*. Cambridge : Cambridge University Press, 2009, p. 21-24. ISBN 9780521513357; ROSENTHAL, T. Joel. Widows. In SCHAUS, Margaret (ed.). *Women and Gender in Medieval Europe : An Encyclopedia*. New York; London : Routledge, 2006, p. 832. ISBN 10-0415969441; CRISPIN, Philip. Scandal, Malice and the Kingdom of the Bazoche. In HARPER, April – PROCTOR, Caroline (eds.). *Medieval Sexuality : A Casebook*. New York; London : Routledge, 2008, p. 159-161. ISBN 9780812240696; GOETZ, Hans-Werner. Frauenbild und weibliche Lebensgestaltung im fränkischen Reich. In GOETZ, Hans-Werner (ed.). *Weibliche Lebensgestaltung im frühen Mittelalter*. Köln; Wien : Böhlau Verlag, 1991, p. 11-12, 36-37. ISBN 3412081906.
 - 5 STAFFORD, Pauline. Emma : The Powers of the Queen in the Eleventh Century. In DUGGAN, Anne (ed.). *Queens and Queenship in Medieval Europe*. Woodbridge : The Boydell Press, 1995, p. 12, 17-20. ISBN 0851156576; BREMMER, H. Rolf Jr. Widows in Anglo-Saxon England. In BREMMER, Jan - BOSCH, van den Lourens (eds.). *Between Poverty and the Pyre: Moments in the History of Widowhood*. London; New York : Routledge, 1995, s. 58-59. ISBN 0415083702; d'AVRAY, David. *Medieval Marriage : Symbolism and Society*. Oxford : Oxford University Press, 2005, p. 80-82. ISBN 100199239789; BOUCHARD, B. Constance. "Those of My Blood" : *Constructing Noble Families in Medieval Francia*. Philadelphia : University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001, p. 80, 88. ISBN 0812235908; MACLEAN, Simon. *Kingship and Politics in the Late Ninth Century : Charles the Fat and end of the Carolingian Empire*. Cambridge : Cambridge University Press, 2003, s. 50-53, 92. ISBN 1380511055225; GOETZ, ref. 4, p. 23-29.
 - 6 For a review of widows from earliest times see: BREMMER, N. Jan. Pauper or Patroness : The Widow in the Early Christian Church. In BREMMER, Jan - BOSCH, van den Lourens (eds.). *Between Po-*

interest in widows (*domina relictā, mulier relictā, matrona, vidua*) in recent European historiography offers a good possibility for deeper insight into their real lives.⁷

If we want to define the position of widows by starting from the beginning, we must immediately state as an introduction that two very widespread views on their position exist.

The first derives from the traditional ideas formulated in the heads of medieval scholars. In their view, widows, as women without male protection, assistance and supervision, were in an unenviable position. The majority lived in poverty, had difficulty obtaining enough of the basic necessities of life and if this was not enough, they were often threatened and sexually assaulted by men.

The Middle Ages was a period strongly shaped by Christianity. This was also reflected in the understanding of mutual assistance between people. The important tasks of the faithful included care for the poor and weak, who were entitled to continual Christian care. The effort to undertake acts of mercy for all who most needed them also included gradually increasing interest in provisions for the protection of widows. Since they were placed in an unpleasant position, they needed the constant protection of important men according to the thinking of the time. It had to be provided by a Christian monarch or high ecclesiastical dignitary such as a bishop or abbot.⁸ Therefore, even at the beginning of the 9th century we can already find that at sessions of Church synods in the Frankish Empire, kings (*defensor*) and local bishops took widows together with orphans, the blind and crippled (*viduae, pulillae, orfani, caeci et claudī*) under their protection. These “duties” were later a regular part of almost all later synods and of the individual articles of early medieval law codes issued up to the end of the 10th century.⁹

erty, p. 31-42, 49-50; BRUNDAGE, A. James. *Law, Sex, and Christian Society in Medieval Europe*. Chicago : The University of Chicago Press, 1987, p. 51-74, 77-122, 124-173. ISBN 100226077845.

- 7 For general information see: *Lexikon des Mittelalters IX* (ďalej LexMA). München and Zürich : Artemis-&-Winkler-Verlag, 1980-1998, p. 276-281. ISBN 3896599097; BUITELAAR, Marjo. Widows' Worlds : Representations and Realities. In BREMMER, Jan - BOSCH, van den Lourens (eds.). *Between Poverty*, p. 1-6; DUBY, Georges. *Vznešené paní z 12. století II. (Noble ladies from the 12th century II.)*. Trans. Růžena Ostrá. Brno : Atlantis, 1999, p. 130-138. ISBN 8071081671.
- 8 FONAY WEMPLE, Suzanne. Frauen im frühen Mittelalter. In DUBY, Georges - PERROT, Michelle (eds.) *Geschichte der Frauen II. : Mittelalter*. Frankfurt; New York : Campus Verlag, 1993, p. 193-199; MACLEAN, ref. 2, p. 4-5; MITCHELL, ref. 1, p. 29, 54-55; ARNOLD, ref. 1, p. 166-167; BRUNDAGE, A. James. *The Medieval Origins of the Legal Profession : Canonists, Civilians, and Courts*. Chicago : The University of Chicago Press, 2008, p. 40, 68, 190, 209. ISBN 139780226077598; HARDING, Alan. *Medieval Law and the Foundations of the State*. Oxford : Oxford University Press, 2001, p. 26, 35. ISBN 019821958X; GOETZ, ref. 4, p. 11-12, 36-37, 33-34.
- 9 The Council from AD 800. Concilia Rispacense, Frisingense, Salisburgense, Cap. XIV, p. 209, Cap. VII, p. 215. Concilia Rispacense, Frisingense, Salisburgense: Concilia aevi Karolini I/1 (hereinafter Conc. I/1) : Monumenta Germaniae Historica (hereinafter MGH). Ed. WERMINGHOFF, Albertvs. Hannoverae et Lipsiae : Impensis Bibliopolii Hahniani, 1906. Concilium quattuor anni 829, praecipue concilium Parisiense, Conc. I/2, Cap. II., MGH, p. 651; HARDING, ref. 8, p. 26, 35; SMITH, M. Julia. *Europe after Rome : A New Cultural History 500 – 1000*. Oxford : Oxford University Press, 2005, p. 159-160, 240. ISBN 100192892630; NELSON, L. Janet. The Wary Widow: Appendix I : The Latin Text of Erkanfrida's Will. In DAVIES, Wendy – FOURACRE, Paul (eds.). *Property and Power in the Early Middle Ages*. Cambridge : Cambridge University Press, 2002, p. 93. ISBN 052143419X; GOETZ, ref. 4, p. 11-12, 36-37.

For example, according to the Frankish synod from 829, widows were subject to the strong control and supervision of their bishops, who had to prevent sexual harassment or assaults against widows, because women in such a position were very vulnerable. However, this provision also arose from religious convictions, which highly valued widows as a group of women.¹⁰

Widows in the early medieval Kingdom of Hungary were no exception. They always appear in the oldest sources together with orphans and the poor (*pauperes, viduae et orphani*), that is with persons from the most vulnerable social groups. When concluding peace between different monarchs, at the time of the Tartar invasion or other wars that also affected the territory of Hungary, it was usual to mention in documents that violence and oppression against orphans, the poor and widows occurred in wartime.¹¹ The monarch was generally expected to intervene against such lawless treatment of the weak. Naturally, widows could also count on the protection of the King of Hungary. However, we do not know to what extent monarchs were really able to secure their protection in unsettled times.

These deep-rooted ideas about widows – women without “male protection” derived from the widespread traditional view of their position throughout the Middle Ages. Already in childhood and later in youth, a woman was entirely under the authority of her father, older brother or other male relation. Marriage did nothing to change this. Power over her was transferred to her husband. The everyday life of women was continually directed by men.¹² Even widows were not automatically freed from male control. For example, this applied to young widows or widows who continued to live on their late husbands’ property under the supervision of other men (fathers in law, brothers in law, adult sons) and those whose lives were directed by bishops. Therefore, we often encounter statements in documents that widows required support and help, because fate had treated them very badly. They were constantly exposed to pressure and danger from the surroundings and all this, only because they did not have male protectors.¹³

Three alternative solutions to their new situation were offered to widowed women from aristocratic families. The most frequent was to remarry. This applied especially to

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- 10 Concilium quattuor anni 829, praecipue concilium Parisiense, Conc. I/2, Cap. XL : MGH, s. 637, Cap. XLIII, p. 638, Cap. XLIII, p. 639; MACLEAN, ref. 2, p. 11-13.
- 11 *Codex diplomaticus Hungariae ecclesiasticus ac civilis II*. (hereinafter CDH). Ed. FEJER, Georgius. Budae : Typis typogr. regiae vniuersitatis Vngaricae, 1829, p. 181 (1169); *Codex diplomaticus et epistolaris Slovaciae II* (hereinafter CDSI). Ed. Richard Marsina. Bratislava : Veda, 1987, no. 110, p. 74 (1242); CDH IV/2, p. 245 (1254). *Codex diplomaticus Arpadianus continuatus VII* (hereinafter CDAC). Ed. Gusztáv Wenzel. Pest/Budapest, 1869, no. 354, p. 501 (1259); CDAC VII, no. 47, p. 71 (1263); CDH IV/3, p. 212-213 (1264); CDAC III, no. 64, p. 94 (1264); CDAC III, no. 70, p. 102 (1264).
- 12 BUCKSTAFF, Florence Griswold. Married Women’s Property in Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Norman Law and the Origin of the Common-Law Dower. In *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 1893, year 4, p. 38-39; FÜGEDI, Erik. Kinship and Privilege : The Social System of Medieval Hungarian Nobility as Defined in Customary Law. In BAK, M. János (ed.). *Nobilities in Central and Eastern Europe : Kinship, Property and Privilege : History and Society in Central Europe 2*. Budapest; Krems : Hajnal István Alapítvány, Medium Aevum Quotidianum Gesellschaft, 1994, p. 59-66. ISBN 9630420147; GOETZ, ref. 4, p. 8-9.
- 13 CDH III/2, p. 373 (1233); CDH IV/3, p. 33 (1261); CDH VIII/2, no. 237, p. 504 (1324); CDH VIII/4, no. 153, p. 323 (1338); CDH IX/5, p. 601 (1382).

young and childless widows, who did so not mostly under pressure from their families. Their view was clearly not important. However, the majority of them voluntarily chose this easiest route, so that they could safely and quietly continue their lives under the protection of different men. On the other hand, some chose to remain widows. Such a woman did not intend to join her life with a new husband. This eventuality most frequently occurred in the case of widows of advanced age, but this was not always the case. A very widespread and popular choice was entry to a convent, where widows could live out the rest of their lives in security and quiet. In this way, they avoided further marriages as well as the unpleasant dangers of the surrounding world. We encounter such decisions not only among the old, but also often in the case of young widows, who decided to dedicate their lives to God.¹⁴ The entry of widows into convents was specifically regulated by two Frankish synods, one in Mainz (861 – 863) and the other in Worms (868). According to their provisions, a woman who wanted to remain a widow could freely accept the sacred veil of “virginity” (*sacrum velemen*) and enter a convent. However, if, after a time, she decided to take the monastic vow, she could no longer withdraw.¹⁵

Widows from royal or other important families very often became founders of convents and churches, where they, their daughters and other relations found refuge and could devote themselves to their spiritual needs without being disturbed. Highly placed women in later periods followed the example of the founding activity of important widows from the Early Middle Ages such as Matilda, Richilda and Odelina. Their irreplaceable role in the propagation of Christianity and strengthening of its position in medieval society is still a subject of interest among historians today.¹⁶

14 One of the points of the council of 829 states that a woman had to remain a widow for 30 days under the supervision of the bishop. After this time, if she wished, she could marry again or dedicate her life to the Church. Concilium quattuor anni 829, praecipue concilium Parisiense, Conc. I/2, Cap. XLIII : MGH, p. 639; NELSON, ref. 9, p. 90. In Italy, the period before a woman could marry again was set at 12 months; BALZARETTI, Ross. Sexuality in Late Lombard Italy, c. 700 – c. 800 AD. In HARPER, April – PROCTOR, Caroline (eds.). *Medieval Sexuality*, p. 21-22. This period was set at 12 months in medieval England. LANCASTER, Lorraine. Kinship in Anglo-Saxon Society (7th Century to Early 11th). In THRUPP, L. Sylvia (ed.). *Early Medieval Society*. New York : Appleton Century-Croft, 1967, p. 25-26. ISBN 0472088807; GOETZ, ref. 4, p. 13-19.

15 *Die Konzilien der Karolingischen Teilreiche 860 – 874 : Conc. IV : MGH*. Ed. Wilfried Hartmann. Hannoverae : Impensis Bibliopolii Hahniani, 1998, p. 131, 268. ISBN 3775253548. On this see: SMITH, M. H., Julia. The Problem of Female Sanctity in Carolingian Europe c. 780 – 920. In *Past & Present*, 1995, year 44, no. 146, p. 3-19; NELSON, ref. 9, p. 90; MACLEAN, ref. 2, p. 6-7.

16 ROSENTHAL, ref. 4, p. 833; BARDSLEY, ref. 1, p. 35; JOHNSON, D. Penelope. *Equal in Monastic Profession : Religious Women in Medieval France*. Chicago : The University of Chicago Press, 1991, p. 29, 37, 55. ISBN 1002264901863; FONAY WEMPLE, ref. 8, p. 199-206; BREMMER, ref. 5, s. 80-81; MACLEAN, ref. 2, s. 7-8; BERMAN, H. Constance. Were there Twelfth-Century Cistercian Nuns? In BERMAN, H. Constance (ed.). *Medieval Religion*, p. 196-197. JANSEN, Katherine Ludwig. Mary Magdalen and the Contemplative Life. In BERMAN, H. Constance (ed.). *Medieval Religion*, p. 228-229; RICHES, Samantha J. E. Virtue and Violence : Saints, Monsters and Sexuality in Medieval Culture. In HARPER, April – PROCTOR, Caroline (eds.). *Medieval Sexuality*, p. 13-19; BERMAN, H. Constance. Noble Women’s Power as reflected in the Foundations of Cistercian Houses for Nuns in Thirteenth-Century Northern France : Port-Royal, Les Clairets, Moncey, Lieu, and Eau-lez-Chartres. In SMITH, A. Katherine - WELLS, Scott (eds.). *Negotiating Community and Difference in Medieval Europe : Gender, Power, Patronage and Authority of Religion in Latin Christendom*. Leiden : Brill, 2009, p. 137-149. ISBN 9789004171251.

The second view on the position of widows starts from the fact that even in the Middle Ages, widows often lived without male control, had an independent position, owned property and usually acted independently. Such widows were negatively perceived by men in this period. Although bishops, scholars and highly placed men often encountered them, their independent position and free activity was not always entirely accepted by such men.

In recent times, European historians have increasingly begun to look at these widows as a specific feature of medieval society. The latest research is presenting a large amount of convincing evidence about their exceptional position. In some cases, the status of widow gave a woman many advantages. Widows, who did not remarry, enter a convent or in some other way avoided another marriage, were freed from the vicious circle of giving birth to children and bringing them up. For the first time since birth, they were freed from male supervision over their lives.¹⁷ For the majority of them, this was a period of free decision making and action. Their independent position was also emphasized by the possibility of working with their own property or the property they gained after the death of their husbands. Some of them participated in important decisions at the royal court, administered their property, arranged marriages for their children or the descendants of other important families, and founded monasteries or churches. We could continue to name their further activities. It could even be said that they could do all the same things as their late husbands, but with one exception. They usually did not participate in military actions, since battle was always a predominantly male affair.¹⁸

Christian intellectuals played a not insignificant role in shaping the basic ideas about widows. The considerations of medieval scholars especially drew on the epistles of St. Paul to the Corinthians and to Timothy as well as the provisions of the Frankish synods.¹⁹ For example, this was the method of Hinkmar of Reims in the 9th century, when he wrote one of the key works on the sanctity of marriage, namely *De divortio Lotharii regis et Theutbergae reginae*. This work significantly influenced the perception of marriage in later periods in the cultural domain of medieval Europe. However, it was only marginally concerned with widows and in the intentions of the Christian thinking of the time.²⁰

17 GREEN, ref. 4, p. 23-26; ROSENTHAL, ref. 4, p. 832; NELSON, ref. 9, p. 91-93; DUBY, ref. 7, p. 41-76, 130-138.

18 MITCHELL, ref. 1, p. 5, 21; McNAMARE, Jo Ann - WEMPLE, Suzanne. The Power of Women through the Family in Medieval Europe : 500 – 1100. In *Feminist Studies : Special Issue : Women's History*, 1973, year 1, no. 3/4, p. 135. ISSN 0046-3663; NELSON, ref. 9, p. 82-83; McNAMARA, Jo Ann. Canossa and the Ungendering of the Public Man. In BERMAN, H. Constance (ed.). *Medieval Religion*, p. 94; ROSENTHAL, ref. 4, p. 834; HOWELL, Martha. Marriage in Medieval Latin Christendom. In LANSING, Carol - ENGLISH, D. Edward. (eds.). *A Companion*, p. 133-134; LANCASTER, ref. 14, p. 25-26, 33-34; SMITH, ref. 9, p. 139-142, 145-146; GOETZ, ref. 4, p. 10-11.

19 1. Tim V/1-16. 1. Cor VII/8-9, 39-40.

20 Chapters II, VII, XXI are mostly based on the epistles of St. Paul. Hinkmar von Reims : *De divortio Lotharii regis et Theutbergae reginae* : *Conc. IV, Supplementum I* : MGH. Ed. Letha Böhringer. Hannoverae : Impensis Bibliopolii Hahniani, 1992, p. 129, 220, 259, 260. ISBN 3775253270. See also: *Die Streit-schriften Hinkmars von Reims und Hinkmars von Laon 869-871* : *Conc. IV, Supplementum II* : MGH. Ed. Rudolf Schieffer. Hannoverae : Impensis Bibliopolii Hahniani, 2003, p. 149. ISBN 3775253556. On Hinkmar as a person: LexMA, V, s. 29-30. For general information on his views concerning marriage see: REYNOLDS, L. Philip. *Marriage in the Western Church : The Christianization of Marriage during*

The letters of the important medieval thinker and monk Peter Damian from the 11th century are a different case. He started from the older medieval Christian texts. Apart from the above mentioned epistles of St. Paul, the Old Testament also had the greatest authority for him. Peter Damian was already much more thoroughly concerned with widows. He emphasized the widowhood of those women who persisted with sexual abstinence. He highly appreciated widows, who accepted the spiritual life and entered convents. He also demanded consistent protection and support for them from the side of the Church (*viduas defensare*).²¹ In one of his letters from 1064, he even stated that God recognizes only three types of women, namely virgins, widows and wives (*Tres quippe tantummodo feminas Deus novit*). Others, who did not fall into one of these main categories, would never catch the gracious eyes of the Saviour.²²

Widows who did not marry again were evaluated very highly by medieval scholars, since they were able to freely give up sexual activity.²³ Some were explicitly opposed to the remarriage of young widows. Others supported their remarriage so that they could find meaningful fulfilment as wives and mothers.²⁴ However, all agreed on a positive evaluation of widows as a group. Although widowhood had a lower status than virginity in their view, it was much more highly appreciated than marriage.²⁵ Naturally, these ideas developed and changed during the Middle Ages. For example, later there was a change in the perception of “widow’s celibacy”, sometimes called the “second virginity”, in favour of remarriage and motherhood.²⁶

As we mentioned earlier, these ideal views applied mainly to old widows. The situation was entirely different in the case of young widows. After the death of her husband, a young widow was under strong pressure to enter a new marriage. She was still subject to the marriage policy of her family, which could secure a further advantageous alliance and influence in the surroundings by this method.²⁷ When such a widow took a second

the Patristic and Early Medieval Periods. Leiden : Brill, 2001, p. 280-311, 315-327, 353-361. ISBN 100391041088.

- 21 *Die Briefe des Petrus Damiani I : Die Briefe der deutschen Kaiserzeit IV/1* (hereinafter *Briefe d. dt. Kaiserzeit*) : MGH. Ed. Kurt Reindel. München : Monumenta Germaniae Historica, 1983, no. 38, p. 366. ISBN 3886120147; *Briefe d. dt. Kaiserzeit II.*, no. 47, p. 48, no. 68, p. 291, no. 74, p. 370; *Briefe d. dt. Kaiserzeit III.*, no. 94, p. 32, 33, 37, 39.
- 22 “*Tres quippe tantummodo feminas Deus novit, quae his plures sunt, in eius adhuc notitiam non venerunt. Novit enim virgines cum Maria, viduas cum Anna, coniuges cum Susanna.*” *Briefe d. dt. Kaiserzeit III.*, no. 114, p. 299-300. He had in mind mainly prostitutes, concubines and priests’ wives. FONAY WEMPLE, ref. 8, p. 206-208; ELLIOTT, Dyan. *The Priest’s Wife : Female Erasure and the Gregorian Reform*. In BERMAN, H. Constance (ed.). *Medieval Religion*, p. 113.
- 23 BARDSLEY, ref. 1, p. 40-41, 117-122; ARNOLD, ref. 1, p. 164-165; CONSTABLE, ref. 1, p. 64-65.
- 24 McCARTHY, Conor. *Marriage in Medieval England : Law, Literature and Practice*. Woodbridge : The Boydell Press, 2004, p. 143-144. ISBN 9781843831020; TINKLE, Theresa. *Gender and Power in Medieval Exegesis*. New York : Palgrave Macmillan, 2010, p. 21, 36, 118. ISBN 100230104355; NELSON, ref. 9, p. 83-86; BRUNDAGE, ref. 6, p. 195-196.
- 25 d’AVRAY, ref. 5, p. 130-133, 140-142; BRUNDAGE, ref. 6, p. 51-74, 77-122, 124-173; TINKLE, ref. 24, p. 117-118; REYNOLDS, ref. 20, p. 322-323.
- 26 RICHES, ref. 16, p. 60-61. On this see: SMITH, ref. 15, p. 3-19.
- 27 BARDSLEY, ref. 1, p. 117-122. Young widows were a disturbing element in the Christian community because they were still of childbearing age and sexually attractive to men. BALZARETTI, ref. 14, p.

husband, he usually also gained extensive property. This could help him to pursue his power political aims and strengthen his position. This concerned mainly rich and important widows from powerful families. They were used by ambitious men as instruments to gain power and property.²⁸ However, if a man wanted to marry a widow, he always had to gain the consent of her father. If the father was no longer alive, he needed consent from other male relatives.²⁹

Young widows (*vidua iuvenis*, *vidua adulescentula*) occurred frequently in the Middle Ages.³⁰ The majority of women were widowed at least once in their lives and many of them got married again later. In some cases, a woman was widowed several times in her life. This was caused mainly by the mainly unnatural deaths of men in battles or other conflicts. As a result, women often outlived their husbands. Some young widows also had children. If they married again, it was usually not to a young man, but more frequently to a widower. He might also have children and perhaps already adult sons. In such a case, a young widow came into a dangerous situation. Although she again had male protection, they might threaten the claims of her children to the property of her previous husband.³¹

Older widows, who no longer felt under strong pressure from male relations to marry again, and ambitious widows with large properties were often described as the sources as matrons (*matronae*) or ladies (*dominae*).³² These women usually managed their properties independently. They had natural authority over their children and often also in the wider family. The surroundings respected them and they were regarded as equal partners in various property affairs.

In spite of all their positive features, such widows were always condemned from the male point of view in the Early Middle Ages. It was claimed that they thoughtlessly enjoyed wealth and luxury from their own property. Their behaviour was regarded as an expression of “*unhealthy female freedom*”, which needed to be controlled and directed. The responsible authorities had to take care to prevent excessive expressions of the care-free life.³³

21-22; GOETZ, ref. 4, p. 33-34.

28 BREMMER, ref. 5, p. 67-68; BOUCHARD, ref. 5, p. 25, 45-47, 86-88, 93; ROSENTHAL, ref. 4, p. 833; MACLEAN, ref. 5, p. 50-53, 92.

29 This was clearly stated by the Council of Pavia in 850. Cap. X. *Die Konzilien der Karolingischen Teilreiche 843 – 859 : Conc III : MGH*. Ed. Wilfried Hartmann. Hannoverae : Impensis Bibliopolii Hahniani, 1984, p. 224. ISBN 3775253564; BUCKSTAFF, ref. 12, s. 38-39; MONTMORENCY De, James Edward Geoffrey. The Registration of Marriage under Mediaeval Roman Law. In *Journal of the Society of Comparative Legislation, New Series*, 1914, year 14, no. 2, p. 395; KORPIOLA, Mia. *Between Betrothal and Bedding : Marriage Formation in Sweden 1200 – 1600*. Leiden : Brill, 2009, p. 12, 26-27, 34. ISBN 9004173293; NELSON, ref. 9, p. 88. For general information see: REYNOLDS, ref. 20, p. 1-2, 10-13, 22-25.

30 *Concilium Turonense 813, Kap XXVII, Conc. I/1 : MGH*, p. 290.

31 BARDSLEY, ref. 1, p. 80-83; McCARTHY, ref. 24, p. 142; NELSON, ref. 9, p. 83-84; ROSENTHAL, ref. 4, p. 832; SMITH, ref. 9, p. 71, 118; DUBÝ, ref. 7, p. 41-76, 130-138.

32 GOETZ, ref. 4, p. 21-22.

33 On this principle see: *Concilium Turonense 813, Kap XXVII, Conc. I/1 : MGH*, p. 290; NELSON, ref. 9, p. 91-92. On the work of women in the Early Middle Ages see: KUCHENBUCH, Ludolf. *Opus feminine : Das Geschlechterverhältnis im Spiegel von Frauenarbeiten im früheren Mittelalter*. In GOETZ,

For example, this problem was solved by the Frankish synod in 860. The subject of one of its decrees was unrestrained or intemperate widows (*viduae incontinentes*), who lived in their houses extravagantly, licentiously and immorally. They allegedly offered their corrupted daughters to young men for fornication or as concubines. This alleged behaviour could not be accepted in any circumstances. It was emphasized that according to the old tradition of the fathers, women always belonged under male authority. Therefore, their actions could not be tolerated and had to be harshly punished.³⁴

The position of the majority of widows varied according to whether or not they had children. If they had not only daughters but also sons, they had to take into account the sons' claims to property. Their position could also change in connection the right of sons to inherit their father's property.³⁵ If children were still small when a husband died, his widow sometimes gained custody of them.³⁶ However, it was more common for care and supervision of the widow and her children to be entrusted to a guardian, usually one of the male relations of the deceased husband. He had to supervise the upbringing of the children until they were adults. He defended their property rights before the courts and sometimes acted as their guarantor in property matters. There were also cases of a widow being represented before a court by her own close male relative, such as a brother or uncle. However, this probably involved cases concerning her own personal property.³⁷

When there was already an adult son in the family, he automatically became the head of the family and took control of the whole of his late father's house. Naturally, this also involved his widowed mother. This is shown by an interesting statement from 1177 of a certain *comes* in provisions about the Church laws of the Diocese of Nin (now in Croatia), that: "*I, therefore, since I am head of all my house, and my widowed mother, brothers and sisters are under me... .*"³⁸ How he treated her after he took over responsibility for the family depended on the nature of the son and the quality of his relationship with his mother. Cases appeared where the son behaved in a domineering way and strove to gain the right to her widow's portion. However, he usually let his mother live freely on his father's property and he looked after her properly.

Many elderly widows preferred to spend the rest of their lives in convents. Before entering one, they had to leave their personal property to their children or other relations. Sometimes they granted their whole property or part of it to the convent in which they wanted to live. They often granted property not only to convents but also to individual churches for the salvation of their parents and other relations. They almost always thought also of their late husbands. Some husbands left their widows part of their own property in addition to the widow's portion. This was intended to provide them with

Hans-Werner (ed.). *Weibliche Lebensgestaltung*, ref. 4, p. 160-162; DUBY, ref. 7, p. 130-138.

34 *Koncil v Tusse, Cap. II., Conc. IV : MGH*, p. 19-20; NELSON, ref. 9, p. 91-92.

35 BREMMER, ref. 6, p. 49-50; GREEN, ref. 4, p. 26-28.

36 BOUCHARD, ref. 5, p. 133; McNAMARA, ref. 18, p. 97, 103; NELSON, ref. 9, p. 110.

37 LANCASTER, ref. 14, p. 25-26; FONAY WEMPLE, ref. 8, p. 193-199; BREMMER, ref. 5, p. 59-60; BUCKSTAFF, ref. 12, p. 49-50.

38 "*Ego namque cum sim major omnium domus meae, et mater vidua, fratres ac sorores sub me sint...*" CDAC VI, č. 83, p. 132. See also the similar provision of the Diocese of Rab on the island of Rab now in Croatia: CDAC VI, č. 100, s. 153 (1185).

better economic support. In the past, widows took their responsibility to care for the souls of their deceased husbands very seriously. At one time, this activity was usually interpreted as a female characteristic. It was thought that women were more strongly connected with the Church, they were spiritually inclined and had deeper spiritual experiences than men. However, the latest research does not confirm this. In the 11th – 13th centuries, we can find the same religious zeal among men.³⁹

Not every widow had the good fortune to contentedly live out her life on her husband's property or the property of her family. Some survived in conditions of seclusion and poverty. Others enjoyed an independent position and some cared for their husbands in an effort to ensure a better position for themselves if they were widowed. Although thanks to their property and position, some later became mistresses of their households, it is not necessary to forget that many of them were exposed to bad treatment during their lives.⁴⁰ Thus, the position of widows depended to a large extent on their economic situation and support from their families, their children or the Church. The legal protection of widows was also significant in this case. Some provisions in the oldest medieval law codes already provided a basic legal framework for their personal protection, as well as their right to property.⁴¹

We will examine here the position of widows according to the provisions of the oldest Hungarian law codes, which concerned their property rights. At the same time, we will also trace their real application in Hungarian legal practice during the 11th and 12th centuries. At the same, we will concentrate only on widows coming from the "noble environment", who were originally the wives of important men. Most of the surviving information is concerned precisely with them.⁴²

As we already mentioned, widows were also protected in the Early Middle Ages. Almost all the early medieval Germanic law codes, the resolutions of the Frankish synods and later also the collections of canon law included special provisions for widows. Some of them devoted more detailed attention to widows.⁴³ The legal norms were closely connected with the functioning of the basic rules concerning engagement, premarital agreements, conclusion of marriage and annulment. The Kingdom of Hungary was no exception in this case. The law code of St. Stephen already includes elements of marital law regulating partnership between man and woman.⁴⁴ It has been assumed that Frankish

39 NELSON, ref. 9, p. 82-83; SMITH, ref. 9, p. 118, 142, 145.

40 ROSENTHAL, ref. 4, p. 833-834; KORPIOLA, ref. 29, p. 11-12.

41 BARDSLEY, ref. 1, p. 117-122; ARNOLD, ref. 1, p. 178; ROSENTHAL, ref. 4, p. 832-833; NELSON, ref. 9, p. 88.

42 We have not considered widowed Queens of Hungary. They require separate study.

43 BARDSLEY, ref. 1, p. 129-133; GRUBBS, ref. 2, p. 52; ARNOLD, ref. 1, p. 167; GREEN, ref. 4, p. 21-24; BEDNÁŘIKOVÁ, Jarmila. Sakralita práva a Pactus legis Salicae. (The sacred nature of law and the Pactus legis Salicae.) In DANIŠ, Miroslav - VALACHOVIČ, Pavol (eds.). *Historické štúdie : Medzi antikou a stredovekom : Rímska a germánska spoločnosť v barbarických zákoníkoch*. Bratislava : Stimul, 2010, p. 17. ISBN 9788089236879; MÚČSKA, Vincent. *Uhorsko a cirkevné reformy 10. a 11. storočia. (The Kingdom of Hungary and the Church reforms of the 10th and 11th centuries.)*. Bratislava : Stimul, 2004, p. 69. ISBN 978808898245.

44 There is still no work dealing comprehensively with the family and marriage in 11th – 13th century Hungary. On this see: FÜGEDI, ref. 12, p. 55-76; MÚČSKA, Vincent. *Vývoj manželského práva na území*

legislation had great influence here.⁴⁵ One of the articles of St. Stephen's law code (*XXVI De viduis et orpanis*) also regulated the position of widows in 11th century Hungarian society.⁴⁶ Its introductory words clearly express the interest of the Hungarian monarch in protecting widows and orphans, precisely in accordance with the widespread idea of the role of the medieval Christian monarch. In this period, the King of Hungary still supervised the observance of the laws and protection of the Church.⁴⁷ The situation changed only later. Sometime in the 13th century, the matters of dowry, dower and girl's quarter became the responsibility of the Church in Hungary. Protection of the property rights of girls, women and widows already came under the authority of the Church earlier.⁴⁸ In the Early Middle Ages, this function was performed by the bishops as well as by monarchs, as we already mentioned. We can assume a similar situation in the case of Hungary.

Slovenska od najstarších čias do konca 20. storočia. (The development of marital law in the territory of Slovakia from the earliest times to the end of the 20th century.). In ŠIŠMIŠ, Milan (Zost.). *Priručka ku genealogickému výskumu na Slovensku a v slovacikálnom zahraničí*. Martin : Slovenská genealogická spoločnosť, 2004, p. 26-40. ISBN 8096871765; MÚCSKA, ref. 43, s. 105-108; DVOŘÁKOVÁ, Daniela. Život ženy-šľachtickej na prelome 14. a 15. storočia. (The life of the noble woman around 1400.). In LENGYELOVÁ, Tünde (ed.). *Žena a právo*. Bratislava : Academic Electronic Press, 2004, p. 9-22. ISBN 9788088880592; DVOŘÁKOVÁ, Daniela. Manželstvo uhorskej šľachty. (Marriage among the Hungarian nobility.). In NODL, Martin (ed.). *Manželství v pozdním středověku: rituály a obyčeje : Colloquia mediaevalia Pragensia 13*. Praha : Filosofia (In the press). For more general information see: FREISEN, Joseph. *Geschichte des Canonischen Eherechts bis zum Verfall der Glossenlitteratur*. Paderborn : Scientia Verlag, 1893, p. 676-699, 746-749; DUBY, ref. 7, p. 119-130; CHORVÁTOVÁ, Hana. Podoby rodiny v ranom stredoveku. (Forms of family in the Early Middle Ages.). In KOŽIAK, Rastislav – NEMEŠ, Jaroslav (eds.). *Krestanstvo v časoch sv. Vojtecha*. Kraków : Wydawnictwo Towarzystwa Słowaków w Polsce, 2009, p. 140-142, 143-150. ISBN 9788374902557.

- 45 MÚCSKA, ref. 43, p. 105-108, 116-120. In this context it is necessary to remember possible influences from Byzantium. They may also have contributed to the shaping of legislation in medieval Hungary. On this see: MORAVCSIK, Gyula. The Role of the Byzantine Church in Medieval Hungary. In *American Slavic and East European Review*, 1947, roč. 6, č. 3/4, s. 134-151. ISSN 10497544. Most recently: KOMÁROMI, László. A bizánci hatás egyes kérdései a középkori magyar házassági jogban. In *Iustum Aequum Salutare*, 2006, year 2, 1/2, p. 159-170. ISSN 1787-3223; KOMÁROMI, László. A bizánci kultúra egyes elemei és közvetítő tényezői a középkori Magyarországon. In *Iustum Aequum Salutare*, 2007, year 3, no. 1, p. 215-228. ISSN 1787-3223.
- 46 Stephanus I: XXVI. *The Laws of the Medieval Kingdom of Hungary I. 1000 – 1301 : Decreta regni medievalis Hungariae I. 1000 – 1301* (hereinafter DRMH I/1). Eds. János M. Bak, György Bónis, Jamer Ross Sweeney. Idyllwild : Charles Schlacks, Jr., Publisher, 1999, p. 6. ISBN 88445292. The two laws of St. Stephen were written in the form of a unified law code only after his death sometime in the first half of the 11th century. MÚCSKA, ref. 43, p. 41-42; MÚCSKA, Vincent. Cirkevné zákony Štefana I. Svätého. (The ecclesiastical legislation of Stephen I the Saint.). In SIMON, Attila (ed.). *Acta Historica Danubiensia I*. Komárno : KH PF Univerzity Jána Selyeho, 2007, p. 11-12. ISBN 9788089234264; ZSOLDOS, Attila. *The Legacy of Saint Stephen*. Budapest : Lucidus, 2004, p. 66-68. ISBN 9639465186.
- 47 "Volumus quidem, ut et vidue et orpani sint nostre legis participes..." Stephanus I: XXVI, DRMH I/1, p. 6; MÚCSKA, ref. 43, p. 47, 62-64; KIRS, Eszter. Saint Stephen's Legacy, Immigration and Foreign Policy in Hungary in the X. – XIst. Century. In *Miskolc Journal of International Law*, 2004, year 1, no. 2, p. 5-6. ISSN 1785-7309.
- 48 This is mentioned in Hungary only in later legal articles from the 15th century, where this matter is already clearly regulated by law. 25 Martii 1447: XXXVIII, DRMH I/2, p. 121; 24 Ianuarii 1458: IX, DRMH I/3, p. 2; 8 Iunii 1458: XXXV, DRMH I/3, p. 7; 28 Maii 1462: III, DRMH I/3, p. 17; 6 Aprilis 1464: XVII, DRMH I/3, p. 21.

This article of the law code also states that a widow who looked after children could remain for life in the property of her late husband. Nobody could force her to enter another marriage. However, if she freely chose the possibility to marry again and leave her children, she had no claim on the property of her previous husband. The only property she could take with her was her “clothes” (*vestimenta*). This point also includes a supplement on childless widows. If they decided to remain widows (*in sua viduitate*), they had the right to retain all their property (*omnium bonorum suorum*) for life. However, after such a widow died, the relations of her late husband gained the property. If there were no living relations, the property passed to the king.⁴⁹

A further article of this code (XXX) gives us interesting information although it does not specifically concern widows. However, it is important for the further tracing of the position of widows in Hungarian society. According to the law, if a man left the country, leaving behind his wife, she would own everything that originally belonged to him (*que in potestate mariti habebantur, possideat*). At the same time, nobody could force her to marry again. However, if she decided to enter a new marriage, the only property she could take with her, as in the previous case, was her “clothes” (*vestimenta*). She had no further claim to the property of her husband (*ceteris bonis*).⁵⁰

To better understand the significance and content of these two articles in relation to the claims of the widow to property, we will have to consider the question of their origin.

The oldest Hungarian law code of St. Stephen not only laid the foundations of the legal norms for the functioning of the Church in the country, it was also concerned with relations between partners in the Kingdom of Hungary.⁵¹ Connections with foreign legal

49 Stephanus I: XXVI, DRMH I/1, p. 6. The ban on forcing a widow into a new marriage was intended to prevent the superficially Christianized population continuing to apply the pagan right of levirate, which was apparently still applied in Hungarian society. MÚCSKA, ref. 43, p. 105-108; MÚCSKA, ref. 44, p. 28-29. On this see: BREMMER, ref. 5, p. 71-72; BALZARETTI, ref. 14, p. 18-19.

50 Stephanus I: XXX, DRMH I/1, p. 7. The first synod of Esztergom stated that in Hungary widows usually remarried. One of the points states that if a cleric marries again with another woman, a widow or repudiated woman, he will be dismissed: “*Si quis de clero secundam uxorem vel viduam vel repudiatam duxerit, deponatur.*” Syn. Strig.: LV, DRMH I/1, p. 63; MÚCSKA, ref. 43, p. 105-108.

51 MÚCSKA, ref. 43, p. 116-120; ENGEL, Pál. *The Realm of St. Stephen : A History of Medieval Hungary 895 – 1526*. New York : I. B. Tauris & Co Ltd, 2005, p. 66-71. ISBN 1-85043-977-X; BAKAY, Kornél. Hungary. In REUTER, Timothy (ed.). *The New Cambridge Medieval History III, 900 – 1024*. Cambridge : Cambridge University Press, 1999, p. 548-549. ISBN 0-521-36447-7. For example, in the so-called “*Břetislav’s Decree*” (*Decreta Břetislai*), which may date from sometime in the first half of the 11th century, the questions of the relations between man and woman were among the main matters of legal regulation. Apart from this, it mentions virgins and widows, who are forbidden to fornicate. To eliminate this activity, they had to marry. As we know, the same applied to widows in Hungary. “*Eadem sententia sint plectende virgines et vidue et adultere, que nomen bonum amisisse et pudorem corrupisse ac per scortorum concepisse dinoscuntur. Nam cum liberum nubendi habeant arbitrium...*” Lib II, Cap. IV. Cosmae Pragensis chronica Boemorum : Scriptores rerum Germanicarum, Nova series II : MGH. Ed. BRETHOLZ, Bertold. Berolini : APVD Weidmannos, 1923, p. 86. On its origin, analysis and various influences see: HAVLÍKOVÁ, Lubomíra. K vlivu velkomoravského práva na raně středověké české právo. (On the influence of Great Moravian law on early medieval Czech law.) In MICHALOV, Jozef et al (eds.). *Význam kultúrneho dedičstva sv. Cyrila a Metoda pre Európu*. Nitra : Univerzita Konštantína Filozofa, 2008, p. 22-23, 26-27, 32. ISBN 9788080944551. On this see: LACLAVÍKOVÁ, Miriam. *Formovanie úpravy majetkových vzťahov medzi manželmi : Od vzniku uhorského štátu do prvej československej kodi-*

prototypes were already identified in some parts of this law code at the beginning of the 20th century.

The two most probable influences are considered in this context. The first is the Bavarian law code *Lex Baiuvariorum* from the 8th century,⁵² which is most frequently regarded as the possible prototype.⁵³ This also applies to the question of the position of women and widows.⁵⁴ It is assumed that it was known in Hungary thanks to intensive contacts with Bavaria at the end of the 10th and beginning of the 11th centuries. These were closely associated with the strengthening of Christianity in Hungary. Therefore, it is entirely possible that this law code became known there at the time. However, the connection of these contacts with the formation of St. Stephen's law code has still not been convincingly proved.⁵⁵

The second case is the ecclesiastical law collection of Bishop Burchard of Worms from the second decade of the 11th century.⁵⁶ As Vincent Múcska proves, it very probably served as the prototype for conceiving most of the points in St. Stephen's law code. However, these legal prototypes were not directly copied, but served more as examples for the creation of the Hungarian law code, which naturally also started from domestic

fikácie rodinného práva. (The shaping of the law on property relations between spouses: From the origin of the Kingdom of Hungary to the first Czechoslovak codification of family law.). Bratislava : Veda, 2010, p. 21-30, 40-47. ISBN 9788022411424.

- 52 *Lex Baiuvariorum* (hereinafter *Lex Baiuv.*) : Legvm nationvm Germanicarvm V/2 : MGH. Ed. Ernst von Schwind. Hannoverae : Impensis Bibliopolii Hahniani, 1926, p. 197-473. On this see: *LexMA V*, p. 1928. For details on the influence of older early medieval law codes on the *Lex Baiuvariorum* see: FASTRICH-SUTTY, Isabella. *Die Rezeption des Westgotischen Rechts in der Lex Baiuvariorum : Eine Studie zur Bearbeitung von Rechtstexten im frühen Mittelalter*. Köln; Berlin : Carl Heymanns Verlag KG, 2001, p. 11-83, 89-121. ISBN 3452251969.
- 53 *A Szent István, Szent László és Kálmán korabeli törvények és zsinati határozatok forrásai* (hereinafter *Záv.*). Ed. Levente Závodszy. Budapest 1904; MADZSAR, Imre. *Szent István törvényei és a Lex Baiuvariorum*. In *Történeti szemle*, 1921, year 8, no. 1-4, p. 48-75; DRHM I/1, p. XXXVI-XL; MÚCSKA, ref. 46, p. 13-14; HRNČIAROVÁ, Daniela. *K otázke vzniku a charakteru Lex Baiuvariorum : Stav súčasného bádania. (On the question of the origin and character of the Lex Baiuvariorum: The current state of research.)*. In DANIŠ, Miroslav - VALACHOVIČ, Pavol (eds.). *Historické štúdie : Medzi antickou a stredovekom*, ref. 43, p. 68-77.
- 54 XXVI. De viduis et orpanis, XXVII. De raptu puellarum, XXVIII. De fornicationibus cum ancillis alterius. *Záv.*, p. 29, 38, 40; MADZSAR, ref. 53, p. 48-75. Apart from these, other possible prototypes are mentioned. DRHM I/1, p. XXXVI-XL, XLII-XLVI. On this see: MÚCSKA, ref. 46, p. 13-14; GYÖRFFY, György. *Święty Stefan I : Król Węgier i jego dzieło. (Saint Stephen I King of Hungary and his work.)*. Trans. Tomasz Kapturkiewicz. Warszawa : Oficyna Wadawnicza Rytm, 2003, p. 324-325. ISBN 8373990984.
- 55 HRNČIAROVÁ, ref. 53, p. 68-69; ENGEL, ref. 51, p. 26-28; BAKAY, ref. 51, p. 547-550; ZSOLDOS, ref. 46, p. 34-37, 36, 38, 45, 51, 68-70, 74-75, 92-93, 125-126, 128-129. On this see: LYSÝ, Miroslav. *Základná charakteristika východnej politiky Konráda II. (1024 – 1039)*. (Basic characteristics of the eastern policy of Conrad II (1024 – 1939)). In *Medea : Studia mediaevalia et antiqua*, 2002, year 6, p. 53-55. ISSN 1336-7706. KIRS, ref. 47, p. 1. For the latest on the question of Christianity in the formation of the Kingdom of Hungary see: MÚCSKA, Vincent. *Uhorsko na ceste ku kresťanskej monarchii. (The Kingdom of Hungary on the way to Christian monarchy.)*. In WIHODA, Martin - REITINGER, Lukáš et al. (eds.). *Proměna středověchní Evropy raného a vrcholného středověku : Mocenské súvislosti a paralely*. Brno : Matices moravská, 2010, p. 106-116. ISBN 9788086488691.
- 56 *Burchardi Wormaciensis ecclesiae episcopi decretorum libri viginti* (hereinafter *Bur.*). In *Patrologia Latina* 140, col. 537 – 1057, p. 537 - 1058. On this see: *LexMA II*, p. 946-950.

needs when setting the legal norms for Hungary. Although foreign examples were applied when writing it, St. Stephen's law code as a whole represents an original piece of legislation based on the needs of society in Hungary at the time.⁵⁷ In this context, we will not attempt to find any possible prototypes that influenced its writing. We will look more thoroughly only at the points concerned with the position of widows and their claims to property.

The collection of Church law of Burchard of Worms does not provide any specific information that can be unambiguously identified with the provisions on widows in St. Stephen's law code. It is more concerned with the general medieval principles on the position of widows, which derive from widespread older prototypes known in Western Europe.⁵⁸ The only item that can be regarded as a point of agreement with St. Stephen's law code is the prohibition of forcing widows to remarry. It says that if widows want to preserve their moral purity by observing sexual restraint (*castitatis et continentiae*), nobody had the right to force them into new marriages. However, if they decide to marry again, it should be freely according to their own will. However, they still needed the additional consent of their parents or male relatives as was usually required in such cases.⁵⁹ It says nothing specific about their property claims or about a widow's possibility to remain on the property of her husband.

However, it is entirely different in the case of the *Lex Baiuvariorum*. It already gave detailed attention to widows and their property claims. One of the articles states that a woman, who remains a widow after her husband's death (*in viduitate permanente*) and lives with her children, has the right to enjoy her share of her husband's property for life (*usque ad tempus vitae suae usufructuario iure possedeat*), just as this right related to his sons.⁶⁰ Another article stated the rule that if a widowed mother wanted to enter a second marriage, she would have no further claim to the property of her deceased husband (*res paternas*). The whole property then belonged only to his legitimate sons, who had a

57 MÚCSKA, ref. 46, p. 11-12; DRHM I/1, p. XLII-XLVI; GYÖRFFY, ref. 54, p. 325. On this see: BEREND, Nora. Hungary in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries. In LUSCOMBE, David - RILEY-SMITH, Jonathan (eds). *The New Cambridge Medieval History IV/2, 1024–1198*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006, p. 307-308. ISBN 9781139054027.

58 For example, the chapters on women remaining in the widowed state, on their protection and virginity, on widows living in luxury, on old widows who should not remarry, the provision on supervision by bishops and on their age and age of marriage have this character. Bur. Liber VIII, Cap. XXXIII, XXXIV, XXXV, XXXVI, XXXVII, XXXIX, XL, XLI, XLIII, p. 797-780. Further general provisions. Bur. Liber VIII, Cap. XLV, XLVI, XLVII, p. 801. On the moral or debauched lives of widows, on young widows, on who should be supervised by bishops, on the abduction of widows and virgins. Bur. Liber VIII, Cap. XLVIII, L, LII, LV, p. 802-804. Liber IX, Cap. XI, XII, XIII, p. 817.

59 Bur. Liber VIII, Cap. XLIV, p. 800. On this see: BREMMER, ref. 5, p. 71-72. There was also a prohibition of abducting widows. This was also a widespread provision. Bur. Liber IX, Cap. XXXIV, p. 820. See for example, the Council of Pavia from 850, Conc. III, Cap. XX, p. 224. MÚCSKA, ref. 46, p. 13-14; SAUNDERS, Corinne. *Rape and Ravishment in the Literature of Medieval England*. Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2001, p. 34-38, 43, 46-47. ISBN 0859916103; GRUBBS, ref. 2, p. 74; REYNOLDS, ref. 20, p. 101-117.

60 *Lex Baiuv*, I/XV-7, p. 426; FASTRICH-SUTTY, ref. 52, p. 264. For an excellent review of the influence of Christianity on the development of marriage in medieval Europe see: REYNOLDS, ref. 20, p. 66-74, 74-80, 121-238, 315-327, 386-412; GOETZ, ref. 4, p. 9-10.

hereditary right to it.⁶¹ If she had her trousseau (*res proprias*) and dowry (*dos sua*),⁶² which belonged to her by law, they had to be distinguished from the former joint property. Then she could take this property with her to her new marriage. If she had no sons or daughters with her second husband, her personal property, which she had brought with her, had to pass to her children from her first marriage.⁶³

It is clear that individual points in the *Lex Baiuvariorum* agree in content with the above mentioned provisions of St. Stephen's law code. Therefore we think that at least the legal norms about widows in the Kingdom of Hungary could really have been based on the provisions of the Bavarian law code.⁶⁴ If we accept this view, then this law code may help us to ascertain exactly what property rights widows had according to St. Stephen's law code.

In both cases, a widow could remain on the property of her late husband regardless of whether she had or did not have children. However, it was different if she decided to remarry. Then she had to leave and had no claim to her husband's property. However, the question remains, what was understood under the Latin term *vestmentum*, which appears in St. Stephen's law code. According to later Hungarian customary law (*Tripartitum*), as well as comparison with the *Lex Baiuvariorum*⁶⁵ it is clear that it must mean her wedding trousseau, the personal property of the woman, which she brought to her marriage together with her dowry.

Although we do not encounter any concrete data about trousseaus and dowries in 11th – 12th century Hungary, this does not mean that they did not exist. This female property began to be mentioned more frequently in the 13th century as *res paraphernales* (trousseau) and occasionally *allatura uxorea* (dowry). However, in this period, the dowry was sometimes designated with the terms *dos*, *dotalitium* under the influence of Roman law, in spite of the fact that in Hungarian conditions it was already unambiguously used as the term for dower, that is the widow's portion, which was assigned to her from her husband's property.⁶⁶ Therefore it is difficult to determine whether the

61 “*Quodsi mater ad alias nuptias forte transierit, ea die usufructuariam portionem, quam bonis mariti fuerat consecuta, filii inter reliquas res paternas, qui ex eo nati sunt coniugio, vindicabunt.*” *Lex Baiuv.* I/XV-8, p. 319-320; FASTRICH-SUTTY, ref. 52, p. 264.

62 BUCKSTAFF, ref. 12, p. 26-28. “*Mater vero si habet proprias res, et cum dote sua.*” *Married Women's Property*, p. 40, 49-50; NELSON, ref. 9, p. 85-86. On this see: REYNOLDS, ref. 20, p. 26-28

63 “*Mater vero si habet proprias res, et cum dote sua, quam per legem habet, egrediat. Et si ibi filios nec filias generavit, post mortem eius omnia quae de filiis suis detulit, ad illos revertatur.*” *Lex Baiuv.* I/XV-8, p. 427; FASTRICH-SUTTY, ref. 52, p. 264. Other points in the law code, as in the collection by Burchard of Worms, were concerned with prohibiting the marriage of women with close relations and with the abduction of virgins and widows. *Lex Baiuv.* I/VII-1, p. 347-348, I/VIII-6, 7, p. 356. On this see: WESTPHAL-WIHL, Sarah. “The Ladies' Tournament”: Marriage, Sex and Honor in Thirteenth-Century Germany. In *Signs : Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, 1989, year 14, no. 2, p. 380-383. ISSN 0097-9740; MONTMORENCY, ref. 29, p. 398-399; REYNOLDS, ref. 20, p. 101-117.

64 *Lex Baiuv.* I/XV-7, 8, p. 426-428. Záv, p. 38; MADZSAR, ref. 53, p. 49.

65 “*Mulieri autem dotem suam secundum genelogiam suam sovlat legitime, et quicquid illa de rebus parentum ibi adduxit, omnia reddatur mulieri illi.*” *Lex Baiuv.* I/VIII-14, p. 359.

66 ILLÉS, József. *Törvényes öröklés rendje az Árpádok korában.* (The rules of inheritance according to the laws from the time of the Árpád dynasty.). Budapest : Athenaeum, 1904, p. 78-92, 106, 112, 140; KONCZ, Ibolya Katalin. *The Institution of Dos (“Fidelity Reward”) and its Practical Regulation in Bour-*

term *vestimentum* in 11th century documents meant only the woman's trousseau or also her dowry. Although we cannot entirely confirm it, it appears that it meant not only her trousseau, but also her dowry.⁶⁷ Later, we often encounter cases where mentions of dowry and trousseau overlap in meaning. For this reason, there are sometimes unclear interpretations of the distinction between them in medieval sources. This appears to be the situation in this case. In any case, in Hungary, as in the whole of medieval Europe, a widow had a claim to the return of her dowry and trousseau if she left the property of her late husband.⁶⁸ The mentions of the property claims of widows in St. Stephen's law code concerned precisely this. The code started from the real need of Hungarian society to protect women after they were widowed.

A statement in St. Ladislav's law code gives further evidence on the personal property of women. It states that if a woman was caught in the act of stealing, then apart from other penalties, she would lose her claim to her whole property (*tota substantia sua*) with which she could get married again after the death of her husband.⁶⁹ This probably meant

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- geois Hungary. In ŠTENPIEN, Erik (ed.). *Historický vývoj súkromného práva v Európe : Zborník príspevkov z medzinárodnej vedeckej konferencie konanej v dňoch 27. – 28. mája 2011 na Právnickej fakulte UPJŠ v Košiciach*. Košice : Univerzita Pavla Jozefa Šafárika, 2011, p. 175-194. ISBN 9788070978931; LACLAVÍKOVÁ, ref. 51, p. 21-25, 28-30, 41-46. On the meaning of the Latin words *dos*, *dotulitium* for dowry and dower in Hungary see: *Lexicon latinitatis medii aevi Hungariae III. : A Magyarországi középkori latinság szótára III.* (hereinafter LLMH). Budapest : Akadémiai Kiadó, 1992, p. 249-250. ISBN 9630541858. For comparison: *Latinitatis medii aevi lexicon Bohemorum IX. : Slovník středověké latiny v českých zemích IX. (Dictionary of medieval Latin in the Czech Lands IX.)* (hereinafter LMLB), Prague : Academia, 1986, p. 276-280. ISBN 8085917074. *The Laws of the Medieval Kingdom of Hungary V. : The Customary Law of the Renowned Kingdom of Hungary : A Work in Three Parts Rendered by Stephen Werbőczy (The "Tripartitum")* (hereinafter *Tripartitum*). Eds. János M. Bak, Péter E. Banyó. Budapest : Charles Schlacks, Jr., Publisher, 2005, p. 446, 457. ISBN 1884445403; FÜGEDI, ref. 12, p. 62-64; RADY, Martyn. *Nobility, Land and Service in Medieval Hungary*. New York : Palgrave, 2000, p. 76-77. ISBN 9780333800850. On this see: STUARD, Susan Mosher. Dowry and other Marriage Gifts. In SCHAUS, Margaret (ed.). *Women and Gender*, ref. 4, p. 229-231; REYNOLDS, ref. 20, p. 26-28.
- 67 From the all the examples, we can mention the case of Lampert from the Hunt-Poznan family, who obtained possession of Pastovce from St. Ladislav. He obtained it when he married the king's sister. Thus it was her dowry. "...*Pasztuh, ubi erat regalis curia, dedit rex Ladislaus comiti Lamperto cum sorore sua, quam dederat ei in uxorem cum omnibus appendiciis prediis...*" CDS I, no. 74+, p. 71, 1135. *Korai magyar történeti lexikon (9. – 14. század) (Historical dictionary of the early history of Hungary (9th - 14th century))* (hereinafter KMTL). Eds. Gyula Kristó, Pál Engel, Ferenc Makk. Budapest : Akadémiai Kiadó, 1994, p. 62. ISBN 9630567229; MARSINA, Richard (ed.). *V království svätého Štefana: Pramene k dejinám Slovenska a Slovákov III. (In the Kingdom of Saint Stephen : Sources on the history of Slovakia and the Slovaks III.)* (hereinafter PDSS III.) Bratislava : Literárne informačné centrum, 2003, p. 57. ISBN 8088878829. It is worth noting that it was clearly stated in Hungarian customary law. All the individual articles of the *Tripartitum* do not differ from point XXVI of St. Stephen's law code. *Tripartitum*, I. 100. DRHM V, p. 181-182; *Tripartitum*, I. 98, 100; DRHM V, p. 178-181, 181-182.
- 68 RADY, ref. 66, p. 76-77; *Tripartitum*, I. 28, 29: 4, 67: 2, 88, 93 99, 100, 106; DRHM V, p. 89, 90, 145, 175 181-182, 187, 191; FÜGEDI, ref. 12, p. 184-187, 197-204. On this see: GRUBBS, ref. 2, p. 91-99; REYNOLDS, ref. 20, p. 26-28, 46-47; HOWELL, ref. 18, p. 133-134; BREMMER, ref. 5, p. 61; BOLOGNE, Jean Claude. *Svatby : Dějiny svatebních obřadů na západě. (Weddings : History of wedding ceremonies in the West.)* Trans. Barbora Chvojková. Praha : Volvox Globator, 1996, p. 16, 89-94. ISBN 8072070541.
- 69 "...*cum tota substantia sua, cum qua post viri sui mortem cum alio viro posset maritati, pereat*". Ladislaus III: VI, DRMH I/1, p. 18.

not only her dowry, but also her trousseau. This statement also agrees with the older provisions of St. Stephen's law code.

However, up to now, for the sake of clarity, we have devoted attention only to the claim of a widow to her own property, which she brought to the marriage. A much more complicated matter is the question of the dower, which meant the claim of the widow to a share of her husband's property.

The dower gradually developed in the past from the engagement and wedding gift, which the woman received from her husband. Originally it was a replacement for the dowry.⁷⁰ Roman law recognized this gift as *the donatio ante nuptias or donatio propter nuptias*. In Western Europe, where Germanic peoples settled after the break up of the Roman Empire, the dowry, known according to Roman law as the *dos*, was replaced by the characteristically Germanic gift from the husband: *dos ex marito*. This led to an important shift in the meaning of the Latin word *dos*, which began to designate not the woman's dowry, which she brought to the marriage, but the wedding gift from her husband. The dower later developed from this. As a result there is lack of clarity on the interpretation of this term even in the High Middle Ages.⁷¹

Although there are various views on the origin of dower, all agree that it developed in the framework of Germanic customary law from the gifts a man gave to his wife. Apart from the gift, which the man paid to the family of his future bride, she also received the morning gift (*morgengabe, morgengyfu*), which belonged only to her. She received it after the wedding night (*copula carnalis*) in return for the loss of her virginity.⁷² However, she gained the right to use it only after the death of her husband. As a widow, she could freely use her morning gift (*morgengabe*). In later periods, she had access to part of her husband's property on the basis of this gift. It was usually set at 1/4 or 1/3 of the total value of the property. If a widow wanted to gain this property, she had to remain on her late husband's property and could not marry again. The usual rule that the size of the morning gift should not exceed the value of the dowry was also evidence that it was also partly a replacement for the dowry.⁷³

70 BARDSLEY, ref. 1, p. 151-152; WESTPHAL-WIHL, ref. 63, p. 380-383; REYNOLDS, ref. 20, p. 26-28, 46-47, 80-83.

71 European historiography still does not have a unified view on its origin. According to the expert literature, dower (*dos, dotalitium*) in the Late Middle Ages could be composed of three parts, if we simplify. These were the engagement present, the wedding present (*morgengabe, dos*) and the widow's portion (*wittamon, dos*). In the oldest period, these were distinguished according to regional and local traditions. Even in later periods, they still had various regional forms. REYNOLDS, ref. 20, p. 26-28, 46-47, 73-74, 80-88, 350-351; BOLOGNE, ref. 68, p. 16, 25, 29-30, 77-84, 89-94; MITCHELL, ref. 1, p. 28; HOWELL, ref. 18, p. 133-134; HARDING, ref. 8, p. 127-130; KARPIOLA, Mia. *Tempus nuptiarum : Ecclesiastical Influences on Wedding Times in Medieval Sweden*. In KRAFL, Pavel (ed.). *Sacri canones servandi sunt : Ius canonicum et status ecclesiae saeculis XIII-XV*. Praha : HÚ ČR, 2008, . 633. ISBN 9788072861217; STUARD, ref. 66, p. 229-231; WESTPHAL-WIHL, ref. 63, p. 383; BARDSLEY, ref. 1, p. 151-152; BUCKSTAFF, ref. 12, p. 44; NELSON, ref. 9, p. 85-86, 89; LACLAVÍKOVÁ, ref. 51, p. 41-46, 59-66.

72 BREMMER, ref. 5, p. 50, 61; BARDSLEY, ref. 1, p. 151-152; KARPIOLA, ref. 71, p. 633-634; SMITH, ref. 9, p. 142, 145; LACLAVÍKOVÁ, ref. 51, p. 70-71, 117-120, 125-127.

73 BUCKSTAFF, ref. 12, p. 44-47, 50-51, 60; MITCHELL, ref. 1, p. 28-29, 54-55; BARDSLEY, ref. 1, p. 151-152; KORPIOLA, ref. 29, p. 82-85; MCCARTHY, ref. 24, p. 57-58, 145-146; HANAWALT, A. Barbara. *"Of Good and Ill Repute" : Gender and Social Control in Medieval England*. Oxford :

In Latin sources from the Middle Ages, the morning gift sometimes appears under the term taken from Roman law *donatio propter nuptias* or later also under the most frequently occurring term *dos*. This later developed into the right of the widow to the property of her husband known as dower (*dos*). The possibility to live the rest of her life in the house of her late husband and rely on the economic resources of his household was also related to this.⁷⁴

During the 10th – 11th centuries the morning gift for the bride was already gradually transformed into the dower as the right of the women to use her husband's property after his death. It is assumed that the dower became a normal part of the widow's claim to property only in the course of the 12th century. It was the part of the property under the full control of the widow.⁷⁵ This applied to the countries of Western Europe in the Middle Ages, and it is questionable whether a similar development and the function of the dower according to the Germanic model also applied in the Kingdom of Hungary.

On the basis of what we have stated above, it is necessary to realize that the dower in Hungary in the form we know it from the beginning of the 13th century (*dos*, *dotalitium*) or as it was explained in the *Tripartitum*,⁷⁶ was still not clearly established in the 11th – 12th centuries in the form we encounter it in later periods. The claim of the widow to a dower underwent a gradual development from the origin of the Kingdom of Hungary to the first half of the 13th century. We will endeavour to identify these changes in this work.

The claim to a dower was originally tied only to the use of part of the property of the deceased husband for life or until the widow remarried. In the 11th – 12th centuries, the presence of the widow on the property of her late husband was necessary to her claim to use it. The dower served to support the widow after her husband's death. At that time, a woman did not have a legal claim to its separation from the male property as was usual in the 13th century. In the event that the widow remarried, she automatically lost her claim to a share of this property. The only property she got back was her dowry and trousseau. St. Stephen's law code already speaks clearly of this. For this reason, the Hungarian law codes and sources from the 11th – 12th centuries, in harmony with the situation in Western Europe, still do not directly designate dower with the terms under which it appears later, namely *dos* and *dotalitium*.

It is not possible because of inadequate sources to find evidence from the Kingdom of Hungary that widows already had a claim to a wedding gift or widow's portion in the 11th – 12th centuries. However, we can suppose it on the basis of the later development in the 13th century and according to the customary law recorded in the *Tripartitum*.

Oxford University Press, 1998, p. 78-79. ISBN 019510949X; WESTPHAL-WIHL, ref. 63, p. 380-383; McNAMARA, ref. 18, p. 94; STUARD, ref. 66, p. 229-231; NELSON, ref. 9, p. 87-88; REYNOLDS, ref. 20, p. 80-83, 88-99.

74 HOWELL, ref. 18, p. 133-134; KARPIOLA, ref. 71, p. 633-634; McNAMARE - WEMPLE, ref. 18, p. 135-137; STUARD, ref. 66, p. 229-231; REYNOLDS, ref. 20, p. 74-80, 80-88.

75 McNAMARE - WEMPLE, ref. 18, p. 135-137; STUARD, ref. 66, p. 229-231. On this see: BALZARETTI, ref. 14, p. 18-19. However, other views on the origin of the dower are still held. On this see: REYNOLDS, ref. 20, p. 85-86.

76 LACLAVÍKOVÁ, ref. 51, p. 128-149.

For example, in 13th – 14th century Hungary, mostly in the case of queens or other important women, we regularly encounter the familiar Latin term *donatio propter nuptias* with the meaning “dower” (*dos*).⁷⁷ The legal article no. III from 1462 is also interesting in this context. It states that marital cases and those connected with matters such as dowry/dower, trousseau, wedding gift / dower (*donatio propter nuptias*) and the girl’s quarter are the responsibility of the Church court.⁷⁸

In the 14th century we can also find mentions of the morning gift, but in this period already with the meaning “dower”. However, these isolated cases are mainly connected with the region on the frontier with present day Austria and the documents are written in German. Therefore, it is reasonable to ask whether it is a matter of later influence, which had no connection with the situation in the 11th – 12th centuries. For example, a document from 1372 clearly mentions dower, which is called *Morgengabe* in German.⁷⁹ It confirms that this term was familiar in the 14th century in regions influenced by German law. However, we must be cautious when seeking parallels from the 11th – 12th centuries.

As domestic customary law shows, women in Hungary also received engagement and wedding gifts from their husbands.⁸⁰ The right of women to dowers probably developed from this later as in other European countries. However, it is not clear whether it involved the influence of the German morning gift or other possible variants of domestic or other origin. The later *Tripartitum* also contains an indirect connection with German influence on the dower in Hungary. It does not directly mention the German term *Morgengabe*, but the description of dower shows that it very probably meant the same type of wedding gift also in the Hungarian environment. It states that dower is nothing other than that, which a man gives to his wife after the wedding night in return for the loss

77 “...in quibus nomine donationis propter nuptias tibi tenetur...” CDH III/1, p. 264 (1218); “...ratione dotis dotalitiorum, seu donationum propter nuptias assignavit...” CDH IV/3, p. 316-319 (1266)*; *Regesta regum striptis Arpadianae critico-diplomatica II/1* (hereinafter RRSA). Ed. Imre Szentpétery. Budapest : Kiadja a Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1943, no. 1812, p. 17; “...quas de rebus parafernalisibus pro defensione ipsius regni fecerat, ac etiam ratione dotis sue, ac donationis propter nuptias tibi dudum regia liberalitate donasset...” CDH IV/3, p. 365 (1266); RRSA II/1, no. 1849, p. 28; “...quas eidem filio suo in donationem propter nuptias deputabit...” CDH V/2, p. 325 (1276); CDH VII/5, no. 259, p. 421 (1276); “...ex donatione propter nuptias, vel nomine dotis, seu dotalitii facta, de iure pertinentes...” CDH V/3, p. 44-45 (1280); “...quas praetextu dotis, seu donationis nostrae propter nuptias...” CDH IX/2, no. 240, p. 499 (1356); “...cum dote, siue dotalicio propter nuptias...” CDH IX/7, no. 55, p. 589 (1375); “...quod dicti coniuges soluere debeant quartam partem dotis et donationis propter nuptias...” CDH X/1, no. 293, p. 531 (1389); “...de dictis dotibus et contractibus ac donacione propter nuptias...” CDH X/1, no. 330, p. 590 (1390); LACLAVÍKOVÁ, ref. 51, p. 65-66, 120-121, 128-149. On this see: REYNOLDS, ref. 20, p. 26-28, 46-47.

78 “Item cause matrimoniales et accessoria earundem, specialiter vero dotis, rerum paraphernalium, donationum propter nuptias et iuris quartalitii...” DRMH I/3, 28 May 1462, no. III, p. 17.

79 “...pro eiusdem iuribus et dotalitii, que in communi Vulgari teutonicorum Morgengab dicuntur...” CDH IX/4, no. 304, p. 524 (1372). See also: CDH X/1, no. 227, p. 397 (1387); CDH IX/2, no. 239, p. 498 (1356); CDH X/1, no. 357, p. 647-648 (1390); LACLAVÍKOVÁ, ref. 51, p. 70-71, 117-120, 125-127.

80 “De Paraffernis et rebus cum sponsa ac tempore nuptiarum sponse datis. Res autem per sponsum sponsae aut pro honore nuptiarum, aut pro subaratione traditae decedente...” *Tripartitum*, I. 100. DRHM V, p. 181-183. *Tripartitum*, I. 93, DRHM V, p. 174-177. On the dower according to the *Tripartitum* see: KONCZ, ref. 66, p. 181-185, 187-190; LACLAVÍKOVÁ, ref. 51, p. 128-149, 188-193.

of her virginity (*matrimonii consummatio*). The *Morgengabe* had precisely this meaning according to early medieval Germanic law.⁸¹ At the same time, it is further specified that dowry was given to women on the basis of old customs, in return for the fulfilment of their marital duties (*matrimonii debitum*). Probably they had in mind marital fidelity, giving birth to and bringing up children, and the duties connected with running a household.⁸²

However, also in this case, it is necessary to consider the real possibility that this is a later influence associated with the coming of large numbers of ethnic Germans to Hungary in the 13th century. If that case, it may have no connection with the situation in the 11th – 12th centuries.

The claim of a woman to a widow's portion is first mentioned in the Kingdom of Hungary already in St. Stephen's law code. According to an already mentioned article (XXVI *De viduis et orphanis*), a childless widow could remain on the property of her late husband. She had a legal claim to use his property (*omnium bonorum suorum*), which should be clearly understood as the widow's portion. This is also shown by the fact that after her death, her late husband's family had to gain this property.⁸³ Since she did not have children to whom this property would normally pass after her death, it is clear that it was originally the family property of her husband, so it passed to his relations. A share of the husband's property was always assigned to the widow. Therefore, it certainly cannot be concerned with her dowry or trousseau. It is stated exactly the same way in the *Lex Baiuvariorum*, according to which the widow had a claim to lifelong use of her widow's portion (*portio*) from her husband's property if she remained on it after his death with their sons. It was part of the property, which she shared with her sons during her time as a widow. After her death, the sons as legal heirs had a claim to the widow's portion, since it was divided from the hereditary property of their father.⁸⁴

Article VI of St. Ladislav's law code also confirms that St. Stephen's law code was really concerned with the widow's portion. It clearly states that widows caught in the act of stealing would be deprived of their widow's portion (*pars sua*) as well as suffering bodily punishment. If a widow suffered such punishment, it did not apply to the property of her sons as heirs to their father's property, but only to her part.⁸⁵

In these cases, there is unambiguous evidence that the right of a woman to a widow's portion was also applied in Hungary. A widow, who remained on the property of her late husband, could use her share for life only under the condition that she did not marry

81 For a summary see: LexMA VI, p. 837-838; REYNOLDS, ref. 20, p. 80-85, 86-87, 350-351, 388-389.

82 "...quae uxori propter eius deflorationem et concubitum de bonis mariti datur..." *Tripartitum*, I. 93, DRHM V, p. 174-177. On the dowry see also: *Tripartitum*, I. 95, 98, DRHM V, 176-177, 178-181; FÜGEDI, ref. 12, p. 63-64; KONCZ, ref. 66, p. 175-179, 186-187; LACLAVÍKOVÁ, ref. 51, p. 128-149.

83 "Post obitum autem eius eadem bona ad suos redeant parentis mariti, si parentes habet, sin autem, rex sit heres." Stephanus I: XXVI, DRMH I/1, p. 6.

84 "De viduis quae post mortem mariti sui in viduitate permaneant, aequalem inter filios suos, id est qualem unus ex filiis usufructuariam habeat portionem, quem usque ad tempus vitae suae usufructuario iure possideat." *Lex Baiuv*, I/XV-7, p. 426.

85 "Et si vidua idem fecerit, alterum oculum perdat et exceptis partibus filiorum suorum cum parte sua anichiletur." Ladislaus III: VI, DRMH I/1, p. 18. On dowry see: RADY, ref. 66, p. 76-77.

again. The dower, known in the 13th century as *dos*, *dotalitium*, later developed from this share in Hungary. However, it is necessary to realize that in the 11th – 12th centuries, there was still no real delimitation of part of the property of the husband, which the widow could then fully control with the right to sell or give it and so on. After the death of her husband, she received only a part or a widow's portion, which covered her needs and secured the upbringing of her children and running of her household.⁸⁶

The best way to find out whether the provisions on the property claims of widows according to the law codes of St. Stephen and St. Ladislav were really applied in practice is to examine the surviving documents or testaments of important men and widows from the 11th – 12th centuries. As is well known, only a few written sources survive from early medieval Hungary. In spite of this, we can find among them documents that contain interesting information about widows and their property rights. The reason we know so little about women and widows in this period will not surprise anybody, because in a “man's world” women appear in the sources only rarely. It is possible to say that information about them often appears only by accident.⁸⁷

In first place, it is necessary to mention a very rare document. It is the will⁸⁸ of the Palatine Rado from 1057. With the permission of King Andrew I (1046 – 1060) and his brother Bela, he granted part of his extensive property to the Bishopric of Pécs for the salvation of his soul.

He also wrote his will to protect the property he left to his wife Lucy for her life (*in manu uxoris mee Lucie*).⁸⁹ He granted this property directly to Bishop Maurus, who

86 Katalin Koncz supposes that the dower already existed in the time of St. Stephen. However, her whole work is mostly devoted to much later periods. See there also an exhaustive review of the various views of Hungarian legal historians on the function and origin of the dower in Hungary. KONCZ, ref. 66, p. 175-180. On this see: WESTPHAL-WIHL, ref. 63, p. 380-383.

87 It is entirely different in the 13th century. The quantity of surviving written sources gradually increases, and we often find in them information about widows and their claim to dower.

88 According to article VI of St. Stephen's law code, the monarch allowed a man to give or divide his property and grant it to his wife, sons, daughters, relations or the Church. Nobody had the right to change or cast doubt on it after his death. “*Decrevimus nostra regali potentia, ut unusquisque habeat facultatem sua dividendi, tribuendi uxori, filiis, filiabus atque parentibus sive ecclesie, nec post eius obitum quis hoc destruere audeat.*” Stephanus I: VI, DRMH I/1, p. 3. For example, a document from 1195 corresponds to this provision. The Ban of Slavonia Dominic founded the Cistercian Monastery of the Virgin Mary at Marienberg / Borsmonostor now in Austria. The foundation charter directly states that nobody should dare to violate this grant after his death. This also applied to his wife, son and other relations. “*Igitur ne aliquis unquam hominum post obitum meum, siue uxor mea, siue filius meus, uel aliquis de cognatis nostris hanc donationem meam minuire vel infringere audeat, sigilli nostri confirmatione statui roborari.*” *Árpád-kori oklevelek (Documents from the time of the Árpád dynasty) 1001 – 1196* : Chartae antiquissimae Hungariae ab anno 1001 usque ad annum 1196 (hereinafter ChAH). Ed. György Györffy. Budapest : Balassi Kiadó, 1997, no. 50, p. 99. ISBN 9635061242; ZSOLDOS, Attila. *Magyarország világi archontológiája 1000 – 1301 (Secular Archontology of Hungary 1000 - 1301)* (hereinafter MVA). Budapest : MTA Történettudományi Intézete, 2011, p. 42. ISBN 9789639627383. On medieval wills see: ŠTACHOVÁ, Nad'a. K povaze testamentů šlechtické obce ve 12. a 13. století. (On the nature of wills in the noble community in the 12th and 13th centuries.). In VOJÁČEK, Ladislav et al (eds.). *Proměny soukromného práva : Sborník příspěvků z konference ke 200. výročí vydání ABGD*. Brno : Masarykova univerzita, 2011, p. 38-41. ISBN 97880-21056138.

89 “*Sed quicquid dedi in manu uxoris mee Lucie, firmiter ac laudabiliter stabilivi, ea quoque ratione, ut, si*

would supervise the celebration of Masses for Rado's soul after his death. He divided the remaining, not precisely specified properties between his children and his wife Lucy.

The document also includes a very important provision. It states that if Lucy is still alive after Rado's death, that is as a widow, she will have the right to use her share of the property for life. However, after her death, this property will pass to the children as the legal heirs to the family property.⁹⁰

This is clear evidence of the application of the widow's portion, to which the widow had a lifelong claim after the death of her husband. After her death this part of the property had to pass to the Palatine Rado's children. We cannot determine from this document whether Lucy cared for the children after her husband's death, or care for them was left under male guardianship.

However, in this context, it is interesting that the will mentions the palatine's children as orphans (*orfani cognati, orfani nostri*). Such an unusual designation of his own children could have two explanations. They could have been older children from a previous marriage, so that Lucy as their step-mother (*noverca*) and the Latin term *orfani* was used for them. They were apparently not adults, because the palatine added a supplement to

ipsa sepevixisset, testis huius facti apud Deum et homines extitisset." *Diplomata Hungariae antiquissima accedunt epistolae et acta ad historiam Hungariae pertinentia I. (1000 – 1131)* (hereinafter DHA). Ed. Georgius Györfy. Budapest : Akadémiai Kiadó, 1992, no. 46, p. 161-162. ISBN 9630549522. On Rado see: MVA, p. 15. For example this was also how King Belo II the Blind proceeded. Sometime in the period 1131 – 1141, together with his wife Helena he agreed (*a piissimo rege Bela et eius uxore regina Elena disponendarii rerum suarum facultatem petiit*), that Andrew former Provost of Veszprém could grant three villages with their facilities to the Church of St. Martin in Arad. ChAH, no. 16, p. 53. Numerous medieval European queens were very active in founding monasteries. MACLEAN, ref. 2, p. 3-38; BERMAN, ref. 16, p. 137-149; WELLS, Scott. The Politics of Gender and Ethnicity in East Francia : The Case of Gandersheim, CA. 850 – 950. In SMITH - WELLS, *Negotiating*, ref. 16, p. 113-135. For example, sometime before 1193 Euphrosine widow of King Gejza II. founded a Hospitaller (Order of St. John) monastery at Székesfehérvár. "*Tandem domina mater nostra..., pro remedio anime sue et pro anima mariti sui...regis Geysa, ...prefatum monasterium opere desiderato compleuit, et variis possessionibus copiosius dotatum ac ditatum ob religionem et honestatem ipsius domus hospitalis perpetuis temporibus ei contulit possidendum.*" ChAH, no. 47, p. 93-96; CDH V/1, p. 212 (1272); ZSOLDOS, Attila. *Az Árpádok és asszonyaik : A királynei intézmény az Árpádok korában*. Budapest : MTA Történettudományi Intézete, 2005, p. 13, 40, 31, 33, 188. ISBN 963831298X.

90 "*Omnes vero alias possessiones meas divisi orfanis cognatis meis cum Lucia uxore mea, ut quamdy illa supervixerit, inde de illis vivat, et post suam mortem remaneant orfanis nostris.*" DHA, no. 46, p. 161-162. The situation in Bohemia was similar. For example, the magnate Nemoj, who had no heirs, wrote a will about 1100 – 1107, in which he granted his property to the Chapter of Vyšehrad. However, before this, he guaranteed all his property to his wife for as long as she remained a widow. If she married again or when she died, all the property would pass to the chapter. "*...omnem substantiam meam post mortem meam, ...dimitto uxori meae, quam diu permanserit in viduitate...Si vero nupserit vel morietur, postea sint omnia mea fratribus Wissegradensibus pro anima mea...*" *Codex diplomaticus et epistolaris regni Bohemiae I* (hereinafter CDB I.). Ed. Gustavus Friedrich. Pragae : Typis Aloisii Wieneri, 1904 – 1907, no. 100, p. 105-106. It was the same in the will of the Comes Hroznata from 1197. He also remembered his sister, who then lived in Poland. If in the future she became a widow, returned to Bohemia and remained in this state, then Chotešov with everything belonging to it would be hers. If she married again or died, the whole property would pass to the Church. "*...Soror mea, que est in Polonia, si marito superstes natale solum revisere voluerit, quamdiu in viduitate permanserit Gotossoviz cum omnibus appenditiis possideat, si vero alteri nupserit, vel in viduitate obierit, eadem bona ecclesia recipiat.*" CDB I, p. 323-324, no. 357; ŠTACHOVÁ, ref. 88, p. 39-40.

his will on their property rights. They were also certainly male because they were going to inherit the ancestral property of their father. A less probable alternative is that the children were so designated in the will already in advance or in expectation of his death. In any case, as a widow, Lucy could remain on her husband's property until the end of her life, together with the children. Part of the property was assigned to her as the widow's portion. As determined by St. Stephen's law code, her claim on Rado's property was conditional on remaining on her husband's property. Apart from this, Rado granted to the bishopric his family's Monastery of St. Demetrius together with the right of patronage over a church. He wished to be buried in this church with his wife.

In 1121, King Stephen II (1116 – 1131) confirmed the foundation of the Monastery of the Virgin Mary in Almád, which was situated in the territory of the Bishopric of Veszprém. It was founded by Ogiuz and Miško, sons of Band. The numerous properties they granted to it at this time included the manor (*predium*) of *Walus* now Vállus in the County of Zala.⁹¹ The Lady Genuru, step-mother of Ogiuz, granted it to the monastery before she left to go to Jerusalem. The property included six settlements of servants, one hide of land and two vineyards. After a description of boundaries, the document states that the woods and land of this manor were the property of his father Band. He obtained them from the king.⁹²

In this case the origin of Lady Genuru's property is not clear. Since she was the second wife of Band and only granted property that originally belonged to her husband, it could not have been her dowry. We also cannot consider the possibility that she gained it from the family property of her parents. There is a possibility that it was a partial replacement for her dowry and trousseau. It could have come from her husband before her departure for Jerusalem. The decision to visit the Holy Sepulchre was certainly motivated by repentance. Before such a long and dangerous journey, she also settled her property affairs. However, it could also be simply a gift she received from her husband before going to Jerusalem. These considerations need to be taken more as hypotheses, which cannot be either confirmed or refuted. However, it cannot have been her widow's portion. She had a claim to that only after her husband's death. The widow's portion was also tied to her presence on her husband's property. We know from this document that Band was still alive, although old and ill (*pater noster moriens*). Therefore, this possibility does not come into account.

A special case is also mentioned in the confirmation of the properties of the monastery at Bzovík in 1135 by King Belo II. the Blind (1131 – 1141). It was founded by an

91 On the manor (*predium*) see: KMTL, s. 557. SZABÓ, István. A prédiom. Vizsgálódások a korai magyar gazdaság- és település- történelem körében I, II. In *Agrártörténeti szemle*, 1963, year 5, no. 1/2, no. 3, p. 1-49, p. 301-337. ISSN 002-1105.

92 "*Predium, quod dicitur Walus, dedit domina Genuru, noverca mea eidem monasterio pro salute anime sue, quando ivit Jerusalem, cum VI mansionibus servorum et I aratro et vineis II totidemque cultoribus... Silva et terra eiusdem predii proprietatis patris nostri per gratiam regis fuit.*" DRH, no. 151, p. 411, 413; FEHÉRTŐI Katalin. *Árpád-kori személynévtár (1000-1301)* (hereinafter AKSz). Budapest : Akadémiai Kiadó, 2004, p. 330. ISBN 9630581698. On servants and slaves see: KUČERA, Matúš. *Slovensko po páde Veľkej Moravy : Štúdie o hospodárskom a sociálnom vývine v 9. – 13. storočí. (Slovakia after the fall of Great Moravia : Studies of economic and social development in the 9th – 13th centuries.)*. Bratislava : Veda, 1974, p. 280-283.

important member of the Hunt – Poznan family Lampert, together with his wife Sophia and son Nicholas. The description of the property of Senohrad states that King Koloman (1095 – 1116) originally granted it to Michael son of Salárd. He later gave it to his mother, who later granted it to the monastery. We owe this information to the detailed description of the origin of all the properties, which the monastery gained at the time of its foundation. It is a very interesting case, because we cannot determine why Michael gave this property to his mother.⁹³ As in the previous case, we could regard it as a gift, that is as a deliberate attempt by the son to provide his mother with some additional property. However, it could also be a replacement for her dowry and trousseau, given back by her son in the form of this property. Then, before her death, she granted it to the monastery.

Another interesting case happened in 1146. The Lady Scines inherited a large property from her parents. Since she had no male relations and no descendents, she granted it to the Monastery of Pannonhalma. As she directly stated in the document, she did this with the clear intention of protecting her family's property from violent seizure. Apparently in this period, such seizure was a usual occurrence in the case of properties with no male heir.⁹⁴ Scines was not a widow at the time, but the wife of Henry, who happened to be the brother of the Abbot of Pannonhalma David. Thus she did not bequeath to the monastery her dowry or trousseau, but the family property of her own father, which had legally passed to her in these special circumstances. This grant could happen (*voverem et traderem*) only after a discussion with her husband (*inito itaque salubri consilio cum marito meo*), who advised her to request permission from King Geza II. Her husband represented her before the king on this matter. This makes clear that she could not act independently in property matters, and the monarch had to give permission for the granting of family property. Only after receiving the royal approval (*accepta regali licentia*) could she write her will. As we can see in this case, a woman could have control of extensive properties in the Early Middle Ages.⁹⁵ Scines clearly feared that after the death of her husband, a stranger could gain control of this property without justification. Therefore, she preferred to grant it to Pannonhalma Abbey. However, the monastery would gain it only after her death.⁹⁶ It belonged to her until then. She could freely use it, as the will itself proves. This testifies to the subordinate position of women in Hungarian society,

93 “*Secundum praedium Zenerag, quod rex Colomannus dedit Michaeli, filio Zalardi, qui etiam matri suae dedit, mater vero predicto monasterio cum uno aratro et homine cum uxore et duobus filiis contulit et donavit.*” CDSI I, no. 74+, p. 70-71; PDSS III, no. 13, p. 57. On this see: LÁSZLÓOVÁ, Henrieta. Dejiny premonštrátskeho prepoštvá v Bzovíku. (The history of the Premonstratensian Provostry at Bzovík.). In ŠIMONČIČ, Jozef (ed.). *Studia Historica Tyrnaviensia III*. Trnava : KH FHTU, p. 113-117. ISBN 8089074634.

94 “*...quia ego Scines destituta spe sobolis hereditarie videns multos violenter vel quoquo modo succedere in hereditates aliorum, et usurpare sibi quod nullus acquisivit naturalium parentum, excogitavi sic ordinare patrimonium quod ad me pertinet hereditario iure, ut talem possim heredem habere qui me post hanc vitam participem faciat hereditatis aeternae.*” ChAH, no. 19, p. 56-57; AKSz, p. 699.

95 “*...ad ipsum praedium (property Kutas) pertinent: tria aratra cum V mansionibus XV hominum, C oves, XXX porci cum subulco, equatia XXIII equorum et equarum cum mansione trium hominum, V vineae cum V mansionibus in villa que dicitur Radi.*” Ibid.

96 “*...ut post mortem nostram absque omni perturbatione sit sub ipsius ecclesiae abbatis providential et procuracione.*” Ibid.

with men having to represent them in legal matters, but it also shows that women could inherit family property.

The next will, like the last one, does not directly concern the position of the widow in medieval Hungary. It only documents the property claim of a woman, in this case a daughter. Fulko a guest (*hospes*), came to Hungary and served first the Prince of Nitra and Bihar Álmoš (1095 – 1108).⁹⁷ From the death of Álmoš until his old age he served the Bishop of Veszprém (*usque ad senectam memoriter iocundeque servivisse*). In 1146 he granted his property to the monasteries of Pannonhalma and Vértes (*Monte Wirthis*). His wife had probably died and since he had no sons, he gave one of his properties to his daughter (*unice filie mee*). However, this property (*predium Wamma*) would belong to her only under a condition with which she herself agreed. The condition was that she would have possession of the property only after the birth of a legal heir. His daughter was apparently still unmarried, since the will does not mention a husband. However, it is possible that she was already married, but had no children, who could inherit the family property. If this did not change in the future, the property would permanently pass to Pannonhalma Abbey. In spite of this condition, Fulko gave further consideration to his daughter. Even if she did not give birth to an heir, she had a claim for life (*dum vixerit*) to receive the income from half the fruit produced by the trees on the relevant property.⁹⁸

This case shows how women were sometimes treated and what conditions were applied in cases where they had claims on their fathers' property. Inheritance was conditional on giving birth to sons, heirs for the family, who always stood higher than women, daughters or mothers.

On the other hand, clear proof of the exceptional position and significant property position of a Hungarian woman in the Early Middle Ages can be found in the will of the widow Margaret from 1152. Since she knew that she would soon be leaving this world (*victorum macula mulier sordida, memor decesionis mee ex hoc seculo*), she wanted to put her property affairs in order. Apparently because it was only a matter of her personal property and not family or hereditary property, she did not need a male representative as in the case of Lady Scines in 1146. However, the writing of her will was done in the presence of the most important men in the kingdom, namely the Archbishop of Esztergom Martirius, the Palatine and Ban Beluš, the Sheriff of Bodrog Apa and the state

97 On this person see: STEINHÜBEL, Ján. *Nitrianske kniežatstvo : Počiatky stredovekého Slovenska. (The Principality of Nitra : The beginnings of medieval Slovakia.)*. Bratislava : Veda, 2004, p. 294-300. ISBN 80-224-0812-3; KMTL, p. 63. On guests in this period see: FÜGEDI, Erik. *Das mittelalterliche Königreich Ungarn als Gastland*. In SCHLESINGER, Walter (ed.). *Die deutsche Ostsiedlung des Mittelalters als Problem der europäischen Geschichte*. Sigmaringen 1975, p. 471-481. ISBN 379956618X; LYŠÁ, Žofia. *Možnosti komunikácie pri počiatkoch mestskej society v Bratislave. (The possibilities for communication at the beginnings of urban society in Bratislava.)*. In LUKAČKA, Ján et al. *Stredoveké mesto ako miesto stretnutí a komunikácie*. Bratislava : HÚ SAV, 2010, p. 135-137. ISBN 9788097030216; ŠEDIVÝ, Juraj. *Najstarší patriciát v stredovekej Bratislave: Šľachtici alebo mešťania? (The oldest patriciate in medieval Bratislava : Noblemen or burghers?)*. In *Forum historiae*, 2008, year 2, 2008, no. 1, p. 1-11. ISSN 1337-6861. Accessible on the internet: <<http://www.forumhistoriae.sk/documents/10180/39394/Sedivy.pdf>>.

98 "*Fructuum vero [arborum]...filia autem mea, dum vixerit, alterius partis habeat potestatem.*" ChAH, no. 20, p. 58. The provision on the use of revenue from the father's property by the daughter in this case closely resembles the right of a widow to lifelong use of part of her husband's property after his death.

judge Heidricus.⁹⁹ Margaret and her late husband, whose name is not given, had only one daughter.

In the introduction, she gave her stepson Martin (*Martino filiastro meo*) three people and his wife one girl. This was everything that remained. The widow Margaret then lived on the property of her unnamed husband with her stepson and her own daughter, whose name is also unknown. The already mentioned three people and one girl given by Margaret were probably part of her personal property. Therefore, we can consider whether they were part of her dowry or trousseau. The description of her further property is evidence of this. She gave it to her daughter. The explanation of why she did this is also interesting. Since the girl lost her father, who had supported her (*educavi quandam, orbatam parente*), her mother gave her two tapestries, one necklace, two thick cloaks embroidered with gold, two rings with precious stones, three people, a silk ribbon, five tablecloths with towels and another two hundred cubits of cloth.¹⁰⁰ It is clear from the list of items that this was Margaret's personal property. It must have been her dowry and trousseau, which she brought to her marriage. She bequeathed further property to Pannonhalma Abbey and specifically to the Church of St. Martin, where she wished to be buried (*ubi sepeliar*). It comprised two families, which had to plough with eight oxen, ten cows, a hundred sheep, two people and one tapestry. She also granted to the church a servant named Peter and three other people. Peter received from his lady one ox and ten sheep. His obligation would be that every year on St. Michael's day, he had to give the church twelve cubits of cloth (*XII ulnarum tapetum*). She bequeathed specifically to the abbot of the monastery a gold chain (*auream catenam*) weighing seven marks. He would receive it for celebrating a thousand Masses for her soul (*pro mille missis celebrandis*). She left grey furs (*grisias pelles*) to the monks. She left to the monastery three families, which had the duty to provide annually one ox, three sheep, three geese, three hens, twenty mugs of beer and two hundred loaves. However, anybody who wanted to violate their personal freedom, which also applied to the abbot and to Margaret's stepson, had to be cursed and would "face the king's anger". She also left to St. Peter's in Szekesfehervár two bell ringers (*pulsatores*). The canons of Szekesfehervár received two gold bracelets (*duas armillas aureas*) and three free people with their families. Their only duties were that the women had to weave ten cubits of cloth during Lent and they had to have ten Masses celebrated for Lady Margaret.¹⁰¹

Since Margaret owned immense properties, she was certainly an important woman. It is a pity that her will does not mention her father or her husband. It would help us to give a better explanation of her exceptional property situation. In the case of the property she bequeathed to the monastery and churches, it is much more difficult to determine its type. However, we will not be far from the truth if we suppose that it was her dowry or part of her trousseau. We can also consider the possibility that Margaret received part of

99 MVA, p. 16, 26, 80, 141.

100 "Item educavi quandam, orbatam parente, tanquam filiam, huic do II cornitas, I monile, II mutatoria in aurum, II anulos, I cum viridi lapide alterum cum lorido et III homines, scilicet Arua, Legunei, Fehera, et vittam de serico, V mensalia cum manutergiis, telam CC ulnarum." ChAH, no. 24, p. 62.

101 "Item Damacham et Hovodi et Hugdi liberis esse constituo, ut nulli quicquam servicii debeant, exceptis XL diebus unaquaque mulier X vlnis de tela, et X missas pro me celebrare faciant." Ref. 100.

this property from her husband not as a replacement for her dowry, but as a gift, which may have been bequeathed to her in his will, if he was able to write one before his death. If it was otherwise, it is very strange that Margaret as a widow did not bequeath any of her property for the salvation of her husband's soul. Widows, who received substantial property from their husbands, usually did this. However, it could not have been her dower. Widows in this period had the right to lifelong use of their husbands' property, but they could not freely control or bequeath it because it was their husbands' property. We can entirely exclude this possibility. It is necessary to realize an important thing. If it was really her dower, Margaret could not have had so much control over property to which only her husband's son had a claim. He was the legal heir to the ancestral property, including his step-mother's widow's portion.

The will of Adalbert from 1153 directly documents the validity of the provisions of St. Stephen's law code on the claim of a widow to her husband's property. Adalbert served as a diplomat for King Gejza II. (1141 – 1162). In 1153 he had to travel with a message for King Roger II of Sicily. As a result, he wrote his will in case he did not return from this journey. He bequeathed part of his property to Pannonhalma Abbey and other parts to his brother Hodun and his sister's daughter Christina. He left the whole manors (*predia*) of Bolatin, Narage, Garmot, Pririza and part of an island, together with people, servants, fishermen and vineyards, to his wife, who he clearly loved very much (*pleno cordis affectu commendo*). The first two manors were apparently a personal gift to his wife and were not part of her widow's portion. She had a claim to the manors of Garmot, Pririza and the island of Obda only under the condition that she did not marry again. These were her widow's portion. If she remarried, these properties would pass into the possession of Pannonhalma Abbey. The way Adalbert justified this demand is interesting. Naturally, he accepted the freedom of his wife to decide to marry again after his death. At the same time, it was clear what would happen to her lifetime share of the property of her late husband: "*However, if she decides to get married again with a man corresponding to her level of nobility – as I know is human and I do not oppose it – I leave [them] together with the preceding manors to St. Martin [Pannonhalma Abbey].*" Adalbert also had several female servants (*ancillae*), who would pass without any conditions to his wife.¹⁰² The legal provision on the widow's portion did not apply to them. This also appears to have been a gift.

This is clear evidence that this widow also had a claim to lifelong use of her husband's property only as long as she did not marry again. As we can see from the will, Adalbert had no son and so no heir to his extensive properties. In spite of this, he did not stop hoping to have an heir. Therefore, he made an addition to the will, promising to grant one third of all his properties to St. Martin's Church, if a son was born to him during his travels. He also promised to grant freedom to three of his servants and distribute cattle, oxen, pigs, sheep and other food to the poor. As we can see, he very much wished to

102 "*Cum autem, quod humanum esse scio, nec oppono, iuxta sue nobilitatis normam viro nubere decreverit, cum supradictis prediis beato Martino commendo. Ancillas omnes, quas habeo, uxori mee concedo.*" ChAH, no. 25, p. 63-64. On the servants see: KUČERA, ref. 92, p. 293-296.

have a son, who could inherit all his property. Finally, he also gave all his books to the monastery.¹⁰³

The real application of St. Stephen's law code in Hungarian legal practice is also proved in the case of the well known will of Farkaš Poznan's son from the Hunt-Poznan family from 1164 – 1165. Since Farkaš had no descendents (*herede carens carnali*), he bequeathed his property at Slepčany and Edeci (a vanished locality in the territory of Nýrovce) to Hronský Beňadik Abbey to gain salvation for his soul and the souls of his deceased brothers and parents.¹⁰⁴ As was already usual in this period, he did not forget his wife, to whom he bequeathed the servant Deveter, who would have a duty to serve her as long as she did not marry again. If that happened, he would gain his freedom. Apart from this, he gave her the manor house with a fruit garden (*curia mea cum pomerio*), where they had lived together, including six households of free people and a mill. All this would belong to her only until she married again.¹⁰⁵ This is evidence that in the 11th – 12th centuries a widow in Hungary still did not have the right to separate her dower from her late husband's property. However, she could continue to live in her "husband's" house and enjoy lifelong use of a share of the revenue from the property as stated in his will. All this was tied to the period she remained a widow. If she married again, she lost the right to this property, just as was enacted in the oldest Hungarian law codes.

We do not know what happened to the wife of Farkaš. However, like the above mentioned Adalbert, he certainly counted on the possibility that his wife would marry again after his death. It was an entirely normal practice in this period. For this reason, he did not neglect to set conditions in his will regarding her claim to property after his death.

We already stated that women often outlived their husbands and so there were many widows in early medieval society. Naturally, the opposite situation also occurred. The will of Benedict Sheriff of Veszprém from 1171 provides an example. In his case, we want to point to the situation in which a widower without the prospect of an heir could be placed, and how he strove to resolve his difficult position. Since he had no sons, he gave some of his property to St. Michael's Church in Veszprém. He also bequeathed a considerable part of his property to his daughter without any additional conditions concerning ownership. He left one manor (*predium*) to his brothers. Since he was a widower and apparently of advanced age, he naturally could not expect to have a son born to him. Therefore, he accepted his brother's son Egidius as his legal heir, who was to receive three whole manors.¹⁰⁶ This is evidence of the great importance medieval society attribu-

103 "*Quod si deus misericordite, heredem, quam expecto mihi tribuerit, duas partes omnium meorum ipse habeat, terciam ecclesia beati Martini...Peccora, boves, porcos, oves et reliqua victui pauperum dispono. Omnes libros, quos proprios habeo, ecclesie beati Martini commendo.*" ChAH, no. 25, p. 63-64.

104 "*...ego Forcos, filius Poznan, herede carens carnali, predium meum, ... pro salvatione anime mee, fratrum meorum, necnon et parentum meorum conferens, dedi...*" CDS I, no. 88, p. 84-85; LUKAČKA, Ján. *Formovanie vyššej šľachty na západnom Slovensku. (The formation of the aristocracy in western Slovakia).* Bratislava : Minor, 2002, p. 33. ISBN 8090140785.

105 "*Preterea unum servientem meum, Deveter nomine, tali libertate dotavi, ut quamdiu uxor mea non nupserit, sibi serviat, taliter et curiam meam predictam cum sex mansionibus libertinorum et molendinum, quod predicto sancto obtuli, cum duabus molis uxor mea quousque nupserit habeat.*" Ref. 104.

106 "*De cetero scire etiam debetis, quod ego Benedic filium fratris mei Egidium mihi in filium adoptionis legi, dedique sibi tria predia: Bala, Cophus, Luos.*" ChAH, no. 37, p. 78-79; MVA, p. 227.

ted to male descendents. They were the continuers of the family (*genus, generatio*) line and the only possible heirs capable of securing its continuation into the future. Therefore, a lot of emphasis was placed on their inheritance. Since Benedict could not leave his property to a son, he solved it in the usual way, which was the most advantageous to the family in such cases. It kept the property in the male line of the family by giving it to the brother's son (*frater patruelis*), who was regarded as the closest family and this was the best solution for the needs of the whole family.¹⁰⁷

Stephen son of the *comes* Myška did the same when he wrote his will about 1170 – 1172. He did not have a son, so he left the family property at Mogoroy to his nephew Oguz (Ocuz), who became Stephen's legal heir (*in heredem ascivi*). The family property remained in the possession of the family. Apart from this, Stephen gave Oguz further properties: the manor (*predium*) of Mura, the land of Karapuna, his part of the manor of Gungus and many servants. He also left property to individual religious institutions. The will states that Stephen did this with the required approval from the king, bishops and dignitaries.¹⁰⁸

However, this will is also interesting from another point of view. It contains the first known example in Hungarian legal practice of application of the claim of a widow to a dower (*dotalitium*). This already involved the real separation of the widow's portion from the husband's property. Stephen left it to his wife already during his life, although she could freely control it only after his death. The will is also notable because it states the origin of some of the properties it bequeaths. We rarely encounter this in such sources. It can give us a better idea of what types of property were assigned to the wife.

Stephen had apparently already granted family properties to religious institutions, probably for the salvation of his soul. The manor (*predium*) of Cylu, which he granted to his wife as her dower (*dedit uxori mee pro dotalibus*), may have had such an origin. It was a property with the size of two hides and included four households, 50 pigs and 100 sheep. A dower was certainly assigned to a widow from her husband's family property. It was already different in the case of the manor of Narhag, which Stephen could have gained from the King of Hungary in return for military service, and which he also gave to his wife. This time it was not her dower, but only a gift. He may have given it to improve her position when she became a widow. However, it is necessary to realize that it was a landed property similar in size to that she received as her dower. He also gave or rather returned to her, the manor of Ziget, which she had bought with her own money (*cum propria pecunia sua comparavit*). This appears to have been money inherited from her family. However, she could have inherited land, which she and her husband sold to obtain the money. The possibility that it was her dowry should also be taken into account. In later periods, parents often paid their daughters' dowries in money. All the alternatives are possible because the personal property of a woman belonged to her, but during her

107 FÜGEDÍ, ref. 12, p. 57-59; LUBY, Štefan. *Dejiny súkromného práva na Slovensku. (The history of private law in Slovakia.)* Bratislava : Iura Edition, 2002, p. 300-302. ISBN 8089047483.

108 "Predium, quod dicitur Mogoroy dedi nepoti meo, filio fratris mei Ocuz, quem in heredem ascivi, cum I aratro et II mancipiis et III vineis. Predium de Mura dedi nepoti meo...terram de Karapuna...nepoti meo concessi. In predio Gungus meam portionem etiam nepoti meo dedi...Hec omnia statuta mea prefatus dominus meus rex Stephanus coram magnatibus suis... affirmari precepi." ChAH, no. 36, p. 77.

marriage her husband controlled it. Therefore, he specifically gave it to her or returned it, so that the position with regard to this property would be clear after his death. Finally, she received the manor of Zanca from Stephen. It was as large as all the preceding given properties.¹⁰⁹ This last property was certainly only a gift from the husband and had nothing to do with the dower.

When we look more closely at the extent of the properties that Stephen's wife was to gain according to the will, we see that they really were very large. She could freely control them after the death of her husband. A widow, who had the good fortune of receiving, thanks to her husband, her dower or former properties, not only had control of her further destiny, but also acquired real power in her immediate surroundings. The case of Stephen's wife and her claim to a dower is the only direct example from the 11th – 12th century. Other wills provide no similar information.

For example, in 1172 Conrad (*regis iobagio*), who served King Stephen III (1162 – 1172), feeling the approach of the end of his life, wrote his will to settle his worldly affairs. He bequeathed his whole property to Pannonhalma Abbey. Since he had no sons, he gave one manor from his property to four nephews in the family interest. Such a procedure was entirely usual in such cases. The abbey and the nephews would be able to claim these properties only after the deaths of Conrad and his wife.¹¹⁰ Although the will does not directly confirm it, Conrad's wife, like any widow, would have had the right to lifelong use of her husband's property, as stated in St. Stephen's law code.

Caba had a similar fate. He also lacked heirs (*ut quoniam expers heredis eram*) and so his will from about 1177 bequeathed his whole property of a hundred morgens to Pannonhalma Abbey. He had only one condition: He would continue to own it as long as he and his wife lived. If his wife Edlelmes became a widow, she had the right to keep the property for life under the protection (*sub protectione*) of the abbot and monks of the abbey.¹¹¹

This case, like those considered above, documents the application of the provision of St. Stephen's law code, and not only that. *Caba's* specific request for the protection of his widow is a good example of how widows really needed protection from the surrounding world and its dangers. The abbot clearly had to supervise the property to ensure that nobody unjustifiably seized it at the expense of the widow. Obviously, the abbey would also be defending its own interests, since the property would eventually be its own.

The sale of the manor of Zeles in 1181 is an interesting example of the independent action of a woman in early medieval Hungary, even during the lifetime of her husband. Lady Froa, wife of Marcellus, sold it. The sale contract states that when Froa approached

109 "*Predium, quod dicitur in Cylu, dedi uxori mee pro dotalibus cum II aratris et IIII mancipiis et L porcis et C ovibus. Predium, quod dicitur Narhag, quod servitio meo acquisivi, uxori mee concessi cum II aratris et IIII mancipiis et cum omnibus, que in eo continentur. Predium de Ziget, quod uxor mea cum propria pecunia sua comparavit, cum omnibus, que in eo sunt, eidem uxori mee concessi. Predium de Zanca dedi uxori mee cum II aratris et IIII mancipiis et IIII vineis.*" Ref. 108.

110 "...sed post obitum meum et uxoris mee...relinquo..." ChAH, no. 38, p. 80; CDS I, no. 92, p. 88-89. (manors (predia) of Hecse and Čičov).

111 "...ut quoad viverem cum coniuge mea possiderem, post obitum meum, si Edlelmes coniunx mea super-viveret, et ipsa similiter possideret, tamen sub protectione sancti Martini et abbatis et fratrum eiusdem monasterii." ChAH, no. 39, p. 81; AKSz, p. 441, 268.

King Bela III (1173 – 1196), she wanted at first to give this property to the Hospitaller Knights. After some time, she reconsidered her decision and decided to sell it for 120 marks to the Palatine Farkaš. It is worth noticing the colourful statement on the honourable behaviour of the palatine, who acted fairly and justly in relation to this purchase. He obtained the property conscientiously, by legal purchase in return for money.¹¹²

This supplement may be only a pictorial justification, as was regularly added when writing such contracts. However, it may also be a special note connected with the fact that a purchase of property from a woman was involved. Such cases did not occur often. Therefore, this sale contract included a supplement stating that everything was in order and without any notable problems. However, it is notable that Froa was not represented by a man when carrying out this transaction. For this reason, the origin of the property is unclear. When seeking the answer to this question, we can only repeat that it could have been one of several types of property, as we noted in the cases of Lady Scines and Lady Margaret.

As we mentioned, information about women appears in medieval sources only rarely. This also applies to the wife of Čánád from the Hunt-Poznan family. If it were not for her son, we would know nothing about her. Her branch of the family had a sad fate. There was only one son, Stojslav and he was fatally injured during an expedition of King Bela III. Before his departure, he wrote a will and its content was confirmed by Bela III in 1185. We learn from it that his father Čánád gave his wife the manor of Nitrianská Blatnica. Before her death, she bequeathed it to the monastery of St. Hypolitus on Zobor.¹¹³ Everything suggests that we have here indirect evidence of dower. Although the will says nothing, it is actually possible to consider this possibility. The progression would be as follows. Since she gained the property only after the death of her husband Čánád, she certainly used it as a widow. The fact that she was able to bequeath it to the monastery of Zobor shows that she not only had the right to use it for life, but it was really her property. If she had not really owned it, she would not have been able to bequeath it.

The knight of King Emerich (1196 – 1204) Joachim (*miles noster*) found himself in a similar position as a person without legal heirs (*homo sine herede*).¹¹⁴ Expecting the end of his life, he and his wife Anglia write their will in 1199. It is interesting mainly because not only Joachim but also Anglia gave her own property to St. Michael's Church in Veszprém. As usual, these properties only passed into the possession of the church

112 “*Quedam vero domina nomine Froa, uxor Marcelli prepositi, ad me regem Bela venit, dicens quia proposuerat dare domui hospitali quoddam predium vocatum Zeles, procedente autem tempore illud suum propositum mutare illi placuit. Habito itaque super hoc consilio nostri et episcoporum... domina prefata predium superius nominatum vendidit CXX marcis meo comiti palatino Farcasio, quem constat esse iusticie filium, veritatis alumpnum, qui manu violentie nulla sibi vindicat, sed que aliunde precio acquirit, pecunia iuste adquisita adipiscitur.*” ChAH, no. 40, p. 82-83; AKSz, p. 317; MVA, p. 16.

113 “*Hec est autem eorum or[dinacio: Agens in extremis iam dictus Stoyslov sponte confessus extitisset matri sue patrem suum videlicet Sanad] donasse predium, quod dicitur Sarfew, quod quidem [predium mater eius post obi]tum suum donavit ecclesie sancti Ipoliti de Zobur...*” CDS I, no. 97, p. 91-92; LUKAČKA, ref. 104, p. 52-53.

114 On the term miles see: KMTL, p. 457-458; HUNYADI, Zsolt. *Maiores, Optimates, Nobiles : Semantic Questions in the Early History of the Hungarian Nobility*. In SEBŐK, Marcell (ed.). *Annual of Medieval Studies at CEU 1996/1997*. Budapest : CEU, 1998, p. 205-206. ISSN 1219-0618; RADY, ref. 66, p. 128-129.

after the death of both spouses.¹¹⁵ However, it does not say anything specific about her dower. We also cannot ascertain whether she had a claim to lifelong use of a share of her husband's property after his death. However, it is entirely possible that she received her dower from her husband even earlier, so that it could have been included in the property she bequeathed to the church.

We will devote specific attention only to the properties identified in the will as her share. She gave to St. Michael's Church the manors (*predia*) of Belch and Kalu. They included land, meadows, fruit trees (*fructiferas arbores totaliter*), ploughmen, wine producers together with their families, a stableman (*argasonus*) with 30 mares and shepherds. In contrast to the descriptions of properties in wills considered above, the account of Lady Anglia's property is very detailed. This concerns especially the setting of the specific duties of the *exequiatores*.¹¹⁶ When granting two families of these servants, she freed the son of one of them and gave him four oxen. These families always had to take to the church a fattened ox, a pig, five geese, ten hens, 100 loaves and 40 jugs of wine on the anniversary of the lady's death, apparently when a Mass for her soul was celebrated.¹¹⁷ Apart from this, she ordered that after her death and the death of her husband, three servants had to hang tapestries over their graves, light three candles and wash the altar coverings. They had to do this at the time of commemoration of their souls, that is before Mass was celebrated in the church. However, some of them were granted their freedom. Apart from this, the above mentioned stableman had to take four foals each year from his thirty mares. The foals had to be sold so that wax for candles on the grave of the lady and her husband could be bought with the money. She also gave the church three tapestries for the wall and two woolen carpets.¹¹⁸

This information shows how wives and widows strove to achieve the salvation of their souls. For this purpose they left resources for the celebration of Masses with the aim of gaining spiritual mercy after death. Anglia also thought of the salvation of her

115 "...militi nostro Iwachin videlicet nec non uxori eiusdem Anglie, data te temporalibus suis disponendi licentia modum dispositionis eorum immortalibus litterarum notulis commisimus. Predictus siquidem Jowachin, homo sine herede, fallacem humane condicionis statum considerans ne succedentibus alienis heredibus usum possessionis sue vel morturus ammitteret... ecclesie sancti Michaelis de Vesprim taliter devovit, ut quamdiu ipse vel uxor suis in carnis sue degeret ergastulo, victui necessaria de rebus suis perciperet, ipsis autem mortuis tota eorum possessio in predictae dominium cederet ecclesie." *Codex diplomaticus patrius V* (hereinafter CDP). Eds. Arnoldus Ipolyi, Emericus Nagy, Desiderius Véghely. Győr : Typis Victoris Sauervein, 1873, no. 1, p. 1-4; CDH IX/7, no. 5, p. 636-640; RRSa I/1, no. 183, p. 55; CDS I, no. 112, p. 100; AKSz, p. 67, 434.

116 In the early medieval Kingdom of Hungary and Kingdom of Bohemia *exequiatores*, in Slovak *dušníci*, were serfs, who were given often with land to the Church for the salvation of donor's soul) On *dušníci* see: KUČERA, ref. 92, p. 41, 88, 305-307.

117 "*Ibidem etiam dedit duos exequiales... Nam tertium filium, videlicet Scereda, liberum omnino dimisit, dans ei quatuor boves... Hii itaque duo exequiales annuatim tenentur exequias celebrare pro domina sua vno pingui bove, vno porco, quinque anseribus, decem gallinis, centum panibus, quadraginta idrys vini...*" CDP V, no. 1, p. 3-4.

118 "*Instituit etiam tres ancillas..., ut post obitum suum et mariti sui, in festiuis diebus super sepulturas eorum ponant tapetia et ad altare dent tres candelas, et lavent copertoria altaris... ex quibus quatuor poledros ad emendum ceram ad sepulturam suam et mariti sui annuatim deputavit, quemdam quoque nomine Bugard pastorem unum dedit. Dedit et eidem ecclesie tres cortinas et duo tapetia.*" Ref. 117.

husband and took care over his monument. However, Joachim did nothing similar in the same will. He apparently left spiritual matters to his wife.

We cannot determine the origin of the property bequeathed to the church because the document does not tell us. We can realistically suppose that what she bequeathed was her whole property. The tapestries and carpets could have been part of her trousseau or dowry. We could easily assign the female servants to this type of property. On the other hand, ownership of land and of people associated with it may be evidence of dower. However, we do not have sufficient information to confirm these considerations. Whatever was the actual situation, nothing changes the fact that in her will, Anglia bequeathed her own property together with her husband while her husband was still alive. It is the second case of a woman in early medieval Hungary bequeathing property during her husband's lifetime. We find nothing like this in the surviving source materials until the end of the 12th century.

Sometime between 1206 and 1218, Ivan, a knight of the Lord King and Lord Archbishop Bertold of Kalocsa (*Iwan miles domini regis et domini archiepiscopi Bertoldi Colocensis*) wrote a will in which he bequeathed all his property to the archbishop. At the same time, he entrusted his wife and young sons to the archbishop's protection (*in manus domini mei archiepiscopi Colocensis ad defendendum uxori mee et pueris meis post obitum meum ordinavi*). Ivan's wife planned to remain on her husband's property and apparently did not attempt to leave it in the near future. The reason was probably his immature sons, whose upbringing he wanted to properly secure. Ivan was striving to secure protection for his wife and children in the event of his death. Therefore, he entrusted them to the care of his lord, the Archbishop of Kalocsa, who would become the guardian of his young sons. This would certainly only apply to the period until the sons reached their majority. Whether this solution was advantageous for his wife or not is difficult for us to judge. Since she intended to remain on her husband's property with their children as a widow under the protection of an important and powerful man, the Archbishop of Kalocsa, her position would not suffer much.

This will is also the first direct evidence from Hungary that the rights of immature sons had to be secured by a high ecclesiastical dignitary. It is also interesting because Ivan still had two male cousins from the male line of his family (*consobrini*). One of them could have become the guardian of Ivan's young sons. However, he clearly excluded this possibility. Probably he feared their claims to the property that was supposed to pass to his sons when they grew up. Apart from this, he felt a real threat from his two stepsons (*filiastres mei duo scilicet Ratolt et Laurencius*), who were certainly already adults. As a result, the archbishop was definitely the best guarantee that the heritage of Ivan's sons would be preserved.¹¹⁹

As in some of the previous cases, the claim of the widow to a dower is not mentioned. The only indirect sign that Ivan could actually have assigned one to her is the specific data about his landed property. Although the will states that the whole property is temporarily placed under the administration of the archbishop, in reality only half was

119 Magyar Országos Levéltár Budapest, Diplomatikai Levéltár, sign. 782. CDAC I, no. 126, p. 214; CDAC XI, no. 198, p. 283-284; MVA, p. 84.

involved. Who would get the other half is not mentioned.¹²⁰ Therefore, it is very probable that the other half passed to Ivan's wife as her dower. The property to be administered by the archbishop included two corn mills, nine vineyards and another three, which Ivan had established and cultivated himself. Apart from this, he decided that the servant Peter and Peter's son Vid would serve his sons, but Peter's daughter would be granted her freedom. After Ivan's death, his widow would set aside from the manor of Jorunberc: two vineyards, two meadows and three horses. These would serve as a gift to the Church for the salvation of Ivan's soul. Therefore, as a widow, she had the duty to care for the spiritual wellbeing of her deceased husband. Everything necessary had to be secured from specific property assigned to this purpose.

The will of Obuš (Opus) a canon of Ráb (Győr) from 1210 bequeathed part of his property and servants to Pannonhalma Abbey. He did not forget his wife and daughter, who would receive twelve freemen, servants of both sexes and vineyards. However, the will also gives some very important information, namely that from his land, he gave his wife and daughter their property shares. This is evidence of assignment of the dower and girl's quarter, in spite of the fact that they are not directly mentioned under the terms *dos*, *dotalitium* and *quarta filialis*. A simple fact leads us to this. Obuš assigned to them shares of his landed property, which they could freely control. Such cases are frequently found in sources from the 13th century. However, he set one condition. If they wanted to sell these lands and his relations did not want to buy them, they could be sold only to St. Martin's Church in Pannonhalma. The mention of repurchase of property of Obuš's family is evidence that it was really a case of dower. The right of relations of a widow's late husband to repurchase family property appeared very frequently in the succeeding centuries.¹²¹

The turning point after which the sources contain more frequent mention of dower is the beginning of the 13th century. We can find evidence of this from the entries in the Oradea (Varadin) register, which includes records concerning widows and their property claims.

For example, in 1215 it mentions that Demetrius from the village of Nazalas accused Joanko and Urban from the village of Ebes. They were striving to evade the property claims after the death of Demetrius' brother. Demetrius was the brother of the deceased husband of the sister of Joanko. The widow, apparently under pressure from her brother, had got married again to Urban. The reason for the dispute was mainly that after the death of her husband, the widow had taken 30 marks in cash and gone to live with her brother. The money did not belong to her, because it was property to which Demetrius had a legal claim as the next of kin of the dead man. The widow had taken the money without justification when she left her late husband's property. Later she married Urban.

120 *"In predio quod uocatur Jorunberc dimidios redditus. In Gerolt dimidios redditus. In Luceman dimidios redditus."* Ref. 119.

121 *"In terra que eum contingebat desposuit uxori sue, et filie taliter, ut si uxor eius vel filia aliquando terram hanc vendere vellent, et cognati sui ad se redimere nollent, tunc nonnisi ecclesie beati Martini vendere possent. Similiter dixit de libertinis illis, quos eis assignavit."* CDAC I, no. 60, p. 105-106; MVA, p. 604. On the girl's quarter see: BANYÓ, Péter. Birtoköröklés és leánynegyed : Kísérlet egy középkori jogintézmény értelmezésére. In *Aetas*, 2000, year. 15, no. 3, p. 57-92. ISSN 1587-1258; RADY, ref. 66, p. 103.

When the case was solved before the court, Joanko and Urban had to return the money by giving Demetrius one servant and one domestic, with a probable total value of 20 marks. This was equal to his share of his deceased brother's property. However, a part of the sum of 30 marks belonged to the widow of Demetrius' brother as dower (*pro dotalitiis vero glotis Demetrii*). Therefore, she received one domestic, very probably with a value of 10 marks.¹²²

This record indicates that the value of the dower in Hungary usually corresponded to one third of the property of the husband. It shows that by the beginning of the 13th century, dower was starting to appear in a form closer to that found later.

Another similar case dates from 1216. It concerns Andrew Scerben's son, who went to Jerusalem and did not return. However, he freed his wife from their marriage and gave her permission to marry again. At the same time, he gave her two families of servants. This woman was represented in court by her brother Stephen. The register states that the servants were assigned to her as dower to pay the debt her former husband owed to her.¹²³

A source from 1221 provides important evidence that by the beginning of the 13th century widows in Hungary usually applied their right to dower. The *comes* Sol issued a will in which he bequeathed part of his extensive properties in the County of Zala to St. Mary's Church in Almád. Apart from this, he gave his wife dower (*pro dote*) in the form of two hides of land, eight vineyards and two farms. He gave the rest of his property to his four daughters, because he had no male descendants.¹²⁴

Finally, we will mention a case from 1222. The widow of the late Zachariah (*sine omni haerede mortuo*), who had already married again to Miko Nicholas' son, claimed her dower (*pro dotalitiis praefatae mulieris*). Zachariah's father John and uncle Iromus had to provide it. The former widow was represented in the case by her new husband Miko and her brother Paul. The matter was so serious that the dispute had to be solved by the Bishop of Oradea Alexander. He entrusted the case to Stephen, archdeacon of Oradea and steward. John and Iromus testified before the court that they had already given the woman her dower in the past in the presence of witnesses. However, the plaintiffs denied it. Therefore, Zachariah's father and uncle had to call the witnesses again. They all had to swear on the grave of St. Ladislav in Oradea. The dispute was concluded in favour of John and Iromus, who succeeded in proving their claim.¹²⁵

122 "...gloti autem suae traderent pedisequam, nomine Ticuram, et iidem pristaldo satisfacerent, iudici autem Demetrii teneretur." *Regestrum Varadinense examinum ferri candentis ordine chronologico digestum, descripta effigie editionis A. 1550 illustratum* (hereinafter RV). Eds. Joannis Karácsonyi, Samuelis Borovszky. Budapest: Typis Victoris Hornyánszky, 1903, no. 134/283, p. 201; *Codex diplomaticus Transsylvaniae: Diplomata, epistolae et alia instrumenta litteraria res Transsylvanas illustrantia I. (1023–1300)*. Ed. Sigismundus Jakó. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1997, no. 83, p. 145 (1215). ISBN 9630574845.

123 "Uxor autem sua contestata est per fratrem suum Stephanum, absoluisse maritum suum a coniugio suo, et ab omni dote omnique debito, in quo maritus eius ei tenebatur, asserens, se contentam esse duobus illis capitibus hominum, quos maritus suus ei contulit." RV, no. 160/240, p. 210; AKSz, p. 697.

124 "Item vxori suae pro dote praedium Egrug cum duobus aratris, et octo vineis, duobus mancipiis, contulit..." CDH III/1, p. 325-326; RRSa I/1, no. 371, p. 123; AKSz, p. 723; RADY, ref. 66, p. 106.

125 "Illi vero coram illo constituti responderunt, se dotes illas totaliter persolvisse coram idoneis testibus de provincia ipsorum... Qui omnes, cum ad sepulchrum sancti Ladislai regis iuraturi accessissent..." RV, no.

The process of legislative definition of the right of women to part of their husbands' property if they were widowed was officially completed by the twelfth article of the Golden Bull from 1222. It states that a woman, whose husband has died and who has no children from him, cannot be deprived of her claim to dower (*dos*).¹²⁶ It is the first legal protection of the right of widows to property, which had clearly often been denied to them in the past. After this year, we can already find in the sources frequent cases solving the demands of widows to obtain their dower after the death of their husbands. As in other areas of property law, they began to use documents to a larger extent as legal evidence in the case of lack of clarity with regard to dower.

In conclusion, we can state that the right of a woman to her widow's portion was already established in St. Stephen's law code. The articles on widows of this law code very probably had their prototype in the *Lex Baiuvariorum*. This also concerned the claim of the widow to her husband's property after his death. On the basis of the surviving wills from the 11th and 12th centuries, we succeeded in proving that the legal norms on widows in St. Stephen's law code were really applied during the whole of the early medieval period. Although opposing views have recently been expressed,¹²⁷ at least the cases involving widows clearly prove that St. Stephen's law code was not only an "empty or symbolic" legal norm in Hungary. The claim of widows to dower, which was separated from the husband's property and could be freely used by the woman, gradually began to appear in the second half of the 12th century. Apart from this, the old tradition of the widow's portion, which allowed the widow to go on living on the property of her late husband as long as she did not marry again, still continued. Therefore, it is possible to say that in harmony with development in other countries, the claim of the widow to a real, distinct widow's portion from her late husband's property, later known as the dower (*dos, dotalitiium*), began to be applied by the end of the 12th and beginning of the 13th century. This development culminated in the issuing of the Golden Bull of 1222, where the claim of the widow to dower after the death of her husband was legally enacted for the first time.

The wills examined here also offered us a unique possibility to trace the destiny of some women from the Kingdom of Hungary in the Early Middle Ages. It is surprising how many of them controlled large properties, produced their own wills and bequeathed their personal property to the Church or to relations. Some gained from their husbands landed property to support them in their difficult times as widows. Ladies such as Lucy, Genuru, Scines, Edlelmes, Froa and Anglia, if we only mention those we know by name, were women about whom we know something in spite of the fact that very few written sources survive from early medieval Hungary. There were certainly more exceptional

340/247, p. 282. AKSz, p. 428, 837. MVA, p. 98.

126 CDSI I, no. 270, p. 200; DRMH I/1, 1222: 12, p. 33; LACLAVÍKOVÁ, ref. 51, p. 65-66, 120-121.

127 GÁBRIŠ, Tomáš. Mikrosonda do sankčného systému arpádovského súdництва. (A micro-sounding into the system of judicial sanctions under the Arpád dynasty.). In *Historický časopis*, 2008, year 56, no. 4, p. 620-621. ISSN 0018-2575. However, it is necessary to say that the author directed attention only to the application of sanctions in the solution of disputes. As he himself states, very little relevant evidence survives from the Early Middle Ages.

women and widows in Hungary, but no sources about them have survived. It would certainly be interesting to present further surprising information about women and widows in medieval society. They may have shared similar fates to those about whom at least a little information has survived.

* The study originated in the framework of the project VEGA 2/0061/11 *People and the world of animals in the Middle Ages*.

RECHTLICHE STELLUNG EINER WITWE IN MITTELALTERLICHEN UNGARN BIS ZU 1222 UND DIE FRAGE DES LEIBGEDINGES.

PAVOL HUDÁČEK

Das Recht der Frau auf ihren Witwenanteil wurde bereits im Gesetzbuch von St. Stephan verankert. Als Vorlage für die erwähnten Artikel des Gesetzbuches über die Witwen diente höchst wahrscheinlich Lex Baiuvariorum. Sie behandelten auch die Vermögensansprüche einer Witwe nach dem Tod ihres Mannes. Aufgrund der erhalten gebliebenen Testamente aus dem 11. – 12. Jahrhundert konnten wir beweisen, dass die Rechtsnormen über die Witwen im Gesetzbuch von St. Stephan während der ganzen frühmittelalterlichen Periode auch tatsächlich angewendet wurden. Obwohl es heutzutage auch widersprüchliche Meinungen auftauchen, mindestens die Fälle von Witwen belegen die Tatsache, dass das Gesetzbuch von St. Stephan in Ungarn nicht nur eine „leere oder symbolische“ Rechtsnorm war. Die Witwenansprüche auf das Leibgedinge, das für sie aus dem Vermögen ihres Ehemannes ausgesondert wurde und worüber sie frei verfügen konnten, tauchen erst in der zweiten Hälfte des 12. Jahrhunderts allmählich auf. Außerdem existierte immer noch die alte Tradition des Witwenanteils, die Möglichkeit auf dem Gut des ehemaligen Ehemannes lebenslang zu wohnen, unter der Bedingung, dass die Frau nicht wieder heiraten wird. Im Einklang mit der Entwicklung in den anderen Ländern lässt sich zu sagen, dass bereits an der Wende des 12. und 13. Jahrhunderts beginnt sich deutlicher der Witwenanspruch auf reale Aussonderung des Witwenanteils aus dem Vermögen ihres Ehemannes, später als Leibgedinge (dos, dotalitium) bekannt, durchzusetzen. Diese Entwicklung wurde durch den Erlass der Goldenen Bulle im Jahr 1222 vollendet, wo zum ersten Mal der Witwenanspruch auf das Leibgedinge (dos) nach dem Tod ihres Ehemannes rechtlich verankert wurde. Es ist der erste gesetzliche Schutz der Vermögensrechte der Witwen, die ihnen früher oft verweigert wurden. Beginnend mit diesem Jahr findet man in den Quellen schon regelmäßig die Lösung der Witwenanforderungen auf Leibgedinge nach dem Ehemannstod. Die erhaltenen Testamente bieten uns auch die einzigartige Möglichkeit, die Schicksale einigen ungarischen Frauen im frühen Mittelalter zu verfolgen. Es ist überraschend, wie viele über ein großes Vermögen verfügten, eigene Testamente erließen und ihr persönliches Vermögen an die Kirche und die Verwandten hinterließen. Einige bekamen von ihren Ehemännern Ländereien, die ihnen später während des schwierigen Witwendaseins helfen sollten. Die Frauen wie Lucia, Genuru, Scines, Edlelmes, Froa und Anglia gehören zu den Frauen, über die wir etwas erfahren konnten, obwohl aus dem frühmittelalterlichen Ungarn nur wenige Schriftstücke erhalten blieben.

Mgr. Pavol Hudáček, PhD.

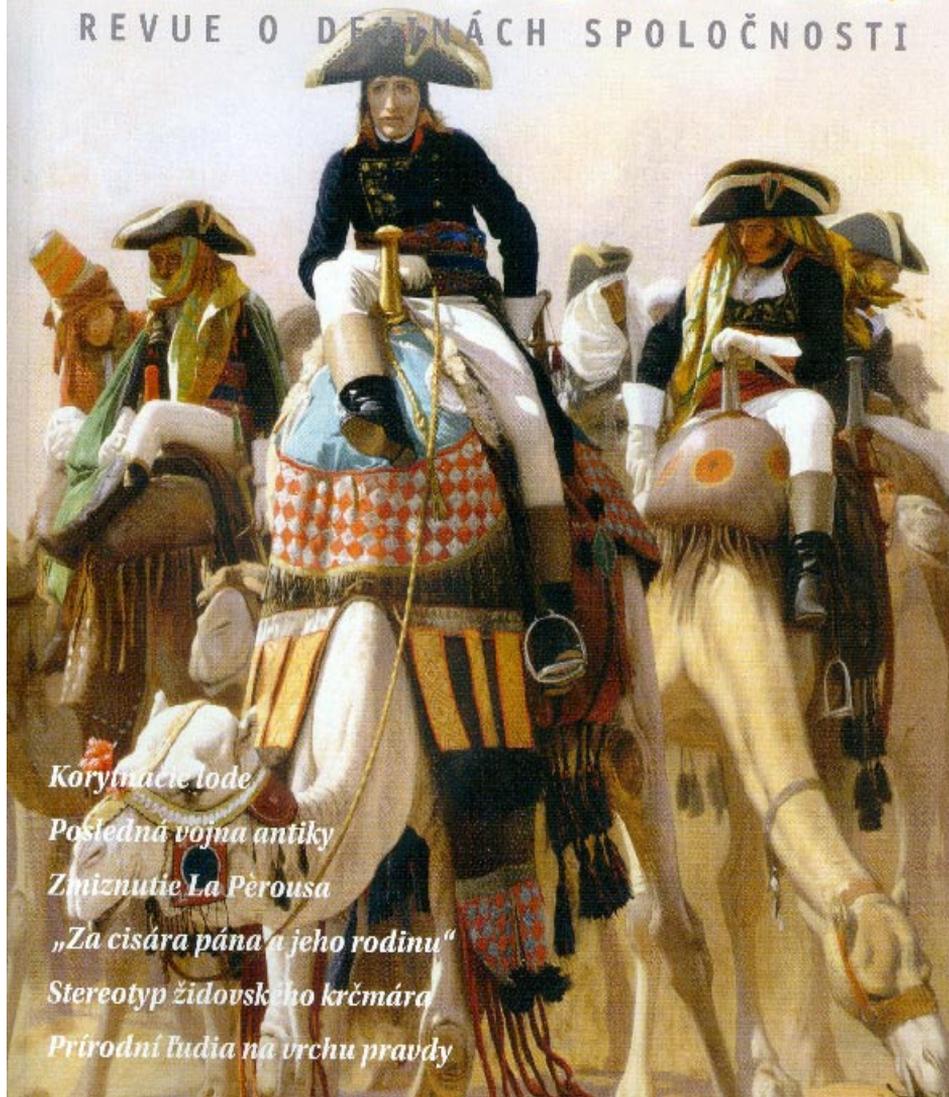
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REVUE O DEJINÁCH SPOLOČNOSTI



Korytnacie lode

Posledná vojna antiky

Zmiznutie La Pèrousa

„Za cisára pána a jeho rodinu“

Stereotyp židovského krčmára

Prírodní ľudia na vrchu pravdy

“*CUIUSCUMQUE NATIONIS HOMINES, SAXONES VIDELICET, HUNGARII, SCLAIUI SEU ALII.*” ETHNICITY REFLECTED IN THE RULES OF LAW AND OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS OF MEDIEVAL HUNGARY

MIROSLAV LYSÝ

LYSÝ, Miroslav. “Cuiuscumque nationis homines, Saxones videlicet, Hungarii, Sclaiui seu alii.” Ethnicity reflected in the Rules of Law and Official Documents of Medieval Hungary. *Historický časopis*, 2014, 62, Supplement, pp. 41-57, Bratislava.

The study is concerned with the question of the existence of nations in the Kingdom of Hungary especially in the Middle Ages and mainly on the basis of legal norms and official documents. Therefore, it considers the relationship between the *Natio Hungarica* and the other nations, as well as the terms *populus*, *natio* and *gens*. The study also asks how long this “medieval” model of the relationship of the country and nations persisted, and which substantial social changes played a role in the context of the origin and changes of the concept of the nations of the Kingdom of Hungary.

Nation. *Natio*. *Gens*. *Populus*. Kingdom of Hungary. Ethnicity.

A state is reasoned or apologized by a principle of being created by “its” nation. In the modern era, this concept is linked to the institute of the right of nation to self-determination. Of course, in reality it is much more complex, as a nation could have arisen prior to the rise of “its” state, or, on the contrary, a nation could be born towards an already existing state. In the latter case it is also of significance that the nationality (*nationalité*) is practically identical with citizenship.¹

However, we do not tent to deal with the issues of nations and states² in earlier periods as in these times nationalism primarily did not seem to play an important role at the first sight and a nation was not supposed to be a key dynamic element in history. If we still believe that state was literally owned by monarch in the era of so-called patrimonial state³, logically this monarch should have been the supreme (the sole?) subject of statehood. Nevertheless, even in the most absolutistic system monarch is just a representative and while taking use of the theoretic concept of a divine source of power, he rules on behalf of somebody. On behalf of whom did Hungarian monarchs rule? To whom?

1 RYCHLÍK, Jan. *Češi a Slováci ve 20. století. Česko-slovenské vztahy 1914 – 1945 (The Czechs and the Slovaks in the Twentieth Century. Czecho-Slovak Relationships 1914-1945)*. Bratislava : Academic Electronic Press Bratislava; ÚT GM, 1997, p. 15-17. ISBN 8088880106.

2 Here, it should be noted that both terms, the nation and the state, may look anachronically in regard to their contemporary meaning and thus be misleading, therefore they should be understood in their original meaning, i.e. *regnum*, *gens*, (or *natio*).

3 I expressed my doubt to the patrimonial state understood in this way in my paper LYSÝ, Miroslav. K otázce vlastnických vztahov v Uhorsku v 11. a 12. storočí (On Property Ownership Relationships in Hungary in the 11th and 12th Centuries). In *Proměny soukromého práva*. Brno : Masarykova univerzita, 2011, p. 27-35. ISBN 88021056138. The concept of patrimonial monarchy (or state) needs further attention especially in respect of history of studies.

From the very beginning, Hungary was ethnically a considerable mixture and this nature, supported by numerous migration waves of other ethnicities, was preserved until its extinction in 1918⁴. This is the reason why it is the Slovak historiography⁵ in particular that tends to speak about multi-national Hungary. If we concentrate on other than modern scholars' works, it will be worth exploring how Hungary defined itself. This will be the goal of this study with the emphasis on legal records and official documents, including narration sources, too.

Foreign countries perceived Hungary most often as a country of Hungarians, the country populated by the Hungarian nation, using most often the terms *gens* and *natio* and in written sources not only the monarch, but also the nation was subject to acting.⁶ However, it must be mentioned that this was rather typical for earlier times and that it was no doubt a habit of chroniclers from the era prior to the rise of central government in Hungary. *Gens Ungrorum* was thus an "agent" in the place of monarch, or the person standing and acting on behalf of Hungarians in western written sources. This, however, did not have to prove the real state as it is quite possible that the authors of these sources did not know the persons acting on behalf of Hungarians.

Notwithstanding these doubts, let us notice that the title of Hungarian monarchs was at first King of Hungarians, not a King of Hungary. It can be found in narration sources

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- 4 An outline of medieval era migrations cf. MAREK, Miloš. *Cudzie etniká na stredovekom Slovensku (Foreign Ethnicities in Medieval Slovakia)*. Martin : Matica slovenská, 2006, p. 14-24. ISBN 807090822X.
 - 5 It is probably of no use to list numerous Slovak literary sources to the topic; it is, however, interesting how this issue is resolved by Hungarian medievalists. An example can be the usage of the term nationality (*nemzetiség*), (MALYUSZ Elemér. A középkori magyar nemzetiségi politika (The Medieval Hungarian National Policy) In *Századok*, 1939, year 73, p. 257-294, 385-448.) or Gyula Kristó using the term *nép*, translated as people or even a nation. KRISTÓ, Gyula. *Nem magyar népek a középkori Magyarországon (Non-Magyar Peoples in Medieval Hungary)*. Budapest : Tercia print nyomda, 2003. ISBN 9639465151. The term nationality is commonly used in Slovak and Czechoslovak historiography. This term, although not an ideal one, is today often replaced by the term ethnicity. Cf. e.g. ENGEL, Pál. *Szent István birodalma. A középkori Magyarország története (The Empire of St. Stephen. History of Medieval Hungary)*. Budapest : MTA Történettudományi intézete, 2001, p. 225-227, 273-275. ISBN 9638312769. Similar approach was chosen by Miloš Marek (ref. 4) when he called his book *Cudzie etniká na stredovekom Slovensku (Foreign Ethnicities in Medieval Slovakia)*. It is worth considering whether it is suitable to call non-Slovak ethnicities in Slovakia as "strange", or "foreign". As these were ethnic groups for whose the author himself proved continuity of living in Slovak Territory for hundreds of years and they were inhabitants in the country, this attribute is inadequate.
 - 6 Cf. e.g. Ekkehardus Uraugiensis Abbas ad a. 1051. In *Catalogus fontium historiae Hungaricae aeo du-cum regum ex stirpe Arpad descendendum ab anno Christi DCCC usque ad annum MCCC*, (hereinafter CFHH) *Tomus 2*. Ed. Albinus Franciscus Gombos. Budapestini : Szent István Akadémiai, 1937, p. 870. "*Heinricus imperator iterum Pannoniam adiens, divisa in duas partes multitudinem militum, utriusque regionem ipsam silvis et maxime aquarum collectionibus circumseptam occupans, intravit; sed gens illa durior ceteris cum rege suo dolose agens suaque pariter cum aliis diripiens, fame et siti multisque claudibus lassatus imperatoris exercitum fugiens, evasit. Milites autem imperatoris, vastata magna parte provinciae, multis insuper inibi occisis, pacifice, licet inacte, ad propria cum imperatore redierunt.*" Similarly, also the news on Christianization of Hungarians, which was wrongly attributed to Gizela, wife of Stephen I, in the chronicle tradition, e.g. Albericus monarchus Trium Fontium Chronicon ad a. 1010. In CFHH I. Ed. Albinus Franciscus Gombos. Budapestini : Szent István Akadémiai, 1937, p. 26. "*Gens Ungarorum hactenus ydolatrie dedita, hoc tempore ad fidem Christi convertitur per Gislam sororem imperatoris, que nupta Ungarorum regi ad hoc sua instantia regem adduxit, ut se et totam Ungarorum gentem baptizari expeleret.*"

from the empire like *Annales Altahenses Miores*⁷ and Adam Bremensis⁸ chronicle, but most important is that it was an official title, as can be seen from Hungarian royal documents. The *Pannonhalm deed* of 1002, although an interpolated falsum, retained the original name of Stephan I (997-1038) as *Ungrorum Rex*⁹, which corresponds with the title of Andrew I (1046-1060) as *Pannoniorum Rex*¹⁰, Gejza I. (1074-1077)¹¹ or Ladislaus I. (1077-1095)¹². It was only in the 12th century when the title *rex Ungariae* was used. It is semantically obvious from the monarch's title that he was a monarch of the people, and only subsequently of the country, or, using contemporary terminology, the personal substrate seemed to be more important than the territorial one. This fact is no doubt related to the territorial changeability of previous political units and therefore the link to the people had to be of more weight than that to the territory.

The exerted title *rex Ungriae* may refer also to the country consolidation in the 12th century, which, although not free from turbulences and foreign interventions, after a longer existence of the Kingdom of Hungary, the country territory was more clearly delimited. Therefore, a territorial aspect of monarch's acting was reflected in his new title, too. It does not mean that a "new" relationship of the monarch to the country territory was created. This certainly existed even before, but it was the people placed in the first place and the monarch ruled on the territories settled by "his" people. After several generations the rule tended to identify with the country territory (*regnum*), which was reflected in titles, too. If we later come across the title King of Hungarians in written sources, it will refer to Stephen I as a rule.¹³

Hungarian monarch was therefore the king of Hungarians at first, *Ungrorum rex*. It was not necessary to enumerate all ethnic groups living in Hungary as they were not themselves "the state-constituting" nation, however, they were (could be?) its part. It is interesting that the title of the Duke of Nitra in the territory in which Slovak ethnicity

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- 7 *Annales Altahenses Miores ad aa. 1038, 1041, 1052, 1060. Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum ex Monumentis Germaniae historicis recusi.* Hannoverae : Hahniani, 1890, p. 23-24, 48, 56.
 - 8 *Magistri Adam Bremensis Gesta Hamaburgensis ecclesiae pontificum III 13. Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum schoarum ex Monumentis Germaniae historicis separatim editi.* Hanoverae; Lipsiae : Hahniani, 1917, p. 153.
 - 9 *Diplomata Hungariae antiquissima, accedunt epistolae et acta ad historiam Hungariae pertinentia, ab anno 1000 usque ad annum 1196, Vol. 1, ab anno 1000 usque ad annum 1131* (hereinafter DHA 1). Ed. Georgius Györffy. Budapest : Akadémiai kiadó, 1992, no. 5/II , p. 39. ISBN 9630549530.
 - 10 DHA 1, ref. 9, no. 43/1-43/2, p. 149 a 154.
 - 11 *Codex diplomaticus et epistolaris Slovaciae* (hereinafter CDES) I. Ed. Richard Marsina. Bratislavae : Vydavateľstvo SAV, 1971, year 58, p. 54; DHA 1, ref. 9, no. 73/II , p. 213.
 - 12 DHA 1, ref. 9, no. 81, p. 236.
 - 13 *Codex diplomaticus Hungariae ecclesiasticus ac civilis* (hereinafter CDH). *Tomi IX, volumen IV : Ab anno 1418 – 1428.* Ed. Georgii Fejér. Budae : Typ. Universitatis, 1844, no. 238, p. 565. More examples can be found, e.g. one concerning Louis the Great: "*Dominus Ludouicus, primogenitus suus, ad gubernandum dictum Hungariae nationis regnum hereditarium iure geniturae sibi successum...*" CDH. *Tomi IX, volumen VI : Ab anno 1342 – 1382.* Ed. Georgii Fejér. Budae : Typ. Universitatis, 1838, no. 1, p. 5. Similarly, in the decree of Louis the Great there is a reference to "*Stephanum Hungarice gentis regem et Apostolum*". Cf. *Decreta regni mediaevalis Hungariae* (hereinafter DRMH). *Tomus II. 1301 – 1526* (= *The Laws of the medieval kingdom of Hungary. Volume 2. 1301 – 1457*). Eds. János M. Bak et al. Salt Lake City : Charles Schlacks, 1992, p. 8. ISBN 9781884445095.

prevailed was *dux Ungrorum*¹⁴. It was so in spite of the fact that there was a difference between Hungarians and Magyars and this difference was felt also by the people of the time; there was a difference between Hungary in the broader meaning and in the narrower meaning - without Transylvania and Nitra region.¹⁵ Let us emphasize that any term in its notion does not express an objective property of the object. It will be sufficient if this term satisfactorily distinguishes the given objects from others. If necessary, *Ungharus* could be a Magyar and a Slav, in other situations it denoted a Magyar only. It depended on whom the author of the source wanted to distinguish from. Therefore, non-Magyar inhabitants of Hungary could be Slavs (or Slovaks) or “Germans”¹⁶, could be denoted as *gentes* subordinated by Saint Stephen¹⁷ with the help of God, their political identity was an affiliation with Hungary, and therefore they were Hungarians at the same time.¹⁸ A Hungarian (*Hungarus*) therefore could be understood not in an ethnical sense, but as derived from *Regnum Hungariae*, as somebody coming from the Kingdom of Hungary.¹⁹ As for the view from the outside as well as from the inside, Hungary was seen as multi-ethnic, whether by a foreigner in the 11th century (e.g. Adam Brenensis)²⁰ or in the 15th century (Ulrich of Richental).²¹

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- 14 Cf. ref. 11. Gejza let himself be addressed by the title: “*Ego Magnus, qui et Geisa, in primis Hungarorum dux, postea vero gracia dei rex consecratus...*”.
- 15 This arises from the donation for Hronský Beňadik, 1075, according to which the lands situated in the Tisa region were placed “*in Hungaria*”. The editor of the deed reflects the position of these lands from the view of Nitra region, therefore it is possible to speak about Hungary in broader sense and in narrower sense. Cf. ref. 9. Cf. also STEINHÜBEL, Ján. *Nitrianske kniežatstvo. Počiatky stredovekého Slovenska. Rozprávanie o dejinách nášho územia a okolitých krajín od stahovania národov do začiatku 12. storočia. (Duchy of Nitra. The Early Medieval Slovakia. Narrative History of our Territory and the Neighbouring Countries since the Moving of Nations till the Early 12th Century)*. Bratislava : Veda; Rak, 2004, p. 301-302 and note no. 1732 on p. 483, where the relevant literature can be found.
- 16 Quotation marks must be used in this case because of an unclear German identity preceded no doubt by Saxon or Bavarian identity.
- 17 *Legenda S. Stephani regis ab Hartvico episcopo conscripta, c. 9. In Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum tempore ducum regumque stirpis Arpadianae gestarum* (hereinafter SRH) II. Ed. Emericus Szentpétery. Budapestini : Academia litter. Hungarica atque Societate histor. Hungarica in partem impensarum venientibus, 1938, p. 414.
- 18 Similarly like Hungarians were Georg and Moses, servants to Saint Boris, son of Saint Vladimír whose origin from Nitra region is very probable. Cf. Latopis Nestora. In *Monumenta Poloniae historica I*. Ed. August Bielowski. Lwów : Nakładem własnym, 1864 (ďalej MPH I), p. 681. For interpretation cf. Medvecký, Matej. *Pomocníci svätých kráľov (The Aides to the Saint Kings)*. In *Medea – Studia mediaevalia et antiqua*, 1999, year 3, p. 64-65.
- 19 “*...persona que originem de regno Ungariae duceret.*” *Monumenta ecclesiae Strigoniensis I. Ab a. 979 ad a. 1273*. Ed. Nándor Knauz. Strigonii : A. Horák, 1874, p. 181; SZÜCS, Jenő. *Nation und Geschichte. Studien*. Budapest : Corvina, 1981, p. 286.
- 20 Adam of Bremen included also Hungary into his description of Slavonia: “*Scлавania igitur, amplissima Germaniae provintia, a Winulis incolitur, qui olim dicti sunt Wandali; decies maior esse fertur quam nostra Saxonia, presertim si Boemiam et eos, qui trans Oddaram sunt, Polanos, quia nec habitu nec lingua discrepant, in partem adieceris Scлавaniae. Haec autem regio cum sit armis, viris et frugibus opulentissima, firmis undique saltuum vel terminis fluminum clauditur. Eius latitudo est a meridie usque in boream, hoc est ab Albia fluvio usque ad mare Scythicum. Longitudo autem illa videtur, quae initium habet ab nostra Hammaburgensi parochia et porrigitur in orientem, infinitis aucta spatiis, usque in Beguarium, Ungriam et Greciam.*” *Adam Bremensis II 18*, ref. 8, p. 250.
- 21 He called the country that Stibor of Stiborice had come from by the term “*Windeschen landen zwischen*

The only subject of “statehood” in Hungary was the Hungarian nation. No other political national communities arose on the level of Hungary as a country. Considering Nitra region, its population could be Slavs (Slovaks) of Nitra,²² but they were Hungarians at the same time.²³ The reason was related to the fact that the Principality with the residence in Nitra ceased to exist during Koloman’s rule and was never restored.²⁴ Upon extinguishing of the Nitra Principality not only its institutional basis ended, but also the territory of Slovakia became a direct part of Hungary without any chance to create a special political unit, analogical to e.g. Moravia and its relationship towards the Czech Principality. That was the end of the chance to create political nation in Nitra region.

Except for proofs on a single Hungarian (we could say a political) nation, written sources not only of narrative but also diplomatic nature (including first rules of law like privileges) quite clearly refer to the existence of several nationalities in Hungary. We are not going to analyze in detail the well-known part from the work *Admonition to the Royal Prince Imrich*, although it is a unique in content.²⁵ Worth of attention is the *Golden Bull* of Andrew II, 1222, for noblemen, stipulating the guests of whatsoever nation live consistent with the liberties granted to them “at the beginning”²⁶ i.e. in the time of their arrival. This could also relate to strangers and it is only questionable to what extent they could be considered inhabitants of Hungary in the 13th century. More general probably is the provision of the *Golden Bull* of 1231 banning the monarch to levy general tax. This again related to the people of any nationality or a class except those subject to the royal treasury.²⁷ “*People of any nations and statuses*” are in this case all inhabitants of Hungary. More concrete and clear in this respect is the deed of Andrew II of 1217 by which the monarch granted the people of any nationality belonging to Hronský Beňadik, that is the Saxons, Hungarians, Slovaks and others the prerogative of the privileges of Pest, Székesfehérvár or Buda.²⁸

Merhern und Boland an dem wasser, das man nempt der Wag...”. Por. RICHENTAL, Ulrich. *Kostnická kronika (The Chronicle of Konstanz)*, c. 54. Eds. Mária Paponová, František Šmahel, Daniela Dvořáková. Budmerice : Rak, 2009, p. 110.

- 22 Anonymi (P. magistri) *Gesta Hungarorum*, c. 37. In SRH I. Ed. Emericus Szentpétery. Budapestini : Academia litter. Hungarica atque Societate histor. Hungarica in partem impensarum venientibus, 1937, p. 78
- 23 In 1001 these town inhabitants remained faithful to Saint Stephen and fought against the Polish monarch Boleslav the Brave. “*Numquid non ipse (Bolezlavus) Hungaros frequentius in certamine superavit, totamque terram eorum usque Danubium suo dominio mancipavit?*” Galli chronicon, I 6. In MPH I, p. 399; STEINHÜBEL, ref. 15, p. 227, 314.
- 24 Similarly in: Steinhübel, ref. 15, p. 321-328.
- 25 “*Nam unius lingue uniusque moris regnum imbecille et fragile est.*” The author of *Admonition* used the term languages, not nations and more perhaps thought on foreigners coming from the Empire or Italy. *Libellus de institutione morum*, c. 6. In SRH II, p. 625.
- 26 *DRMH. Tomus I. 1000 – 1301*. Eds. János M. Bak et al. Idyllwild, California : Charles Schlacks, 1999, p. 34.
- 27 *DRMH I*, ref. 26, p. 36-37. “*Item nullam collectam, nullam exactionem, nec lucum camere, quocumque nomie possit censeri, occasione aliqua super homines cuiuscumque nationis vel condicionis colligi faciemus, illis exceptis, qui fisco regio in debito censu tenentur.*”
- 28 *CDES I*, ref. 11, no. 227, p. 179. “*...volumus nos liberalitate regia concessisse, quatenus cuiuscumque nationis homines, Saxones videlicet, Hungarii, Sclavi seu alii ad terram monasterii sancti Benedicti de Goron [commorandi cau]sa iam convenerunt, vel convenire voluerint, prerogativa eiusdem libertatis iure*

This brings us to an interesting idea. Hungary and its rulers expressly recognized multi-nationality in the country, acknowledging and even supporting actively the existence of several nations. These were no parts of the estates of the realm which were given by affiliation of privileged classes to the Kingdom of Hungary (its analogy could be provincial municipalities in the Czech countries). In the given case, it was an affiliation to a nationality given by origin and language. This, however, was not just a question of a “cultural distinctiveness”, but it was reflected also in the sphere of law. The guests arriving from abroad acquired the privileges to be governed by their own law (and have their own judicial system), which allowed their judicial exemption and judicial autonomy. Members of these privileged communities were members not only of (for example) the arising towns, but also of the particular nations. Good example is also the privilege for Banská Bystrica of 1255 by Bela IV, allowing among others to conduct criminal proceeding in the Saxon manner if the person demanding this is of a free status or Saxon nationality.²⁹ There were several such communities in the Kingdom of Hungary that were governed by their own “national” habits, let us mention e.g. the privilege for the Transylvanian Germans of 1224,³⁰ the community of Saxons and Hungarians of Marmaros,³¹ Zips Saxons,³² Transylvanian Bystrica Saxons,³³ Transylvanian Vlachs,³⁴ Jases,³⁵

*perpetuo gaudeant, que hospites nostri in Pesth, Albe vel Bude commorantes auctoritatis regi[e privilegio tra]nquilite perpetua perfruuntur”. The deed is a falsum, probably from the years 1244 – 1270 (see *ibid.*), which can refer to the extent of privileges, not to the substance of classifying the three groups of inhabitants. As for credibility of the deed, see also MARSINA, Richard. Národnostná štruktúra miest na Slovensku v stredoveku (Structure of Nations in Towns of Slovakia during the Middle Ages). In *Studia Historica Tyrnaviensia*, 2006, year 6, p. 62. ISBN 8080821054. According to this the latest time possible of fabrication of the deed is given by the date March 18, 1328.*

- 29 CDES II. Ed. Richard Marsina. Bratislavae : Vydavateľstvo SAV, 1987, no. 491, p. 341. “*Item in omni causa, quae ad examen duelli iudicatur, si persona illa, quae ipsos impetit, sit de ipsis, vel libertatis, aut nationis eorum, illud duellum cum scuto rotundo, et gladiis debeat pugnari; prout Saxonum obtinet consuetudo; si vero extraneae conditionis persona fuerit, tunc modus duelli in regis arbitrio remanebit.*”
- 30 *CDH. Tomi III, volumen I*. Ed. Georgii Fejér. Budae : Typ. Universitatis, 1829, p. 441-445.
- 31 *CDH. Tomi VIII, volumen III. Ab anno Christi 1326 – 1334*. Ed. Georgii Fejér. Budae : Typ. Universitatis, 1832, no. 145, p. 353-356.
- 32 *Výsady miest a mestečiek na Slovensku (Privileges of Cities and Towns in Slovakia)*. Ed. Lubomír Juck. Bratislava : Veda, 1984, no. 43, p. 55-56.
- 33 *CDH. Tomi VIII, volumen IV. Ab anno 1335 – 1342*. Ed. Georgii Fejér. Budae : Typ. Universitatis, 1832, no. 102, p. 222-223. Charles Robert addresses the community of the Saxons in Bystrica by these words: “*Karolus, Dei gratia, Rex Hungariae, fidelibus suis, Iudici, Iuratis, et vniuersis Senioribus et populis Saxoniae Nationis de Bistricia...*”.
- 34 They acquired the privilege from Louis I in 1366. Cf. Por. *CDH. Tomi IX, volumen III. Ab anno 1359 – 1366*. Ed. Georgii Fejér. Budae : Typ. Universitatis, 1834, no. 303, p. 552-558. A part of the text is as follows: “*...fideles nostri vniuersi nobiles terre nostre Transyluane propter presumtuosam astutiam diuersorum malefactorum, specialiter Olahorum, in ipsa terra nostra existentium, eorumque statum simul et vsu inordinatum, incommoda patiebantur cottidiana et infinita, igitur eisdem fidelibus nobilibus nostris, et nostrae terrae Transyluaniae ad exterminandum seu delendum de ipsa terra malefactores quarumlibet nationum, signanter Olahorum, talem de plenitudine regiae nostre potestatis et gratia speciali concessimus libertatem, quod...*”.
- 35 Sigismund of Luxemburg granted to this Iranian ethnic group the right to their own home rule in 1407. GYÁRFÁS, István. *A Jász-kúnok története III (1301 – 1542-ig) (History of Jases III. (1301-1542))*. Szolnok : Nyomatott Bakos István, 1992, no. 78, p. 549-551.

and others. Each of these groups was deemed to be a member of a nationality, which guaranteed them special legal status and meant privileges, was a guarantee of freedom of their members. Their self-government provided an autonomous development of these organizations, whether headed by the Zips administrator Landgraf or Transylvanian administrator comes Siculorum. Of course, degree of administration differed, depending on the privileges granted by the monarch. Instead of naming of all such groups along with their respective privileges or the respective references that the certain particular (ethnic) group in Hungary creates a nationality³⁶, let us look at the non-privileged classes of population as characterized in the work *Opus Tripartitum*.

*“Their (the villagers’ or the subjects’) positions differ as some of them are Magyars, others are Saxons and Germans, others are Czech, Slovaks [...]. In addition, others are Walachians and Ruthenians, Rascanians, Serbians or Bulgarians [...] Further, there are Jasses, Kumans settled and living in the royal lands [...]. All these nations, except royal Jases, Kumans, Ruthenians and Bulgarians - have so far enjoyed such freedom that they could any time move from the place of their residence to any other place that would like better, supposing they had paid their land tax and performed their duties, then they could go there and freely settle there [...].”*³⁷ It arises from the text that the members of the nation could be not only those who were Hungarian noblemen (in this case of Hungarian nation) and the privileged classes of Hungarian towns and special territories, but the national status was granted also to villagers or the subjects (*iobagiones*.)

From the above mentioned examples we can arrive at the conclusion that there existed an awareness of one Hungarian nation on one hand, when the inhabitants in the country could be (depending on the circumstances, mainly those concerning time periods) deemed the part of the country, on the other hand, we can see that it was not only the awareness, but also rules of law that allowed the existence of several nations. This discrepancy can be explained by the fact that affiliation to the nation depended in the affiliation to an estate of the realm in the first place. Obviously, when speaking about Hungarian nobility, only one single Hungarian nation is considered, comprising the nobility members. Hungarian nation thus would be – to say in an anachronically state-creating category while other nationalities, including Magyars, Slovaks, Saxons, Germans, Vlachs, Czechs, etc., would fall within other categories, mainly in the sphere of public administration.

36 An outline on some groups e.g. by Engel, ref. 5, s. 98-103; BÉLI, Gábor. *Magyar jogtörténet. A tradicionális jog (A History of Hungarian Law. The Traditional Law)*. Budapest; Pécs : Dialóg Campus Kiadó, 2000, p. 43-48. ISBN 9639123129.

37 *DRMH V. Tripartitum opus iuris consuetudinarii inclyti regni Hungarie per Stephanum de Werbevez editum III, 25, 1-2*. Eds. János M. Bak et al. Idyllwild CA : Charles Schlacks, 2005, p. 405. ISBN 1884445403. *“Quorum multiplex est condicio. Nam alii sunt Hungari, alii Saxones & Germani, alii vero Bohemi & Sclavi [...]. Præterea quidam sunt Volachi & Rutheni, quidam autem Rasciani sive Serviani & Bulgari [...]. Sunt insuper Philistæi & Comani in terris regalibus residentes [...]. ET QUAMVIS omnes istæ nationes (demptis Philisteis, Comanis, Ruthenis & Bulgaris regalibus) hac libertatis prærogativa hactenus gavisi fuerint, ut dum & quandocunque vouissent de loco residentiæ ipsorum ad alia loca, quæ maluissent: iusto tergio deposito debitisque eorum persoutis liberam sese moraturos conferendi habuissent facultatem...”* Slovak translation cf. *Pramene k dejinám Slovenska a Slovákov VI. Pod osmanskou hrozbou. (Sources to the History of Slovakia and the Slovaks VI. Under the Threat of the Osmands)*. Ed. Ján Lukačka et al. Bratislava : Literárne informačné centrum, 2004, no. 8, p. 268-269. ISBN 808887890X.

The key to understand the discrepancy between the unity and dividing of the Hungarian society in respect of national affiliation, very important is the part of the *Tripartitum*, in which Stephen of Verbovce writes who is to be deemed as people (*populus*) and who as “commoners”.

“Under the name people here only prelates, barons and other magnates and all members of nobility are understood, but not non-noblemen.

§ 1. And although the expression people denotes both all noblemen and non-noblemen, nothing is said in this part about non-noblemen, called commoners.

§ 2. The people is distinguished from commoners like genus and species. The name people denotes all noblemen, magnates and the inferior ones, and also the nobility, but commoners imply non-noblemen only.”³⁸

This text has some contradictions, however, it has an importance in understanding the meaning *Natio Hungarica*. Therefore, let us first briefly look at what the term *populus* expressed. Firstly, it can be said for sure that it need not be identical with the terms *gens* and *natio*³⁹, or rather, that these terms partially overlap. It is given mainly by the fact that in Roman terminology the term *populus* meant the Romans only, while barbarians were called *gentes* and *nationes*.⁴⁰ For the authors in later times, whether they were producing the Latin Vulgata, or more or less good at Latin, producing medieval chronicles tended to synonymize these term rather often. Therefore, no conclusions as for use of these terms can be generally applied.⁴¹ Mostly the terms *gens* and *natio* were manifested in the meaning of the fiction of the common origin. On the contrary, *populus* was, in the words of Isidor of Seville the assembly of a mass of people associated by a legal consent and a common will. Of course, Isidor referred to the definition by Cicero.⁴² It should be re-

38 *DRMH V. Tripartitum II 4*, ref. 37, p. 230. “*Nomine autem & appellatione hoc in loco intelige solummodo dominos prelatos, barones & alios magnates atque quoslibet nobiles, sed non ignobiles; [§1] licet iste terminus populus includat omnes nobiles & ignobiles pariter. De ignobilibus tamen (qui plebis nomine intelliguntur) in hac parte nihil est ad propositum. [§2] Populus enim eo differt a plebe quo species a genere. Nam appellatione computatis significantur: Plebis autem nominatione soli ignobiles intelliguntur.*” The Slovak translation cf. *Pramene k dejinám Slovenska a Slovákov VI (The Sources to the History of Slovakia and the Slovaks IV)*, ref. 37, no. 8, p. 267. The contradiction of this text is worth noticing as at the beginning the people are represented only by prelates, barons, magnates and nobility, but on the other hand later in the text there are also non-noblemen. Stephen of Verbovce wrote that this applied in that part of *Tripartitum (in hac parte)* which gave rise to this contradiction.

39 Cf. e.g. GOETZ, Hans-Werner. *Gens. Terminology and Perception of the ‘Germanic’ Peoples from the Late Antiquity to the Early Middle Ages*. In *The Construction of Communities in the Early Middle Ages. Texts, Resources and Artefacts*. Eds. Richard Corradini, Max Diesenberger, Helmut Reimitz. Leiden; Boston : Brill, 2003, s. 42. ISBN 9004118624; POHL, Walter. *Conceptions of Ethnicity in Early Medieval Studies*. In *Debating the Middle Ages: Issues and Readings*. Eds. Lester K. Little, Barbara H. Rosenwein. Oxford : Blackwell Publishers, 1998, p. 16. ISBN 9781577180074.

40 E.g. BREZOVÁKOVÁ, Blanka. *K pojmom gens a natio v písomných prameňoch v anjouovskom období. (On the Terms Gens and Natio in the Written Sources of the Anjou Period)*. In *Studia Historica Tyrnaviensia*, 2006, year 6, p. 78. ISSN 8080821054.

41 As L. Havlík was trying, even considering *natio* to be a more general term. HAVLÍK, Lubomír E. *Morava v 9. a 10. století. K problematice politického postavení, sociální a vládní struktury a organizace (Moravia in the 9th and 10th centuries. On Political Status, Social and Governmental Structure and Organization)*. Praha : Academia, 1978, p. 86.

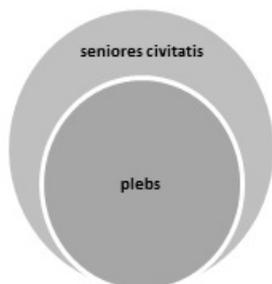
42 “...*populus autem non omnis hominum coetus quoquo modo congregatus, sed coetus multitudinis iuris*

membered, however, that even in the Roman political environment that entrenched this term a strong political connection can be seen with the social establishment (*res publica*) which need not have only legal, but also an emotional dimension (patriotism).⁴³

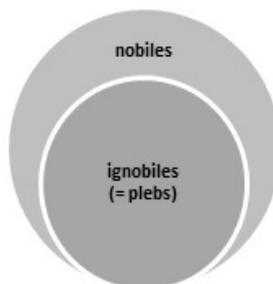
Isidor did not forget about the difference between *populus* and *commoners*. The people are all citizens, including the municipality chiefs, while commoners are ordinary people without chiefs.⁴⁴ Further explanations of Isidor of Sevilla are not important for our treatise,⁴⁵ what is substantial is that definitions of people and commoners from *Tripartitum* are basically identical to the definitions of Isidor of Sevilla, only adopted for the late medieval society. We can compare it in the following scheme:

It can be concluded that Stephen of Verbovce dealt with the traditional medieval scholar theory including it into the interpretation of what he deemed *populus*. Regardless of how we view this problem, the group of prelates, barons, magnates and other nobility, these were in fact the estates, that were indeed deemed the basis of the people. These groups as the most fundamental basis of Hungarian “people” without which the rest of population is only the commoners, and it was in fact the basis of what we would call today political nation identified with Hungarians, or the descendants of Arpad’s Magyars.

populus according to Etymologiae IX



populus according to Opus Tripartitum



In this respect instructive is the interpretation of Italian humanist Peter Ransanus, who noticed that Hungarian population is divided into three estates, to put it simply,

consensus et utilitatis communione sociatus.” CICERO, *De re publica* I 25. Ed. James E. G. Zetzel. Cambridge : Cambridge University Press, 1995, p. 53. It seems that this term could mean something else for every medieval author. More acceptable for narration sources from Hungary of 11th and 12th century are offered by J. Szűcs according to whom the term *populus* meant the subjects of a Christian monarchy. SZŰCS, ref. 19, p. 286. This conclusion certainly does not apply for the era of monarchy of the estates.

43 SZŰCS, ref. 19, p. 81.

44 ISIDOR ZE SEVILLY (Isidor of Sevilla), *Etymologiae IX*, 4, 5-6. Eds. Irena Zachová, Hana Šedinová. Praha : OIKOYMENH, 1998, s. 64-65. ISBN 8086005027. “*Populus est humanae multitudinis iuris consensu et concordia commnionem sociatus. Populus autem eo distat a plebibus, quod oppulus universi cives sunt, connumeratis senioribus civitatis. [Plebs autem reliquum vulgus sine senioribus civitatis.] Populus ergo tota civitas est; vulgus vero plebs est.*”

45 Isidor, although wrong in etymology, but inspiring in his aligning *populus* with the term *polis*. ISIDOR ZE SEVILLY, *Etymologiae IX*, 4, 6, ref. 44, p. 64-65. “*Plebs autem dicta a pluralitate; maior est enim numerus minorum quam seniorum. Populus vero συχνός dicitur, id est ἀπό πολλοῦ. Vnde et populus dictus est.*”

the prelates (Ransanus used rather an unsuitable term *sacerdotes*), a lower nobility (*alli rei inserviunt militari*), barons and surprisingly also yeomen (*in excoendis agris vitam consumant*). Ransanus writes also about merchants (*mercatores*) that should better be identified with towns inhabitants. He noted that many of them were Germans, not Hungarians.⁴⁶ He thus pointed out to the obvious fact that numerous German, (and of course other than German) populations lived in Hungarian towns. As a foreigner in the royal court he could notice that foreigners, or rather non-Hungarians are often present among the Hungarian nobility, he did not, however emphasized this fact. Why was it so? The reason no doubt is that even in spite of the possibility to attain nobility status for foreigners in Hungary, the Hungarian nobility originated among Magyars of noble birth, as written in *Opus Tripartitum*. It can indirectly be evolved that the term *Natio Hungarica* can in theory relate to the entire population, but in reality these are mainly the estates, or, more precisely, Hungarian nobility. It was the nobility which, together with the monarch, created laws through the Diet, thus standing on the head of not only *nationis*, but also of *populus*. In this sense both terms were almost identical, although the first one was used in relation to the origin and the other in regard to the political community. Hungarian *populus* was thus a companion of nobility which, together with the monarch, made up Hungarian regnum and actually is a settled and organized society with their own laws. In the thinking of the time commoners are not necessary for its creation, no wonder then that *Natio Hungarica* related to the nobility only.

To summarize the above mentioned, we could set out the structure of Hungarians nations as follows:

1) Hungarian nation as a category of the law of the Hungarian kingdom comprising the noblemen in the country. If a nobleman was deemed a member of Hungarian nation, he derived his origin from Arpad's Magyars, or the Huns. It is not important whether this origin was real, or, if it can be presumed as far as the Slovak nobility in Hungary was concerned, it was the origin additionally accepted. A basic advantage of this origin was his freedom of a nobleman which had its nature of the estate member, but it derived also from his national origin. This fact is confirmed by *Tripartitum*, too. Stephen of Verbovce in its relevant part explained the origin of Hungarian nobility and arrived at the conclusion that its origin need not be looked for among the Huns, or the Magyarss who came to Pannonia from Scythia.⁴⁷ Subsequently, there was supposed to be a habit among

46 Petri Ranzani Epitomes rerum Ungaricarum I. In Scriptores rerum veteres ac genuini. Ed. Ioannis Georgii Schwandtneri. (b. m.) : Ioannis Pauli Kraus, 1746, p. 329. "*Hungarorum hominum, quadruplex omnino ordo est. Pars eorum Deo dicati viri, vtpote Sacerdotes sunt, quoru Antistites, praecipua apud nationem polent auctoritate. Alii, rei inseruiunt militari, quorum qui ex armorum vsu, aliquod egregium facinus ediderunt, ii duces sunt copiarum, sub quibus ingens e vulgo delecta manus, stipendia faciunt. Multi nobilitate generis clari, Barones, vulgatissimo nomine dicuntur, qui ex maiorum sucessionem, suis vel vicis, vel arcibus et castellis, vel opidis dominantur. Caeteri, in excolendis agris, vitam consumunt. Opifices, hoc est eos, qui dant operam mechanicis artibus, si et multitudinem incolarum, et regionis consideres amplitudinem, perpauca inueneris. (...) Ceterum qui sunt, qui aut mercatura, aut artium, quas dixi, vsu viuunt; eorum plerique; Germanici sunt, non Vngarici generis homines.*"

47 Stephen of Verbovce hinted on the myth on the origin of the Hungarians. Cf. e.g. Anonymi (P. magistri) Gesta Hungarorum, c. 1-12, ref. 22, p. 34-50; Simonis de Keza Gesta Hungarorum, c. 3-33. In SRH I, p. 142-167; Chronici Hungarici compositio saeculi XIV., p. 3-34. In SRH I, p. 243-292.

Magyars to summon public assemblies and military missions and disobedience resulted in an entire and eternal slavery. This is the only way how to explain how somebody become master and the other one servant, one a nobleman and the other one the subject, in spite of their common origin.⁴⁸ This explanation reflects the relics of understanding a nation of pre-estate period, in which at least formally (however, far from the view of property ownership) existed an equality of population. So defined affiliation to a nation brought to its members the guarantee of freedom; this was the source of its success and the reason why it was so attractive for non-Hungarian noblemen, too.

The fact that Stephen of Verbovce skipped the question of non-Magyar nobility is interesting, because the earlier chronicle writings that he relied on in *Opus Tripartitum* knew these facts. It was Simon of Keza (1272-1290) who emphasized a foreign origin of the part of Hungarian nobility. These were foreigners who served for the King, acquired properties from him and eventually became noblemen.⁴⁹ If a foreigner by origin, or a Hungarian non-Magyar got to the community of Hungarian nobility, his original national affiliation could have been just a cultural denomination at the most. However, it ceased to have its legal sense as he did not represent the foreign people in Hungary.⁵⁰

Of course, position of this Hungarian nation should not be seen stagnantly and hide differences between e.g. the 11th and 15th centuries. A fundamental difference is the question what classes could be comprised in the Hungarian society. Upon the rise of privileged groups (the nobility in the first place) even a purely theoretical affiliation of inferior classes as a part of this Hungarian nation lacked its sense. If presuming that in the early days of the Kingdom of Hungary this nation was a universal unit, upon the rise of estates of the realm it obtained a particular nature as it could only be identified with the Hungarian nobility. Denoting this nation as “of estates” is not quite consistent with reality when considering that the 4th estate, the burgesses, was not part of this nation. Uniting this nation with other classes of society was explained in the sense of the arguments from *Tripartitum*: it was a leading strata of the society without which the inferior classes are commoners only. The affiliation to *Natio Hungarica* was the a guarantee of freedom for its members, supported by national myth of the origin of Magyars.

If this national myth was present in the earlier times, it relied on an old tribal freedom, the basis of which was a traditional way of life of a tribal community. This ceased to exist upon the rise of royal system (or what we call today a state), with the extinction of tribal freedom and the arrival of the service to the monarch.⁵¹ This new system, in which the

48 *DRMH V. Tripartitum I* 3, ref. 37, p. 48-51. Simonis de Keza *Gesta Hungarorum*, c. 7, ref. 47, p. 147-148. It is important that a story from a narrative Hungarian source found its place in a collection of laws dated by the end of Middle Ages. Therefore it was not a mere personal view of one of the chroniclers, but in fact a social standard.

49 Simonis de Keza *Gesta Hungarorum*, c. 76, ref. 47, p. 187-188, and specially c. 94, p. 192: “*Intraverunt quoque temporibus tam ducis Geichae quam aliorum regum Boemi, Poloni, Graeci, Bessi, Armeni et fere ex omni exera natione, quae sub caelo est, qui servientes regibus vel caeteris regni dominis ex ipsis pheuda acquirendo nobilitatem processu temporis sunt adepti.*”

50 KRISTÓ, ref. 5, p. 14.

51 STEINHÜBEL, Ján. *Kapitoly z najstarších českých dejin 531 – 1004 (Chapters on the Earliest Czech History 531-1004)*. Kraków : Spolok Slovákov v Poľsku – Towarzystwo Słowaków w Polsce, 2012, p. 12-14. ISBN 9788374905060 along with ref. to the literature, esp. note no. 21 on p. 12.

monarch took over the responsibility for the destiny of his tribe (*gens Ungorum* in our case) was basically a denial of the earlier tribal freedom, but the new system, created since the 13th century offered a new type of freedom, based on the control of monarch's power. There was one substantial difference: this freedom was available for a minority of the country population only – the privileged noble inhabitants.

Of course, this freedom was not granted “for free”, it was compensated by faithfulness (*fidelitas*) to the monarch. This was the consideration for which the Hungarian nobility was obtaining a sum of various legal advantages (privileges) since the 13th century, including property. This relationship between the monarch and the nobility was conditioned, respecting that committing *notae infidelitatis* was a devolution title at the same time.⁵² Donation property that created the basis of the nobleman's freedom, returned back to the monarch and meant a loss of noble position and possibly also the nobleman's execution.⁵³ On the other hand, through a breach of noblemen's privileges the nobility could perform its right to resistance towards the monarch (*ius resistendi*)⁵⁴. This was the core of nobleman's freedom, the nobility was not dependent on the monarch's fiat, but decisive was how the monarch ruled in the country.

Such relationship basically was maintained throughout the entire Middle Ages until the New Age came when the institute of *ius resistendi*⁵⁵ was revoked in 1687, and so were subsequently devolution titles and donation system as such in relation to the March Acts of Law in 1848⁵⁶. Then not only the Hungarian state, but also the *natio* lost their estate nature, in order to acquire a civic nature.

2) Part of the structure of Hungarian nationalities were also particular nations by which various inhabitants' groups are meant in the entire Hungary, e.g. self-governing units of Saxons, Slovaks, Vlachs, Magyars etc. Their basic sign is that again these are privileged groups of inhabitants, but we cannot deem them a Hungarian nobility only. As a rule, these were burgesses, not forgetting Transylvanian Sikuls who were all deemed free, even noblemen.⁵⁷ It is their national affiliation (Sikul) that is a perfect proof of “freedom”.⁵⁸

52 Let us notice in this respect the case of 1330 illustrating the judgment over Felician Zach, an assassin attempting to kill a crowned monarch. He committed *notae infidelitatis*, which was in the document involved understood not as a mere crime against the monarch, but also against the noble community, called in the document as *Natio Hungarica*. CDH VIII 3, ref. 31, no. 187, p. 424; BREZOVÁKOVÁ, ref. 40, p. 92.

53 LUBY, Štefan. *Dejiny súkromného práva na Slovensku (History of Private Law in Slovakia)*. Bratislava : Iura edition, 2002, p. 195, 399-400. ISBN 8089047483.

54 CDES I, ref. 11, no. 270, p. 201.

55 The Hungarian nobility waived the right to resist in the Bratislava Diet by the Article of Law IV/1687.

56 These were explicitly revoked under so called aviticity patent of 1852. Cf. ŠORL, Róbert. *Vývoj súkromného práva na Slovensku (Development of Private Law in Slovakia)*. Dissertation thesis. Bratislava : Univerzita Komenského v Bratislave, Právnická fakulta, 2004, p. 127.

57 As for Sikuls cf. KRISTÓ, Gyula. *A székelemek eredetéről (On the Origin of Sikuls)*. Szeged : AGAPÉ Ferences Nyomda és Könyvkiadó, 1996, passim; MAREK, Miloš. K procesu zaraďovania príslušníkov cudzích etník do stredovekej uhorskej spoločnosti (On the Process of Establishing of Foreign Ethnicities Members in the Medieval Hungarian Society). In *Studia Historica Tyrnaviensia*, 2006, year 6, p. 112-113. ISBN 8080821054.

58 Cf. ref. 51.

The privileges of particular nations are mainly of self-government nature and they are mostly allowed to be governed by their “own” law, guaranteed by the common and independent judicial and administrative institutions. Affiliation to the particular nation also meant an advantage, being a privilege of a group of citizens having a common ethnic origin, the common past and/or a language as well as the same legal status.

It can be said that every individual ethnic group in a town or a separate territory in Hungary meant a particular nation. Typical example are e.g. Slovaks and Germans in Žilina⁵⁹, similar relation between Germans and Magyars were also in Buda.⁶⁰ If we equalled the Hungarian noble nation with the term people (*populus*), then political expression of these particular nations was *universitas* or *communitas*. Their privileges were granted in favour of members of any nationality⁶¹, or just one ethnic group could be mentioned in the privilege, which was the case of the privilege granted to the Zips Saxons whose political unit was denoted as *prouincia*.⁶² These political units relied on privileges and their own property as a guarantee of their freedom, similarly as it was among Hungarian nobility.

Of course, there were differences among the individual particular nations in Hungary. There were urban communities on one hand, on the other, free communities in Transylvania developed. These were the above mentioned Transylvanian Saxons whose basic privilege comes from 1224,⁶³ later, this community (*vniversis populis*⁶⁴, *universitas Saxonum*⁶⁵) was to become an independent nation, to start with the times of Mathias Corvinus (1458-1490). He thus presented himself in the assemblies of Transylvania Duchy together with Hungarian nobility and Sikuls. Thus Transylvania was administered by the union of three nationalities.⁶⁶

3. Non-privileged nationalities. The third group of the nationalities in Hungary arising from the wording of *Tripartitum* – and therefore being legally recognized by it - was marked by the fact that its members had no privileges obtained on the basis of their

59 Well known *Privilegium pro Slavis* does not contain the term *natio*, of course it proves the existence of two ethnic groups in Žilina. When complaining to the Hungarian King Louis I (1342-1383) the Slovaks referred to an old habit according to which the town councillors were elected equally from among the Slovaks and Germans. Cf. Magyar országos levéltár, Diplomatikai fényképgyűjtemény, no. 274 702. *Codex diplomaticus Hungariae ecclesiasticus ac civilis. Tomi IX, volumen I : Ab anno 1438 – 1440*. Ed. Georgii Fejér. Budae : Typ. Universitatis, 1844, no. Anecdota Solnensia 10, p. 524-527. The text analysis, (formally not a privilege) and its publication cf. MARSINA, Richard. Právne postavenie slovenských mešťanov v Žiline koncom 14. a začiatkom 15. storočia. (Legal Status of the Slovak Burgenses in Žilina in the Late 14th and the Early 15th Centuries) In *Vlastivedný zborník Považia*, 1972, year 11, p. 3-18.

60 Cf. ZUPKA, Dušan. *Rituály a symbolická komunikácia v stredovekej strednej Európe (Arpádovské Uhorsko 1000 – 1301) (Rituals and Symbolical Communication in the Medieval Central Europe ((The Arpad Hungary 1000 - 1301))*. Prešov : Vydavateľstvo Michala Vaška, 2011, p. 144. ISBN 9788071658528.

61 Probably as a privilege for Marmaros Saxons and Magyars of 1329, addressed to “*hospitum nostrorum, fidelium de Maramorusio, Saxonum et Hungarorum*”, por. CDH VIII 3, ref. 31, no. 145, p. 353.

62 *Výsady miest a mestečiek na Slovensku*, ref. 32, no. 43, p. 55-56.

63 Here denoted as *Teutonici*. Ref. 30

64 This is how their community is named in the original privilege. Ref. 30.

65 *CDH Tomi VII, volumen IV. Ab anno 503 – 1301*. Ed. Georgii Fejér. Budae : Typ. Universitatis, 1837, no. 189, p. 173.

66 MAREK, ref. 57, p. 113 and 124; BÉLI, ref. 36, p. 45-46.

nationality, they were not granted any special collective rights, be it various economic privileges or their own home rule. This, however, does not mean that nationality of a subject (a non-privileged person) would not be reflected in a different legal relationship towards the surrounding population. As for the members of German or Wallachian colonization, these often fell within the units (villages) in a special legal regime regulated by redemption or Wallachian right. The difference with burgesses was in the fact that their legal establishment was not obtained through a privilege, but based on an agreement with their baron. It must be emphasized that the inhabitants of villages governed by redemption or Wallachian rules need not be colonists from abroad, but very often it was a local domestic population.⁶⁷ Thus this right was not related to the ethnic origin of the subjects. Unlike divided German - Slovak or German - Magyar communities in Žilina, Trnava or Buda where both national groups participated in the town administration, the right of colonists was not exclusive.

It is good to compare the particular categories of the nationalities in Hungary to another legal aspect, i.e. the one regarding political rights of their members. Upon the rise of the monarchy of estates the Hungarian nation became a constitutional category and the nobility gradually became the bearer of statehood, which reflected not only in the more active participation in the power, but also in the fact that it identified itself with Hungary as a country together with the monarch. This was the basis of political rights on the supreme level. The particular nationalities were considerably limited in these abilities and their political rights were restricted to the level of home rule.⁶⁸ Non-privileged nations as collective entities had no political rights, probably as a result of the system of estates.

It arises from the above mentioned that it were those groups for whose ethnic affiliation was a reason for a personal status within the concrete community (*regnum, communitas*) that were more interested in “their” nationality. Not really interesting must have been ethnic conflicts for the groups of Hungarian subjects. Their ethnic identification⁶⁹ sign was the language or a cultural difference. With the absence of rights arising from ethnic origin the ethnic origin in itself was not interesting. Thus ethnicity could have been, but need not be a time bomb in the society and subject to heated – even though academic – discussions.⁷⁰

67 Details cf. in SOKOLOVSKÝ, Leon. *Správa stredovekej dediny na Slovensku (The Administration of a Medieval Village in Slovakia)*. Bratislava : AEP, 2002, p. 73-144. ISBN 8088880246.

68 Basically its origins are related with the *Golden Bulla* of Andrew II 1222. The development of this type of monarchy was not straight-lined, especially regarding the Anjou dynasty rule.

69 Of course, with the reserve that the Sikul regional administrator belonged to Hungarian barons. *DRMH V. Tripartitum I 94*, ref. 37, p. 176.

70 With respect to the sources these questions were discussed by ŠEDIVÝ, Juraj. Poučenie z krízového vývoja v stredovekej scholastike alebo esej o nás stredovekárach (The Lesson from the Crisis Development in the Medieval Scholastics or an Essay on Us, the Medievalists). In *Forum historiae*, 2007, year 1, p. 2-4. Available by internet: <http://www.forumhistoriae.sk/FH_2007/texty_1_2007/Sedivy.pdf>. Reaction to this paper cf. BARTL, Július. *Poučenie bez poučenia? (A Lesson without a Lesson?)*. Available by internet: <<http://www.forumhistoriae.sk/documents/10180/31568/bartl.pdf>>. Cf. also ŠEDIVÝ, Juraj. *Menšia úvaha o väčších nedorozumeniach. (A Minor Deliberation on Major Misunderstandings)* Available by internet: <<http://www.forumhistoriae.sk/documents/10180/31568/sedivy.pdf>>.

Multi-national nature of Hungary was a legal reality, proved not only by narrative sources, but also by official documents of the country, privileges, or the work *Opus Tripartitum*. Such situation could not survive the dramatic changes in the 19th century. The idea of multi-national Hungary in the era of modern nationalism was adopted by non-Magyar national movements, including the Slovak one, which included these sources into arguments of their apologetics and national demands. Here, these movements permeated the conflicts with the Magyar national movement having the basic concept not to continue with the plurality of nationalities in the country but extending the estates of *natio Hungarica* to other levels of the society. Thus in the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century the ideological and legal concept of a single, the Hungarian, nation was enforced, that was put equal with the Magyar one.⁷¹

The clearest concept of the Hungarian nation was expressed in the Act of Law on nationalities, 1868. According to its preamble all inhabitants of Hungary, regardless of their nationality (*nemzetiség*), make up one single nation (*nemzet*)⁷² in political sense. This concept was no doubt influenced by Hungarian liberalism which did not recognize the existence of non-Magyar nationalities on one hand, but every inhabitant of the country was the member of Hungarian nation; this nation was uniform, non-divisible and every citizen was its equal member.⁷³

Establishing and legal recognition of single-nation Hungary was not only an issue of elementary rights in the sphere of culture and use of the languages for the nationalities, but it related also to the concept of the country unity, including Transylvania, which, after Austrian-Hungarian Compromise, became part of Hungary.. This was the reason for the Magyar politicians in the government to disregard any question involving recognition of the Slovak nationality within the country as it was expressed in the head of the *Demands of the Slovak Nation* of 1848⁷⁴ or at the beginning of the *Memorandum of the Slovak Nation* of 1861.⁷⁵ Recognition of the existence of the Slovak nation would in turn bring the question of the proper state system to be established in the country. The existence of a nation always opens the question of future state and constitutional changes. National uniqueness posed a reason to a separate administrative unit at the least, and the *Memorandum* authors in 1861 were clearly aware of this fact.⁷⁶

71 Indirectly in legislation, e.g. Art. of Law XII/1868, § 55 on compromise, Art. of Law XXX/1883, § 61 on secondary schools and qualification of their teachers, Art. of Law No. VIII/1896 on the works for perpetuance of the thousandth anniversary of the homeland foundation, Art. of Law VIII/1917 on perpetuance of the heroes fighting for their homeland, etc.

72 Act. of Law XLIV/1868.

73 Cf. *ibid.* On relationship between nation and nationality cf. also VÖRÖS, László. Slováci: „Najvlásteckejší Uhri“ alebo „slobodný národ“? Sociálne reprezentácie Slovákov v maďarskej tlači v rokoch 1914 – 1918. (The Slovaks: “The most Patriotic Hungarians” or “a Free Nation”? Social Representations of Slovaks in the Hungarian Press in the Years 1914 - 1918). In *Ako skúmať národ. Deväť štúdií o etnicite a o nacionalizme*. Eds. Peter Dráľ, Andrej Findor. Brno : Tribun EU, 2009, p. 84. ISBN 9788073997526.

74 Žjadost'i slovensk'jeho národa (Claims of the Slovak Nation). In DOHNÁNY, Mikuláš. *História povstaňja slovensk'jeho z roku 1848 I*. Skalica : Písmom a tlačivom Fraňa Xaviera Škarnicla a sinou, 1850, p. 57-58.

75 Memorandum národa slovenského (Memorandum of the Slovak Nation). In *Dokumenty slovenskej národnej identity a štátnosti I*. Eds. Ján Beňko et al. Bratislava : NLC , 1998, no. 110, p. 338.

76 Memorandum národa slovenského (Memorandum of the Slovak Nation), ref. 75, p. 340. “*Keď cez tolké*

From what was said above, we can arrive at the conclusion that the continuity element in this issue since the Middle Ages is the fact that Hungary was, in the sense of country and regional law, always deemed to be a unit of one nation, the Hungarian nation. Other ethnic groups perceived in the Middle Ages as separate nations (on the level of home rule) could be in the modern era perceived as nationalities only. If during the Middle Ages they could enjoy their own status and the possibility to be governed by their own law, this ceased to exist after 1848. Since that time, an official existence of non-Magyar nations was impossible and Hungary created a legal concept of a nation-state admitting nationalities. Czechoslovakia, by the way, was created in a similar manner and this concept basically prevails even today.

On the contrary, aligning the modern Slovak nation with its medieval ancestor that we often see as a natural line of the contemporary historical consciousness is questionable, as it is similar with other nations. It rather proves a transfer of modern political programmes, requirements or apologetics into historical construction of medieval “national” histories where Slovaks could not have been missing, together with all others.⁷⁷ The pictures of “medieval” Slovak nation in mental coordinates, definitions and delimitations of modern nations are part of the newest history.

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Preložila PhDr. Anna Lysá, CSc.

„*CUIUSCUMQUE NATIONIS HOMINES, SAXONES VIDELICET, HUNGARII, SCLAVI SEU ALII.*“ WIDERSPIEGELUNG DER ETHNIZITÄT IN DEN NORMEN UND AMTLICHEN DOKUMENTEN DES MITTELALTERLICHEN UNGARN

MIROSLAV LYSÝ

Die Studie befasst sich mit dem Verhältnis des Königreichs Ungarn zu den einzelnen ethnischen Entitäten, die auf seinem Territorium lebten, und zwar vor allem aus der Sicht des zeitgemäßen Rechts und der amtlichen Dokumenten. Aus ihrer Analyse ergibt sich, dass man innerhalb von

stoletia v ústavnom Uhorsku dištrikty Kumánov a Jazygov, mestá hajdúske, 10 obcí kopijníkov, 16 miest spišských a 44 stolice, navzdor ťažkostiam polohopisným ako osobitnou municipálnou správou nadané korporácie bez najmenej ťažkosti pre vlasť jestvovať mohli, keď pred rokom 1848 vlasť naša vo svojej vnútornej organizácii bez najmenejšieho nebezpečenstva celosti a jednoty svojej na 4 dištrikty rozdelená byť mohla: nevidíme príčiny, prečo by jeden súvislý celok tvoriaci národ slovenský, v priestore tom, ktorý mu príroda sama vyznačila a ktorý on skutočne i zaujíma, pri nastávajúcom organizovaní krajiny a stolíc, ktoré od teraz zasadajúceho snemu očakávame, ako jedno Hornouhorské slovenské Okolie vo vlasti našej miesta nájsť nemohol.“

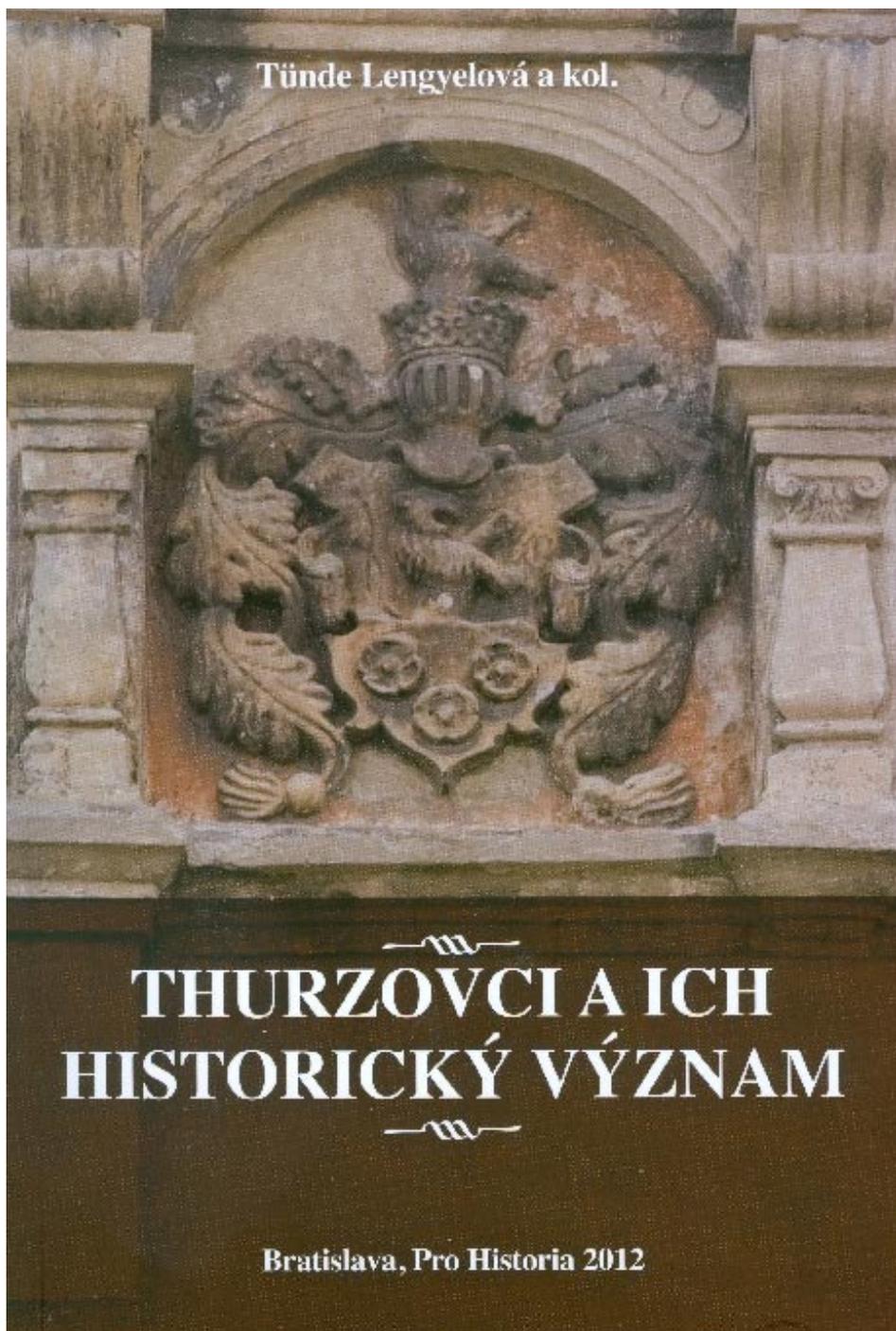
77 More details on the topic cf. Šedivý, Juraj. Die slowakische Geschichtsforschung des 20. Jahrhunderts auf der Suche nach „ihrem“ Frühmittelalter. In *Vergangenheit und Vergegenwärtigung. Frühes Mittelalter und europäische Erinnerungskultur* (= *Forschungen zur Geschichte des Mittelalters* 14). Eds. Helmut Reimitz, Bernhard Zeller. Wien : Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2009, p. 253-262. ISBN 9783700138259

Ungarn über drei Nationen sprechen kann. Die erste ist Natio Hungarica, die ungarische Nation, die mit dem Adel des Landes gleichzustellen ist, und deren Existenz auf ihrer privilegierten Position und dem nationalen Mythos über die Herkunft der alten Ungarn beruht. Die andere Gruppe stellen die partikulären Völker dar, wie die verschiedenen Gruppen in Siebenburgen, Zips oder in den königlichen Städten, die die über eigene gerichtliche Exemption und Selbstverwaltung verfügten. Dritte Gruppe bildeten die nichtprivilegierten Nationen, die über keine besondere Stellung verfügten, und deren Besonderheiten in den Administrationsfragen auf einer Vereinbarung mit dem Landesherr beruhten, und nicht auf den Privilegien. Eine solche nationale Struktur war typisch für Ungarn zirka bis in die Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts, als sie im Zusammenhang mit dem modernen Nationalismus und mit der neuen Normbildung erlisch.

Mgr. Miroslav Lysý, PhD.

Katedra právnych dejín, Právnická fakulta, Univerzita Komenského v Bratislave, Šafárikovo nám. č. 6, P. O. BOX 313, 810 00 Bratislava 1

e-mail: miroslav.lysy@flaw.uniba.sk



THE FORMATION OF THE CZECHOSLOVAK ECONOMY (1918 – 1920)

MIROSLAV FABRICIUS

FABRICIUS, Miroslav. The Formation of the Czechoslovak Economy (1918 – 1920). *Historický časopis*, 2014, 62, Supplement, pp. 59-77, Bratislava.

The Czechoslovak Republic was proclaimed in October 1918. The new state united the Czech Lands, which had relatively well developed industry and agriculture, with backward mainly agrarian Slovakia. There were already ideas of territorial or political union of Slovakia and the Czech Lands in the period before the First World War. However, there was no definite “program” by which their economic unification could be more deeply considered. The need to work out a “program” to solve the problems connected with the adaptation of Slovakia and the Czech Lands to the new conditions in the economic field was not really felt even in the period immediately after the formation of the new state. The problems that began to appear in the running of the economy were mostly attributed to the transition from wartime conditions to peace, or to faults in the work of the bureaucracy. The post-war economic crisis brought a reversal of this view. The Slovak political representatives strove to use not only parliamentary, but also other means to pursue their demands. On the initiative of Slovak political circles, the activity of chambers of commerce and industry was revived, and the Central Association of Slovak Industry and various other institutions were established. However, their legal powers were limited, and so their activities were more or less limited to solving the current operational problems.

The Origin of Czechoslovakia. Unification of Slovakia with the Czech Lands. Economic Problems. the Post-War Economic Crisis.

The problem of the economic development of Czechoslovakia in the inter-war period is still a topical field for historical research. Knowledge of the past internal economic developments and the place of Czechoslovakia in the world economy enable us to achieve a better understanding of the present economic situation and to solve the problems we encounter. Study of the inter-war period shows that in spite of the progress of research, there are still many inadequately researched areas. We will endeavour to clarify some of them in this paper.

The demand to solve regional economic problems began to be raised in this period. The post-revolution generation showed greater empathy towards social injustice, while backward regions did not want to accept the fate of being poorer, but strove for a more equal position. The problem of backward regions in a country is rather relative. This is shown by the fact that we encounter the problem of backward regions in all countries, although they have various positions on the ladder of economic development. The fact that the term “less developed region” covers a whole range of regions, which reach different economic levels in relation to the overall level of development of their state, significantly influences the approach to overcoming their backwardness.

It is only natural that the backward regions are balanced as an important element in the unequal development of a country by their opposite, in the form of high concentrations of economic activity in certain regions of a country. They are practically two sides of one problem. Backward regions have considerable but unused productive potential in terms of labour force and various natural resources. On the other hand, severe overpopulation of industrialized areas leads to constant growth of costs, especially for unproductive purposes. For example, deterioration of the environment causes increased spending on health care, which leads to lower profits in the congested region and to slower development of that country.

The situation of a backward region inhabited by a separate nation in a multinational state was a specific case. Non-economic problems also began to come into the foreground in addition to the economic questions characteristic of such territories. A high level of emigration of mostly young, active people was also characteristic of backward regions. This could have a negative impact on the demographic structure of the population. Backward agriculture, undeveloped industry, inadequate transport and social infrastructure were fertile ground for growing discontent, and so it was no surprise that the representatives of political parties presented their demands associated with a wave of disenchantment.

The ways to solve the problem of backward regions were tortuous. To some degree, they were further complicated by the question of the development of the national economy as a whole. Adherents of the classical school were convinced that the basis of economic activity is a free market and the basis of political activity is democracy. In such a system, all economic decisions were taken on the basis of the free choice of the participants with the state following a policy of *laissez-faire* or *laissez-passer*, which allowed companies to carry on their business freely in all areas including the development of backward regions.

The first steps towards solution of the regional problems were taken by regionalist economists, who were concerned especially with the solution of micro-economic problems. They approached regional problems from the same point of view, they thought should be applied to the development of the whole national economy. Problems had to be solved in three steps. The initial phase of description was mainly concerned with accurately describing the current state of the economy of the region and clarifying the causes of its economic and social difficulties. The second stage involved working out a plan, determining the importance of individual actions to support the given region and the approximate financial cost of these actions. The purpose was to avoid implementing arbitrarily selected policies or those backed by the interests of various political forces, which were not in harmony with the needs of the region. At the same time, the economic interests of the whole also had to be taken into account. The third stage was actually implementing the policies.

Another group took the opposite route. It tried to solve the problem of a region from the point of view of the development of the economy as a whole. This conception included the possibility of a planned development of the economy of the country. Paradoxically, however, excessive centralization could cause a series of deficiencies in the solution of the regional problem.

It is clear that representatives of the first group predominated in the highest political and economic bodies during the period researched by us. The second began to assert their views in the second half of the 1920s, and we can find the views of the third group already in the second decade of the existence of the Czechoslovak Republic.

The first ideas about the place of Slovakia in the Czechoslovak economy

We can trace and evaluate the development of the economy in the territory of Slovakia before 1918 either by comparing it with economic development in other parts of Hungary or by confronting the economic development of Slovakia with that of the Czech Lands in this period.

In the first case, we find that in relation to the rest of Hungary, Slovakia was not backward in its economic development. We can even state that before the revolution, Slovakia was one of the most industrially developed parts of the Kingdom of Hungary, along with Transylvania and the surroundings of Budapest. However, this does not change the fact that mainly as a result of the shift of political and economic activity to the south, the importance of Slovakia was beginning to gradually decline.

In the case of the second possibility, we can state that the Czech Lands with their rich natural resources, together with adequate labour forces and capital, already began to industrialize at the beginning of the 19th century. Their importance as a base for industrial enterprise gradually increased and in the period before the First World War, they became a region with modern, strongly capitalized industry.

Slovakia entered the Czechoslovak Republic with an economic structure characteristic of an economically backward country, namely with a high proportion of rather ineffective primary production, “*industry in the initial phase of development and weakly developed infrastructure*”.¹

Table 1: Pre-war property of the territories that became part of Czechoslovakia^{a,b}

Territory	in mil K	in %
Czech Lands	35 623,7	81,5
Slovakia and Sub-Carpathian Ruthenia	8 107,5	18,5
Czechoslovakia	43 731,2	100,0

a – adapted from *Statistická příručka republiky Československé III. (Statistical Handbook of the Czechoslovak Republic III)*. Prague : Státní úřad statistický, 1928, p. 436.

b – according to the method of F. Fellner.

Comparison of the economic level achieved by Slovakia and the Czech Lands under Austria – Hungary with the help of a synthetic indicator of economic development is not possible. Data on gross national product or national income were not produced in this

1 On the economic inheritance of Slovakia from Austria-Hungary see HALLON, Ludovít. *Příčiny, priebeh a dôsledky štrukturálnych zmien v hospodárstve medzivojnového Slovenska. (The causes, course and results of the structural changes in the economy of inter-war Slovakia.)*. In *Slovensko v Československu: 1918 – 1939*. Eds. Milan Zemko, Valerián Bystrický. Bratislava : Veda, 2004, p. 293. ISBN 9788022407953.

period. According to a retrospective estimate by the State Statistical Office, the national property of Slovakia and Sub-Carpathian Ruthenia before the First World War amounted to 8,107.5 million crowns, which represented 18.5% of the national property of Czechoslovakia (tab. 1).

However, the economic level or degree of industrialization of individual units can also be assessed according to the proportions of industrial and agricultural population in the total composition of the population of the relevant regions.

We can get an approximate idea of the economic level of Slovakia and the Czech Lands in the period before the outbreak of the First World War from data on the occupation of the population obtained from the 1910 census.²

Table 2: The population of Slovakia belonging and active in economic sectors in 1910^a

Sector	dependent		active ^b	
	(in thous.)	(in %)	(in thous.)	(in %)
Agriculture, forestry, fishing	1 799,6	61,7	524,2	52,9
Mining, construction, industry	519,4	17,8	206,4	20,8
Commerce and finance	140,8	4,8	42,8	4,3
Transport and communications	91,6	3,1	28,3	2,9
State and public service, the free professions	115,7	4,0	57,7	5,8
Other and unknown occupations	248,3	8,5	132,4	13,3
Total	2 915,4	100,0	991,8	100,0

a – according to FALTUS, Jozef – PRŮCHA, Václav. *Prehľad hospodárskeho vývoja na Slovensku v rokoch 1918 – 1945. (An overview of the economic development of Slovakia, 1918 – 1945.)*. Bratislava : VPL, 1967, p. 277, 278 (adapted).

b – some data are slightly different from the above mentioned publication.

It is clear from tables 2 and 3 that almost 62% (1,799,600) of the inhabitants present in the territory of Slovakia at the time of the census were dependent on agriculture in 1910, with not quite 18% (519,400) in industry. However, in the Czech Lands 39.9% depended on industry and only 34.4% on agriculture. The data on the number of the active

2 However, we must recognize that some differences existed between the categories used in Hungarian and Austrian statistics – see *Československá statistika (Czechoslovak Statistics) Vol. 23*. Prague : Státní úřad statistický, p. XII-XXIX; *Statistická příručka republiky Československé, II (Dodatok)*. (Statistical handbook of the Czechoslovak Republic, II (Supplement)). Prague : Státní úřad statistický, 1925, p. 99, 125 and 142. The territories of some former counties were divided between Czechoslovakia and Hungary when Czechoslovakia was formed. As a result, statistics for the territory of post-1918 Slovakia can be obtained only on the basis of reconstruction. The method of reconstructing these data for Slovakia from the *Magyar sztatistikai közlemenyek, Vol. 48*, Budapest 1913 is described by J. Faltus in the publication FALTUS, Jozef - PRŮCHA, Václav. *Prehľad hospodárskeho vývoja na Slovensku v rokoch 1918 – 1945. (A review of the economic development of Slovakia, 1918 – 1945.)*. Bratislava : VPL, 1967, p. 275.

population gives a similar picture. We can also calculate the proportion of the active population in the total populations of Slovakia and the Czech Lands from the data in tables 2 and 3. In Slovakia this proportion was 34%, but in the Czech Lands it reached 46.5%.

Comparable indicators for agriculture and industry are given in table 4. According to them, the proportion of active inhabitants to the people dependent on this sector in Slovakia was 29.1%, compared to 41.5% in the Czech Lands. In industry, the figures were 39.7% and 46.9% respectively.

Table 3: The population of the Czech Lands belonging and active in 1910^a

Sector	dependent		active ^b	
	(in thous.)	(in %)	(in thous.)	(in %)
Agriculture, forestry, fishing	3 488,1	34,4	1 448,5	30,7
Mining, construction, industry	4 049,8	39,9	1 898,7	40,2
Commerce and finance	612,5	6,0	257,8	5,5
Transport and communications	499,4	4,9	161,1	3,4
State and public service, the free professions	528,8	5,2	247,1	5,2
Other and unknown occupations	969,9	9,6	708,5	15,0
Total	10 148,5	100,0	4 721,7	100,0

a – *Československá statistika vol. 23*, p. 11; also *Statistická příručka republiky Československé, II*. Prague 1925, p. 418-423.

b – without regard for territorial changes after 1918.

The data given above confirm that while the Czech Lands had an industrial – agrarian character before the outbreak of the First World War, Slovakia was definitely agrarian.³

Table 4: Proportion of people active in industry and agriculture in the population belonging to these sectors in 1910 (%)

Sector	Slovakia	Czech Lands
Agriculture	29,0	41,5
Industry	39,7	46,9

At the end of the war, under the influence of the new political trends in Europe, especially the peace programme of American President Woodrow Wilson concerning the oppressed nations of the Monarchy, the struggle of Czechoslovaks in exile and the political activity of the American Slovaks, a breaking point was reached in Slovak

3 The number of workers employed in Slovakia in industry and construction exceeded the number employed in agriculture only in 1961. See: *Statistická ročenka (Statistical Yearbook) 1968*, Prague 1968, p. 63. In the Czech Lands, the number active in industry, mining and construction already exceeded the number active in agriculture, forestry and fishing around 1900.

politics. The conception of coexistence with the Czech nation in a new state crystallized in parallel with the idea of abandoning the old Hungarian state.⁴

This process matured slowly. Different levels of education and religiosity, the rural character of society, social structure and low levels of mutual knowledge⁵ complicated mutual cooperation and evoked fears over future development. This also appears in the statement by Alois Rašín [? – M.F.] in the material *The Slovak Question*, in which he stated after his journey to Budapest, Ružomberok and Pressburg (Bratislava) that he was received everywhere with open arms, especially by the younger generation. However, he also observed that: “*Some Slovaks are afraid that our dream will not become a reality. Some object that the Czechs will forcibly Czechize the Slovaks. Aware of their weakness, they think that whoever comes to Slovakia will rule according to the Hungarian example. However, such fears do not have much real importance. The anti-Czech feelings of the former Martin group have entirely disappeared... Even the clericals are not opposed. Hlinka has fully joined us and Juriga had to agree.*”⁶

Ideas about the way to territorially or politically connect Slovakia with the Czech Lands already existed, but there was no more deeply considered “programme” for the method of connecting them in the economic field. The search for a satisfactory solution in this field was postponed until later. This is clear from the proposal for a political and economic law worked out in the period before 28 October 1918 and published in 1926. None of the proposed legislation was more closely concerned with Slovakia.⁷ Only the proposed political act stated in article XXII: “... *which of the existing offices and courts in the Slovak region of the Kingdom of Hungary joined to the Czech state will be preserved, which offices, courts or state institutions will be newly established, how state and administrative authority will be regulated, and what legal order will be recognized or introduced, will be determined by a special statute. ... This statute will be worked out in agreement with the Slovaks*”.⁸

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- 4 DEÁK, Ladislav. Miesto Slovenska v československom štáte v rokoch 1918 – 1938 z medzinárodného hľadiska. (The place of Slovakia in the Czechoslovak state in the period 1918 – 1938 from the international point of view.). In *Slovensko v Československo 1918 – 1938*, ref. 1, p. 17.
 - 5 HOLEC, Roman. Hospodársky vývoj Slovenska bezprostredne po vzniku ČSR v kontexte česko-slovenských vzťahov. (The economic development of Slovakia immediately after the origin of the Czechoslovak Republic in the context of Czech – Slovak relations.). In *Československo 1918 – 1938: Osudy demokracie ve střední Evropě, 1*. Prague : Historický ústav AV ČR; CEFRES, 1999, p. 273. ISBN 808526899X.
 - 6 Archiv národního muzea (Archive of the National Museum, hereinafter ANM), fund (hereinafter f.) Alois Rašín, inv. j. 725, carton (hereinafter c.) 13.
 - 7 As Roman Holec states, the programme did not consider Slovak specifics or the different composition and levels of economic development of the Czech Lands and Slovakia. He also points to Tvarožka’s Memorandum, the text of which has not been found, and in which the author pointed to the possible difficulties in mutual relations. HOLEC, Roman. Hospodárstvo. (The Economy.). In *Slovensko v 20. storočí: Prvá svetová vojna 1914 – 1918*. Ed. Dušan Kovač. Bratislava: Veda, vydavateľstvo SAV, 2008, p. 132. ISBN 9788022410144.
 - 8 The proposed political legislation was edited by Ferdinand Pantůček and the economic by Jaroslav Press in cooperation with Karel Kramář, Alois Rašín and other representatives of Czech economic circles. Both statutes were prepared on the initiative of the National Committee as part of the preparations of the Czech political representatives to take power. Doklady o přípravách k politickému a hospodárskému převratu. (Documents from the preparations for the political and economic revolution.). In *Obzor národohospodárský*, 1926, year 30, no. 1, p. 15

Mutual contacts strengthened at the end of 1917. Jaroslav Preiss proposed the working out of a detailed analysis of the state of the economy in Slovakia and in December “*economic discussions were held between Jaroslav Preiss, Rudolf Pilát, Milan Hodža and Kornel Stodola. The programme for discussion included the fate of the Czech banks in Budapest and the establishment of a land bank for Slovakia at the end of the war, or even better immediately after it*”.⁹

According to Milan Hodža, the possible economic consequences of uniting Slovakia with the Czech Lands were also discussed at private meetings between “*representatives of Slovak industry*” in 1917 and 1918 at Liptovský Mikuláš. Transport questions were apparently emphasized. The representatives of industry, who are not specifically named, allegedly agreed that “*the Slovak private and public economy must receive legal protection from the more developed Czech economy in new markets, as a result of the fact that Slovak industry formerly had its markets in the territory of the former Kingdom of Hungary*”.¹⁰ Although it is possible to suppose that these meetings were really held and that Slovak thinking industrialists from the surroundings of Liptovský Mikuláš participated, it is very probable that M. Hodža exaggerated their importance. They are not mentioned in any historic documents or other printed materials.

Apart from Austria, Hungary, Poland and Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia also emerged after the First World War as a result of extensive political, economic and social changes in the territory of the former Monarchy in Central and Eastern Europe.

As already mentioned, the new state united the industrially and agriculturally relatively developed Czech Lands with backward, mainly agrarian Slovakia.¹¹ In the hectic atmosphere, the representatives of the Czech and Slovak political and economic circles did not realize that a problem was arising with which not only they, but also succeeding generations would struggle. Nobody called for, nobody demanded and nobody felt the need to work out a programme for solving the problems associated with the adaptation of Slovakia¹² and the Czech Lands to the new conditions. Everybody rejoiced over the end of the war, and their attention was attracted by the newly forming institutions or the ongoing military operations in connection with the origin of the Slovak Soviet Republic.

The individual components of the Slovak political spectrum were still only mapping the new situation. In expectation of its victory in the world revolution, the left convinced its adherents through *Pravda chudoby* about the advantages of rule by the people: “*When the people rule everything, there will be harmony in production along the whole line. ... All other calls for correction are superfluous.*”¹³ On the opposite side of the political spectrum stood Andrej Hlinka. In a letter to Matúš Dula justifying the need to revive the activity of the People’s Party for defence against socialism and Czech radicalism, Hlinka

9 Ref. 7, p. 131.

10 HODŽA, Milan. *Články, reči, štúdie. (Articles, speeches, studies)* 7. Bratislava : Linografie, 1934, p. 11.

11 FABRICIUS, Miroslav. *Vývoj názorov na postavenie Slovenska v hospodárstve Československa (1918 – 1938)* (The development of views on the position of Slovakia in the Czechoslovak economy (1918 – 1938)). In *Československo 1918 – 1938*, ref. 5, p. 279-288.

12 Speaking only of the incorporation of Slovakia into Czechoslovakia does not correspond to the reality. The Czech Lands also had to deal with a new situation after the revolution.

13 *Pravda chudoby*, 1920, year 1, no. 12, (2 December 1920).

stated: *"I intend to organize the Catholic clergy and people. It is extremely necessary. They stand before recent events like a calf before a new gate, not knowing where to go or turn. The priests absorbed Hungarian patriotism with their mother's milk. They did not understand the breeze of the present age and even now they do not understand it."*¹⁴

After its formation, the new party oriented itself entirely towards confessional questions. For this reason, we do not find in its programme demands concerned with the economic problems of Slovakia. A change came only at the end of 1920, when Ferdiš Juriga described its further progress: *"We oppose the Prague linguistic current, supporting the Slovak language against Czech. We oppose the religious current, supporting Christianity against paganization. We are opposed politically, extracting political autonomy. But we do not get to the heart of the matter, to the economic aspect of the Slovak question, the question of bread and butter, the question of economic autonomy... That is the core of the clash of Prague with the Slovaks."*¹⁵ *Otto's Commercial Dictionary*, published in 1924 contained the statement: *"Slovakia will be our colonial territory. It is erroneous to think that a colonial territory cannot immediately border on the mother country. Siberia in relation to Russia is an example."*¹⁶ Surprisingly, even today some historians still treat these sentences as the *"clearly defined position of the new state towards Slovakia"*.¹⁷ In reality, it is only the view of the author [Pl., editor Josef Pluhař (?) – M. F.] of the entry on *Slovakia* in this dictionary, which was most probably written around the turn of the years 1918 – 1919.

We find the official position more in the *Reply to the President's message*,¹⁸ which states: *"When we look around at the whole existing and future territory of our republic, we come to a stop with deep emotion in Slovakia. If the fate of the Czechs in Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia under the German overlordship of Vienna was bitter, the fate of the Slovaks in the Kingdom of Hungary under the overlordship of Budapest was unbearable. It was the fate of a branch of the nation, destined for extinction. ... Yes, to suffer, to indescribably suffer was the lot especially of the Slovak people. The Slovaks gained their freedom after the way of the cross.*

Mr. President! We promise you, we promise everybody, that with endless love, we will compensate Slovakia for its immense suffering. The full cultural and economic develop-

14 Archív literatúry a umenia Národnej knižnice. (Archive of Literature and Art of the National Library). From the letter from A. Hlinka to M. Dula of 17 December 1918.

15 JURIGA, Ferdiš. Jadro slovenskej otázky. (The core of the Slovak question). In *Slovák*, 1920, year 2, no. 248 (17 November 1920).

16 *Ottův obchodní slovník. (Otto's Commercial Dictionary)*. Vol. 2, part 2. Ed. Jozef Pazourek. Prague : Nákladem J. Otty, 1924, p. 1217.

17 ĐURICA, Milan S. *Dejiny Slovenska a Slovákov: v časovej následnosti faktov dvoch tisícročí. (History of Slovakia and the Slovaks: a chronicle of facts from two millennia.)*. Bratislava : Lúč, 2003, p. 330. ISBN 8071143863. According to M. Đurica, the text in the dictionary is as follows: *"Slovakia will be our colonial territory. It is erroneous to think that a colonial territory cannot immediately border on the mother country. Siberia in relation to Russia is an example."* In a similar way, we could regard the views of recent historians, including various controversial statements by Đurica, published in similar encyclopedic works, *"as the position of the state"*, which is obviously nonsense.

18 ANM, f. Antonín Hajn, inv. no. 4271 – basic material by A. Hajn and Josef Rotnágl for a reply to the President; draft material intended for correction and addressed to Jaroslav Vlček. See also <http://www.psp.cz/eknih/1918ns/ps/stenprot/040schuz/s040001.htm>.

ment of Slovakia will be one of our most important, most costly and most rewarding tasks."¹⁹

Representatives of individual political parties and newly emerging institutions registered malfunctions in the economy, but they attributed them to the difficulties of the transition from war to peace or to faults in the work of the bureaucratic apparatus of the state. They believed that in Slovakia, just as in the Czech Lands, they were creating favourable conditions for the dynamic development of all sectors of the economy. The delayed consumption of the population, expressed in the constant predominance of demand over supply, only confirmed them in this view.

That the leading representatives of the political parties and economic circles, both Slovak and Czech, really expected an upswing of industrial production in Slovakia, as well as the development of agriculture, can be illustrated by the following examples.

The following words were heard at an extraordinary general meeting of the Slovenská banka (Slovak Bank) in January 1919: "*The future activity of our financial institutions has the following aims: creation of our own trade and industry, partly by establishing new companies and partly by taking over existing enterprises, which had not served the Slovak nation up to now. The creation of large centres with strong capital is a condition for the success of such activity.*"²⁰

The application of the Ľudová banka (People's Bank) of Ružomberok for permission to increase its share capital states: "*The Slovak nation has thrown off its thousand year yoke and become a free nation. However, its liberation by itself is not an adequate guarantee to secure its future. That requires especially liberation from foreign capital and economic independence, especially because the position of Slovakia makes our nation much in need of trade and industry.*"²¹

If the idea of the need for the development of industry in the territory of Slovakia was nothing new in Slovak public discourse, as the views of Ján Čaplovič, Samuel Hojč, Ľudovít Štúr, Samuel Ormis, Petr Kompiš, Okrucký and other show, the Czechs were understandably not concerned with this problem in the period before the formation of the Czechoslovak Republic,²² but they were then forced to take up a position on it.

19 Rotnágľ's version includes the addition: "*It will be a very rewarding task. We are firmly convinced that the Slovak people, richly endowed with noble qualities will be very grateful to their liberators for their greater joy from life and work.*"

20 *Slovenský denník*, 1919, year 2, no. 17 (22 January 1919).

21 Slovenský národný archív (Slovak National Archives hereinafter SNA), f. Slovenské oddelenie Ministerstva priemyslu a obchodu (Slovak Department of the Ministry of Industry and Commerce hereinafter f. SOMPO) 1919, inv. no. 83, c. 6, no. 1982. Ľudová banka, úč. spol. v Ružomberku – povolenie – zvýšenie kapitálu z 500 000 K na 5 000 000 K. (Permission for the Ľudová banka, joint stock company of Ružomberok to increase its share capital from 500,000 to 5,000,000 K.) The SNA f. SOMPO has further material, which confirms that the development of industrial production in Slovakia was demanded and expected. See e.g. SNA, f. SOMPO 1919, inv. no. 83, c. no. 1, j. no. 384. Zpráva ohledně obchodu a průmyslu na Slovensku (koncept) z 20. 6. 1919. (A report on trade and industry in Slovakia (concept) from 20 June 1919.). The same collection also has a file with the title *Návrhy na zprůmyslovění Slovenska (Proposals for the industrialization of Slovakia)* from 10 February 1920. The proposals were sent to the government official for public works (Š. Janšák). However, the collection from the department for public works has not survived.

22 The consideration of the *Národní listy* on the direction Slovak industry should take is exceptional in this

As a result of these facts, an entirely positive view was taken of the demand for the development of industry in Slovakia. Stanislav Klíma, one of the leading representatives of Czechoslovak Unity, stated in his publication *Slovensko (Slovakia)*: “Today [in 1919 – M. F.] Slovakia is still not an industrial country, but a mainly agrarian region... However, industrialization is a vital question for Slovakia... The main concern of the Slovaks must be that during industrialization, Slovakia does not remain only a mere labourer in the enterprises of foreign capital. The Slovaks should be entrepreneurs in their own country. All the conditions for the development of large-scale industry can be found in Slovakia.”²³

However, *Právo lidu*, the newspaper of the Czechoslovak Social Democratic Party, went even further and in a consideration of the prospects for the Slovaks in the newly created republic, it gave the demagogic promise that “the development of industry was artificially restricted here [in Slovakia – M. F.], but now it will progress at an American speed”.²⁴

The post-war economic crisis brought a turning point in such thinking. Problems in the running of the economy began to deepen and negative signs of a process associated with the unavoidable restructuring of industry also appeared. This process is designated in literature as the “dismantling of Slovak industry” [M. F.]. It was only then, that it became entirely clear that the above mentioned process of adaptation of the economies of the eastern and western parts of Czechoslovakia to the new conditions included the need to integrate the economies of Slovakia and the Czech Lands into a new unit, as well as the need for economic revival and for transition from military production to peace time conditions. It began to be clear that the separation of Slovakia and the Czech Lands from the original unit and their combination in a new state narrowed their internal market and interrupted long-established connections. As a result, the question of the place of Slovakia in the economy of Czechoslovakia became ever more urgent.

Two conceptions emerged. The adherents of one associated the destiny of Slovakia with agriculture, while the supporters of the other preferred industrialization. The same problem, although on a qualitatively different level, was solved by the representatives of the political and economic circles already before the revolution. This shows that the authors, who have claimed that the conception of the industrialization of Slovakia appeared only in the 1930s, are incorrect. Both conceptions existed through the whole twenty years, although the first of them reaped success in the twenties and the second only in the next decade.

respect. Its core – “Larger Slovak industry should grow from small scale production in districts with some degree of experience or tradition”. *Národní listy*, 1918, year 58, no. 3 (3 January 1918) – also appears later, in the 1920s, in connection with consideration of the need for the “natural” development of industry in Slovakia and of its “hothouse” character

23 KLÍMA, Stanislav. *Slovensko: Obraz jeho minulosti a přítomnosti*. (Slovakia: a picture of its past and present.). Prague : nákl.vl., 1919, p. 63-64, 71, 74. In the second, supplemented edition (KLÍMA, Stanislav. *Slovensko: Obraz jeho minulosti a přítomnosti*. Prague : Jednota čes. matematiků, 1920, 110 p.) Klíma made some changes to the cited text, but did not change its meaning.

24 *Právo lidu*, 1918, year 27 (6 December 1918).

The economic problems of Slovakia on the floor of Parliament, the Ministry for Unification and the Ministry with Full Power to Administer Slovakia

The majority of representatives of Slovak political and economic life soon began to become aware of their unequal position in relation to the incomparably stronger Czech representation. Therefore, they relied on it hoping that it would fulfil their economic and political aspirations. At the same time, however, when pressing their demands, they endeavoured to use all the possibilities that the newly emerging democratic regime of inter-war Czechoslovakia gave them, even though these were rather limited.

The temporary National Assembly had the decisive role in post-revolutionary Czechoslovakia, before the adoption of the definitive constitution. The members of the Slovak Club “defended” the “interests of Slovakia” in it. Since the centrifugal process of the creation of political parties was still proceeding in Slovakia, all the members were concentrated in it without regard for party divisions.

At sessions of the club, the problems characteristic of the economic life of Slovakia were discussed, particularly the question of inadequate raw materials, especially coal, the demand for the unification of conditions in Slovakia and in the Czech Lands, as well as demands for improvement of the infrastructure, especially railways and the road network.²⁵

However, the activity of the club brought very poor results. Its members did not succeed in getting practical solutions to the above mentioned problems accepted by parliament. Various circumstances had a negative effect in this direction. At first sight, it may appear that the most important of them was the relatively brief period of its existence, because before the parliamentary elections in April 1920 it disintegrated as a result of its failure to produce any concrete results. This really had an unfavourable influence on its activity, but the great variety of views within the club played a much more substantial role, since the supporters of various political currents were concentrated within it. The majority of members of parliament from Slovakia also held posts at the Ministry with Full Power to Administer Slovakia or they took over county offices in this period. Since the sessions of parliament were held twice a week and the level of transport between Slovakia and Prague was appropriate to the time, we can state that many members rarely participated in sessions of parliament.

Members of the Slovak Club were absent even at such important sessions of parliament as the debate on the government programme to revive economic life in the republic. In this context, the *Slovenský denník* reported that “*the assembly chamber was called to order with the full participation of all the parties. Only the Slovak benches were half-empty*”.²⁶

25 The Slovak Club demanded the construction of a transverse railway in Slovakia on the route: Holič – Myjava – Nové Mesto nad Váhom – Handlová – Sv. Kríž – Zvolen – Dobšiná – Rožňava – Košice – Trebišov – Vojany – Užhorod. For more details see *Slovenský denník*, 1919, year 2, no. 200 (14 September 1919).

26 *Slovenský denník*, 1919, year 2, no. 10 (14 January 1919). This newspaper reported similar news for several days. It also contained the report: “*The Club of Slovak Members of Parliament in Prague appeals to all Slovak members, hesitating in Slovakia, to come to the National Assembly as soon as possible, because the political situation urgently demands their presence.*” *Slovenský denník*, 1919, year 2, no. 15 (18 January 1919).

The situation did not improve in the succeeding period. For example, on a day when legislation on support for the unemployed was discussed, only 9 (16.7%) from 54 Slovak members participated.²⁷ The situation partially improved only after the leaders of the club decided to rotate the participation of Slovak members in Prague.

The Club of Slovak Members of Parliament could not compensate for the situation arising from the dissolution of the Slovak National Council.²⁸ Its dissolution further fragmented the strength of the Slovak members of parliament and this meant a further weakening of their influence in parliament.

The first Czechoslovak government headed by Karel Kramář was formed on 14 November 1918 after agreement between the clubs of the individual political parties. The economic parts of its programme committed it “*to remove the evils accompanying every war... and develop the work of the creative*”. In this context, it also promised that it would not “*imitate the old Austrian system, which forcibly and deliberately restricted our country in its economic development. We want all parts of our republic to equally and uniformly participate in our new economic and social progress*”.²⁹ The programme was not especially concerned with the economic problems of Slovakia.

After the communal elections, held on 15 June 1919 only in Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia, the president of the republic appointed the second government, headed by Tusar and with no representatives of National Democracy and the People’s Party. Apart from a promise to devote attention to the unification of legislation and the public administration, the new government’s programme described an effort to ensure that “*industrial enterprises, especially in Slovakia, can operate normally*”,³⁰ as one of its main priorities.

The Ministry of Unification could theoretically defend the economic interests of Slovak economic circles directly in the government, if we start from the intended content of its activity. However, it was really only a theoretical possibility, and the negative result was already predetermined by the conditions in which it originated.

The old Austrian and Hungarian legislation and decrees remained valid in the territory of the republic after the revolution. Czechoslovak legislation only gradually became valid. The route of gradual unification of legislation was chosen in an effort to maintain continuity of development.

27 The session was attended by I. Markovič, V. Makovický, J. Slávik, J. Vlček, J. Halla, R. Pilát, J. Rotnágl, J. Záruba-Pfeffermann and A. Kolisek. *Slovenský denník*, 1919, year 2, no. 28 (16 February 1919).

28 “*The Slovak National Council had the ambition to become a power centre like the National Committee in Prague. It was not passive... However, it did not have any levers of power, material resources or military force.*” For more details see KRAJČOVIČOVÁ, Natália. Vnútropolitický vývoj na Slovensku (december 1918 – marec 1920). (Internal political developments in Slovakia (December 1918 – March 1920)). In *Slovensko v 20. storočí : V medzivojnovom Československu (1918 – 1939)*. Bratislava : Veda, 2012, p. 29. ISBN 9788022411998.

29 *Těsnopisecké zprávy Národního shromáždění 1918 (schůze 1 – 13)*. (Short-hand record of the National Assembly 1918 (meetings 1 – 13)). Prague : [s. n.], p. 5; *Národní shromáždění Republiky Československé v prvním desetiletí*. (The National Assembly of the Czechoslovak Republic in the first ten years.). Prague : [s. n.], 1928, p. 24

30 “*Towards this aim, the government wants ... to support business activity in the fields of commercial, transport and credit policy and with starting relief works – especially construction, to assist economic life.*” *Těsnopisecké zprávy Národního shromáždění 1919 (schůze 62 – 77)*. Prague : [s. n.], p. 1915; *Národní shromáždění*, ref. 14, p. 58.

The need to unify the legal systems of the Czech Lands and Slovakia was generally recognized. The only open question was that of who had to carry out the unification process. There were two possibilities. Either the unification could be done in the framework of the individual ministries, or a special institution could be created for the purpose.

The solution was influenced by the fact that the representatives of Slovakia, concentrated in the Club of Slovak Members of Parliament, were dissatisfied with the inadequate representation of the Slovaks in the government. Therefore, they demanded that the Slovaks should have three ministries. Since no party was willing to give up a ministry, the problem was solved by creating a new ministry – the Ministry of Unification.³¹

The discussion of the government proposal for the above mentioned legislation already did not have a smooth course. The establishment of the ministry was opposed especially by the National Democrats, the party defending the interests of Czech financial capital, which saw the beginnings of possible obstacles to the implementation of their own ideas and interests.³²

However, this solution suited the parties represented in the government at the time and for various reasons. First of all, a condition for the establishment of the Ministry of Unification was a radical limitation of the powers of the Ministry with Full Power to Administer Slovakia. This was confirmed by a statement from the spokesman of the Constitutional Committee of the parliament Dr. Bouček on the proposed legislation submitted by the government. According to him: *“the establishment of this ministry... will have one good effect, namely that it will be possible to abolish the office of the plenipotentiary in Bratislava without delay, since there is no doubt that the establishment of this ministry will make the office in Bratislava unnecessary”*.³³

The members of parliament from the Slovak Club pointed out that there would be a substantial difference between these two ministries. While the Ministry of Unification would have, in their view, legislative power, the Ministry with Full Power had executive power.

However, a further important fact was that from the beginning of its activity, not much importance was attributed to the existence of the Ministry of Unification. Its powers were not clearly defined, and the implementation decree to Act no. 431/1919 Sb.z. a n. was adopted only at the end of 1921 (decree 501/1921 Sb.z. a n.). It defined the activity of the Ministry of Unification, an institution, which essentially did not need to show any results of its work. Its further activity was purely formal. Unification was carried out by the specialized ministries, in which the representatives of the individual groups of Czech businessmen promoted their interests.

31 The Ministerstvo unifikácií (Ministry of Unification), in full: Ministerstvo pre zjednotenie zákonodarstva a organizácie správnej (Ministry for the Unification of Legislation and Administrative Organization), was established on 22 July 1919 on the basis of Act no. 431/1919 Sb. z. a n.

32 On 22 July 1919, A. Stránský stated in a discussion on the report of the Constitutional Committee on the government proposed legislation to establish the Ministry for the Unification of Legislation and Administrative Organization: *“It will not be a Ministry for Unification, but a Ministry against Unification.”* *Těsnopisecké zprávy*, ref. 15, p. 2035. In his view, it was a mistake to establish a Ministry of Unification and the Slovaks should have been assigned another ministry. The National Democrats were not represented in the government at this time.

33 *Těsnopisecké zprávy*, ref. 30, p. 2034.

The following cases were exempted from the activity of the Ministry of Unification on the basis of § 2 of the decree.³⁴

- a) When particular legal relations were hitherto only regulated by legal norms in one of the two inherited legal systems.
- b) If the problem was not unifying existing legal norms, but reforming them.
- c) When acts and decrees regulated new legal relations, established after October 1918.
- d) Decrees by which unifying legislation was implemented.

In reality this meant that the activity of the Ministry of Unification was limited to cases in which items from the former Austrian or Hungarian legal orders were extended without change to the territory where they had not previously applied. However, the formation of a new state required the reform of almost every act. Therefore, the proposals of the Ministry of Unification were usually stopped by objections that the legislation in question needed to be reformed as well as unified.

The Ministry with Full Power to Administer Slovakia had a special position.³⁵ In the initial period of its existence, it appeared that the hopes the Slovak elite placed in the new state were beginning to be fulfilled with its help. A “vacuum” appeared in Slovakia after the revolution because the state frontier between Czechoslovakia and Hungary had been established, but the Czech political and economic circles were only beginning to apply their interests in Slovakia. In addition, since conflict with Hungarian armed forces was occurring in the territory of Slovakia, they could not act against the Ministry with Full Power as directly and sharply as they might often wish.

In the given situation, the ministry really succeeded in pursuing its aims or the aims of the circles that stood behind it. It appealed to the existence of special economic conditions in Slovakia. For example, in spring 1919, the government issued a decree, which abolished a decree of the Ministry of Commerce on trade in iron and introduced free trade and transport of this commodity. However, the *Slovenský denník* immediately reported that the decree of the Ministry with Full Power on trade in iron was still valid and would not be revoked. A similar situation occurred in the wool trade. Only processors were allowed to export it from Slovakia and they had to observe maximum prices. Apart from this, the processors were obliged to pay the Supply Institute (Zásobovací ústav) a handling fee of 2% of the purchase price, and 30% of the exported wool had to be returned to Slovakia in the form of finished products.³⁶

34 *Sbírka zákonů a nařízení republiky Československé 1921, (Collection of Acts and Decrees of the Czechoslovak Republic 1921)*, p. 1825

35 The Ministry with Full Power to Administer Slovakia was established on the basis of Act no. 64/1918 Sb. z. a n. on extraordinary transitional arrangements for Slovakia. It consisted of a presidium and 14 government sections, responsible for: administration, justice, military affairs, state police, agriculture, finance, ecclesiastical affairs, feeding and supplying the population, industry and trade, health, education and public information, transport and post, social welfare and public works.

36 See *Slovenský denník*, 1919, year 2, no. 118 from 6 June 1919. As a result of this, the Central Association of Czechoslovak Industry (Ústredné združenie československého priemyslu) complained to the Ministry of Commerce in a letter of 17 February 1919, that the Ministry with Full Power did not recognize the validity of the decree on free trade in wool also in Slovakia and still demanded “from our Czech firms

However, attempts at an “independent approach” did not last long, because the Czech economic elites were soon able to assert their interests. The Ministry with Full Power began to be a “thorn in the eye” not only for parts of the Czech press, but – significantly – also for some of the circles, which stood in the background. Consideration of abolishing the Ministry with Full Power for the Administration of Slovakia appeared at a session of the Advisory Committee of the Commission for Economic Transition at the beginning of March 1919.³⁷

This demand was also raised, as we already mentioned, in connection with the establishment of the Ministry of Unification, and it was continued in the following period. Various Czech magazines published articles in which the authors held the Ministry with Full Power responsible for all the problems prevailing in Slovakia at that time. For example, *České slovo* reported that the Ministry with Full Power for the Administration of Slovakia was not able to solve the problems, and called for its dissolution. It claimed that the ministry was responsible for inadequacies in the supply of coal, for disorder in the administration and in the running of state enterprises in Slovakia, as well as for the presence of enemies of the republic in offices.³⁸

Centralization efforts increased over time and the departments of this ministry were either dissolved or replaced by Slovak departments of the individual Prague ministries.³⁹ However, the newly formed departments were already no more than executive bodies for the central ministries. In the event of disputes between them and the Ministry with Full Power, the appropriate ministry or ministerial council decided.

The Department for Industry and Commerce had an important place in the framework of the Ministry with Full Power. Later, it formed the basis for the Slovak Department of the Ministry of Industry and Commerce. As in the activity of other departments, the effort of Czech and with them also Slovak economic circles to weaken the position of Hungarian and other capital in Slovakia clearly came into the foreground in its activity.⁴⁰

compensation for permission to export wool, as if Slovakia was not part of the republic, but an independent economic territory”. Ref. 21, c. 2, no. 580

37 “Mr. advisor Máša thinks that the mistake was that they did not take into the ministries people, who know the Slovak situation, and that they only established offices in Bratislava. Experts on Slovakia should be brought into the ministries and the autonomy of the offices in Bratislava should be gradually eliminated... Dr. Šrobár holds the same view and is trying to move in this direction...” Palkovský similarly emphasized that “we incorrectly regard the plenipotentiary for Slovakia as the government, but he is really only the administrator”. Ref. 21, c. 3, j. no. 672

38 According to Štefan Janšák it was an editorial in *České slovo*, 1919, year 11, no. 253 (6 November 1919). For more details see Janšák’s reply to this editorial. JANŠÁK, Štefan. Aby bolo jasno. (To make things clear). In *Slovenský denník*, 1919, year 2, no. 244 (9 November 1919) and JANŠÁK, Štefan. Pravda o Slovensku. (The truth about Slovakia). In *Slovenský denník*, 1919, year 2, no. 249 (15 November 1919).

39 Eight of the departments were dissolved and the following departments were formed from the remainder: public works, education, the Slovak Department of the Ministry of Social Welfare, the Slovak Department of the Ministry of Industry and Commerce, the Branch Office of the Ministry of Public Health and Physical Education.

40 For example, the Ministry of Finance asked the financial department of the Ministry with Full Power to Administer Slovakia about the request of the Chamber of Commerce and Industry in Banská Bystrica on the granting of rediscount credit to financial institutions in Slovakia. The question was whether it was in the interests of German, Hungarian or Slovak institutions. The reply was that “here it is mainly a matter of the interests of Hungarian or German financial institutions... since our Slovak institutions have enough

The effort of the Slovak elites to achieve some degree of “independence” in relation to the Czech side is also clear. For example, the Union of Slovak Banks (Zväz slovenských bánk) reacted relatively sharply against the establishment of branches of Czech banks in Slovak towns, where Slovak financial institutions were already operating. It recommended that “*Czech banks should be instructed to establish their branches in regions to which Slovak finance had still not penetrated or only to an unsatisfactory degree, as in Lučenec, Rožňava, eastern Slovakia and Sub-Carpathian Ruthenia*”.⁴¹

The Czech political and economic representatives enabled their Slovak colleagues to participate in power to some degree, and this was more or less advantageous for both sides. However, since the Czechs held the economic instruments for controlling the economy and the power-political resources for non-economic coercion, they directed the development of the economy in Slovakia according to their ideas and interests. A typical example in this area is the reply of the Ministry of Industry and Commerce to a protest from the Ministry with Full Power concerning the establishment of the Timber Syndicate (Drevársky syndikát), which had the role of regulating the exporting and importing of timber. The Ministry with Full Power protested against the fact that it was bypassed in the appointment of the members of the board of this syndicate and the interference with its power to approve exports from Slovakia. The Ministry of Industry agreed to talk about appointing Slovak representatives to this syndicate, but it insisted on the view that “*foreign trade policy must be united in the whole area of the Czechoslovak Republic*”.⁴²

We find a detailed picture of the activity of the Department for Industry and Commerce especially in the reports worked out by the department for Vavro Šrobár. The first of them already expressed the fear that industry would succumb to Czech competition, since as a result of insufficient coal and other raw materials, many works in the territory of Slovakia were not operating. Difficulties in the field of production were also pointed out in other reports. At the same time, however, they also pointed to obstacles in the field of sales, especially in the area of foreign trade and their negative influence on the development of industry in Slovakia. For this reason, they supported the conclusion of compensation deals with Hungary (report from November 1919), especially concerning the exporting of timber, paper, textiles and importing of coal. They also demanded the establishment of Slovak branch offices of all the commissions being established at that time, for example, the Coal Inspectorate, the Commission for Exports and Imports or the Foreign Currency Centre.⁴³ Thus, the department’s activity reacted to the problems in the running of the Slovak economy in the initial period after the formation of Czechoslovakia.

deposits and credit from the Czech banks”. Ref. 21, c. 1, no. 320. However, in conditions of inadequate financial resources, an effort to weaken the position of Hungarian and other non-Czechoslovak capital was not always in harmony with the need for the further industrialization of Slovakia, and could actually hinder it, because industrial production in Slovakia was largely controlled by such capital.

41 List Zväzu slovenských peňažných ústavov. (Letter from the Union of Slovak Financial Institutions.). SNA, f. SOMPO – 1920, inv. no. 84, c. 11, no. 234; also no. 229 and 246 of the same source.

42 Ref. 21, c. 3, no. 893, as well as no. 946 of the same source.

43 Ref. 21, c. 1, no. 384; c. 6, no. 2014.

In the framework of the general changes in organization and in the responsibilities of the individual departments of the Ministry with Full Power for the Administration of Slovakia, there was also a “struggle” over the form of the department for industry and commerce. The reply of the department to the question from the minister with full power from 18 August 1919 on whether the department could be dissolved and placed under the Prague ministry, recommended, that it and the other should be left unchanged until the elections. Then it should perform information and advisory activity. Disputes over fields of responsibility were not solved even in autumn 1919, and so Karel Kadrman (up to 1 October 1919 Vladimír Makovický headed the department) demanded clear definition of the department’s legal powers in a report on its activity.⁴⁴

In the summer of 1920, the department for industry and commerce at the Ministry with Full Power was changed into the Slovak division of the Ministry of Industry, Commerce and Business. The division had to regularly inform the ministry in Prague about the situation in industry, commerce and business in Slovakia and mediate contact between the ministry and the relevant offices in Slovakia.⁴⁵

On the initiative of the Department for Industry and Commerce, the Ministry with Full Power established the Economic Commission on 1 October 1919. Although according to the original proposal, it was supposed to have executive powers,⁴⁶ at the constituting session, they already emphasized that the executive powers belonged to the individual departments and the role of the commission was only to accelerate the solution of various matters.

According to the proposal worked out on the basis of the constituting session, decisions of the commission had to be implemented immediately after they were taken and all the offices in Slovakia would be subject to them. However, the minister with full power reserved the right to express his views on adopted resolutions, which further limited its power.

The programme of sessions of the Economic Commission was varied. Considerable attention was devoted to the question of the exporting of timber from Slovakia. The commission did not agree with the ban on the exporting of timber issued by the Ministry of Railways. As a result of this, the transportation of timber by rail was stopped, if it

44 “*This department is a sort of undefined branch office of the Ministry of Commerce in Prague and its responsibilities have never been defined... It has fulfilled tasks only on a pragmatic basis, usurping the right to do so.*” Ref. 21, c. 6, no. 2014, *Správa o činnosti referátu* (Report on the activity of the department).

45 Various representatives of the Union of Slovak Financial Institutions openly opposed the limitation of the legal authority of the department of the Ministry with Fully Power to Administer Slovakia and of the ministry itself. For example, Andrej Bacher stated that “*A strongly constructed Department for Commerce and Industry is necessary for us in Slovakia. Without it we cannot imagine the consolidation of our position.*” See BACHER, Andrej. Úryvky z hospodárskych pomerov prvého roku našej samostatnosti. (Episodes from the economic affairs of our first year of statehood.). In *Slovenský peňažník*, 1920, year 7, no. 4 (15 February 1920).

46 According to the text of the proposal, sent to the Department of Social Care on 30 July 1919, the Economic Commission was expected to have the following roles: “*1. To obtain accurate information on the economic situation. 2. To investigate the causes of the present economic crisis. 3. To make corrections... The Economic Commission should be permanent and be an executive as well as an advisory body.*” Ref. 21, c. 5, no. 1794.

was intended for export abroad. Already loaded timber had to be unloaded and returned to the sender. The only exception was timber for export to France, but also in this case, an obligatory direction of transport was set.⁴⁷ The ban also applied to timber exported to Hungary in return for coal in the framework of the already concluded compensation deals.

In this decision, the Ministry of Railways clearly reflected the effort of the Czech elite of the time to orient foreign trade towards the Western countries, especially France. The resolution of the Economic Commission to solve the problem by sending a deputation to the Ministry of Railways is a clear sign of the weakness of the Slovak side.

This reality, as well as the fact that the Czech side used the state apparatus it dominated to achieve its aims, is also reflected in the solution of the problem of the shortage of coal in Slovakia. The Economic Commission demanded relocation of the Coal Inspectorate from Žilina to Bratislava and the establishment of a Coal Commission. It would control the distribution of coal, not allow its requisitioning by military and county authorities, and ensure that individual businesses would not be assigned types of coal that they could not use in their production programmes.

After interventions by the Slovak Club, the Ministry of Public Works approved the establishment of the Coal Commission, but did not give up direct influence on the distribution of coal and did not allow relocation of the Coal Inspectorate.⁴⁸

Apart from such matters, the Economic Commission solved wage disputes, discussed the establishment of complaints commissions, the regional labour office and statistical office. It was also concerned with the problems of some industrial enterprises, supplies for the population and many other questions.⁴⁹

The Economic Commission originated at a time when the importance of the Ministry with Full Power to Administer Slovakia and its departments was already declining. For this reason, its original aim of establishing an executive authority for economic questions, melted away even before the commission was established.

Conclusion

The economic level of the states established on the ruins of the Habsburg Monarchy or the states, which acquired parts of the territory of former Austria – Hungary, varied substantially. The levels of economic development of different regions within the successor states were also very variable.

The process of adaptation of the economies of the eastern and western parts of Czechoslovakia to the new conditions included the need to unify the economies of Slovakia and the Czech Lands into a new economic unit, as well as the needs for economic revival and a transition from wartime to peacetime production.

Looking back at the development of views on the place of Slovakia in the economy of Czechoslovakia, we can state that in the period before the origin of the republic, there

47 Ref. 21, c. 8, j. no. 2504; c. 9, j. no. 3051.

48 The Club of Slovak Members of Parliament appointed the following as members of the Coal Commission: J. Brežný, A. Hvizdák, A. Bacher, A. Varna, Š. Tadránek, I. Karlovský, J. Martinček, P. Korběl, P. Makovický and A. Kožka. Ref. 21, c. no. 10, j. no. 3072.

49 Ref. 21, c. 1, j. no. 221; k. 3, j. no. 893; k. 5, j. no. 1794.

were ideas on how to territorially or politically unite the Czech Lands with Slovakia, but no ideas about how to unite their economies. The need to define the place of Slovakia in the economy of Czechoslovakia was not felt even in the initial period after the origin of the new state. As a result of the general excess of demand over supply, it was expected that industry as well as agriculture would develop in Slovakia. Only the post-war economic crisis brought a turning point in the view of the place of Slovakia in the economy of Czechoslovakia.

The state apparatus was entirely dominated by the Czech political and economic elite. The Slovak elite endeavoured to pursue its demands by using all the possibilities provided by the newly emerging political system. Various institutions were established in this period on the initiative of the Slovak side, but they were not able to fully solve the ordinary operating problems such as supplying coal, extracting and exporting timber or settling wage disputes, because of their lack of real legal powers.

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DIE GESTALTUNG DER TSCHECHOSLOWAKISCHEN WIRTSCHAFT (1918-1920)

MIROSLAV FABRICIUS

Im Oktober 1918 wurde die Tschechoslowakische Republik proklamiert. In diesem neuen Gebilde schließen sich die industriell und landwirtschaftlich entwickelten böhmischen Länder mit der rückständigen agrarorientierten Slowakei zusammen. Gewisse Vorstellungen über die Art der territorialen oder politischen Verbindung der Slowakei und der böhmischen Länder gab es schon in der Zeit vor dem Ende des ersten Weltkriegs. Es gab jedoch kein „Programm“, in dem die Art der Verbindung im Bereich der Wirtschaft tiefer durchdacht wurde. Die Notwendigkeit, ein „Programm“, das bei der Lösung der Probleme bei der Anpassung der Slowakei und den böhmischen Ländern an die neue Bedingungen im Bereich der Wirtschaft helfen sollte, auszuarbeiten, war auch unmittelbar nach der Entstehung der Tschechoslowakei nicht zu spüren. Die Probleme, die in der Wirtschaft aufzutauchen begangen, wurden als Folge des Übergangs vom Kriegszustand zum Frieden, beziehungsweise als Folge der Fehler in der Arbeit des bürokratischen Apparats gesehen. Die Wende in der Anschauung brachte erst die Nachkriegswirtschaftskrise. Slowakische politische Repräsentation bemühte sich bei der Durchsetzung ihrer Forderungen nicht nur den parlamentarischen Boden zu nützen, sondern auch andere Möglichkeiten. Auf Initiative der slowakischen politischen Kreise wurde die Tätigkeit der Handels- und Industriekammer erneuert, auch die Zentralvereinigung der slowakischen Industrie und viele andere Institutionen nahmen ihre Tätigkeit auf. Ihre Befugnisse waren jedoch eingeschränkt und deswegen konzentrierten sich ihre Aktivitäten mehr oder weniger auf die Lösung von damaligen operativen Problemen.

Ing. Miroslav Fabricius, CSc.

P. O. BOX 198, 814 99 Bratislava, Klemensova 19

e-mail: histfabr@gmail.com

'... z prjsnosti a wssu ostrostu zakazzugeme.'

Sociálna disciplinizácia a zrod modernej spoločnosti.

Viliam Čičaj a kol.



THE INFLUENCE OF GERMANY ON CAPITAL TRANSFERS IN THE INSURANCE BUSINESS OF SLOVAKIA 1939 – 1942

EUDOVÍT HALLON

HALLON, Ludovít. The Influence of Germany on Capital Transfers in the Insurance Business of Slovakia 1939 – 1942. *Historický časopis*, 2014, 62, Supplement, pp. 79-107.

In the inter-war period, a structure of private insurance companies in which Czech insurance companies had the decisive influence, developed in Slovakia. In the years of existence of the independent Slovak Republic of 1939 – 1945, Slovak national capital with government support made a great effort to gain control of the insurance market, mainly at the expense of insurance companies in the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia. However, the representatives of Reich German insurance companies began a process of capital expansion and demanded a share in the insurance market of the new state. After complex Slovak – German talks, a compromise agreement on division of the property of insurance companies was agreed in November 1940. However, both sides broke this agreement and there was another round of complex negotiations. The result was strengthening of the position of Slovak national capital and maintenance of the influence of the German insurance companies on the level of the end of the 1930s.

Capital transfers. Insurance business. Slovak Republic of 1939 – 1945.

In the 1980s, the history of private insurance in Slovakia or in former Czechoslovakia was systematically researched by experts on insurance on the initiative of the state insurance companies of the Czech Lands and Slovakia. The research in Slovakia was led by the economic historian and expert on the history of insurance Ján Patoprstý, and in the Czech Lands by Miroslav Marvan and Jozef Chaloupecký. The result of this project was a three volume general work on the development of insurance in the territory of Czechoslovakia. The second volume deals with the period 1918 – 1945, especially with the history of insurance in the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia and Slovak Republic of 1939 – 1945.¹ The part on developments in Slovakia after 1938 also evaluates the influence of Germany on the transformation of insurance on the basis of domestic sources, mainly from the archive collections of the private insurance companies in the Slovak National Archives. The following study widens and supplements the problem with the view from the German side based on research in the German and Czech

1 PATOPRSTÝ, Ján. *Dejiny poisťovníctva v Česko-Slovensku. (The History of Insurance in Czechoslovakia). Vol. II.: Dejiny poisťovníctva v Česko-Slovensku v rokoch 1918 – 1945. (The history of insurance in Czecho-Slovakia, 1918 – 1945).* Bratislava : Slovenská poisťovňa; Alfa Konti 1993, 390 pages. ISBN 8088739047; MARVAN, Miroslav – CHALOUPECKÝ, Jozef. *Dějiny pojišťovníctví v Československu. Vol. II.: Dějiny pojišťovníctví v Československu (1918 – 1945).* Bratislava : Alfa konti, 1993; Česká pojišťovna 1993, 426 pages. ISBN 8088739012.

archives, especially in the collection from the German Embassy in Bratislava, deposited in the Archive of the German Foreign Office in Berlin and in the collection from the Office of the Reich Protector kept in the National Archives in Prague. At the same time, the domestic sources are re-evaluated. Among the further works on this problem, it is possible to mention the accompanying publications to the collective work on insurance, for example, on legal questions by F. Prochotský,² the general study of insurance in Slovakia in the period 1938 – 1942 for the German academic community by L. Hallon³ or the study by F. Drauschke on the problem of insurance in the Protectorate.⁴

A structure of private insurance companies made up of three basic components developed in the inter-war period in Slovakia. The first was domestic insurance companies with their headquarters in the territory of Slovakia, the second was branches of Czech insurance companies and the third was branches of foreign insurance companies. The domestic insurance companies were generally described as Slovak. However, Slovak national capital had only a secondary influence on their development. They were the result of the Czechoslovakization of older mainly Hungarian insurance companies with the participation of Czech or foreign capital. To be specific, the group included three companies: the Slovenská poisťovňa (Slovak Insurance Company), Karpátia and Domov – Slovakia. The largest of them was the Slovenská poisťovňa, financially linked with the Slovenská banka. It took over the branches of eleven Hungarian insurance companies with the participation of the Prvá česká vzájomná poisťovňa (First Czech Mutual Insurance Company). The Karpátia company originated from the branches of the Hungarian cooperative insurance company Gazdák (Farmers). It established an economic and political connection with Slovak people's finance and agrarian capital. It was also within the sphere of influence of Slávia, the most important Czech insurance company. The insurance company Domov – Slovakia was formed in 1930 by merging two companies: Domov and Slovakia. The insurance company Domov originated from the older Hungarian insurance company Hazai (Domov – Home) and Slovakia, a Slovak branch of the international insurance concern Phönix, which was controlled mainly by German – Jewish capital. In the mid thirties, the latter collapsed in a great international scandal, and the Domov – Slovakia insurance company was saved only by a state bailout.⁵

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- 2 PROCHOTSKÝ, František. *Právna úprava poisťovníctva za obdobie rokov 1918 – 1945. (The Legal Regulation of Insurance in the Period 1918 – 1945). Vol. II.* Bratislava : Slovenská poisťovňa, 1992, 488 pages.
 - 3 HALLON, Eudovít. Nationalisierung und Kapitalverschibungen im Versicherungswesen der Slowakei 1938 – 1942. In MOSSER, Alois (Hrs). *Geld und Kapital, 2002, Jahrbuch des Gesellschaft für mittel-europäische Bank- und Sparkassengeschichte. Die Versicherungs-wirtschaft in Mitteleuropa während des Nationalsozialismus.* Stuttgart : Franz Steiner Verlag, 2004, p. 87-106. ISBN 3515082573.
 - 4 DRAUSCHKE, Frank. Die Versicherungswirtschaft in den böhmischen Ländern und die Entziehung jüdischen Lebensversicherungspolizen. In MOSSER, ref. 3, p. 61-86.
 - 5 SNA, f. Súkromné poisťovne – Tatra poisťujúca spol. (f. Private insurance companies – Tatra insurance co., hereinafter f. SP-Tatra), I-B – 4/1, c. 2. Elaboráty kurátora poisťovní J. Müllera o vývoji a stave poisťovníctva na Slovensku s návrhom na jeho reorganizáciu z 25. 10. 1939 (Reports of the commissioner (kurátor) of the insurance companies J. Müller on the development of insurance in Slovakia with a proposal for its reorganization from 25 October 1939); Elaborát o vývoj Tatra poisťujúcej spoločnosti z 30. 12. 1940, (Report on the development of the Tatra Insurance Company from 30 December 1940).

In reality, the branches of Czech insurance companies formed the key component of insurance in Slovakia. By the end of the 1930s, 25 of them were operating in Slovakia. Apart from the above mentioned *Slávia* and *Prvá česká vzájomná poisťovňa*, they included the *Čechoslávia*, *Merkúr*, *Koruna*, *Labe*, *Patria*, *Slovanská poisťovňa*, *Republikánska ľudová poisťovňa* and others. In autumn 1938, the group of foreign companies included nine German, three Italian, two Swiss and two French insurance companies. From the nine German companies, eight were originally Austrian, for example: *Anker*, *Donau*, *Anglo – Elementar* and *Providentia*. Reich German insurance was represented by the company *Viktoria* of Berlin.

A total of 44 insurance companies were carrying on commercial activity in Slovakia in the period of the break up of the Czechoslovak Republic. Their gross insurance receipts were about 125 million Kč, and they had reserves and funds of around 300 million Kč. The share of these assets held by the branches of the Czech insurance companies was 45%, while the domestic companies had only about 20%. The Austro-German companies reached a share of 17% and the Italians had 18%. The losses of insurance funds in southern Slovakia after the Vienna Arbitration reduced the total value of insurance receipts to 117 million Ks. The Czech insurance companies had a share of 56.3% in this, while the domestic companies had 25%, the Italians 10% and the Austro-Germans 8.7%.⁶

The first large shifts in the distribution of strengths and the position of individual capital groups occurred in autumn 1938. The autonomous government adopted various legislative measures to limit the activities of non-Slovak capital and it created a team of experts, which had the task of working out a programme for expansion into the business sphere of foreign capital, especially Czech and Jewish. The far-reaching plans included taking control of the foreign insurance companies. Soon after taking power, the government appointed the ministerial adviser Dr. Juraj Bulla as commissioner for private insurance on 24 October 1938. He compiled a proposal demanding the creation of an office to supervise the private insurance companies and make a more detailed plan for the transformation of insurance. The supervisory office was established at the Ministry of the Interior under the leadership of J. Bulla. The advisory committee for private insurance at the Ministry of the Interior was expected to prepare the conception for the transformation.⁷

The projects of the time for the expansion of Slovak capital followed the so-called evolutionary approach. The views of moderate Slovak national economists still prevailed in this period. They were aware of the need for at least temporary cooperation with Czech, Jewish and foreign capital. In autumn 1938, a pressure group demanding the radical reconstruction of finance began to oppose the moderate views of the majority of national economists. Its spokesman was the director of the branch of the Austrian – German insurance company *Donau Jozef Müller*. In various memoranda and plans for the reorganization of insurance, he demanded a substantial reduction in the number

6 SNA, f. SP-Tatra, I-B – 4/1, c. 2. *Elaboráty kurátora poisťovní J. Müllera o vývoji a stave poisťovníctva na Slovensku s návrhom na jeho reorganizáciu z 25. 10. 1939.* (Reports of the commissioner of the insurance companies J. Müller on the development and state of insurance in Slovakia with a proposal for its reorganization from 25 October 1939).

7 PATOPRSTÝ, ref. 1, p. 273.

of institutions to a level corresponding to the economic potential of the country. As an example, he gave the concentration of insurance in Austria, where the number of insurance companies was reduced from 64 to 10 after the occupation of the country by Nazi Germany. He thought that in Slovakia, a reduction in the number of insurance companies from the original 44 to 9 would be the best solution.⁸

The transformation of the capital structure of insurance accelerated after the origin of the independent Slovak state. In the first period of its existence, the government adopted partial measures to stabilize the situation in insurance, including limitation of insurance benefits and a decree that the existing insurance costs had to remain unchanged. Disputes between insurance companies had to be solved by a new institution: the Central Insurance Court (Hlavný poisťovací súd) in Bratislava. Apart from securing economic balance, the state interventions also aimed to gain control over the branches of foreign insurance companies. After the break up of the Czechoslovak Republic, the branches of Czech or Protectorate insurance companies also came into this category. The government prevented the possible transfer of insurance funds abroad with a decree about depositing insurance reserves in the territory of Slovakia and with a regulation from the Ministry of the Interior of 20 July 1939 on prohibiting transfer of insurance funds between insurance companies. The rights of the foreign insurance companies were openly attacked by the adoption of government decree no. 30 from 24 March 1939 on the administration of some private insurance companies. On the basis of this decree, the Ministry of the Interior gained the legal authority to place branches of foreign insurance companies under enforced managements and appoint a government commissioner (kurátor). The commissioner was “*obliged to undertake all the measures to protect the interests of the Slovak state, policyholders, insured people and insurance companies...*”⁹ A newly established commission composed of representatives of the government, the domestic insurance companies and four of the larger foreign insurance companies was made responsible for supervision of the commissioners’ management. J. Müller, an exponent of radical solutions in insurance, gained a decisive position among the commissioners. The Ministry of the Interior placed an enforced management in the branches of sixteen foreign companies. The majority of them were insurance companies from the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia.¹⁰

However, in the framework of the position of the German Reich as the protector of the Slovak state, the representatives of Germany intervened with their own conceptions and interests in the plans for the expansion of Slovak national capital. As in the case of the division of the property of the former Czechoslovak Republic, questions related to

8 SNA, f. SP-Tatra, I-B – 4/1, c. 2. Elaboráty kurátora poisťovní J. Müllera o vývoji a stave poisťovníctva na Slovensku s návrhom na jeho reorganizáciu z 25. 10. 1939. (Report of the commissioner of insurance companies J. Müller on the development and state of insurance in Slovakia with a proposal for its reorganization from 25 October 1939.).

9 Vládne nariadenia (Government decree) no. 30 from 24 March 1939 on the commissioner’s management of some private insurance companies operating in the territory of the Slovak state. In *Slovenský zákonník*, 1939, part 7, p. 31

10 Ref. 9.

the property of private insurance companies with their headquarters in the Protectorate were solved in German – Slovak negotiations. In spite of the fact that the property of the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia and businesses from it was involved, representatives of the protectorate government and economic circles had only a minor role in discussions and only an advisory position. The final form of the transformation of insurance in Slovakia depended on the content of the Slovak – German agreement on insurance companies. The Slovak – German agreement on the division of the property of the Czechoslovak Republic also had an important role in this process. It set the economic conditions for capital transfers in the insurance sector. The main aim of the German delegation in talks on insurance companies was to increase or at least maintain the number of German insurance companies in the territory of Slovakia and the penetration of German capital into the Slovak branches of the Protectorate insurance companies.

The questions of insurance began to be solved by Slovak – German inter-governmental committees, where they formed the independent Sub-commission II b – private insurance companies (Unterkommission II b Privatversicherungen). Government circles in Slovakia were represented by the commissioner for insurance Dr. J. Bulla. The private Slovak insurance companies were represented by Mikuláš Ihering (Slovenská poisťovňa), Bořivoj Zlatohlávek (Domov – Slovakia) and František Mokrář from the Slovak branch of the Slávia insurance company. Germany was represented by high officials from the Ministry of the Economy of the Reich, ministerial adviser Dr. Kurt Daniel and government adviser Gerhard Ady. In the next period, the top government adviser Dr. Karol Férfy from the Ministry of the Interior also represented the Slovak government in international negotiations on questions related to private insurance companies, while J. Müller represented the insurance companies of Slovakia. The coordinator of the Slovak – German – Protectorate talks was the ministry director of the Ministry of the Economy of the Reich Dr. Walter Riehle, as in the case of other financial problems. From autumn 1939, the commercial attaché at the German Embassy in Bratislava and later adviser to the Slovak government Dr. Erich Gebert also participated in the talks. The Slovak Ministry of the Interior was the partner of the Ministry of the Economy of the Reich in these talks.¹¹

At meetings in Berlin from 13 to 17 July 1939, Sub-commission II b of the Slovak – German government committees adopted a proposal for a Slovak – German agreement on private or contractual insurance companies. It solved especially the questions of mutual relations and property transfers between the insurance companies with their headquarters in the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia and in the Slovak Republic, which operated in the territory of the former Czechoslovak Republic. However, directly or indirectly, it also concerned the insurance companies of inter-war Czechoslovakia, which had their headquarters in other countries. This meant that it also applied to insurance companies belonging to German capital with their headquarters in former Austria

11 Politisches Archiv des Auswertigen Amtes (hereinafter PA AA) f. Gesandtschaft Pressburg (hereinafter GP), WH Nr. 364/ 1, B. 1, c. 216. Protocol from the sessions of the Sub-commission of the Slovak – German government committees for insurance 13-17 July 1939 in Berlin; PA AA, f. GP, WH Nr. 364/ 1, B. 1, c. 216. Protocol from the Slovak – German negotiations on the transformation of insurance in Slovakia 18 March 1940 at the Ministry of the Interior in Bratislava.

or in inter-war Germany. According to the content of the prepared agreement, it is possible to state that to some degree it preserved reciprocity in the future division of the insurance funds of the Protectorate and Slovak insurance companies. However, the final result followed mainly the interests of Slovakia. The character of the agreement was understandable, since the interests of the Protectorate companies were represented in Sub-commission II b only indirectly by the director of the Slovak branch of the Slávia insurance company. The insurance funds of the companies operating in both parts of the former Czechoslovakia had to be divided into Protectorate and Slovak parts according to the place of residence of the policyholder or the location of the insured item on 30 June 1939. Thus reciprocity was observed at first sight. However, the activities of nationally Czech and other Protectorate insurance companies in Slovakia had a substantially greater extent than the activities of the Slovak insurance companies in the Czech Lands. An even deeper asymmetry flowed from the articles about the further activities of the insurance companies and the transfer of their insurance funds to foreign territory. The Slovak insurance companies with insurance funds in the Czech Lands had up to 90 days from the signing of the future agreement to obtain permission for commercial activity in the Protectorate, or to transfer the insurance fund belonging to the Protectorate to an insurance company there. An insurance company with its headquarters in the Protectorate and insurance fund in Slovakia also had the possibility to apply for permission for activity within 90 days, but the part of the insurance fund belonging to Slovakia could be transferred only to an insurance company decided by representatives of the government. Permission for further commercial activity depended on the legislative conditions in the Slovak Republic and Protectorate. However, it had to be freed from tax, charges or security deposits, as in the case of the transfer of insurance funds. Protectorate insurance companies were obliged to transfer to Slovakia securities and other assets serving as cover for the original assets of the insurance reserves belonging to the Slovak part of the insurance funds. The Slovak and German members of Sub-commission II b expressed general satisfaction with the form of the future agreement. Its conclusion was conditional only on the completion of talks about the transfer of securities of the Czechoslovak state, so that the precise exchange rates for determining the value of state property could be set. They planned to create a special committee to solve disputed questions connected with the agreement.¹²

The generally successful development of the Slovak – German talks and the comprehensive content of the submitted proposal created the impression that the final acceptance of the agreement on private insurance companies was already only a question of a short time. However, the obstacles and various conditions for the conclusion of the agreement were substantially more complicated than the official documents from the Slovak – German talks show. Hidden obstacles led to the original text of the proposal being substantially changed, amended and in various ways radicalized. The causal connections of the obstacles derived mainly from the special demands of the Germans representing the interests of insurance companies based on German capital, as well as the specific ideas

12 PA AA, f. GP, WH Nr. 364/ 1, B. 1, c. 216. Proposed Slovak – German agreement on private insurance companies from the session of the Sub-commission for insurance of the Slovak – German government committees, 17 July 1939 in Berlin.

and plans of the German national minority in Slovakia, and last but not least from the radicalization of the economic and political situation in the Slovak state. The background of the talks in July 1939 in Berlin, on which the correspondence of German and Slovak economic representatives commented, indicated that the German delegation had more reservations towards the proposal than were officially declared.

The representatives of the government economic circles of the Reich insisted that the proposed agreement should be accompanied by unofficial confidential letters from the chairmen of the German and Slovak government committee, speaking of the possibilities for a special position for the insurance companies with headquarters in the Ostmark (Austria), the old territory of Germany and the Sudetenland. The chairman of the German government committee Günter Bergemann specifically stated in the letter that when approving applications for the further activity of foreign insurance companies in Slovakia, the Slovak government authorities should take into account the demands of the Ministry of the Economy of the Reich, to the extent that they did not oppose Slovak economic interests. The Slovak Ministry of the Interior was also asked to agree that in the event of the establishment of a Slovak branch of a German insurance company, its top management would include one Slovak citizen and one German citizen during a transitional period of 2 – 4 years. In his letter, Bergemann also demanded advantages and simplification of the administrative procedures for foreign insurance companies with permission to continue their commercial activity in the Slovak state. Sudeten German economic circles also demanded a longer legal deadline for the transfer of the insurance fund of a Slovak insurance company, which belonged to Sudeten Germans, including people from Petržalka and Devín. The Sudeten German part of the insurance fund of the company Domov – Slovakia had to come under the administration of its mother company Star, successor to the failed insurance company Phönix. The company Star with its headquarters in Jablonec (Reichenberg) acted as a Sudeten German company in this period. The special solution of the position of the insurance company Domov – Slovakia, linked with German capital was also confirmed by an independent article in the proposed agreement from July 1939.¹³

The activities of the German economic representatives in the interest of preserving the existence of the Slovak branches of German insurance companies were justified and urgent, because the Slovak government circles made no secret of their plans to concentrate insurance. According to the reports of the German Embassy in Bratislava as well as the ministry adviser W. Riehle and other representatives of Germany in Slovakia, the government commissioner for insurance companies J. Bulla already indicated at talks in July 1939 that the existence of more than 40 insurance companies in the territory of Slovakia was unsustainable. Therefore, permission for the further activity of foreign insurance companies would be granted only in exceptional cases and the majority of foreign

13 PA AA, f. GP, WH Nr. 364/ 1, B. 1, c. 216. Letter from the chairman of the Slovak government committee Dr. Štefan Polyák to the chairman of the German government committee G. Bergemann. Berlin, about 17 July 1939. PA AA, f. GP, WH Nr. 364/ 1, B. 1, c. 216. Report from the ministry director W. Riele to the Foreign Office in Berlin (Auswärtige Amt, hereinafter AA) on development of the Slovak – German discussions on private insurance companies and on the exchange of letters between the chairmen of the Slovak – German government committees from July 1939. Berlin, 2 March 1940.

insurance funds had to be transferred to Slovak companies. At the same time, however, the willingness of the government to satisfy the demands of Germany was confirmed, since the restrictions would mainly affect the Protectorate insurance companies. The government initially expected a reduction in the number of branches of foreign insurance companies to 12, but in the case of German branches only from seven to four. These promises were not enough for the German national economists, who demanded concrete guarantees. However, during the whole period from July 1939 to February 1940, they received only very vague answers to numerous questions on the future development of insurance. The struggle over the character of the further transformation of the insurance system in Slovakia culminated during this period, and so the Slovak national economists could not submit anything specific to their German partners until spring 1940. For example, at the beginning of March 1940 W. Riehle reported to the Foreign Office in Berlin that the commissioner for insurance companies J. Bulla had repeatedly sent evasive replies to various letters urgently requesting information about German insurance companies in Slovakia in the period from October 1939 to January 1940.¹⁴

J. Bulla was more specific in his correspondence with his German colleague K. Daniel. In February 1940, he informed Daniel that the general plan for the concentration of insurance had been worked out and submitted to the minister of the interior Ferdinand Ďurčanský for consideration. However, he had to delay a further more detailed version of the plan, because the ministry was busy with a new territorial administrative division of Slovakia and other tasks. There were still no detailed proposals on the development of the German insurance companies. In the given circumstances, K. Daniel rejected J. Bulla's invitation to personal discussions in Bratislava, and was willing to talk only about clearly defined plans.¹⁵ The main cause of delay in planning the transformation of insurance from the Slovak side was the unclear conception on various questions, including the position in relation to German insurance companies. Agreement prevailed on projects to nationalize the insurance funds of Protectorate companies belonging to Czech capital. Various conceptions appeared only in evaluations of the degree of radicalism in the treatment of such companies. The relationship to German insurance companies was substantially more accommodating, and it had to be as a result of the position of Slovakia. However, there were fears of the expansion of German capital into the most lucrative parts of insurance, namely into the Slovak branches of the Protectorate insurance companies. The increasing influence of German capital in other sectors of the economy only confirmed these fears. In reality various alternative proposals from different pressure groups, for the transformation of insurance circulated in government circles.

14 PA AA, f. GP, WH Nr. 364/ 1, B. 1, c. 216. Report of the ministry director W. Riehle to the AA on the development of the Slovak – German talks on private insurance companies and on the exchange of letters between the chairmen of the Slovak – German government committees from July 1939. Berlin, 2 March 1940.

15 PA AA, f. GP, WH Nr. 364/ 1, B. 1, c. 216. Letter from the ministry adviser K. Daniel to the government commissioner for insurance companies J. Bulla, Berlin, 8 January 1940; PA AA, f. GP, WH Nr. 364/ 1, B. 1, c. 216. Letter from J. Bulla to K. Daniel at the Ministry of the Economy of the Reich in Berlin (Reichswirtschaftsministerium, hereinafter RWM). Bratislava, 5 February 1940.

The official plan submitted to the minister of the interior F. Ďurčanský in March 1941 under the title *Proposal for the reorganization of private insurance in the territory of the Slovak Republic* gave only a general framework. It counted on the concentration of the insurance funds of foreign companies into several institutions in the framework of national capital groups. The majority of the insurance funds of the branches to be dissolved, would pass to the three insurance companies officially considered Slovak in nationality, namely the Slovenská poisťovňa, Karpátia and Domov – Slovakia. However, the scheme to merge the branches into national capital groups was still a subject of international discussions, which also involved the German insurance companies. The Protectorate companies still had the possibility to select the domestic insurance company to which their insurance business in the territory of Slovakia would be transferred. Only the smaller Czech insurance companies used this, while the decisive players in the Slovak insurance market such as the company Slávia, waited for further developments. Ďurčanský expressed his view in a memorandum sent to the prime minister's office at the beginning of April 1940. He unambiguously supported the idea of bringing the insurance funds of foreign, especially Czech companies under Slovak control. However, he considered that the conception of the project for taking control of the Czech insurance funds was not sufficiently radical. His view of German and Italian insurance companies was more moderate. However, he openly pointed to the danger of a large proportion of German capital, and he unambiguously rejected its active participation in the concentration of the insurance funds of the Czech companies. He stated directly in the memorandum: *"With regard to the size and economic structure of our republic, it is impossible for 42 private insurance companies to continue to operate in its territory. [...] The healthy merging of private insurance companies was achieved [...] so that this part of private business could be incorporated into the work of building up Slovakia in the way that the state interest demands. [...] For reasons of foreign policy, we have to give some degree of respect to the demands and resolutions of Germany and Italy, although this is dangerous because statistics show that they have a 30% share of elementary business and 36% of life insurance business. However, we have a completely free hand in the merging of Czech and Moravian insurance companies. We must finally realize that for national economic reasons, we have to use this consolidation to enlarge the Slovak insurance companies [...] Merging of the German and Italian companies is also planned and they will keep their insurance funds, but they cannot be allowed to take over the insurance funds of the Czech and Moravian insurance companies..."*¹⁶ In the unofficial notes to the memorandum, he criticized the plan for the concentration of the Czech insurance companies: *"The submitted proposal does not take into account the interests of the Slovak insurance companies, but directly enables foreign, especially Czech companies, to continue to dominate the situation in our territory at the expense of the weaker Slovak insurance companies, which*

16 SNA, f. Ministerstvo vnútra (hereinafter MV), II. d, no. 51181, c. 1046. Memorandum ministra F. Ďurčanského k vládnemu Návrhu na reorganizáciu súkromného poisťovníctva na území Slovenskej republiky, zaslané na predsedníctvo vlády (Memorandum of minister F. Ďurčanský on the government proposal to reorganize private insurance in the territory of the Slovak Republic, sent to the prime minister's office.). Bratislava 4 April 1941.

*proves that the author of this plan is actually one of these companies...*¹⁷ F. Ďurčanský described the authors of the transformation plan as the exponents of foreign interests, and not only Czech. It is possible to state that his criticism of the excessive influence of foreign companies also related to other insurance companies including those from Germany. These views of F. Ďurčanský were clearly part of his attempts from the turn of the years 1939 – 1940 to take more independent steps in foreign policy and to reduce the direct influence of Germany on the economic and political development of Slovakia. In the following weeks, he left the working out of a new proposal for the concentration of insurance to the Ministry of the Interior.

The slowness of the preparations for reorganization of the insurance system provoked dissatisfaction among the German representatives. The activities of the German Embassy in Bratislava contributed to speeding up of the negotiations. The German and Protectorate insurance companies sent requests to protect their branches in Slovakia to the Embassy. The ambassador Hans Bernard admitted in a letter to the Foreign Office that the decisions of the Slovak government on individual insurance companies could be influenced only with difficulty. However, he expressed his full support for the demands of the Ministry of the Economy of the Reich, that the comments of its representatives should be considered in the plans for the concentration of insurance. W. Riehle also appealed for cooperation from the embassy in protecting the interests of the German insurance companies.¹⁸ Probably on the initiative of the German Embassy, representatives of the German and Slovak insurance companies met in Bratislava on 18 March 1940, to bring the proposed agreement on private insurance companies from July 1939 a step closer to its final form. They supplemented the text of the proposal with alternative conditions for the merging of insurance companies. The German delegation was willing to compromise and allow the reduction of the number of insurance companies of German character. However, earlier correspondence already contained the demand that the insurance funds of the dissolved German and in some cases Protectorate companies would pass not to Slovak, but to the remaining German insurance companies.¹⁹

The composition of the delegations at these talks was almost identical to that of the delegations at the preceding meetings in Berlin. The new participants were the adviser K. Férffy, J. Müller and the commercial attaché E. Gebert. Bulla confirmed the flexibility of the Slovak government towards the German insurance companies when awarding concessions. In return, the German representatives proposed a reduction in the number of German insurance companies from the original seven to two for non-life insurance, namely Donau and Allgemeine Elementar, and two for life insurance: Concordia and Viktoria zu Berlin or Anker. They no longer counted on the activity of the Slovak branch of the insurance company Union of Reichenberg (Liberec). By their initiative, the

17 Ref.16.

18 PA AA, f. GP, WH Nr. 364/ 1, B. 1, c. 216. Draft of the report of the German ambassador H. Bernard to the AA on the position of the German insurance companies in Slovakia. Bratislava, 8 February 1940; PA AA, f. GP, WH Nr. 364/ 1, B. 1, c. 216. Report from the ministry director W. Riehle to the AA on the development of the Slovak – German talks on private insurance companies. Berlin, 2 March 1940.

19 PAAA, f. GP, WH Nr. 364/ 1, B. 1, c. 216. Protocol from the Slovak – German talks on the transformation of private insurance in Slovakia in Bratislava at the Ministry of the Interior, 18 March 1940.

representatives of German insurance pre-empted the possible offers and proposals from the Slovak side to organize a group of German insurance companies. Bulla rewarded the initiative of his partners with a promise that the insurance funds of the dissolved German companies would pass to German insurance companies with a concession.²⁰ The last part of the negotiations was devoted to the question of the Protectorate insurance companies. The German national economists officially appeared as their representatives, but they took a real interest only in Czech and Moravian insurance companies that has some connection with German capital and its plans. J. Bulla gave an evasive answer to the question from K. Daniel on whether German insurance companies with a concession could expect a share in the insurance funds of the dissolved Protectorate companies.²¹

The German national economists already indicated at earlier talks, that apart from standard forms of life and non-life insurance, the German companies could also offer new types of insurance, that were previously little developed or non-existent in Slovakia. At talks in March 1940, they represented the company for insurance of goods and luggage in Prague and left space for the eventual approval of the activity of an insurance company, which would provide small insurance deals of a social character, especially for the German national group in Slovakia.²² The identity and aims of this company became clear during April to June 1940. It was the Ostmärkische Volksfürsorge insurance company, the Austrian branch of the German Volksfürsorge – Gruppe, which provided economic securing of social care. It fulfilled the economic aims of the Deutsche Arbeits-front, the united organization of employees in the whole German Reich. The Ostmärkische Volksfürsorge with its headquarters in Vienna provided advantageous financial and contractual conditions for insurance for the widest groups in the German population.²³

After fulfilling key roles in the Ostmark, it received approval from the leadership of the Volksfürsorge – Gruppe and the highest circles in the NSDAP, to widen its insurance activity on the same basis to the whole of south-east Europe, with the territory of Slovakia as its first area of expansion. Its chairman Gerhard Hecklinger asked for support from the Foreign Office in Berlin, the German Embassy in Bratislava, the German commercial attaché E. Gebert, the Slovak ministries of the Interior and Foreign Affairs and the commissioner for insurance J. Bella. The greatest trump card was a personal recommendation from the head of the staff of the central organization of the NSDAP (Der Reichsorganisationsleiter der NSDAP).²⁴ Unambiguous support came from the German side. However, the German representatives in Slovakia, especially ambassador H. Bernard, expressed doubts about whether the Slovak government was willing to grant a

20 Ref. 19.

21 Ref. 19

22 Ref. 19.

23 PA AA, f. GP, WH Nr. 364/ 1, B. 1, c. 216. Request of the chairman of the Ostmärkische Volksfürsorge G. Hecklinger to the commercial attaché at the German Embassy in Bratislava E. Gebert to intervene, with supplementary requests to the AA in Berlin and the government commissioner for insurance in Bratislava J. Bulla. Vienna. 22 April 1940.

24 Ref. 23; PA AA, f. GP, WH Nr. 364/ 1, B. 1, c. 216. Recommendation from the head of the staff of the central organization of the NSDAP for the Ostmärkische Volksfürsorge insurance company. Berlin – Wilmensdorf, 30 November 1939.

concession to a new foreign insurance company. In spite of this, E. Gebert promised to use all his contacts and pressure mechanisms in support of the new Austrian – German insurance company. This company officially applied for a concession to the Ministry of the Interior through its representative, the Bratislava notary Dr. Alfons Banauch, who belonged to the German ethnic group. It also relied on the support of other ethnic German inhabitants of Slovakia, especially from the Economic Office of the Deutsche Partei. The minister of the interior F. Ďurčanský and the commissioner J. Bulla expressed their respect for the activities of the German insurance company, but described the application as essentially unacceptable.²⁵

However, this reserved attitude did not discourage the representatives of the German insurance companies, and the list of applicants for concessions was lengthened by a German company for health insurance and another for insurance of heavy transport by land and sea. The representatives of the German ethnic group also had their own ideas about the reorganization of insurance. They supported the branch of the insurance company Märerische Landesversicherungs Anstalt of Brünn (Brno), which allegedly had half the insurance policyholders of German nationality.²⁶

In July 1940, the preparations for new Slovak – German talks were seriously disturbed by an incident reflecting the struggle between various interest groups in Slovak economic circles and the government leadership about the conception for the concentration of insurance. At the beginning of May 1940, the import and export company (DOVUS) with a public service character published the allegedly final form of the concentration of insurance, according to which only 6 insurance companies, 3 of them Slovak and the others Italian, Czech and German respectively, would continue to operate in Slovakia. The German national economists headed by E. Gebert regarded DOVUS as an economic corporation directly connected with the government, so they interpreted the information as the official position.²⁷ However, it was actually a conception created by the representatives of government offices, specifically the Ministry of the Interior on the initiative of F. Ďurčanský under the title *Proposal for the organization of insurance in Slovakia* as an alternative to the plan submitted to him by the prime minister's office and other conceptions. F. Ďurčanský demanded the merging of the branches of foreign, including German insurance companies into three companies. He stated in the proposal: *"I recommend that*

25 PA AA, f. GP, WH Nr. 364/ 1, B. 1, c. 216. Report from the German Embassy in Bratislava to the AA in Berlin on the attempt of the Ostmärkische Volksfürsorge insurance company to penetrate into Slovakia. Bratislava, 10 May 1940; PA AA, f. GP, WH Nr. 364/ 1, B. 1, c. 216. Letter from the Bratislava advocate A. Banauch to the commercial attaché at the German Embassy in Bratislava E. Gebert on the possibilities for the penetration of the Ostmärkische Volksfürsorge insurance company into Slovakia. Bratislava, 7 June 1940.

26 PA AA, f. GP, WH Nr. 364/ 1, B. 1, k. 216. Proposals for the granting of concessions to German insurance companies in the protocol from the Slovak – German talks on the transformation of private insurance companies in Slovakia, held in Bratislava at the Ministry of the Interior on 11 July 1940.

27 PA AA, f. GP, WH Nr. 364/ 1, B. 1, c. 216. Letter from the German commercial attaché E. Gebert to the ministry adviser at the RWM K. Daniel with information from DOVUS about the project to centralize private insurance in Slovakia. Bratislava, 14 May 1940; PA AA, f. GP, WH Nr. 364/ 1, B. 1, c. 216. Letter from the ministry adviser at the RWM K. Daniel to the government commissioner for insurance J. Bulla with a request for an explanation of the information from DOVUS about the project to transform private insurance. Berlin, 14 May 1940.

*all the German and all the Italian companies active in Slovakia should be merged into one German and one Italian company, so that there would be three foreign companies alongside the three above mentioned domestic companies [Slovenská poisťovňa, Karpátia, Domov-Slovakia – L. H.]... ”.*²⁸ The subsequent development of the Slovak – German talks showed that Ďurčanský’s proposal found little response and was a “final flower” at the end of his political career.

The main representatives of Slovak insurance had long accepted the conception of four German insurance companies. Its confirmation was the first point of the negotiations of 11 July 1939 in Bratislava. Some complications were caused only by the fact that the commissioner J. Bulla could not participate in the meeting because of illness. Before the talks in Bratislava, the German national economists had to solve the delicate problem of which German insurance companies would end their activity in Slovakia. Every alternative meant protests from interest groups of German capital. Already in March 1940, they decided on the liquidation of the insurance fund of the company Union of Reichenberg (Liberec). In summer 1940, they excluded the Austrian company Anker. The liquidation of its insurance fund was clearly a compromise between various interests. Two companies offering non-life insurance, namely Donau and Allgemeine Elementar, and two life insurance companies – Concordia of Reichenberg (Liberec) and Viktoria of Berlin were still going to operate in Slovakia. By origin, they comprised two Austrian, one Sudeten and one actual German company.²⁹ The German delegation supported the insurance companies, which applied for concessions in under developed segments of insurance. The request of the Europäische Güter und Reisegepäckversicherungsgesellschaft (European Goods and Luggage Insurance Company) of Prague was repeated and applications were submitted from the Ostmärkische Volksfürsorge insurance company of Vienna, the Deutscher Ring and Krankversicherungs-anstalt A.G. of Vienna health insurance companies and the Agrippina allgemeine Versicherung A.G. insurance company for land and sea transport of Cologne.

The Slovak delegation took up a waiting position. It could only promise consideration of the applications in the competent places. It was a little more responsive to the preservation of branches of protectorate insurance companies: the Moravian regional insurance institute in Brno supported by the German national group, and the branches of the Slávia insurance company. Since the animosity towards the Slávia company in Slovakia was known to the German national economists, they produced an alternative proposal to preserve the Allgemeine Assekuranz of Brno. The Slovak delegation confirmed that the Brno company would really be more acceptable in government circles. The independent points to be discussed included the question of the further development of the

28 SNA, f. MV, II. d, no. 174553, c. 1051. Návrh ministerstva vnútra na transformáciu poisťovníctva pod názvom Návrh na usporiadanie slovenskej poisťnej veci, pravdepodobne z apríla 1940, (Proposal from the Ministry of the Interior for the transformation of insurance under the title: *Proposal to organize Slovak insurance*, probably from April 1940).

29 PAAA, f. GP, WH Nr. 364/ 1, B. 1, c. 216. Report from the ministry adviser at the RWM K. Daniel to the German commercial attaché E. Gebert on preparation of the programme for the Slovak – German talks on insurance on 11 July 1940 in Bratislava. Berlin, 2 July 1940; PAAA, f. GP, WH Nr. 364/ 1, B. 1, c. 216. Protocol from the Slovak – German talks on the transformation of private insurance in Slovakia at the Ministry of the Interior in Bratislava, 11 July 1940.

international insurance company Star, the former Phönix. Since this company operated in the German Reich, Slovakia and Hungary, the participants proposed three-sided German – Slovak – Hungarian talks on its future. Understandably, the Slovak participants were most interested in the fate of the Slovak branch of the Phönix – Star company, namely the Domov – Slovakia insurance company.³⁰

When solving the technical aspects of the transfer of the insurance funds, adviser K. Daniel pointed to the fact that the German insurance companies would get the chance to take over the insurance fund of another dissolved German company in Slovakia, but they would not be able to influence the choice of this company. The Slovak government took a positive view of the older demand that the branch of a German company, which would get permission for continued activity, would be headed during the transitional period by one Slovak and one German citizen. The fact that a Slovak – German agreement on division of the property and debts of the former Czechoslovakia had been signed was important for the further development of the talks. It meant that exchange rates for the transfer of shares and other assets between the Protectorate and Slovakia could be determined. The German side proposed that transfers should be done at a 1 : 1 exchange rate, which corresponded to the conditions for changing currencies in 1939.³¹

J. Bulla cast doubt on the results of the Bratislava talks, in which he did not participate because of illness. In correspondence with K. Daniel, he reproached the German delegation especially over the new applications for concessions, which he considered absurd against the background of the concentration of insurance.³² However, changes in the overall structure of Slovak – German relations during the summer of 1940, deepening of pressure from the Nazi regime on the Slovak government leaders and the arrival of a new German ambassador Manfred von Killinger known for his radical views, had a significant influence on the positive consideration of the German applications. The position of the German insurance companies was also strengthened by the change at the Slovak Ministry of the Interior, where Alexander Mach, a member of the national socialist, pro-German wing of the regime, became minister.

The German commercial attaché E. Gebert took the initiative in the field of insurance into his hands. In correspondence and on the basis of personal consultation with representatives of German and Slovak insurance, especially J. Bulla and K. Férffy, using pressure or compromise, he forced the rapid solution of the disputed questions. At the beginning of September 1940 all the controversial parts of the planned agreement were essentially concluded. The government had to grant four German companies permission to continue operating in Slovakia by the middle of October 1940. The Ostmärkische Volksfürsorge had a favoured position among the new applicants for a concession. There were no objections to the Deutscher Ring and Europäische Güter und Reisegepäckversicherung. Only the company Agrippina was still waiting for assessment of whether it was going to compete with one of the Italian insurance companies with a similar orientation

30 PA AA, f. GP, WH Nr. 364/ 1, B. 1, c. 216. Protokol... Ref. 29.

31 Ref. 30.

32 PA AA, f. GP, WH Nr. 364/ 1, B. 1, c. 216. Letter from the government commissioner for insurance J. Bulla to the ministry adviser K. Daniel with reservations on the Slovak – German talks about insurance on 11 July 1940 in Bratislava. Bratislava, 26 July 1940.

operating in Slovakia. The continued operation of the Protectorate Moravian regional insurance company with the support of the German national group was also welcome, while granting of a concession to the Slávia insurance company appeared to be unthinkable from the economic and political points of view. Only the Allgemeine Assekuranz came into consideration.³³

The Slovak and German sides expressed their understanding of the aim of the Slovak government to transfer the insurance funds of nationally Czech insurance companies to companies controlled by Slovak capital. However, in certain cases, especially if it did not oppose Slovak economic interests, they admitted the possibility of transferring the insurance fund of a Czech company to a German enterprise.³⁴ In a letter to K. Daniel, E. Gebert admitted that the strongest opposition from the commissioner for insurance J. Bulla was provoked precisely by the claims of German insurance companies to a share of the insurance funds of liquidated Czech companies. J. Bulla finally agreed that under certain conditions, German companies could apply for the funds of Czech insurance companies, but only as an expression of goodwill towards the German side. After mutual agreement, they set the share of German capital at 20% of the total value of the insurance funds of the Czech companies in Slovakia.³⁵ However, this promise remained on the verbal level.

In autumn 1940, even before the definitive conclusion of an agreement on private insurance companies, protests began to arrive from the German insurance companies. At the same time, new German insurance companies applied for concessions as companies with specific fields of insurance activity. Interior minister A. Mach also complained about the continual pressure from dissatisfied applicants in a letter to the new ambassador M. Killinger, asking him not to react to such pressures.³⁶ Especially the representatives of Anker of Vienna took their loss of position in Slovakia badly. They emphasized that their insurance company was one of the oldest German enterprises in Slovakia. They established a branch in Bratislava in 1859 and provided a palace worth 6 million crowns for the activities of the Deutsche Partei.³⁷ The Wiener Allianz insurance company applied to enter the Slovak insurance market. It argued that it had operated in the territory of Slovakia in the past for several decades. However, during the inter-war period, Czech

33 PA AA, f. GP, WH Nr. 364/ 1, B. 1, c. 216. Report from the German commercial attaché E. Gebert to the ministry adviser at the RWM K. Daniel on the selection of German insurance companies in Slovakia and solution of technical matters in the transformation of insurance. Bratislava 27 August 1940; PA AA, f. GP, WH Nr. 364/ 1, B. 1, c. 216. Report of the German commercial attaché E. Gebert to the government commissioner for insurance J. Bulla on the final list of German insurance companies in Slovakia and solution of the technical matters of the transformation of insurance. Bratislava, 9 September 1940.

34 Ref. 33.

35 PA AA, f. GP, WH Nr. 364/ 1, B. 1, c. 216. Report from the German commercial attaché E. Gebert to the ministry adviser at the RWM K. Daniel on discussion and agreements with the government commissioner for insurance J. Bulla. Bratislava, 16 September 1940.

36 PAAA, f. GP, WH Nr. 364/ 1, B. 1, c. 216. Letter from minister of the interior A. Mach to the German ambassador M. Killinger about the problems of concentration of insurance. Bratislava, 16 October 1940.

37 PA AA, f. GP, WH Nr. 364/ 1, B. 1, c. 216. Complaint of the representatives of the company Anker of Vienna in Slovakia against the planned cancellation of its concession, sent to the German Embassy in Bratislava. Bratislava, 4 November 1940.

capital had gained control of its Czechoslovak fund. Gebert and the representatives of German insurance expressed their understanding of its arguments, but they described its application for a concession as hopeless from the beginning.³⁸ A draft agreement on private insurance companies with selected applicants for concessions was already submitted to the government for approval in September 1940. According to the words of E. Gebert, the text of the agreement was finally assessed by the prime minister V. Tuka.³⁹ The premier and new interior minister together with the former attachment of Slovakia to Nazi Germany were guarantees of the acceptance of the German demands.

The Slovak – German agreement on private insurance companies was finally concluded after months of preparations at talks in Berlin on 15 November 1940 with the participation of representatives of insurance and of the governments of both countries. The text of the agreement was mostly taken from the proposal submitted in July 1939. The disputed questions were solved by a special supplement and opened problems formed the content of a protocol from a special meeting. The Berlin talks resulted in three joint documents.⁴⁰ On the question of ownership of the insurance funds of the companies from the former Czechoslovakia, the agreement confirmed that they had to be divided into Protectorate and Slovak parts according to the principles adopted at the talks in July 1939. The Protectorate insurance companies operating in Slovakia without permission for further activity were obliged to conclude contracts on transfer within 90 days from the agreement becoming legally valid, and on this basis, to give up the Slovak parts of their insurance funds to the companies designated by the government supervisory bodies of the Slovak Republic. Slovak insurance companies in the Protectorate had the same obligation, but their insurance fund could be transferred to a company according to their own choice. The agreement also applied to insurance companies operating in the former Czechoslovakia but with their headquarters in other states.⁴¹

Permission to continue commercial activity depended on the legislative conditions in Slovakia and the Protectorate. The agreement confirmed the freeing of transfers from fees and taxes. The Protectorate insurance companies were obliged to transfer to Slovakia

38 PA AA, f. GP, WH Nr. 364/ 1, B. 1, c. 216. Letter from the chairman of the board of the Wiener Allianz Dr. H. Schmidt-Polex to the German commercial attaché E. Gebert with an application for a concession in Slovakia. Vienna, 6 November 1940; PA AA, f. GP, WH Nr. 364/ 1, B. 1, c. 216. Letter from the management of the Wiener Allianz insurance company to the Reich Supervisory Office for private insurance companies with a request for support in gaining a concession in Slovakia. Vienna, 17 October 1940; PA AA, f. GP, WH Nr. 364/ 1, B. 1, c. 216. Report from the ministry adviser at the RWM K. Daniel to the German commercial attaché E. Gebert on the possibilities for gaining a concession for the Wiener Allianz insurance company. Berlin, 25 November 1940.

39 Ref. 35.

40 The text of the agreement appeared in the *Slovenský zákonník* (Slovak Statute Book) as the *Vyhlaška ministra zahraničných vecí o Dohode medzi Slovenskou republikou a Nemeckou ríšou o otázkach súkromného poistenia (zmluvného poistenia)* (Declaration of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs about the Agreement between the Slovak Republic and the German Reich on questions of private insurance /contractual insurance) from 10 June 1943. In *Slovenský zákonník*, 1943, part 21, p. 340-349. (signed 15 November 1940).

41 PA AA, f. GP, WH Nr. 364/ 1, B. 1, c. 216. Slovak – German agreement on private insurance companies from 11 November 1940, Protocol from the meeting on the Slovak – German agreement on private insurance companies in Berlin on 11 November 1940.

securities and other assets serving to cover the original value of insurance reserves. The signatories devoted a special article of the agreement and a protocol from the discussions to the question of the insurance company Star and its Slovak branch Domov – Slovakia. They decided to solve the question in tri-lateral German – Slovak – Hungarian discussions situated in Prague. They entrusted organization of the talks to the representative of the Reich Protector. A German and Slovak committee for assessing any ambiguities established other articles. The agreement officially became valid on 1 December 1940.⁴²

A supplement repeated the already decided fact that four German insurance companies, namely Donau, Allgemeine Elementar, Concordia and Viktoria of Berlin, would get concessions. The insurance funds of dissolved branches of German companies would be divided between the German insurance companies with concessions. The supplement and other accepted documents did not mention their possible share in the insurance funds of companies based on Czech capital. From the new applicants for concessions, the request from the Ostmärkische Volksfürsorge was favourably received, but its activity was conditioned by the official authorization that it would be oriented mainly towards the German ethnic group. The condition for approving the European Goods and Luggage Insurance Company of Prague was the confirmation that it had operated in the territory of Slovakia before 14 March 1939. The Moravský krajinský poisťovací ústav (Moravian Regional Insurance Institute) of Brno and Všeobecná poisťovacia (General Insurance) joint stock company of Prague and Brno had to take over the concession as soon as possible. In the case of the Deutscher Ring insurance company, doubts arose over whether a private health insurance company was needed in Slovakia, when this type of insurance was secured by the social insurance system. The application of the company for insurance of land and sea transport Agrippina did not reach the negotiating table. It was rejected earlier. The preceding discussions already confirmed to the German reinsurance companies the possibility of freely doing business in Slovakia.⁴³

The supplement also dealt with technical matters. The security deposits to be paid by insurance companies with permission to continue their activities were still not unambiguously stated, but the Slovak government already approved simplified methods for calculating their balance values. The transfer of insurance funds had to start from the principles accepted in the agreement on division of the state debt of the former Czechoslovak Republic, and the exchange rate between the Czecho-Slovak and Slovak crowns was set at one to one. Further articles guaranteed to German but also Protectorate insurance companies with concessions to operate in Slovakia, that they would be headed by one Slovak and one German citizen without precise definition of the transitional period. They confirmed that any disputes would be solved by a special committee composed of one German and one Slovak expert.⁴⁴

The German representatives were relatively satisfied with the content of the agreement on insurance companies, which was to a considerable extent a result of the changes in the Slovak political scene in the middle of 1940. However, the satisfaction was

42 Ref. 41, Protocol... Ref. 41; Supplement to the Slovak – German agreement on private insurance companies from 11 November 1940.

43 PA AA, f. GP, WH Nr. 364/ 1, B. 1, c. 216. Supplement... Ref. 42

44 Ref. 43.

premature, because apart from strengthening the national socialist pro-German course in ideological questions, the increased strength of the radicals in the government meant a deepening of nationalist tendencies in relation to foreign capital, and this also meant clashes with the economic interests of Germany. In the political atmosphere of summer 1940, the radically inclined representatives of Slovak economic circles proposed the establishment of an entirely new insurance company based on nationally Slovak capital, which would take over the core of the insurance funds of foreign companies. They did not trust any of the older domestic insurance companies officially regarded as nationally Slovak. The pressure group was headed by the chief representatives of the largest Slovak financial institution the Tatra banka Ján Farkaš and Rudolf Kubiš, who had close links with the regime. The top managers of the Tatra banka had been considering the establishment of an insurance company for some time. Favourable conditions for this step appeared at this time. At the end of July 1940, the management of the bank submitted to the government a memorandum on private insurance with a request to create a new insurance institution. At a session of the management of the Tatra banka in October 1940, somebody stated that the memorandum was positively received: *“After the well-known change in the government and with the very valuable cooperation of the chairman of our institution J. Farkaš...”*⁴⁵ An official letter of 15 October 1940 from the Ministry of the Interior approved the establishment of the new insurance company. It was established under the name Tatra poisťovacia účastinná spoločnosť (Tatra Insurance Joint Stock Company) in the form of an enterprise within the Tatra banka group with capital of 6 million Ks. Its founding general meeting was held on 28 October 1940 in Bratislava. It was expected to play a leading role in the concentration of insurance and to take over the most lucrative parts of the insurance funds in the hands of companies belonging to Czech capital. However, all those who were interested understood that it was a deliberate scheme to bring the insurance funds of the Protectorate companies under the control of the ruling regime. The Tatra banka was in a difficult economic position and its further existence was dependent on state aid. The government fully controlled it in the given situation, and could control the new insurance company through it. The government placed its representatives in the leading positions in the Tatra Insurance Company, with Jozef Müller, one of the chief architects of the whole plan to transform insurance, becoming the general director.⁴⁶ The formation of the new insurance company based on

45 SNA, f. SP-Tatra, I-B-4/1, c. 2. Záznam z audiencie vedenia Tatra banky u ministra vnútra F. Ďurčanského 24. 7. 1940 pri odovzdávaní memoranda o súkromných poisťovniach (Record of a meeting of the top management of the Tatra banka with the minister of the interior F. Ďurčanský on 24 July 1940, when the memorandum on private insurance companies was submitted); SNA, f. Tatra banka – knihy úradné (official books) – inv. no. 86, c. 16. Správa predsedu Tatra banky J. Farkaša o vzniku Tatra poisťujúcej úč. spol. na zasadnutí správneho a dozorného výboru Tatra banky (Report of the chairman of the Tatra banka J. Farkaš on the establishment of the Tatra Insurance Company at a session of the managing and supervisory boards of the Tatra banka), 19 October 1940.

46 SNA, f. SP-Tatra, I-B-4/1, c. 2. Zápisnica zo zakladajúceho valného zhromaždenia Tatra poisťujúcej spol. (Minutes from the founding general meeting of the Tatra Insurance Company) 28 October 1941 in Bratislava; SNA, f. SP-Tatra, IA-1/1-3, k. 1, Zápisnica z prvého zasadnutia správnej rady Tatra poisťujúcej úč. spol. (Minutes from the first session of the administrative board of the Tatra Insurance Company) 15 November 1940 in Bratislava.

nationally Slovak capital happened in parallel to the Slovak – German talks about insurance and was apparently concealed from the German delegation.

Signing of the Slovak – German agreement on private insurance from November 1940 was a key pre-condition for the adoption of the government decree with force of law no. 321 from 11 December 1940 on the reorganization of insurance.⁴⁷ The text of the agreement significantly influenced the content of the decree. After it was issued, the survival in Slovakia of four insurance companies based on German capital and the granting of concessions to the insurance companies Zemský poisťovací ústav of Brno, Všeobecná poisťovacia of Prague and Brno and the European Goods and Luggage Insurance Company of Prague, was already codified by the letter of the law. In relation to the content of the supplementary documents to the agreement on private insurance companies, the decree with force of law no. 321 had to be supplemented with approval of concessions for another two German companies: the Ostmärkische Volksfürsorge of Vienna and the Deutscher Ring Krankversicherungs-anstalt.⁴⁸

The methodology and deadlines for the transfer of insurance funds in the relevant decree also corresponded to the content of the Slovak – German agreement from November 1940. The total number of insurance companies with concessions had to be reduced from the original 44 to 14, 3 of them Slovak, 6 German, 3 Protectorate and 2 Italian. As expected, the nationally Slovak insurance companies gained the largest share of the property of the dissolved branches. Specifically, they had to share the property of 22 Protectorate and two Swiss insurance companies. However, when the German representatives learnt about the scheme for dividing the insurance funds, they were at least unpleasantly surprised. The majority of the German national economists found out only after translation of the text of decree no. 321/1940 that the most lucrative parts of the property of the Protectorate companies as well as the Domov – Slovakia insurance company, the Slovak branch of the Sudeten German insurance company Star, were to be taken over by the entirely new Slovak insurance company Tatra. As a result of its formation, German capital lost its hope of penetrating into the property of the Protectorate insurance companies in Slovakia. The placing of the Domov – Slovakia company in the Tatra portfolio was a clear violation of the Slovak – German agreement, which counted on solution of the position of this company in the framework of trilateral talks about the Star insurance company. It was understandable that the German representatives rejected this part of decree no. 321/1940 and this cast doubt on the whole transformation plan.⁴⁹

The official adoption of the plan to transform insurance, legislatively confirmed on the basis of the Slovak – German agreements, was really only the completion of the first stage of the transformation process. The year 1941 brought a further phase in the concentration of insurance associated with mass protests by the insurance companies being dissolved and with economic and political pressures from their representatives. In the murky waters of behind the scenes disputes, the exponents of German insurance sought

47 Nariadenie s mocou zákona č. 321 zo dňa 11. 12. 1940 o usporiadaní pomerov súkromných poisťovní. (Decree with the force of law no. 321 from 11 December 1940 on settling the affairs of the private insurance companies.). In *Slovenský zákonník*, 1940, part 64, p. 513-515.

48 Ref. 47.

49 Ref. 47.

new corridors of influence. At the same time, they did not hesitate to establish a temporary alliance with the Protectorate insurance companies. The establishment of the Tatra insurance company with the aim of taking over the greater part of the insurance funds of the Protectorate companies, specifically the Slávia insurance company and several dozen other institutions, provoked the sharpest disputes.

The ruling regime evaluated the transfer of the Slovak branches of the Protectorate insurance companies into the hands of nationally Slovak capital as one of its most important achievements. In this context, it emphasized especially the establishment of the Tatra insurance company. The representatives of German government circles watched this propaganda with great disdain and understood the establishment of Tatra as a threat to the economic interests of Germany. The representative of the Ministry of the Economy of the Reich K. Daniel pointed out this danger to the commercial attaché E. Gebert in a letter from March 1941 and proposed a strong intervention against it.⁵⁰ In his reply to Daniel, E. Gebert assessed the dangerous development as follows: *“The development of Slovak insurance makes me very concerned. In short, I informed Prime Minister V. Tuka about this [...] Governor Dr. Karvaš fully understands our fears. The ‘national’ insurance company Tatra is legally established. If you read the declaration published from the celebratory session on 14 March, speaking of Tatra ‘without any foreign influence and participation’, you can see where the ‘political wind’ is blowing from [...] There can be no talk now of internal subordination of Slovak insurance to ‘strong German influence’. At present it would not only be unsuccessful, but contradictory to our current political demands...”*⁵¹

In spite of these realities, E. Gebert and other representatives of German economic interests did not give up hope of widening the influence of German capital and especially gaining a share of the insurance business and property of the Czech insurance companies. They used the problems that emerged against the background of the implementation of government decree no. 321/1940 to correct as far as possible the reconstruction of insurance under the direction of the Slovak regime. They received convenient protests from the Czech insurance companies without concessions, especially resistance from Slávia. A sticking point in the whole reorganization of the insurance system was the fact that the Slovak insurance companies had to pay for the taken over property of the dissolved branches. Moreover, some of the Czech insurance companies were making losses and needed bailouts. German national economists acquainted with the difficult position of the Slovak financial system assumed that the nationally Slovak insurance companies would have difficulty settling their obligations and bailing out the businesses they had taken over. According to Gebert this would be an opportunity to strengthen the German position in Slovak insurance. He estimated on the basis of analyses sent to him, that the

50 PA AA, f. GP, WH Nr. 364/ 1, B. 1, c. 216. Report from the ministry adviser at the RWM K. Daniel to the German commercial attaché E. Gebert about the international talks in Prague in February 1941 and about the deepening of nationalist tendencies in the transformation of insurance in Slovakia.). Berlin, 5 March 1941.

51 PA AA, f. GP, WH Nr. 364/ 1, B. 1, c. 216. Reply of the commercial attaché E. Gebert to the ministry adviser at the RWM K. Daniel with proposals for action against the threat to German interests in Slovak insurance. Bratislava, 17 March 1941.

loss risk on the insurance businesses to be taken over by the Tatra company amounted to 200 million Ks.⁵² In the letter cited above from March 1941, he stated: “*However, a situation may arise in which, with the help of experts, we uncover sources of immense risk, to which the nationally Slovak institution [the Tatra insurance company – Ľ. H.] is exposed, and we will condition participation in a bailout, which must inevitably happen this year, on corresponding financial participation...*”⁵³ By this, Gebert clearly had in mind the enforced capital participation of German insurance companies in the Tatra company. In relation to the expected problems, the German national economists offered the Slovak government representatives help in the form of advice, specifically by establishing the post of a German commissioner or adviser (Berater) for the field of insurance. The representatives of the government economic circles were very well aware of the complex position of nationally Slovak insurance. In the given circumstances, they welcomed the sending of a German adviser and even initiated it themselves. The Prime Minister V. Tuka was most active in this direction.⁵⁴ In April 1941, the Ministry of the Economy of the Reich, the German Embassy in Bratislava and the German advisers headed by Gebert selected and approved for this post Dr. Ernst Rolcke, the government adviser at the Supervisory Office of the Reich for Private Insurance (Reichsaufsichtsamt für Privatversicherung) and an expert on insurance mathematics.⁵⁵ From the Slovak side, he was personally approved by Prime Minister V. Tuka. Dr. E. Rolcke began to perform his advisory activity at the Ministry of the Interior from 1 July 1941 with a planned stay of three months.⁵⁶ In reality, he worked in Slovakia for substantially longer and fulfilled especially the aims of German capital and the representatives of the German insurance companies.

During 1941, the Protectorate insurance companies led by Slávia developed a sophisticated campaign in support of keeping their insurance funds in Slovakia. They attacked individual paragraphs of government decree no. 321/1940 and attempted to discredit the new insurance company Tatra, which was supposed to take over their businesses. From the parallel German, Protectorate and Slovak sources, we learn about the individual forms of behind the scenes pressures coming mainly from the management of the Slávia insurance company. The Protectorate companies found support on some questions

52 PA AA, f. GP, WH Nr. 364/ 1, B. 1, c. 216. Analysis of the economic development of the Tatra insurance company sent to E. Gebert probably at the end of April 1941.

53 Ref. 51.

54 PA AA, f. GP, WH Nr. 364/ 1, B. 1, k. 216. Report of the commercial attaché E. Gebert to the ministry adviser at the RWM K. Daniel on talks with the Prime Minister V. Tuka. Bratislava, 20 March 1941.

55 PA AA, f. GP, WH Nr. 364/ 1, B. 1, c. 216. Report of the German adviser to the Slovak government E. Gebert to Prime Minister V. Tuka on the selection of a German expert adviser for Slovak insurance Dr. E. Rolcke from the Supervisory Office of the Reich for Private Insurance (some documents including the one cited give the name of the adviser as E. Rollke). Bratislava, 8 May 1941; PA AA, f. GP, WH Nr. 364/ 1, B. 1, c. 216. Report of the German ambassador in Bratislava H. E. Ludin to the Foreign Office in Berlin on the selection of the German adviser for Slovak insurance. Bratislava, 23 May 1941.

56 PA AA, f. GP, WH Nr. 364/ 1, B. 1, c. 216. Report of the adviser E. Gebert to the ministry adviser at the RWM K. Daniel on approval of the expert adviser E. Rolcke by Prime Minister V. Tuka. Bratislava 16 June 1941; PA AA, f. GP, WH Nr. 364/ 1, B. 1, c. 216. Report from the Foreign Office (AA) (Handelspolitische Abteilung) to the German Embassy in Bratislava on the approval of sending the expert adviser for insurance Dr. E. Rolcke to Bratislava for a period of three months. Berlin, 30 June 1941.

from the German national economists. It was a paradoxical situation, since precisely the representatives of German insurance had shaped the content of the Slovak – German agreement and so also of government decree no. 321/1940. However, in this phase of the concentration of insurance in Slovakia, the representatives of German and Protectorate insurance found some points of contact in their economic interests.

By 31 December 1940, the Slovak Ministry of the Interior sent to ten insurance companies with their headquarters in the Protectorate, decisions about the transfer of their Slovak insurance funds to the new Tatra insurance company in accordance with government decree no. 321/1940.⁵⁷ On 20 January 1941, eight of them, headed by the Slávia insurance company protested against this decision to the Ministry of the Interior in Bratislava. They also addressed it to the Ministry of the Economy of the Reich and the Ministry of the Interior of the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia. Instead of economic, political and ideological arguments, they pointed to practical questions. For example, they stated that the 90 day deadline for concluding a contract to transfer an insurance fund was unrealistic.⁵⁸ They directed further arguments against the Tatra insurance company. In particular, they questioned how a new inexperienced company with capital of 6 million Ks could take over insurance funds amounting to 320-350 million Ks. Moreover, large parts of these assets were risky and needed to be bailed out. The signatories of the protest also expressed doubts about the expert level of the employees of the new insurance company and nationally Slovak insurance as a whole. The protesting companies worked out an extensive critical analysis of most of the paragraphs in government decree no. 321/1940 and on 3 February 1941 sent it to the Office of the Reich Protector, where it found a positive response.⁵⁹ Their demands were also supported by representatives of other Protectorate offices, institutions and corporations.⁶⁰ On the initiative of the presidium of the council of ministers and the Ministry of Justice of the Protectorate, a *Memo-randum (Gedenkschrift)* from the Protectorate government with another critical analysis

57 Národní archiv Praha (National Archives in Prague, hereinafter NAP), f. Úřad říšského protektora (Office of the Reich Protector, hereinafter ÚŘP), c. 306. Translation of the instruction of the Ministry of the Interior in Bratislava to the Slávia insurance company on the transfer of its insurance fund in the territory of Slovakia to the Tatra insurance company in accordance with government decree no. 321/1940 Sl. z. Bratislava, 31 December 1940.

58 NAP, f. ÚŘP, c. 306. Translation of the protest from 20 January 1941 of the Slávia insurance company and 7 other insurance companies with their headquarters in the Protectorate against the instruction of the Ministry of the Interior in Bratislava on the transfer of their Slovak insurance funds to the Tatra insurance company. Translation sent to inform the Office of the Reich Protector. Prague, 3 February 1941; NAP, f. ÚŘP, c. 306. Copy of the protest of the representatives of the Slávia insurance company against the instruction of the Slovak Ministry of the Interior on the transfer of Slávia's Slovak insurance fund to the Tatra insurance company sent to the Ministry of the Economy of the Reich. Berlin, 17 January 1941.

59 NAP, f. ÚŘP, c. 306. Critical analysis of government decree no. 321/1941 Sl. z., worked out by experts from Protectorate insurance companies, sent to the Office of the Reich Protector. Prague 3 February 1941.

60 See, for example: NAP, f. ÚŘP, c. 306. Report of the Union of Insurance Companies of the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia in Prague on the development of the transformation of private insurance in Slovakia, sent to the assessor of the Ministry of Commerce of the Protectorate Dr. H. Schmidt. Prague, 11 March 1941.

of the whole programme of transformation of insurance from the side of the Slovak government, was submitted to the Reich Protector at the end of May 1941.⁶¹

The arguments against the Tatra insurance company and against the text of government decree no. 321/1940 had support from the German side on many questions. The German national economists saw the origin of the Tatra insurance company as a dirty trick from the Slovak side. For them, the implementation of government decree no. 321/1940 meant the end of the hopes to penetrate into the Slovak branches of the Protectorate insurance companies. The future of the insurance company Domov – Slovakia became another controversial question. The representatives of German insurance planned that it would remain under the control of German capital, but the Slovak government economic circles regarded it as a nationally Slovak company, which would be incorporated into the new Tatra insurance company. The Protectorate national economists used this situation and began to lobby the representatives of Reich German insurance in the interest of the Protectorate companies. They had support from the Office of the Reich Protector, where they were cooking up plans to extend German influence in the Protectorate insurance companies controlled by Czech capital and did not want to give up the Slovak parts of their insurance funds.⁶²

The commissioner of the Reich Protector for insurance Dr. Robert Rosenkranz was pursuing these aims. By the beginning of 1941, he had succeeded in significantly influencing K. Daniel and other representatives of Reich German insurance. The result of the lobbying of the Protectorate economic circles appeared at the tri-lateral talks on the insurance company Star in Prague from 17 to 22 February 1941, where serious disputes arose between the German and Slovak delegations. According to the report from R. Rosenkranz to the Reich Protector, K. Daniel stated at these talks that the deadline of 90 days for concluding agreements on the transfer of the Slovak insurance funds of Protectorate insurance companies would have to be extended by the Slovak government.⁶³ The Slovak record of the Prague talks stated that K. Daniel demanded that the Slovak government should cancel the planned incorporation of the Domov – Slovakia insurance company into the portfolio of the new Tatra company, and finally cancel the content of its decree no. 321/1940, because it allegedly contradicted the Slovak – German agreement on insurance from November 1940.⁶⁴ Behind the scenes of the Prague

61 NAP, f. ÚŘP, c. 306. Official letter from the presidium of the council of ministers of the Protectorate to the Reich Protector with the Memorandum from the Protectorate government against the content and implementation of government decree no. 321/1940 Sl. z. Prague, 30 May 1941

62 PA AA, f. GP, WH Nr. 364/ 1, B. 1, c. 216. Secret report on the attempts of the Office of the Reich Protector to extend German influence in the Czech insurance company Lipa from 11 April 1941, sent by the German commercial attaché E. Gebert to the ministry adviser at the RWM K. Daniel. Bratislava, 16 April 1941.

63 NAP, f. ÚŘP, c. 306. Report of the commissioner of the Reich Protector for insurance R. Rosenkranz to the Office of the Reich Protector on the position of the German delegation at the tri-lateral talks on the insurance company Star in Prague in February 1941 in relation to the Slovak conception of the transformation of insurance. Prague, 6 March 1941.

64 SNA, f. SP-Tatra, IA-1/1-3, c. 1. Referát z trojstranných rokování o poisťovni Star v Praze 17. až 22. 1941, předložený na 3. zasednutí správné rady Tatra poisťující společnosti. 1. 7. 1941. (Report from the tri-lateral talks on the insurance company Star in Prague from 17 to 22 February 1941, submitted to the third session of the administrative board of the Tatra insurance company on 1 July 1941.)

talks K. Daniel also learnt that the Slovak government circles were planning to break the resistance of the Czech insurance companies by appointing a commissioner (kurátor) on the basis of government decree no. 30 from March 1939. He considered these intentions to be dangerous and he demanded that the Slovak representatives discuss them with the German side. He stated his objections in a report to the German attaché E. Gebert and entirely openly in a letter to the chief adviser to the Slovak Ministry of the Interior K. Férfy.⁶⁵ Other intensive Slovak – German – Protectorate talks on the question of the transfer of the insurance funds of Protectorate insurance companies to Tatra were coordinated by the commissioner Dr. R. Rosenkranz in the first half of 1941. They were held in May 1941 in Bratislava and also concerned the questions of the Domov – Slovakia insurance company and the development of German insurance companies in Slovakia. However, according to the correspondence between K. Daniel and K. Férfy, they had hardly any effect.⁶⁶

Apart from official protests, the Slávia insurance company also sought alternative ways to save its Slovak insurance fund. Its representatives attempted to influence the decision making government officials in Berlin and in Slovakia. They obtained help from the representatives of German capital, specifically from their long-term partner in the field of reinsurance the Münchener Rückversicherungsanstalt. They wanted to use the contacts of the reinsurance company at the Ministry of the Economy of the Reich with the aim of putting pressure on the Slovak government with regard to revision of decree no. 321/1940. With the help of the reinsurance company they also wanted to disrupt the formation of the portfolio of the Tatra insurance company. They planned to exclude from it the insurance fund of the Domov – Slovakia company by means of the Munich reinsurance company buying the shares of Domov – Slovakia from the mother insurance company Star for 4 million Ks, which was double their nominal value.⁶⁷ The representative of German insurance K. Daniel also presented this alternative at the tri-lateral talks in Prague in February 1941.⁶⁸ Slávia organized a further significant action directly in Slovakia. Both German and Slovak sources contain information about it. Slávia allegedly started talks with Matica Slovenská. In return for support from the government, it promised that Matica would receive financial gifts or a share of profits from the Slovak insurance fund. While the German national economists regarded these reports as unsubstantiated, the director of the Tatra insurance company J. Müller officially

65 PAAA, f. GP, WH Nr. 364/ 1, B. 1, c. 216. Report from the ministry adviser at the RWM K. Daniel to the German commercial attaché E. Gebert on disputed questions between the Slovak and German delegations at the tri-lateral talks on the Star insurance company in Prague in February 1941. Berlin, 5 March 1941; Letter from the ministry adviser at the RWM K. Daniel to the chief adviser at the Ministry of the Interior in Bratislava K. Férfy on reservations against the Slovak conception of the concentration of insurance. Berlin, 5 March 1941.

66 NAP, f. ÚŘP, c. 306. Letter from the ministry adviser at the RWM K. Daniel to the chief adviser at the Ministry of the Interior in Bratislava K. Férfy on the conclusions of the Slovak – German – Protectorate talks in Bratislava in May 1941. Berlin, 28 May 1941.

67 SNA, f. SP-Tatra, IA-1/1-3, k. 1. Referát generálneho riaditeľa J. Müllera o vývoji poisťovne Tatra na 3. zasadnutí jej správa rady 1. 7. 1941. (Report of general director J. Müller on the development of the Tatra insurance company at the 3rd session of its administrative board on 1 July 1941.).

68 Ref. 64.

announced them at a session of the administrative board in July 1941. Specifically he stated that: “*Slávia insurance bank has started talking to the Matica Slovenská cultural institution in Turčiansky Svätý Martin and offered it the whole fund free and the whole income from Slávia’s Slovak fund, if this cultural institution will secure the concession for Slavia...*”⁶⁹ The German version, which the chairman of the Economic Office of the Deutsche Partei E. Eisinger sent to the commercial attaché E. Gebert, states: “*I have heard that Slávia is trying to gain a concession for further activity in Slovakia with the help of Matica Slovenská (a Slovak educational society). In connection with this, Slávia offered to support Matica Slovenská with an annual sum of 100,000 Ks and a promise of 1,500,000 Ks in the future. According to another version, Matica was promised the whole profit if it contributed to Slávia remaining in business. Matica Slovenská actually sent a memorandum to the preparatory committee of the Union of Insurance Companies and four directors of insurance companies, expressing the conviction that the Slávia serves mainly the development of Slovak insurance and its continued activity is in the interest of Slovak insurance...*”⁷⁰

The mutual convergence of the interests of the Protectorate and German insurance companies culminated in the middle of 1941. This trend was represented especially by the Slávia company and the new German adviser for insurance at the Slovak Ministry of the Interior E. Rolcke.

After the failure of their attempts to disturb the creation of the portfolio of the new insurance company, the representatives of Slávia came up with a plan to gain control of it through its share capital. They allegedly succeeded in gaining the support of the German adviser for this plan and convincing him of the importance of a joint approach. Rolcke then proposed to increase the share capital of the Tatra insurance company to 60 million Ks with the entry of foreign, mainly German capital. Understandably, his primary interest was to direct the further development of the Tatra insurance company in accordance with the plans of the German insurance companies.⁷¹ The arguments against the existence of Tatra as an independent company of nationally Slovak capital were very convincing. Tatra did not have enough resources to buy the property and cover the expected losses of the Czech insurance companies to be transferred into its portfolio. There was a threat that it would end in collapse like the notorious Phönix insurance company or at least like its mother financial institution the Tatra Bank.⁷²

However, in the given circumstances, the Slovak government took a more decisive step. It came to the conclusion that undermining of the whole transformation process in insurance by the Protectorate and German side had to be stopped with firmer measures.

69 Ref. 67.

70 PA AA, f. GP, WH Nr. 364/ 1, B. 1, c. 216. Anonymous analysis of the situation in the Slovak private insurance sector from the point of view of the German national group, sent by the chairman of the Economic Office of the Deutsche Partei to the German commercial attaché E. Gebert. Bratislava, 29 April 1941.

71 The general director of the Tatra insurance company J. Müller commented on these activities of E. Rolcke at a session of the administrative board in October 1941. SNA, f. SP-Tatra, IA-1/1-3, c. 1. Zápisnica zo zasadnutia správnej rady Tatra poisťujúcej spol. (Minutes of a session of the administrative board of the Tatra insurance company.) 14 October 1941 in Bratislava.

72 PA AA, f. GP, WH Nr. 364/3, B. 2, c. 217. Minutes from the talks between the representatives of Slovak, German and Protectorate insurance at the Ministry of the Interior in Bratislava 20 October 1941.

For this purpose, it used the provisions of government decree no. 30 on administration of insurance companies from March 1939, which enabled the minister of the interior A. Mach to place in the problematic insurance companies government commissioners with legal powers to order the quick transfer of insurance funds. The Minister of the Interior placed Dr. Albín Murín, director of the Domov – Slovakia insurance company, in the function of government commissioner for the group of insurance companies to be merged with Tatra.⁷³ In the second half of August 1941, a memorandum from the Ministry of the Economy of the Reich to the Foreign Office on the situation in insurance in Slovakia stated that the use of Slovak government decree no. 30 from March 1939 to solve the disputes with foreign insurance companies meant that further attempts to deepen German influence were condemned to fail.⁷⁴

The German adviser E. Rolcke finally retreated from his proposals. This was apparently another sign of accommodation by the German economic leaders towards an allied or protected state. At Slovak – German talks in Budapest on 23 and 24 October 1941 before the conclusion of the tri-lateral agreement on the Star insurance company, E. Rolcke announced that after consultations with Prime Minister V. Tuka, he was convinced of the preparedness of the Slovak government to deal with the possible financial and other economic problems of the new Tatra insurance company, resulting from the take over of property and insurance funds from Protectorate insurance companies, by means of state assistance. He also recognized the constantly repeated objection of the Slovak experts and government representatives, that the existence of Tatra had meaning only in the event of the transfer of the Slávia insurance fund into its portfolio.⁷⁵

In the following weeks, Slovak and German experts worked out the methodology of transferring the insurance funds and property of Protectorate insurance companies held by Czech capital to the Tatra insurance company. The new insurance company had to pay the full value only of the property of Slávia and the Domov – Slovakia insurance company as a branch of the Sudeten German company Star. The properties of the other Protectorate companies had to pass to Tatra for only part of their real value. E. Rolcke submitted an economic analysis of this at the beginning of November 1941.⁷⁶

The Slovak government circles finally achieved their long prepared aim of building up the Tatra insurance company as a nationally Slovak enterprise with a key position

73 NAP, f. ÚŘP, c. 306. German translation of the appointment decree of Albín Murín director of the Domov – Slovakia insurance company as commissioner (kurátor) of the group of Protectorate insurance companies in Slovakia according to government decree 321/1940 Sl. z., signed by minister of the interior A. Mach. Bratislava, 27 June 1941.

74 NAP, f. ÚŘP, c. 306. Report of the adviser Klucky from the RWM to the AA in Berlin on the development of the transformation of private insurance in Slovakia and the possibilities to increase the influence of German capital. Berlin, 18 August 1941.

75 PA AA, f. GP, WH Nr. 364/3, B. 2, c. 217. Minutes from the Slovak – German talks in Budapest on 23 October 1941 in the framework of preparations for the tri-lateral agreement on the Star insurance company; PA AA, f. GP, WH Nr. 364/3, B. 2, k. 217. Minutes from the Slovak – German talks in Budapest on 24 October 1941 in the framework of preparations for the tri-lateral agreement on the Star insurance company.

76 PA AA, f. GP, WH Nr. 364/3, B. 2, c. 217. Economic report by E. Rolcke on the transfer of insurance funds to the Tatra insurance company on the basis of government decree no. 321/ 1940 from 5 November 1941.

in the state's insurance sector. Agreements on the conditions for transferring the insurance funds of the branches destined for dissolution to the Tatra insurance company were concluded in autumn 1941. The transfers were carried out in the period from November 1941 to about March 1942. Apart from the Slávia insurance fund, the businesses of the insurance companies Merkur, Česoslavia, Hasičská vzájomná poisťovňa (Firemen's Mutual Insurance Company), Lipa, Pražská městská poisťovňa (Prague City Insurance Company) and another three companies were transferred to Tatra. From the original plan, the transfer of only two Czech insurance companies was not approved.⁷⁷ In the final form of the transformation, another two Slovak companies: the Slovenská poisťovňa and Karpátia received the possibility to take over the property of nine Protectorate companies including Koruna, Patria and Slovanská poisťovňa and two Swiss insurance companies. The share of the Slovenská poisťovňa was smaller and its insurance fund abroad had to be given up to two German companies Mannheimer Versicherungen AG and Rottenburger Lebensversicherung AG, on the basis of agreements.⁷⁸

The development of the Domov – Slovakia insurance company remained an open economic and political question. According to the Slovak – German agreement on insurance companies from November 1940, its position had to be decided tri-laterally or in four-sided Slovak – German – Hungarian – Protectorate talks. However, the Slovak plan for the transformation of private insurance on the basis of government decree no. 321/1940 assigned its business to the portfolio of the new insurance company Tatra. The representatives of Slovak and German insurance could not find an answer to this problem at international talks in Prague in February 1941⁷⁹, or at talks in Budapest, where a preliminary text of an international tri-lateral agreement on the division of the property of the Star insurance company was approved on 24 October 1941⁸⁰, or at discussions in Berlin on 12 August 1942, where representatives of Germany, Slovakia and Hungary officially signed the agreement. The agreement solved the problem of the property of the Domov – Slovakia insurance company only in very general terms with the possibility of varied interpretation.⁸¹ Apart from this, the ratification of the text dragged on until June

77 SNA, f. SP-Tatra, IA-1/1-3, c. 1. Správy o prevode poisťných kmeňov protektorátnych poisťovní na zasadnutiach správnej rady Tatra poisťujúcej spoločnosti 25. – 26. 3. 1942, 17. 6. 1942 a 1. 8. 1942, (Reports on the transfer of insurance funds of Protectorate insurance companies presented to sessions of the administrative board of the Tatra insurance company, 25-26 March 1942, 17 June 1942 and 1 August 1942); Vyročná správa Tatra poisťujúcej spoločnosti za roky 1941 – 1942, (Annual report of the Tatra insurance company for the years 1941 – 1942).

78 For further details see: SNA, f. SP-Slovenská poisťovňa, II-A – 1/2 – 2/2, c. 1. Zápisnice zo zasadnutí správnej rady z rokov 1940 – 1942, (Minutes from sessions of the administrative board, 1940 – 1942); SNA, f. SP-Karpátia, V-B – 4/17 – 4/19, c. 11. Zápisnice zo zasadnutí správnej rady z rokov 1940 – 1942 (Minutes from sessions of the administrative board, 1940 – 1942).

79 PA AA, f. GP, WH Nr. 364/ 1, B. 1, c. 216. "Richtlinien" – the main principles for dividing the property of the Star insurance company, signed by the representatives of Slovakia, Germany and Hungary at talks in Prague on 22 February 1941.

80 PA AA, f. GP, WH Nr. 364/3, B. 2, c. 217. Preliminary text of the tri-lateral agreement about the Star insurance company from 24 October 1941, signed by the representatives of Slovakia, Germany and Hungary in Budapest.

81 Vyhláška ministra zahraničných vecí č. 119 z 11. 9. 1943 o Dohode medzi Slovenskou republikou, Nemeckou ríšou a Maďarským kráľovstvom o usporiadaní pomerov poisťovne Star v Prahe. (Declaration of

1943.⁸² In the succeeding year 1944, the Slovak economic circles and especially the top management of the Tatra insurance company made a lot of effort to solve the disputed questions by buying the shares of the Domov – Slovakia insurance company from their Protectorate owner at an advantageous price. However, the German side continually made unacceptable demands, which prevented conclusion of the transaction.⁸³ The Domov – Slovakia insurance company remained a legally independent enterprise and it stagnated as a result of its unsettled position.

After completion of the process of concentration of insurance in 1942, the value of the gross received insurance of the domestic insurance companies was 225% higher than in 1939, and by the end of 1944 it was 322% higher. The share of the domestic companies in the total amount of insurance payments received in the period 1939 – 1945 increased from 25% to 60%, while the share of Protectorate companies fell from 56.3% to 8%. The Italian insurance companies raised their percentage from 10% to 24%, while the German institutions maintained a stable share of about 8%.⁸⁴ Thus, German capital came out of the whole process of complex economic and political struggles over insurance in Slovakia in the period 1939 – 1942 in the same position it held at the end of the thirties. In this way, private insurance became one of the few sectors of the Slovak business sphere, where the original plans for the expansion of nationally Slovak capital were fulfilled to a significant degree, in spite of economic and political pressure from Germany. The German representatives also had precisely defined aims in the field of insurance. However, this sector of the economy was outside the strategic economic interests of the German Reich, which gave priority to key areas of industry, production, food supply and infra-structure. Therefore, in insurance, as in commercial banking, the representatives of German government circles set limits to their pressure, especially where the Slovak regime built a wall of legislative measures, which Germany officially respected up to autumn 1944. In this way, the German Reich could show generosity to those under its protection.

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the Ministry of Foreign Affairs no. 119 from 11 September 1943 on the Agreement between the Slovak Republic, the German Reich and the Kingdom of Hungary on settlement of the affairs of the Star insurance company in Prague.). In *Slovenský zákonník*, 1943, part 36, p. 661-682.

82 The agreement on the Star insurance company was ratified by exchange of ratification papers in Berlin on 17 June 1943. Ref. 81.

83 See: SNA, f. SP-Tatra, I-B – 4/1, c. 2. Správy zo zasadnutí správnej rady Tatra poisťujúcej spoločnosti z roka 1944, (Reports from sessions of the administrative board of the Tatra insurance company from 1944).

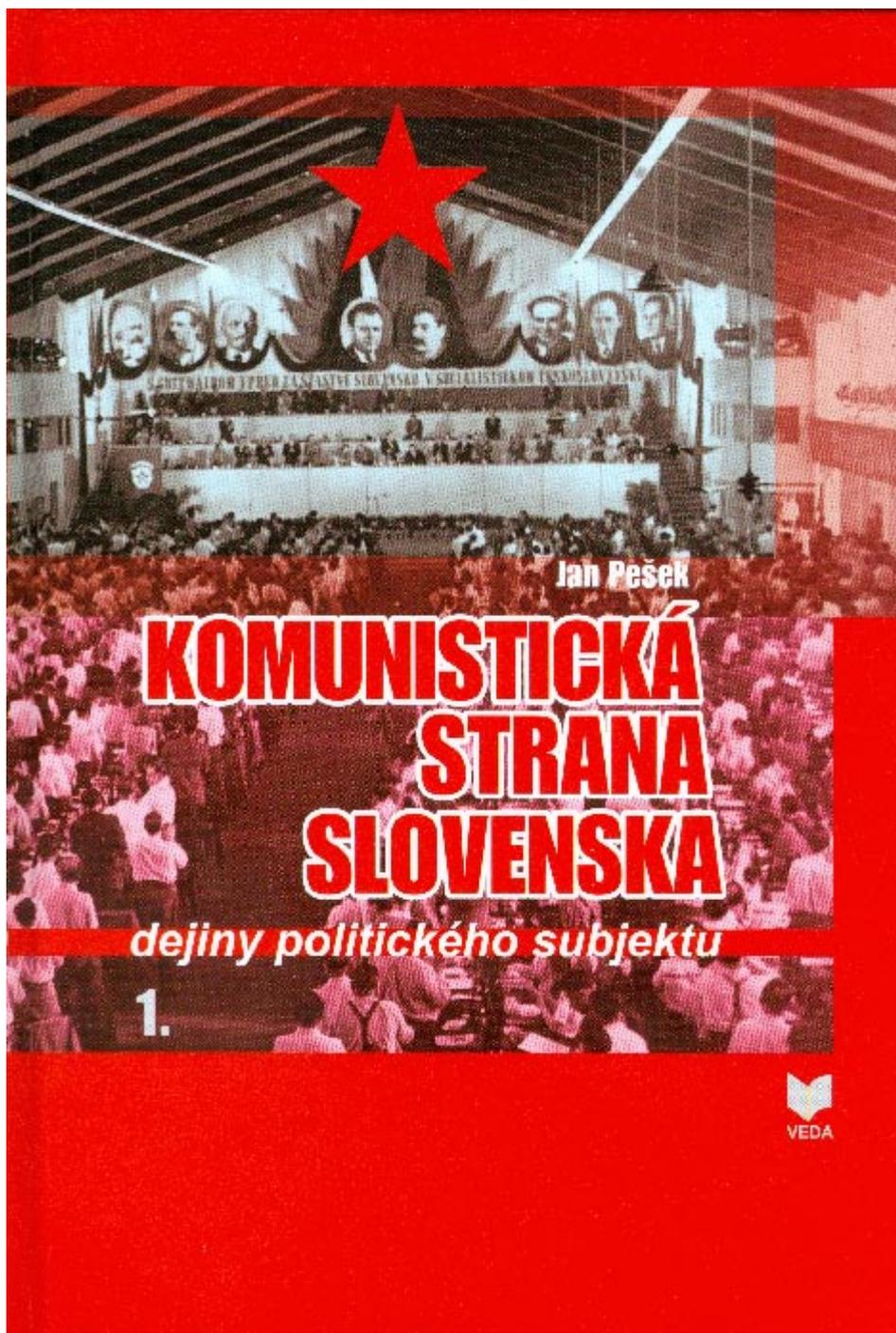
84 PATOPRSTÝ, ref. 2. p. 348 – 349, 355.

EINFLUSS VON DEUTSCHLAND AUF DIE KAPITALVERSCHIEBUNGEN
IM VERSICHERUNGSWESEN DER SLOWAKEI 1939 – 1942

EUDOVÍT HALLON

In der Zwischenkriegszeit bildete sich in der Slowakei ein Netz von privaten Versicherungsanstalten, die aus drei Hauptteilen bestand. Den ersten bildeten die heimischen Versicherungsanstalten mit den Zentralen auf dem Gebiet der Slowakei, den zweiten stellten die Niederlassungen der tschechischen Versicherungsanstalten dar und den dritten die Niederlassungen der ausländischen Versicherungsinstitute. Die heimischen Versicherungsanstalten wurden im Allgemeinen als slowakische bezeichnet. Der slowakische nationale Kapitalmarkt hatte nur einen zweitrangigen Einfluss auf ihre Entwicklung. Entscheidende Positionen hatten die tschechischen Versicherungsgesellschaften. Zur Zeit der selbstständigen Slowakischen Republik, in den Jahren 1939 – 1945, bemühte sich deswegen das slowakische Kapital mithilfe der Regierung den Versicherungsmarkt stärker zu erobern, hauptsächlich auf Kosten der Versicherungsanstalten des damaligen Protektorats Böhmen und Mähren. Dazu schuf der neue Staat eine wirksame Legislative. In den Prozess der Kapitalexpansion traten jedoch die Exponenten der Reichsdeutschen Versicherungsanstalten ein und forderten einen Anteil an den Geschäften der Versicherungsgesellschaften des Protektorats und Aufrechterhaltung und Verstärkung heimischer Versicherungsanstalten des deutschen Kapitals. Nach komplizierten slowakisch-deutschen Verhandlungen wurde im November 1940 eine Kompromissvereinbarung über die Aufteilung des Vermögens der Versicherungsgesellschaften auf dem Gebiet der ehemaligen Tschechoslowakei getroffen. Die slowakische und deutsche Parteien, sowie die Partei des Protektorats versuchten die Schlussfolgerungen der Vereinbarung zu eigenen Gunsten zu korrigieren. Deswegen kam es erneut zu Streitigkeiten und Verhandlungen, zu denen die deutsche Partei einen Sonderberater schickte. Über einige Fragen verhandelte man unter breiterer ausländischer Beteiligung bis zu den Jahren 1943 – 1944. Das Ergebnis war die Verstärkung der Position des slowakischen Kapitals und Aufrechterhaltung des Einflusses der deutschen Versicherungsanstalten auf dem Niveau vom Ende der 30er Jahre. Das Versicherungswesen schloss sich damit den wenigen wirtschaftlichen Gebieten an, wo es den Regierungskreisen des slowakischen Staates gelang, eigenen Interessen durchzusetzen und das Durchdringen des allmächtigen reichsdeutschen Kapitals abzuwehren.

PhDr. Eudovít Hallon, CSc.
P. O. BOX 198, 814 99 Bratislava, Klemensova 19
e-mail: hishall@savba.sk



VILIAM ŠIROKÝ AND JÚLIUS ĎURIŠ – FAMILY ORIGIN, SOCIAL RELATIONS AND BEGINNINGS OF THEIR WORK IN THE COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

TOMÁŠ ČERNÁK

ČERNÁK, Tomáš. Viliam Široký and Július Ďuriš – Family Origin, Social Relations and Beginnings of their Work in the Communist Movement. *Historický časopis*, 2014, 62, Supplement, pp. 109-139, Bratislava.

Viliam Široký and Július Ďuriš, who lived in a nationally mixed environment, were convinced communists from their youth. The fact that they came from socially weak backgrounds also influenced their ideological orientation. Široký engaged in the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia from its origin and quickly gained a place among the most important communist functionaries in Slovakia. As a result of his studies, Ďuriš only began his career as a professional revolutionary at the end of his twenties, but in this period he already showed his radicalism. From the beginning of their revolutionary activities, Široký and Ďuriš came into conflict with the state authorities and were forced to live in illegality for some time. During the internal party crisis around the turn of the years 1928-1929, they joined the group around Klement Gottwald and supported the so-called Bolshevization of the CPC. Široký later worked in the apparatus of the Communist Internationale. In 1935 he became a member of parliament. In the mid 1930s, Ďuriš became organizational secretary of the Regional Leadership of the CPC in Slovakia.

Family origin. Youth. Revolutionary movement. Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. Viliam Široký. Július Ďuriš. Professional revolutionary. Illegality.

Immediately after the Second World War Viliam Široký and Július Ďuriš belonged to the Czechoslovak communist elite, since they held important party and states functions, placing them among the leading representatives of Slovakia in the narrower leadership of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. Both politicians, who spent most of their lives in the Czech environment, were regarded as consistent centralists and opponents of any efforts to strengthen the legal powers of the Slovak national institutions. In spite of many disputes between Široký and Ďuriš, they were long-term associates in the communist movement and showed absolute obedience and loyalty to the Soviet Union. Especially Július Ďuriš represented the prototype of a communist dogmatist, whose radical views brought him into dispute with almost everybody in the party leadership including Klement Gottwald. For these reasons, the view gradually developed that they were a pair who consistently applied the policy of the Prague centre in Slovakia.

The reality is that Viliam Široký and Július Ďuriš were united by more than divided them. They belonged to the same age group of functionaries active in the communist movement from the 1920s. Their personalities developed under the influence of the same historic events. In the inter-war period they belonged to Gottwald's group. From 1941 to 1945, they unwillingly became the most important prisoners of the Slovak regime,

and after the end of the Second World War, they achieved high state and party positions together. They were also forced to leave political life in the same year: 1963.

In spite of these facts, Slovak and Czech historical writings still do not include comprehensive biographies of these two communist functionaries. We have only brief biographical profiles or chapters in monographs devoted exclusively to their activities after 1938.¹ For this reason, we consider it necessary in this study to map the beginnings of the activities of Viliam Široký and Július Ďuriš in the communist movement up to the beginning of the 1930s, as well as their family origins, which have remained unclear until now. In the conclusion, we have briefly outlined their further destinies.

In the case of Viliam Široký, we started almost exclusively from the primary archive sources and only in isolated cases from the memories of his associates. However, for Július Ďuriš we used the extensive memoirs he wrote in the 1970s and 1980s, as well as the archive materials.² On the question of family origin, the environment from which they came and level of education achieved, we have more detailed information in the case of Július Ďuriš. For Viliam Široký, the archive sources are richer regarding his work in the Communist Party, since he relatively quickly attracted attention from the police.

Viliam Široký was born on 31 May 1902 into the large family of the railwayman Ján Široký and Katarína, born Hrušovská, a housewife. Viliam was seventh child and two more were added in later years.³ Thus, he came into the world at the beginning of the 20th century in the ethnically, linguistically and socially varied environment of Pressburg, today's Bratislava. The register entry written in Hungarian in accordance with the legislation of the time, tells us that little Villiam was born at exactly 17.00 and was Roman Catholic in religion. It also gives the origin, place of residence, employment and

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- 1 On the person of Viliam Široký see e.g.: PEŠEK, Jan. Viliam Široký. In PEŠEK, Jan et al. *Aktéri jednej éry na Slovensku 1948-1989*. Prešov : Vydavateľstvo Michala Vaška, 2003, p. 317-323. ISBN 8071654175; ZAVACKÁ, Marína. Viliam Široký – Stalinský káder na slovenský spôsob. (Viliam Široký – a Stalinist cadre with Slovak characteristics.). In MICHÁLEK, Slavomír – KRAJČOVIČOVÁ, Natália a kol. *Do pamäti národa*. Bratislava : Veda, 2003, p. 559- 562. ISBN 8022407712 or KAPLAN, Karel. *Mocní a bezmocní. (The powerful and the powerless.)*. Toronto : Sixty – eight Publishers, 1989, p.149-179. On Július Ďuriš see e.g.: PEŠEK, Jan. Július Ďuriš. In *Aktéri jednej éry na Slovensku 1948-1989*, p. 93-97 or KAPLAN, Karel. *Kronika komunistického Československa – Doba tání 1953-1956. (A chronicle of Communist Czechoslovakia – the period of thaw 1953 – 1956.)*. Brno : Barrister and Principal, 2005, p. 292-316. ISBN 8086598985.
 - 2 The memoirs of Július Ďuriš, amounting to more than 1,000 pages, remained unknown for a long time. It was only after November 1989 that Ďuriš's friend Ladislav Šimovič handed them over to the historian Jozef Jablonický, who deposited them in the Archives of the Museum of the Slovak National Uprising in Banská Bystrica. However, the first 400 pages were missing from Ďuriš's memoirs and have still not been found. We compensated for this absence by using the memories of Július Ďuriš, written by another of his friends Ján Púll, who held the function of secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Slovakia in the period 1951-1953. It is extremely probable that he had access to the complete text of the memoirs and drew on them when conceiving his view of Ďuriš. The author of this study has a copy of Púll's text.
 - 3 Viliam Široký had the following brothers: Ján (1890-1959), Ludovít (1895-1958), Eugen (1897-1948), Rudolf (1900-1963), Koloman (1904-1985) and Július, and sisters: Anna (1906-1933) and Gizela. The biographical data for Július and Gizela Široký are not available because they are not buried in the family grave in the cemetery at Slávičie údolie in Bratislava.

ages of the parents.⁴ A supplementary note can be seen in the top right corner, according to which: “*The child left the Catholic Church and remained without religion. 2 June 1932.*”⁵ The obedient registrar wrote Široký’s Christian name in Hungarian as *Vilmos* and his surname in Germanized form as *Schiroki*, since the adjective “široký” (wide) is “széles” in Hungarian.⁶

It is already clear from this brief record that it is not simple to determine the nationality of Viliam Široký, especially since nationality was not actually recorded in the register at that time. For this reason, we should attempt to shed light on the origin of his parents and the environment in which he grew up. This question was partly investigated by the Police Directorate in Bratislava at the end of the 1920s, when they attempted to ascertain Široký’s origin, described in documents as “*unclear*”.⁷ Široký never mentioned his nationality, and it is not mentioned in any inter-war archive source – in contrast to the situation with Július Ďuriš. The historian Miloš Gosiorovský also avoided this problem in his celebratory article on the occasion of Široký’s fiftieth birthday. Gosiorovský only wrote that “*Ján Široký also came from the countryside here to Bratislava to work as a railwayman. He came with his wife Katarína, born Hrušovská. And here in Bratislava, in the city that was then a symbol of national and social oppression of the Slovak working people, in this atmosphere, their son Viliam was born on 31 May 1902, as the seventh of nine children*”.⁸

At the beginning of the 1950s, Miloš Gosiorovský was one of the creators of the cult of personality of Viliam Široký. In this direction, he consciously falsified history, his role in illegality and in the preparations for the Uprising. He always gave only very brief statements on the question of Široký’s origin. He most frequently mentioned Široký’s difficult childhood in the large but poor family of a Bratislava railwayman, the revolutionary events influencing the development of the young Viliam and obviously the Bolshevik revolution of 1917. He strove to depict Široký as the “*leader of the Slovak people and Slovakia... the greatest son of the Slovak people, who always drew on the progressive traditions of his nation*”, that is as a Slovak about whose national identity there could be no doubt.⁹ As we already mentioned, it is not so unambiguous and so we must direct our attention to the origin of Široký’s parents.

The father Ján Široký (Schiroki) came from the Hungarian town of Ács, where he was born on 29 April 1861. In the second half of the 19th century, the town of Ács was administratively part of the County of Komárno.¹⁰ Slovaks also lived there and the

4 Archives of the city of Bratislava, Matrika – rodná (Register of Births), year 1902, vol. 25, no. 958.

5 Ref. 4.

6 Ref. 4. The author is grateful to Bernadet Ottmárová from the Department of History in the Faculty of Humanities of Matej Bel University in Banská Bystrica for her expert translation of Hungarian text concerning Viliam Široký and Július Ďuriš.

7 Slovenský národný archív (Slovak National Archives, hereinafter SNA), fund (hereinafter f.) Policajné riaditeľstvo, carton (hereinafter c.) number (hereinafter no.) 1156. Record from 28 May 1927.

8 GOSIOROVSKÝ, Miloš. Najlepšie polstoročie slovenskej histórie. (The best half century in Slovak history.). In *Pravda*, 1952, year 33, no. 128, p. 7

9 Ref. 8.

10 The town of Ács has a population of about 7,000 today and belongs to the district of Komárom in the County of Komárom and Esztergom.

Slovak etymology of their surname suggests that the Široký family was of Slovak origin. However, we do not know why it was written in Germanized form. Ján Široký remained in his home town until he was aged 20, when he had to do military service in the Austro-Hungarian army. He met and married Katarína Hrušovská sometime before 1890, but the date and place of their marriage are not known. We only know that their eldest son Ján was born at Štvrtok nad Váhom, in the present district of Trenčín, and not in Bratislava.¹¹ Since the record of Viliam Široký's birth states that his mother Katarína, born on 24 August 1867, came from the County of Trenčín, we think that Štvrtok nad Váhom was also her birthplace and after her marriage to Ján Široký, they lived there for some time.

It is also possible to suppose that during his time at Štvrtok nad Váhom Ján Široký already worked as a railwayman. Work for the *Hungarian Royal State Railways (Magyar Királyi Államvasutak)* provided the young family with a stable income including free travel on the railways and at least some social security. After moving to Bratislava, sometime in the last decade of the 19th century, Ján Široký gained the position of railway clerk, thanks to which he could live in a house provided for railwaymen.¹² Viliam Široký and some of his siblings came into the world in this house, situated on Pöllnská cesta, now called Žilinská ulica. Široký still gave it as his permanent residence when he was in his twenties, because he lived there with his mother and younger siblings.¹³ Various other railway families, mostly with a socially weak position, lived in the same housing complex. In spite of his undoubtedly advantageous employment, Ján Široký did not live easily, especially with the constant addition of more children to the family.

Katarína can be considered Slovak on the basis of her original surname and birthplace (T.Č), but if Ján Široký had a Slovak origin, he did not declare it. It seems more probable that his parents were already assimilated in the Hungarian environment of the town of Ács, and that Ján Široký felt himself to be more Hungarian or Magyar than Slovak. Hungarian was spoken in the family and it was also the mother tongue of young Viliam. In documents from the period after 1921, he sometimes gave Hungarian as his mother tongue and sometimes Slovak, but the surviving documents indirectly point to the first possibility.¹⁴ When Viliam Široký went into illegality at the end of the 1920s because of criminal prosecution and possible imprisonment, his brother Ján and nephew Otto were suspected of having contact with him, knowing his place of residence and possibly helping him. The police summoned both of them for questioning, which had to be done in the presence of an interpreter, because neither of them was able to communicate in Slovak or Czech. The questioning had to be done entirely in Hungarian.¹⁵

It is also interesting that Viliam Široký's 13 year old nephew Otto signed himself "Široký", while his father Ján still used the Germanized formed "*Schiroky*", although now with a "y" at the end (T.Č.).¹⁶ However, it is necessary to comment here that the forms

11 SNA, f. Policajné riaditeľstvo, c. no. 1156. Record from 16 September 1929.

12 See: Archives of the City of Bratislava, Registers – births, year: 1902, vol. 25, no. 958.

13 SNA, f. Policajné riaditeľstvo, c. no. 1156. Records on the person of Viliam Široký.

14 See e.g. SNA, f. Policajné riaditeľstvo, c. no. 1156. Record of Viliam Široký from 7 March 1927.

15 Ref. 14. Record from 16 August 1929.

16 Ref. 15.

of Viliam Široký's name in police records include "Vilém Široký", "Wilhelm Schiroky", "Vilém Schiroky" and "Vilhelm Široký". It apparently depended on the police official, who wrote the record. Perhaps they were misled by the fact that at the beginning of the 1920s Široký signed documents with the German form "*Schiroky*" and only later began to use the Slovak equivalent, which he continued to use until his death. In contrast to his brother, he mastered Slovak equally well, if not better. He also spoke German. Later he learnt French and Russian, so he was very well equipped linguistically. As a generalization, we could describe him as a typical tri-lingual "*Pressburger*".

According to the surviving documents, Viliam Široký also spent some time in Hungary, to be precise, in his father's hometown. As a result of investigation of Široký's right of residence, which also involved the Czechoslovak Embassy in Budapest, the authorities of the town of Ács held a special meeting on 27 October 1927. They concluded that "*since Vilém Schiroky and his parents left the municipality years ago, he lost his status as a residence of Ács, since he has not been registered here or paid taxes*".¹⁷ It is also possible to learn from this document that Viliam Široký's mother and his brothers Ľudovít and Eugen submitted an official application to reside in Ács in 1921 and again a year later. However, they were not granted it, and the authorities adopted the same position in the case of Široký. According to the findings of the Police Directorate, he was accepted as a resident of Bratislava in 1916, which may mean that he lived in Ács or was at least recorded in that town before that date.¹⁸

The citizenship of Viliam Široký represented a further problem. After the formation of the Czechoslovak Republic, he did not submit an application for citizenship within the established deadline. According to the valid legislation, only persons with the right of residence in the territory of the future Czechoslovakia since at least 1 January 1910 acquired Czechoslovak citizenship automatically after 28 October 1918. People with places of residence in the territory of the new Hungary had to apply for citizenship. This fact also suggests that before 1916 Viliam Široký had his place of residence in the Hungarian town of Ács. We do not know how the whole problem was solved, but it is certain that Široký finally received Czechoslovak citizenship and retained the right of residence in Bratislava. In any case, throughout the 1920s he had problems with these matters, and it is possible that in some cases he deliberately deceived the state authorities.

Viliam Široký did not feel foreign either in the Hungarian or in the German environment, since he was born and grew up in them.¹⁹ He also studied in the Hungarian language for five years at primary school and four years at secondary school. He spoke in Hungarian with his parents and siblings, who called him Vilmos, not Viliam. However, we cannot say that later, when he held important state and party functions (T. Č.), he spoke Slovak or Czech with a distinctly Hungarian accent. He only had a problem with

17 SNA, f. Policajné riaditeľstvo, c. no. 1156. Translation of the minutes of Ács town council from 27 October 1927.

18 Ref. 17. Report from 13 January 1933.

19 Gustáv Husák wrote in a letter addressed to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia on 1 May 1963, in which he directly accused Viliam Široký of organizing the campaign against the so-called bourgeois nationalists and responsibility for the death of Vladimír Clementis, that Široký did not grow out of the Slovak environment. The author of the study possesses a copy of the letter.

pronouncing the letter “r”, because he suffered from a speech defect. A Hungarian accent was characteristic of him more in the inter-war period.

Viliam široký began to attend primary school in 1908 when he was aged six. He entered secondary school shortly before the outbreak of the First World War. We do not know his results and so we cannot say with any degree of certainty what sort of pupil he was. However, it is clear from Široký’s further personal growth and later activity that he supplemented his school learning with independent self-education.

In 1917, after he had completed four classes at secondary school, he did not continue with further study because his bad social position prevented it. After the death of his father, his mother had to support the family only from her husband’s pension, which could not be sufficient in the difficult wartime conditions. The older children contributed to material support for the family, and to improve the situation further, fifteen year old Viliam also entered employment. Following his father’s example, he became a railwayman. He worked as a trainee on the railways and by the end of 1918 he had also joined the railwaymen’s trade union. In the words of Viliam Široký himself: *“In 1919, I was accepted into the service of Czechoslovak State Railways. I was dismissed from this service as a result of the general strike in February 1919.”*²⁰

The events at the of the First World War and especially the October Revolution in Russia also significantly influenced the young Július Ďuriš, whose early life shows various similar or identical elements to those of Viliam Široký. This can be said in spite of the fact that Ďuriš grew up in the countryside and his father was a teacher, which gave him some degree of authority in his surroundings. The young Július also grew up in an ethnically mixed environment, which contributed to his personal development. In this period, Ďuriš began to show a confrontational nature, which he brought to high party and state functions precisely from his youth. He had this problem throughout his life.

He was born on 9 March 1904 in the village of Rovňany in the County of Novohrad not far from Lučenec, as the youngest of the four children of the teacher Ján Ďuriš and Paulína, originally named Komínková. At the time of Ďuriš’s birth, Rovňany had about 300 inhabitants, the great majority of them Slovak members of the Evangelical Church of the Augsburg Confession. His parents were both Evangelicals and he also practiced this faith. His mother had especially strong religious feelings. Like Široký, Ďuriš had older parents. According to his later memories, his mother was ashamed of her last pregnancy, since she expected Július at the age of 37.²¹ Before him, Paulína had given birth to two sons: Ludovít and Ján, and a daughter: Karola, who were ten or more years older than Július (T. Č.). They were examples to their youngest brother in childhood. Especially his brother Ján had a significant influence on Július’ political orientation.

The father Ján Ďuriš came from the village of Pôtor near Veľký Krtíš, where he was born in 1861.²² He traced his origin to the Czech Husites and later his son Július also

20 Národní archiv (NA), f. Viliam Široký, c. no. 7, archive (a). unit (u). 52.

21 Archív múzea SNP Banská Bystrica (hereinafter AMSNP), fond XII, prír. no. S 47/2004 Spomienky Júliusa Ďuriša, (Memoirs of Július Ďuriš) p. 746.

22 State Archives in Banská Bystrica (hereinafter SA BB), Lučenec branch, f. Notary’s office of the village

declared his allegiance to this tradition. On the basis of his own research, he also found that in the 17th and 18th centuries as many as 17 dignitaries of the Evangelical Church in Pôtor were named Ďuriš. Ján Ďuriš originally worked as a shoemaker, but after completing his education in Prešov he became a teacher. At first he worked in his native village and in Ľuboriečka. He gained a place as a teacher in Rovňany only in 1910.²³ After completing his teacher training and gaining the chair of a teacher, Ján Ďuriš accepted Magyarization and began to write his name in the Hungarian form “*Gyuris János*”. He Magyarized the Slovak children at the primary school in Rovňany, vehemently applying forcible Magyarization in the spirit of the time. His activity went so far that if he heard children speaking Slovak during breaks, he physically punished them.²⁴ However, they used Slovak as well as Hungarian at home. Therefore, for understandable reasons, the young Július spoke Hungarian better than Slovak until he began to attend the Czechoslovak grammar school in Lučenec.

Július Ďuriš’s memories of his father were later interpreted by Ján Púll as follows: “*My father was Slovak by origin, but as a teacher he blindly carried out the Magyarizing role of the school, and if children spoke Slovak he had them wear a little wooden cross around their necks. This also applied to Julo.*”²⁵ On the origin of Ďuriš’s mother, he wrote that “*she was Slovak, with Evangelical and teacher relations from the families Bodnár, Styk, Uhrín, Borovský and Mikula families, from the Evangelical community*”.²⁶ Paulína Ďurišová, born 1867, worked as a housewife after her marriage. She looked after the children, especially the youngest Július, who was called *Gyula* at home. She lived the simple life of a pious Evangelical woman. She had an extraordinarily strong attachment to Július. She and her husband observed in their youngest son not only a talent for study, but also a tenacious, sometimes stubborn nature and efforts to uncompromisingly pursue his aims. Therefore his mother had high hopes for his future.

As we already mentioned, one of the similarities between the childhoods of Viliam Široký and Július Ďuriš was that they both grew up in ethnically mixed environments, although one grew up in a typical urban environment and the other in the countryside. Both learnt Hungarian in their family environment and spoke it very well. However, in contrast to Široký, Ďuriš accepted Slovak nationality in the inter-war period. He declared himself to be a Slovak from the beginning of the 1920s.²⁷ From our point of view, the year 1918 or the origin of the Czechoslovak Republic appears to have been important in this area. If the Kingdom of Hungary had continued, Ďuriš would probably have been assimilated under the influence of his father, brothers and the environment of the

of Uhorské, Register of births of the Registration Office in Uhorské, vol. 2., 1904, no. 16.

23 ADAMOVIČ, Mária. *Rovňany v zrkadle dejín. (Rovňany in the mirror of history.)*. Rovňany : Obecny úrad, 2002, p. 26. ISBN 8085155249. The author used a copy deposited in the SA BB Lučenec branch.

24 Cited on the basis of the author’s research in the village of Rovňany and of Ján Púll’s memories of Július Ďuriš. The author possesses a copy of these memories.

25 Memories of Július Ďuriš recorded by Ján Púll, p. 1. The author of the study has a copy of the text.

26 Ref. 25, p. 2.

27 See e.g. SNA, f. Policajné riaditeľstvo, c. no. 278. Július Ďuriš a spol. – trestné oznámenie, (Július Ďuriš and associates – criminal charge.).

Hungarian grammar school in Lučenec. The destiny of Ďuriš's older brothers leads us to this conclusion. They also worked as teachers in the Novohrad region before 1918.

Ján Ďuriš sent his two sons Ľudovít and Ján to study at teacher training college. They were educated in Hungarian language schools because there were no others in that period. After completing their education they considered themselves to be Hungarian. Ľudovít began to teach in Balassagyarmat, now in northern Hungary (T. Č.) and Ján at Kalinovo very close to Rovňany. They worked at Evangelical schools and like their father they consistently applied the Magyarizing legislation in practice. After the outbreak of the First World War, they joined the Austro-Hungarian army, fought on the Eastern Front and so had the chance to witness the revolutionary changes in Russia. They became supporters of Bolshevism under the influence of the October Revolution. Especially Ján Ďuriš became very radical and after returning home he became involved in the activities of the communists in Lučenec. After the fall of the Slovak Soviet Republic in July 1919, Ján, his brother Ľudovít and their sister Karola decided to go to Hungary, where the brothers eventually changed their surname to *Bérces*. All three remained in Hungary until they died.²⁸

Ján, Ľudovít and Karola communicated with their youngest sibling Július exclusively in the Hungarian language, and this continued in the inter-war period. The only known letter in Slovak was sent by Ľudovít from the Eastern Front in 1917. It is unknown why he chose to write in Slovak, and it is clear from the text that his mastery of the Slovak language was not good.²⁹ As a result of frequent communication in Hungarian, Július Ďuriš also had problems with writing in Slovak before 1919, as a letter he received from his uncle Július Bodnár in this period shows: "*Dear Julenko! I got your nice letter and I am very pleased to see from it that you already write in Slovak.*"³⁰

This text was written soon after Ďuriš moved from the Hungarian to the Slovak grammar school in the school year 1919/20. Július Ďuriš's memoirs and the surviving documents testify to the fact that after the formation of the Czechoslovak Republic, the fifteen year old Július declared Slovak nationality and had himself registered in the Slovak class. We do not know exactly how his father reacted to his decision, but it is certain that Ján Ďuriš was no longer working as a teacher in Rovňany and his health was seriously undermined. Július felt that he was Slovak, he declared Slovak nationality in official documents and in 1945 he even became a member of Matica Slovenská.³¹

The social backgrounds in which Široký and Ďuriš grew up were similar or almost the same. In spite of the fact that Ján Ďuriš was a teacher, the financial situation of his family was far from the position in which teachers' families usually lived in the countryside.

28 Ľudovít (Lajos) lived in Balassagyarmat, Ján (János) in Budapest, where he died aged 73 in 1961, and their sister Karola at an unknown place in Hungary.

29 NA, f. Ďuriš, Július, c. no. 3, a. u. 15.

30 Ref. 29.

31 The personal archive collection of Július Ďuriš includes his membership document from Matica Slovenská no. 1 225 issued on 13 November 1945 in Turčiansky Sv. Martin. See NA ČR, f. Ďuriš, Július, c. no. 1, a. u. 1.

Probably this was also caused by the fact that Ján Ďuriš “often went to town, smoked a lot and liked to drink, which all contributed to his relatively early death”.³²

The family often came into contact with debt enforcers and according to Július Ďuriš’s memories from childhood, he secretly took pieces of bread from the storeroom because he was hungry and did not want his mother to see him.³³ His older brothers gave some help in this difficult situation, but this changed when they left for the front in the First World War. Although Ján Ďuriš had financial problems, he made sure that his youngest son could study at the grammar school in Lučenec from 1916. He knew best that the boy was talented and so he used all his contacts and influence to secure a grammar school education for him, in spite of the family’s difficult property situation.

Ján Ďuriš taught his son Július from the first class of primary school. The school reports show that the young Július already had an excellent knowledge of the Hungarian language when he started school. He was evaluated as excellent or very good in the other subjects.³⁴ He achieved similar success during the further years of his study at the primary school in Rovňany, where he completed six years under the direction of his father. Only grades 1 and 2 can be found on Ďuriš’s annual school reports from this period. Therefore, with excellent success and very good behaviour Július Ďuriš entered the Hungarian local royal grammar school at Lučenec in the school year 1916/17. The school’s tradition reached back to 1870 and it had an excellent reputation. The teachers were strict and every student had to show not only talent, but also diligence in the demanding study. Ďuriš left his native Rovňany and began to live in a student hostel, which he had to pay for in the first years, but he was freed from school fees.³⁵

Thanks to his father, Július Ďuriš avoided the situation that Viliam Široký had to solve in this period. As we will recall, Široký could not continue his education after completing the state secondary school because of the bad social situation of his family, which forced him to find employment. On the other hand, the young Ďuriš fulfilled his responsibilities to his father and mother by striving to continue his excellent success at grammar school and he succeeded. Already in the first of the eight years of grammar school study, considered the most difficult, because of the pupil’s transfer from primary school to a more demanding type of institution, Ďuriš gained grades 1 or 2 on the annual report.³⁶ He maintained the same record of success in the next three years during which he studied at the Hungarian grammar school. In the schoolyear 1918/19 he added Slovak language to the subjects he studied and was evaluated as excellent in it.

In spring 1919, preparations began for the establishment of a Slovak grammar school in Lučenec or a Czechoslovak state gymnasium in the terminology of the time. New

32 MARCIK, Milan. *Chlieb ich každodenný. (Their daily bread.)*. Lučenec : Dom Matice slovenskej, 2008, p. 31, ISBN 9788070908877. Ján Ďuriš died at the age of 60 and so it is not possible to agree with the statement he died “relatively early”.

33 ĎURIŠ, Július. Z akých pozícií do budúcnosti. (From such positions to the future.) In *Pamätnica lučenského gymnázia 1870-1970*. Ed. Štefan Rusňák and Margita Babjaková. Lučenec : , 1970, p.11.

34 NA, f. Ďuriš, Július, c. no. 1, a. u. 2.

35 SA BB, Lučenec branch, f. Education, public information and culture, Lučenec grammar school, inv. no. 204, c. no. 20d. Register of pupils 1916-1917

36 Ref. 35.

teachers, mostly from the Czech Lands came to the town with the aim of educating the pupils in the national spirit. If Hungarian teachers refused to take an oath of allegiance to the new republic, they had to leave. Hungarian language classes continued, but Július Ďuriš registered to join the Slovak class and became one of the first students of the Czechoslovak grammar school. More than half a century after his transfer he remembered it as follows: *“It was a large school from which we moved to the first fourth class and the first Slovak grammar school. Everything changed and there were new teachers and students, subject matter and experiences. Everything in its great beginnings. However, the teachers and students broke away from the old, they saw or looked for the new, emerging truths.”*³⁷ Bedřich Kroupa became Ďuriš's first class teacher. In the second half of the first school year Kroupa was replaced by the Viennese Czech Josef Werner, who significantly influenced his 16 year old student.

Ďuriš described Werner in his memoirs as his older friend, who did not have a really good knowledge of the Czech language, but was distinguished by his humanity and his friendly attitude towards the students. Werner defended the young Július several times. In one case, his intervention prevented Ďuriš's expulsion from the school. Already as a student, Ďuriš showed a radical nature full of quarrels and controversies. He could never find a compromise or agreement, but always adamantly defended his view, even at the price of conflict: *“Julo's youth began with conflict from the age of 16, and conflict remained his companion throughout his life.”*³⁸ It is objectively necessary to say that Ďuriš was not strict and radical only towards his surroundings, but also to himself, in a way that sometimes bordered on asceticism. But what happened in this case at Lučenec grammar school?

In 1921 Július Ďuriš's father died at the age of 60 and this made the family's financial situation even worse. His siblings lived in Hungary, while the young grammar school student remained with his mother, whose only income was her widow's pension. The state offices were slow in paying the pension, and so Paulína Ďurišová authorized her son to represent her before the offices in November 1922. Therefore Július wrote to the Office of the Ministry of Education and National Enlightenment in Bratislava a letter, which he most probably conceived in a very sharp or directly offensive tone. Ján Púll interpreted its content as follows: *“Shame on you, gentlemen, you have already owed the additional payment after my father's death for a whole year. My mother has only 62 Kčs, and you did not reply to two of my letters.”*³⁹ We think that Ďuriš's letter must have had a similar content, because in January 1923 the following reply arrived: *“The unpaid active benefit... amounted to 1,066.65 Kčs. liquidated in November last year to the district court in Lučenec, as the court to the inheritance. Where the tone of your letters is concerned, not even the difficult circumstances in which you and your family find yourselves allow you to abandon decency.”*⁴⁰

37 ĎURIŠ, ref. 33, p. 11.

38 Ref. 25, p. 1.

39 Ref. 25, p. 1.

40 NA, f. Ďuriš, Július, c. no. 1, a. u. 6.

The Office of the Ministry of Education and National Enlightenment also demanded that the seventh year student Július Ďuriš should be immediately expelled from the school. The body of teachers of the grammar school had to call an extraordinary session and decide what to do about Ďuriš. Werner convinced his colleagues that to punish an unpropertied student in such a radical way would not be desirable, and the whole group finally agreed. Ďuriš “only” received a grade 4 for behaviour and 16 hours of detention, which meant that the student had to stay in the classroom and work out some tasks as a punishment. Július Ďuriš wrote about this: “When my class teacher Werner had to sit with me for those 16 hours, he told me that I should write what I really thought. After one hour, he looked at me and said: “*This one hour is enough. This should finish it for both of us.*’ In 1929-31, when I illegally worked for the party in Paris, I showed my respect for him by using his name [he used ‘Werner’ as his cover name – T. Č.].”⁴¹

Ďuriš’s mother died soon after this event. At Christmas 1922 she washed clothes in a cold stream and caught pneumonia, to which she succumbed. The 19 year old Július remained alone. He saw his siblings only rarely because he needed a legitimization document to visit Hungary. He had to earn money for living expenses and study by coaching his weaker fellow pupils. He was freed from paying for the student hostel after his father’s death and he did not have to pay school fees, but his financial situation was still critical. Ďuriš lived in Lučenec very modestly and this concerned not only his finances, but also his personal life. For example, even during the life of both his parents he decided to become an abstainer and he joined the Czechoslovak Union of Abstainers. The earliest evidence of Ďuriš’s involvement in this organization dates from 1921. He even held the position of chairman of the secondary school abstinence circle in Lučenec. His activity in this field is shown by the fact that he proposed to the Prague headquarters of the Union of Abstainers that a calendar should be distributed to young abstainers.⁴²

Apart from the abstinence organization, the grammar school student Ďuriš also joined the Scouts. We do not know the exact date he joined the Scouting organization in Lučenec, but it must have been before 1923, because his mother signed the application form.⁴³ However, his activity in these organizations had no effect on his study results. He still studied very well and was one of the best pupils in the class. He overcame a difficult period in life with hard work and self-discipline. Ďuriš’s fellow-pupil Alexander Pakan remembered their student days as follows: “*Our classmates included Julko Ďuriš, son of a teacher from the Evangelical Church, but already an orphan, who experienced difficult conditions. He lived in the student hostel and was an exemplary abstinent. I often met him later in life, including once in the Palace of Versailles with the former deputy prime minister of Czechoslovakia Václav Kopecký. Ďuriš achieved the highest career from our class.*”⁴⁴

The class to which Július Ďuriš belonged also included the later Colonel Viliam Tal-ský and Peter son of the head of the administration of the County of Novohrad Ludovít

41 ĎURIŠ, ref. 33, p. 12.

42 NA, f. Ďuriš, Július, c. no. 1, a. u. 6.

43 Ref. 42, a. u. 9.

44 PAKAN, Alexander. Vivat, crescat, floreat. In *Pamätnica lučenského gymnázia 1870-1970*, p. 48.

Bazovský.⁴⁵ However, we have no evidence that he remained in contact with them after taking his final exams. Relations were broken off after the final exams. Július Ďuriš took them in the school year 1923/24 under the direction of his class teacher Josef Werner, and became one of the three students who passed with distinction. He and his ten classmates were the first to complete their study at the Slovak grammar school. After completing his grammar school study, Ďuriš had to consider where to go next. As an orphan he received social security benefits, but university study still meant a considerable burden. In addition, if he really wanted to study at university, he would have to leave Lučenec and go to Prague, Brno or Bratislava. Ďuriš finally chose to study in Prague, but the first problem appeared immediately. He did not have finance for the journey to the capital city, and so he was forced to ask the management of Czechoslovak State Railways to allow him to travel free of charge: *“According to the enclosed documents I am an entirely propertyless orphan, so I am not in a position to pay a large amount, especially since difficult days await me in Prague, where I will have to constantly struggle with material need.”*⁴⁶

Ďuriš really had to struggle to be able to study in Prague. He was freed from paying for accommodation in the famous Štefánik student hostel where he lived, and he received free food. However, his free accommodation and food were conditional on excellent study results, and Ďuriš achieved this from the beginning of his study. In the first year he took exams in constitutional history, Roman law (private, inheritance, family and obligations) and an overview of legal history with *“very good success”*.⁴⁷ Apart from his studies and membership of the Czechoslovak Union of Abstinents, Ďuriš joined the Tatran Academic Sports Club for Slovak academics studying in the capital city of the republic. When Ďuriš joined, Tatran had about 120 members, but it is not clear what specific activity he pursued in it.

He did not have much time for sport, since at the end of the school year 1925/26, he applied for a grant to study in France, and got it. In autumn 1926 he travelled to Paris, where he studied at University of Social, Economic and Political Sciences. Ďuriš studied there for one school year. We do not know his study results, but it was in this period that he perfected his knowledge of the French language, and even more essentially, he joined the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia in 1927 in Paris.⁴⁸ It appears that Ďuriš devoted himself more to party work than to study, and this continued after his return to Prague. He increasingly worked for the party, engaging in the youth organization Kostufra (Communist Student Fraction). He was intensively concerned with the idea that he would not complete his study at the Law Faculty and would become a professional revolutionary. Ďuriš's definitive decision was accelerated by the so-called Red Day in July 1928 and especially by its failure. After this event, he firmly decided on the career of a

45 Ďuriš also expressed his view of Viliam Talský to the Barnabite Commission, describing him as an untrustworthy and irresponsible careerist. See: NA ČR, f. ÚV KSČ, 03/10, vol. 1, a. u. 119, p. 45. Record of an interview with Július Ďuriš from 9 October 1963.

46 NA, f. Ďuriš, Július, c. no. 3, a. u. 15.

47 Ref. 46, c. no. 1, a. u. 2.

48 AMSNP, fond XII, no. S 47/2004. Memoirs of Július Ďuriš, p. 756.

revolutionary, even at the price of leaving the faculty. He never gained his doctorate of law and his academic career ended in the school year 1928/29.

We could not give a detailed account of Viliam Široký's study because he was forced to leave school at an early age, and the inadequate source material did not enable us to reconstruct his study results at secondary school. However, in spite of the different levels of education they achieved, both Široký and Ďuriš began to incline towards Marxism and the revolutionary communist movement for almost the same reasons and under the influence of the events around the end of the First World War. They came from similar social environments, which had considerable influence on their political development. Široký and Ďuriš perceived the catastrophic economic situation in the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, the fall of Czarism and the October Revolution in Russia in similar ways, in spite of their very young age. For example, when Viliam Široký was a pupil in his last year at secondary school, he experienced the demonstration of Bratislava workers on 1 May 1917. A few months later, as a railway worker he came into direct contact with the radicalizing workers' movement.

Široký soon joined the Bratislava organization of the Social Democratic Party of Hungary, where he began to engage especially among the young. In connection with his employment, he also worked in the railwaymen's trade union, but it is questionable for how long. We already mentioned Viliam Široký's claim that he was dismissed from employment for organizing the strike that broke out in Bratislava on 3 February 1919.⁴⁹ None of the police records from the 1920s mention Široký's employment or his connection with Czechoslovak State Railways. Therefore, it is probable that Široký's work as a railwayman really ended in 1919 and he became increasingly oriented towards revolutionary activity.⁵⁰ His radical views made social democracy unsatisfactory for him, and he naturally adopted the position of the "*Marxist left*", which demanded the creation of a Communist Party.

This was happening at the time that Béla Kún's Bolsheviks gained power in Hungary. They proclaimed the Hungarian Soviet Republic in spring 1919, and strove to spread the world socialist revolution to the neighbouring countries under the guardianship of Moscow. Communist propaganda was also imported into the territory of Slovakia, not to mention the invasion of the Hungarian Red Army in June 1919.⁵¹ In contrast to Ďuriš, Široký did not come into personal contact with the advancing units, and neither did he experience the several weeks of existence of the Slovak Soviet Republic, but the Hungarian inhabitants of Bratislava watched the advance of the Red Army with hope, and this undoubtedly also applied to 17 year old Široký. In this period, he was under the strong

49 For more details on this problem see: HRONSKÝ Marián. *The Struggle for Slovakia and the Treaty of Trianon 1918 – 1920*. Bratislava : Veda, 2001, p. 159-162. ISBN 8022406775.

50 Ludovít Benada wrote in an article in honour of Široký's 50th birthday that Viliam Široký became a professional revolutionary in 1921. See: AMSNP, f. XII., p. 103/92, Spomienka Ludovíta Benada (Memories of Ludovít Benada), p. 1.

51 For more on the problem of the Hungarian Soviet Republic and the importing of communist propaganda see: BENKO, Juraj. *Bolševizmus medzi východom a západom (1900 – 1920)*. (*Bolshevism between East and West (1900-1920)*). Bratislava : Prodama, 2012, p. 140-147, ISBN 9788089396184.

influence of the Bratislava communist of Hungarian nationality Július (Gyula) Nagy, he read mainly Hungarian and German socialist literature, and according to the writer Peter Jilemnický, Široký was also significantly influenced by one of his older brothers.⁵² It is also necessary to realize that the Hungarian and German population of the city, to which we can also assign Široký, took up a position of passive resistance towards the new state authorities.

At the beginning of 1919, the young Viliam Široký was probably convinced by communist propaganda imported from Hungary that the socialist revolution was going to triumph in the whole of Central Europe. He definitely did not welcome the origin of the Czechoslovak Republic, and he looked with distrust at the new state based on parliamentary democracy. When making this statement, we rely both on an analysis of the environment in which he moved at the end of the First World War, that is mainly in Hungarian working class communist circles, and on his initial political activity, in which it is clear that he attacked the Czechoslovak Republic and its regime.⁵³ However, the hope of the 17 year old that the rule of the dictatorship of the proletariat would be established ended with the fall of the Slovak and Hungarian soviet republics, and he had to accept the existence of the Czechoslovak Republic as a fact, whether he liked it or not. He continued to agitate among young workers, and on 5 September 1920 he participated in the congress of the Union of Young Socialist Workers.

Široký went to the congress as a delegate. The majority of the participants opposed the existing policy of the Social Democratic Party. The congress also declared its support for the programme of the Communist Internationale and the Communist Youth Internationale.⁵⁴ On this period we have only memories, which originated at the beginning of the 1950s, at the time of the building up of Široký's cult of personality. They arose essentially according to orders, and for this reason, it is necessary to confront them as far as possible with police reports. This concerns, for example, the memories of the well known communist functionary Marek Čulen, according to whom Široký was one of the most active and radical of the young representatives at the congress of the Union of Youth.⁵⁵ Široký was supposed to have attacked the Social Democratic leaders in a speech, calling them traitors to the working class and unambiguously supporting the establishment of an independent Communist Party. The youth organization then issued a declaration according to which the union "*is joining the Communist Internationale and challenges the members of the party to remove the leaders, who compromised themselves with their opportunistic service to the bourgeoisie, to expose the discredited name of Social Democracy and found a mass revolutionary party: the Communist Party of*

52 JILEMNICKÝ, Peter. Pár slov pod obrázok. (A few words under the pictures.). In *K päťdesiatym narodeninám súdruha Viliama Širokého*. Editor Miloš Gosiorovský. Bratislava : Pravda, 1952, p. 218. Jilemnický's memories of Viliam Široký originated in 1947 on the occasion of Široký's 45th birthday.

53 SNA, f. Policajné riaditeľstvo, c. no. 1156. Report from the police station in the town of Šamorín from 25 May 1921.

54 *Revolučná mládež na Slovensku v boji o dnešok. (The revolutionary youth of Slovakia in the struggle for today)*. Editors Zdenka Holotiková and Milan Fillo. Bratislava : SVPL, 1958, p. 441.

55 *Pravda*, 1952, year 33, no. 128, p. 4. For more on Marek Čulen see: HLAVOVÁ, Viera. Marek Čulen. In PEŠEK, Jan a kol. *Aktéri jednej éry na Slovensku 1948 – 1989*, p. 64-65.

Czechoslovakia".⁵⁶ In the following months, the disputes within the Social Democratic Party sharpened further, and this led to the departure of some of the extreme leftist members to found a separate Communist Party.

The process of formation of the extreme left in Slovakia culminated in the course of January 1921 at a congress in Ľubochňa and in Ružomberok. Not long before, a general strike had paralysed the country with the participation of about fifty thousand industrial and agricultural workers only in Slovakia. These events radicalized especially the young. For this reason, it was not surprising that when the first Bratislava organization of the Communist Part of Czechoslovakia was established, the 19 year old Široký became a member. Marek Čulen later wrote that when "*at the birth of our party, I was entrusted with the function of chairman of the Action Committee for the establishment of the Communist Party and regional secretary of the Marxist Left in Bratislava, I found in the young Viliam Široký a rare type of Bolshevik colleague, dedicated to the cause of the struggle of the working class*".⁵⁷ Čulen's memories of Široký originated at the time of the cult of personality, and so they are determined by this fact, but it is possible to partially agree with the last part of the cited sentence, since it is also documented by the police reports. Široký really was one of the dedicated young agitators in communist politics at the beginning of the 1920s.

Other memories of the beginnings of Široký's revolutionary activities give a similar impression. They were deliberately collected on the occasion of Široký's fiftieth birthday from older workers in Bratislava enterprises, and they undoubtedly show some exaggeration. For example, a certain Mrs. Holbíková from the former Stollwerck works recalled how she knew the young Široký "*from the workers' house, where workers held meetings. Comrade Široký also went there, at first he was mainly with the young people, but he already stood out among them and it was clear that he was more mature than the others*".⁵⁸ Mr. Stéberl (Christian name not given in the document – T. Č.) a worker from the Kablo works described Široký's work in the communist movement at the beginning of the 1920s in a similar spirit. He recalled Široký's role in organizing strikes and demonstrations, forming workplace cells in individual factories and agitating among the workers.⁵⁹ Stéberl naturally did not forget to mention the great confidence of the workers in Viliam Široký.

It is necessary to take a critical view of these claims because one 20 year old starting work as a functionary at the Bratislava secretariat of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia could not have been a leader of the workers, as was emphasized in the period of the cult of personality.

However, it is possible to confirm Široký's radicalism, his zeal for communist ideas and his tireless organizational work, which led to the police soon beginning to notice him. The first recorded criminal prosecution of Viliam Široký dates from June 1921. On 22 May of that year, he appeared at an unauthorized public assembly in the village of

56 Ref. 55, p. 3.

57 Ref. 55, p. 4.

58 AMSNP, f. XII., p. 88/92, Spomienky s. Holbíkovéj, (Memories of Comrade Holbíková), p. 1.

59 Ref. 58, Spomienky s. Stéberla, (Memories of Comrade Stéberl), p. 1.

Gútor, today called Hamuliakovo.⁶⁰ Among other things, Široký spoke at this demonstration against the state authorities of Czechoslovakia, specifically *“he said about the district offices that they are the greatest scoundrels and rogues, who work against the working people”*.⁶¹ At the same time, he exhorted the agricultural workers of Gútor to be united. He encouraged them not to be afraid to confront the gendarmerie or the army. The report does not state what language he spoke, but since it was an area with a mainly Hungarian population, he probably spoke Hungarian.

Viliam Široký, who held the post of secretary of the Bratislava organization of the Communist Party (in other sources designated as deputy secretary – T. Č.) and was also editor of the newspapers *Hlas ľudu (Voice of the People)* and *Pravda chudoby (Truth of Poverty)*, denied all the accusations when the police questioned him. He only admitted that he had exhorted the workers to struggle to improve their economic position. However, from this moment he came under the microscope of the police authorities, which watched him carefully throughout the period of existence of the inter-war Czechoslovak Republic. For example, a report from 14 February 1922 states that *“the communist agitator Schiroky allegedly goes to members’ meetings of the agricultural and forestry workers as a speaker and distributes leaflets and printed materials through the Hungarian districts of the County of Bratislava, taking them to individual farm yards”*.⁶² It is also possible to read in police reports that *“various rumours have circulated about him, that he maintained contacts in Budapest between Horthy’s government and the Communist Party in Slovakia”*.⁶³

With the greatest probability, this is an exaggerated statement. Široký maintained contacts with the Hungarian communists and he stayed in Hungary during 1922, but as a communist, he could not have contacts with Horthy’s government. His stay in Hungary, from which he returned to Bratislava on 20 June 1923, was officially justified by the need for medical treatment. Široký suffered from lung diseases from his youth. From time to time, this hindered his ability to engage in more active forms of communist agitation. Disregarding his health problems, the police regarded him as the leader of the most radical tendency among the young communists. *“He developed the most intensive agitation and propaganda activity in the communist ranks, both in Bratislava and in its surroundings, but his health problems restricted him. He was a speaker for the Communist Party here and his reports had a rabble-rousing character. He has the reputation of being the most zealous communist agitator and rabble-rouser.”*⁶⁴

Thanks to his activities and radicalism, Široký came before the court in 1922 for slander in the press and was sentenced to one week in prison and a fine of 200 Kč. However,

60 At the beginning of the 1920s this village belonged to the district of Šamorín. Today it is in the district of Senec.

61 SNA, f. Policajné riaditeľstvo, c. no. 1156. Request of the hetman of the County of Bratislava to investigate a case from 2 June 1921.

62 Ref. 61. Excerpt from a report from the county office from 14 February 1922.

63 Ref. 61, Report from 23 June 1923.

64 Ref. 61, Report on Viliam Široký from 24 April 1925.

it is questionable whether he served his sentence, as the historian Miloš Gosiorovský later stated.⁶⁵

The police documents show that Široký did everything possible to avoid imprisonment and paying the fine. He constantly demanded delay and undertook various legal obstructions. In spite of this he did not pay attention, but continued with revolutionary speeches in public, writing of rabble-rousing articles for the communist press and distribution of illegal posters. He did not stop this activity even during his compulsory military service from 1923 to 1925. On 5 March 1925 at 15.00 hours “*the soldier Viliam Široký, who was found to have a brochure about Lenin, was arrested on an official order. He was handed over to an escort, which transported him to the garrison command in Prague*”.⁶⁶ At this time, Široký was serving with the 28th foot regiment at Milovice in Bohemia. We did not succeed in finding out his punishment for distributing brochures during his military service.

On 3 December 1925, soon after his return from military service, he was again sentenced to 14 days imprisonment and a 200 Kč fine for a statement on 8 July 1923 insulting the Czechoslovak parliament, by calling it in Hungarian the “*Prague monkeyhouse*”. If he did not pay the fine, another 10 days would be added to the prison sentence (T. Č.).⁶⁷ Again there is not sufficient evidence to prove that the punishment was really imposed. It seems that he did not take the decisions of the judicial authorities seriously and his agitation continued. At the beginning of 1926 Široký addressed a demonstration by about 700 people in Komárno, saying that the ruling class “*had demolished Slovak industry and thrown 100,000 workers onto the streets without support. They are again considering investigation of invalids and reduction of unemployment benefit. But they have enough money to construct police buildings and produce bayonets, so that they can stab workers. Many workers live in pig sties or in the open air*”.⁶⁸ He also exhorted those present to support a forcible change to the constitution.

Another criminal charge against Široký was submitted on 17 March 1926, this time by the Police Commissariat in Komárno. At about the same time, they decided to implement the sentence for his statement in July 1923. Viliam Široký submitted an official request for a two month delay with a medical report according to which he was too ill to be imprisoned. It was one of many obstructions and the police authorities in Bratislava were aware of this. Agents thoroughly verified his work activities and illness. Široký stated in his request that he was employed as a private office worker. According to the police report: “*Viliam Široký, communist secretary in Bratislava, works full time and often into the night at the Communist Secretariat at Špitálska street no. 31. He participates in every communist meeting whether private or public. Most recently, on 17 June 1926 he addressed a public assembly on Rybné square. In relation to the fact that Široký so vigorously devotes himself to communist propaganda, his illness is very doubtful, in spite*

65 GOSIOROVSKÝ, ref. 8, p. 7.

66 GOSIOROVSKÝ, ref. 8, p. 7.

67 Ref. 61, Verdict against Viliam Široký from 3 December 1925. Široký's original phrase was “*pragai majomház*”.

68 Ref. 61. Verdict against Viliam Široký from 11 October 1926.

of the medical confirmation he has submitted. In his free time, he can be seen visiting places of public entertainment."⁶⁹

The whole case was artificially delayed by Široký, and he applied the same tactic to the further verdict, by which the court in Komárno on 11 October 1926 sent him to prison for one month unconditionally and without possibility of delay. Široký naturally appealed against the verdict. However, the verdict was confirmed by the regional court (krajský súd) on 30 January 1928. Meanwhile, he confronted another criminal prosecution, since he had again attacked the republic in his statements. As a result, the court in Bratislava sentenced him to five months in prison according to Act no. 50/1923 Col. on defence of the republic.⁷⁰ To these court verdicts, it is necessary to add regular searches of his home, interrogations and short-term detentions, on the basis of which it is possible to produce a comprehensive picture of the life of Viliam Široký in the 1920s. We can unambiguously state that he sacrificed the whole of his personal life to the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia (CPC), but this brought him important functions in the party at a relatively early age.

From 1926 Široký held the function of secretary of the XX (Bratislava) region of the CPC, which made him responsible mainly for organizational matters.⁷¹ At the fourth congress of the CPC held from 25 to 28 March 1927 at Smichov in Prague, he was elected to the central revisional commission.⁷² He most frequently cooperated in party work with Štefan Major, František Dénes, Gábor Steiner and the above mentioned Marek Čulen. Until 1925 Široký was under the patronage of the communist functionary Július (Gyula) Nagy, who died early. In this period, he also got to know Klement Gottwald and young Czech communists close to him in age. Among them it is necessary to mention Rudolf Slánský, Jan Šverma and Július Fučík. This brought him into the group of the so-called *Karlín boys*, which for some time secured his progress among the elite of the CPC. From the end of the 1920s, Široký appeared less among workers of Hungarian nationality and he increasingly presented himself as a representative of Slovakia. He undoubtedly gained authority among the workers and within the CPC, for which the second half of the 1920s was an extraordinarily turbulent period.

The CPC quickly established itself on the Czechoslovak political scene as an independent party. In the 1925 parliamentary elections it gained 13.9% of the votes, more than the Social Democrats. In the whole state, the communists came second after the Agrarian Party, and third in Slovakia where Hlinka's Slovak People's Party triumphed. In spite of this, Moscow was not satisfied with the CPC. The Soviet Bolsheviks criticized the Czechoslovak communists for placing too much emphasis on the parliamentary

69 Ref. 61. Report to the state authorities in Bratislava from 3 July 1926.

70 Ref. 61, c. no. 277. Criminal prosecution of Viliam Široký and Pavol Schwartz from 4 October 1932. This document includes a list of Široký's offences up to 1932.

71 Ref. 61, c. no. 273. Minutes with Viliam Široký from 10 November 1927.

72 ŠTVERÁK, František. *Schematismus k dějinám Komunistické strany Československa (1921-1992). Základní informace o ústředních orgánech a biografické údaje o vedoucích představitelích strany. (Scheme of the history of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia (1921-1992). Basic information about the central bodies and biographical data about the leading representatives of the party).* Praha : Národní archiv, 2010, p. 45. ISBN 9788086712871.

form of work instead of on revolutionary class struggle, and for being burdened by the old social democrat tradition. However, not all the communist functionaries agreed with the pressure and intervention from Moscow, and so various factions began to form in the party. A group demanding faster Bolshevization and represented mainly by the group around Klement Gottwald began to form in opposition to the leadership of Jilkovský and Bolenovský. Široký also belonged to this opposition group. The crisis in the party culminated at the fifth congress of the CPC in February 1929. Gottwald's group came to the congress with the support of Moscow and of some party organizations. They went on the offensive and gained a majority in the Central Committee.

Viliam Široký participated in the fifth congress but secretly, because in this period he was living in illegality to avoid criminal prosecution and imprisonment. His illegality began in spring 1928, when he travelled from Bratislava to the spa at Štós, allegedly for treatment. Široký obtained medical confirmation for illness in his lungs. According to a police report he wanted to continue his treatment until an amnesty expected on the occasion of the tenth anniversary of the origin of Czechoslovakia.

At Štós he was officially treated by Dr. Eugen Juraj Nemeš, who was known to the police for being willing to accept for treatment communist functionaries threatened with imprisonment in return for payment. However, Široký did not stay at the spa for long. He travelled secretly to Košice and from there to the Soviet Union. He crossed the frontier illegally sometime around the turn of June and July 1928.⁷³ He spent several months in the Soviet Union, in Moscow to be exact, where he participated in the sixth congress of the Communist Internationale. The police did not succeed in finding out what documents Široký had used to cross the frontier, and it is still not entirely clear whether he was already in contact with the Soviet secret service at this time.

Miloš Gosiorovský also recalled Široký's stay in the USSR in his celebratory article. However, he inaccurately but perhaps intentionally stated that "*The police directorate did not learn that Comrade Široký had travelled for the first time in his life to the heart of the international workers' movement – Moscow.*"⁷⁴ The police already knew on 10 August 1928 that Široký had succeeded in crossing the frontier and going to the Soviet Union. Gosiorovský described his activity in Moscow in the spirit of the terminology of the time, as follows: "*He went to Moscow with a delegation from the CPC headed by Comrade Klement Gottwald, which fought the decisive battle against the opportunist Jílek's leadership of the CPC, actually at the sixth congress of the Communist Internationale. And so the first visit of Comrade Široký to Moscow is inseparably connected with the triumph of the policy of Klement Gottwald.*"⁷⁵ Gosiorovský's words are obviously a product of their time, but it is certain that the visit to Moscow and participation in the sixth congress of the Communist Internationale helped "Gottwald and associates" to triumph at the fifth congress of the CPC.

Viliam Široký probably travelled back to Czechoslovakia at the beginning of October. He again crossed the frontier illegally. First he went to his brother in law Matej Varga

73 Ref. 61, Report of the Police Station in Štós from 10 August 1928.

74 GOSIOROVSKÝ, ref. 8, p. 7.

75 GOSIOROVSKÝ, ref. 8, p. 8.

from Revúca, who provided temporary refuge. Then he went to Žilina, where he briefly took over the leadership of the CPC in the Žilina region.⁷⁶ He hid there with local communists under the cover name Húska, or with his girlfriend Erika Schneiderová, who, coincidentally, worked for some time as a typist at Štós spa.⁷⁷ She suddenly left, claiming that she wanted to establish a paper shop in Košice. This was not true. Her departure was connected with Široký. Schneiderová was seven years younger than him and only 18 when they met. She joined Široký in illegality, because she correctly supposed that the police would want to trace and arrest Široký through her.

However, it is clear from the police reports that they were relatively well informed about Široký's place of residence, and so it is not entirely clear why they did not succeed in arresting him. For example, the agents traced another woman, who helped Široký search for a convenient hiding place. She was Tilda Reichová, a young Žilina communist. The police succeeded in intercepting her letter in which she wrote that "*Široký is with her and he is afraid that he can be taken every day. He should not speak to anybody except his girlfriend Schneiderová, because it could betray him.*"⁷⁸ Disregarding the psychological tension that Široký must have experienced in illegality, he constantly organized the work of the Communist Party with the help of various people who enabled him to communicate. According to police reports, he remained in Žilina until 3 December 1928. Then he secretly went to Prague for the fifth congress of the CPC.

It was held from 18 to 23 February 1929 in five different places: the Čechia building in Libeň, Národní dom in Vinohrady, Obecný dom in Karlín, Domovina building in Holešovice and Národní dom in Smíchov. Essentially, the discussions were held each day in a different place and secretly because of fear of the police. The police also thought that Široký was participating in the congress. On 23 February, a special police agent was sent from Bratislava to Prague with the aim of trying to arrest Široký. However, the agent's report shows that he had very weak information both about Široký and about the location of the congress. He did not succeed in tracking down and arresting him and could only report brief information, according to which "*Široký had left Prague and gone to an unknown place. He had stayed in Žižkov at Olšanské náměstí square no. 5 with Mrs. Procházková, where he was not reported to the police... The person in question was seen on 25 February leaving the Communist Secretariat in Karlín at 10.00 and heading towards Prague. Široký Viliam has an acquaintance at Tuřany near Brno in the person of Dr. Šebastian and it is not excluded that he is now staying there or in Brno.*"⁷⁹

It is still questionable to what extent Široký participated in the preparation and course of the fifth congress of the CPC and whether he was already in this period elected to the leadership of the party. Miloš Gosiorovský stated that Široký became a member of Gottwald's Central Committee of the party in the course of 1930 and that apart from this he also worked as instructor of the CC CPC.⁸⁰ However, the latest research shows

76 NA, f. Viliam Široký, c. no. 7, a. u. 52.

77 Ref. 61, Široký Viliam – investigation. Memorandum from 4 January 1929.

78 Ref. 61, Police report, date unknown.

79 Ref. 61, Report from 27 February 1929.

80 GOSIOROVSKÝ, ref. 8, p. 8.

that Široký was only elected to the Central Committee at the sixth congress of the CPC in March 1931 under the cover name Marek.⁸¹ At the same congress he became a candidate for the Politburo of the CC CPC and remained one until the seventh congress of the CPC, at which he was elected as a member of the Politburo, the only one from Slovakia.

In 1929, the CPC sent Široký to Moscow, where he worked in the Central European Secretariat of the Communist Internationale until April 1930.⁸² From the beginning of the 1930s he lived in the Czech Lands and operated under various cover names including Marek and Pospíšil. He was in Ostrava, Kolín, Kladno, České Budejovice and obviously Prague. He worked in the capital city for some time in the editorial office of *Rudé právo*, where he signed his articles as Marek. Before this, he worked in Moravská Ostrava, where he participated in editing *Pravda*, the editorial office of which had been moved from Slovakia to northern Moravia.⁸³ He felt safer in the territory of Bohemia and Moravia, since he was less well known to the police there and so he was in much less danger of being arrested there than, for example, in Bratislava. After the fifth congress, the whole party went into a semi-illegal state, and so Široký organized secret cells as well as the regular party agenda. Precisely in this connection, the authorities succeeded in tracking down and arresting him and nine other communists, mostly students, in Prague on 11 February 1932.⁸⁴ He was released in September 1932, but in December they arrested him again, and charged him with cooperating with the Soviet secret service, the GPU.⁸⁵ However, the state authorities never proved cooperation and so they had to release him in 1935, because he had been elected as a member of the National Assembly.⁸⁶

During his secret stay in Ostrava Široký met for the first time the two years younger communist Július Ďuriš, who had decided to become a professional revolutionary after leaving his studies. Ďuriš's route to communism was longer and more complex than Široký's. Mainly as a result of his studies, Ďuriš became actively involved in party work only at the end of the 1920s. However, his zeal and ardour for the idea of communism were fanatical and he was willing to sacrifice anything for them. He also subordinated his personal life to revolutionary activity. This enthusiasm seized Ďuriš at the end of the First World War, especially after the return of his brother Ján from Russia.

As a soldier in the Austro-Hungarian army, Ján Ďuriš participated in the fighting on the Eastern Front and was taken prisoner by the Russians. As a result, he had a close up view of the October Revolution and the chance to learn about Bolshevism. In spite of the fact that before being mobilized he had taught in an Evangelical school, he became a convinced communist after his release from captivity and return home. In Lučenec he immediately became involved in the work of the local organization of the Communist Party of Hungary and in the workers red guards. In December 1918, the situation in the

81 ŠTVERÁK, ref. 72, p. 53.

82 NA, f. Viliam Široký, c. no. 7, a. u. 52.

83 On Široký's activity in Ostrava see: JILEMNICKÝ, ref. 52, p. 217-222.

84 Ref. 61, Report of the Police Directorate from 19 February 1932.

85 NA, f. Viliam Široký, c. no. 7, a. u. 52.

86 Ref. 85.

Novohrad region, which lay on the future Slovak – Hungarian frontier, became dramatic and the men returning from the front or from imprisonment had a part in this. The population became radicalized and workers went on strike. However, in January 1919, the Czechoslovak army occupied Lučenec, installed a Czechoslovak administration and interned the town's radical communists including Ján Ďuriš.

His younger brother Július was studying in the third year of the Hungarian grammar school in the school year 1918/19. He witnessed the general strike in Lučenec, which began on 12 February 1919 and was suppressed by the army after three days. In March the authorities declared martial law because of events in Hungary and again arrested the most radical communists. Július Ďuriš went to visit his brother in prison, where they mostly discussed politics. Precisely these discussions, in addition to his own experience of the social situation and revolutionary changes in Europe, led the young Ďuriš to adopt communist convictions: *“Like millions of other people, I was also shaped by the great historic drama on the stage of the First World War, the break up of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, fall of the Czarist autocracy, October Revolution, its echoes in Hungary and Slovakia, and the formation of the new common state of the Czechs and Slovaks after 300 and 1,000 years of nation oppression respectively... My discussions with my brother in the military prison at Lučenec continually and repeatedly resound in me. As a communist he was sent to the special military court in Trenčín.”*⁸⁷

In May 1919, battles with the Hungarian Red Army blazed on the southern frontier of Slovakia. The Czechoslovak army was pushed onto the defensive and on 30 May Hungarian units marched into Lučenec, where they introduced the dictatorship of the proletariat. In the town and throughout the territory of the Slovak Soviet Republic, revolutionary tribunals and so-called Red Guards were established. Estates, factories and banks began to be nationalized. The Slovak section of the Hungarian Socialist Party moved to Lučenec. It organized demonstrations with the aim of proving the positive relationship of the local population to the new system.⁸⁸ Július Ďuriš found himself right in the centre of revolutionary events and he intensively experienced them. Although this experience only lasted a few weeks, it strongly influenced him. However, he was too young to actively participate in political and public activity in Lučenec. In spite of this, he recalled: *“I considered myself part of the world revolution and its revolutionary army in Hungary, which liberated our small Slovak village.”*⁸⁹

The fall of the Slovak Soviet Republic did not influence Ďuriš's thinking, rather the reverse. He was ever more convinced of the infallibility of the Marxist – Leninist ideology and the victory of the revolution. Lučenec was a town with a strong presence of leftist oriented and ethnically mixed workers, and Ďuriš had the possibility to come into contact with them every day. On 1 May 1923 he marched through the town with the Communist Party, in spite of a great risk that he could be expelled from the grammar school. In this

87 ĎURIŠ, ref. 33, p. 11-12.

88 For more on the events from May to July 1919 in Lučenec and its surroundings see: ČERVENÁK, Ivan. Chronológia robotníckeho hnutia a KSČ v Lučenci. (Chronology of the workers movement and CPC in Lučenec.). In *Pamätnica lučenského gymnázia 1870 – 1970*, s. 132-133.

89 AMSNP, f. XII., príř. č. S 47/2004. Spomienky Júliusa Ďuriša, (Memoirs of Július Ďuriš), p. 423.

period, Ďuriš already wrote notes, from which we learn that in January 1924, he swore allegiance to the deceased Lenin: “*I found in you what I had long sought, which did not give peace to my life. I sought you and came to you. I do not recognize any law above the law of the good of humanity and the new future.*”⁹⁰ In another place he wrote: “*On your death Lenin, in January 1924, I vowed allegiance to you in life and in death. In autumn, at university in Prague, I joined your party.*”⁹¹

Two months after Lenin, the famous German businessman Hugo Stinnes also died, and on this occasion Ďuriš wrote exactly the opposite view. He described Stinnes as a person, who made hundreds of thousands of people into modern slaves and beggars, who made money from armaments and shed blood. Stinnes was even described as the “*murderer of the life and development of all humanity*”.⁹² It was with such lines of thought that the fresh graduate from Lučenec grammar school went to Charles University in Prague, where he immediately submitted a written application to join the CPC at the beginning of the winter semester of the school year 1924/25.⁹³ However, for unknown reasons, he received no reply. In spite of this, he began to engage in the Communist Student Fraction (Kostufra) and he developed intensive agitation activity, especially in the Štefánik Student Hostel, where he lived. He also attended meetings of the Communist Party and participated in demonstrations organized by the CPC in the capital city. Ďuriš soon became well known among communist students and workers for his zeal and radicalism.

For example, apart from his decision never to get married because of politics, this was expressed in his first encounters with the Davists and with Vladimír Clementis. He got to know them in 1925 in the Prague Socialist Club, where he attended a lecture by Clementis. Ďuriš later recalled that after sitting there for a short time, he reconsidered and soon left. He explained this with the view that he did not understand the Davists and their views seemed entirely strange to him. In his view, they deformed the young and added water to the Ludák mill. They were not even able to achieve regular publication of their magazine.⁹⁴ Finally, Ladislav Novomeský apparently said to Ďuriš: “*Don't go with us. We are already corrupted.*”⁹⁵ Ďuriš essentially struggled against the Davists all his life. He did not agree with them and in spite of his education, he did not like their orientation towards the intelligentsia. However, the paradoxes of Ďuriš's nature included the fact that he published things in DAV himself.⁹⁶

Ďuriš again applied to join the CPC in 1925, again without results.⁹⁷ It is a noteworthy fact because he was already one of the active workers in Kostufra. The party secretariat again did not reply to him. Ďuriš succeeded in joining the party only during his

90 ĎURIŠ, REF. 33, P. 12.

91 Ref. 89, p. 424.

92 ĎURIŠ, ref. 33, p. 12.

93 Ref. 89. Spomienky Júliusa Ďuriša, s. 729.

94 Ref. 89, p. 807.

95 NA, f. ÚV KSČ, 03/10, vol. 1, a. u. 119, p. 103. Record of a discussion with Július Ďuriš from 9 October 1963.

96 ĎURIŠ, Július. Kultúrne potreby Slovenska vo svetle krajinského rozpočtu. (The cultural needs of Slovakia in the light of the regional budget.). In *DAV*, year 8, no. 7, p. 6-7.

97 Ref. 89. Spomienky Júliusa Ďuriša, p. 756.

study visit to France, where he probably went with authorization from Kostufra. Apart from studying in Paris, he also worked as an editor and established contact with Czech and Slovak workers employed in France. He chose the date for entry to the party really symbolically: *“At a commemorative dinner on the anniversary of Lenin’s death, I asked a neighbour, a French worker, for an application to join the party. I was then the editor of the magazine Rovnost (Equality) for Czech and Slovak workers, and I returned to Prague with authorization to establish a firm connection between the leadership of the party and our workers in France.”*⁹⁸ Many of his party membership documents in his personal archive collection confirm that Ďuriš’s membership of the CPC began in 1927.⁹⁹

After returning from France to Prague, Ďuriš did not go back to the Štefánik Student Hostel, but to the nearby Kolonka Student Hostel, where communists were strongly represented in the student administration. Ďuriš was soon elected deputy chairman of the administration and he also joined the leadership of Kostufra for the whole state. He did not interrupt his contact with the workers while he was in Prague. He went to their meetings and soon got to know long established party workers such as Antonín Zápotocký. At Mayday celebrations, Ďuriš marched at the head of the communist students carrying the red flag, but he was still closer to the working class movement than to the intellectuals. Revolutionary activity affected his study in this period, because he delayed his state exams as a result of preparations for the so-called Red Day.

This was intended to be the CPC’s reply to the prohibition of the second Spartakiad by the state authorities, but the party leadership did not succeed in organizing it. It was supposed to be a large communist demonstration in the streets of Prague, but the police broke it up and the whole event ended in failure. A few days later, on 9-10 July 1928 the course of a session of the CC CPC confirmed that the party was in a deep crisis, and sharp opposition to the leadership had developed in its ranks. Ďuriš was very emotional about the collapse of the Red Day, he was ashamed of it, and this even led to a decision about his further orientation. He definitively decided to abandon his study of law and devote himself to the career of a professional revolutionary. Disappointed with the development in the party, he could not answer the question of why he should become a lawyer: *“Why do I have to be a lawyer? I don’t want to be like Sekanina or Clementis. They are advocates and what do they do? I want to be a professional revolutionary.”*¹⁰⁰

Ďuriš’s decision had a serious impact on his ability to secure the necessities of life. As a result of his social situation, he had free accommodation and food at the student hostel, but this ended when he abandoned his study. He survived for several months by providing extra lessons for students. He had hardly any resources and according to his memoirs not even money for food. In this difficult situation, he experienced and followed the sharpening disputes in the CPC and at its fifth congress. During 1928, Ďuriš unambiguously joined Gottwald’s group and fully supported the so-called Bolshevization of the CPC. He enthusiastically welcomed the results of the fifth congress and regarded them as his personal victory. In summer 1929, the leadership of the CPC decided to send Ďuriš

98 Ref. 89, Spomienky Júliusa Ďuriša, p. 949.

99 NA, f. Ďuriš, Július, c. no. 1, a. u. 1.

100 Ref. 89, Spomienky Júliusa Ďuriša, p. 950.

to Ostrava as the editor of *Pravda*. He replaced the departing Peter Jilemnický.¹⁰¹ In the Ostrava editorial office of *Pravda*, Ďuriš got to know Koloman Moškovič, Eduard Urx, and for the first time also Viliam Široký, who was hiding from arrest.

More intensive cooperation between them was prevented at this time by the unfavourable conditions for the activity of the CPC, since Široký lived in illegality for a long time, while Ďuriš went back to France after a temporary ban was imposed on some communist periodicals in October 1929. At first he considered returning to the study of law, but in the end he decided to continue his revolutionary activities and after agreement with the leading functionaries of the CPC, he travelled to Paris on a false passport. Once there, he joined in organizational work among the Czech and Slovak workers, for whom he edited the magazine *Plameň (Flame)*. During his whole stay in France, Ďuriš operated under the cover names Werner, Borecher or Ján Lipták.¹⁰² According to all the evidence, he lived in Paris very modestly and constantly struggling with financial difficulties, like the Czechoslovak workers mentioned by his former colleague Matúš Brída in a letter to Ďuriš: “*Dear Comrade Ďuriš, you will remember the poverty we experienced in France. You walked among us, and we did not have a bed of roses there. I still remember the song that you composed there: ‘We wanderers are recharging the workers’ homeland.’*”¹⁰³

Ďuriš built up a strong authority among the workers. He regularly participated in meetings of the Czechoslovak party organization, which operated within the Communist Party of France. An inevitable result was that the police took an increased interest in him. In autumn 1931 the French police arrested Ďuriš and the worker Michal Badonič. Ďuriš was sentenced to two months in prison and deportation from the country. After he left the Fresnes prison in Paris, the police took him to the Belgium frontier, but the Belgian customs officials sent him back. In spite of this, he succeeded in reaching Brussels, where he stayed for a few days. Ján Púll wrote about his further destiny: “*Julo went on, but not to Prague. He travelled to Moscow through Berlin, to which illegal routes led from the whole of Europe. However, in Berlin he received a message from Prague [from Rudolf Slánský – T. Č.] that he had to do compulsory military service.*”¹⁰⁴ Ďuriš returned to Prague in December 1931.

The further developments after his return can be reconstructed on the basis of Július Ďuriš’s military record book. The Czechoslovak military authorities regarded Ďuriš as a draft dodger, who came voluntarily, but still could not avoid prison. He spent the next two months in the Prague military prison, and was then assigned to active service, where he completed infantry training. He described his time in the barracks as follows: “*I kept quiet about my work in France. During military service they guarded me with interest, and the chief of the General Staff of the Army General Krejčí discussed the deceptive*

101 The writer Peter Jilemnický left the Ostrava editorial office of *Pravda* in August 1929, since on 1 September he started work as an assistant teacher at the state secondary school in Trnava. He worked for exactly one year in the editorial office of *Pravda*.

102 Ref. 25, p. 3.

103 NA, f. Ďuriš, Július, c. no. 1, a. u. 6.

104 Ref. 25, p. 4.

democracy in the Soviet Union with me in front of other soldiers."¹⁰⁵ He was released into the reserves in July 1933,¹⁰⁶ and according to the decision of the leadership of the CPC, he had to go to Slovakia, although he wanted to go to the Soviet Union. After almost ten years, he returned "home" to do political work. This was the beginning of the second period of his revolutionary activity, which ended only with his arrest in August 1941.

From the middle of the 1930s, Viliam Široký and Július Ďuriš encountered each other closely during party work in Slovakia. Široký was again imprisoned at the end of 1934, but in May 1935 he was elected to parliament for the Trnava region, thanks to which was he was released. He also became the political secretary to the regional leadership of the CPC in Slovakia. In the Czechoslovak parliament, he was one of the deputy chairmen of the Communist Parliamentary Club and he sometimes made speeches to parliament. For example, in April 1937 he and Clementis spoke in support of the establishment of a technical university in Slovakia. He also did not entirely avoid minority questions.¹⁰⁷

Soon after his election to parliament, he went to Moscow for the seventh congress of the Communist Internationale, where he was elected as a candidate for the Executive of the CI.¹⁰⁸ According to the historian Karel Kaplan, Široký worked in the apparatus of the CI in the 1930s, specifically in the cadre department, which closely cooperated with the Soviet intelligence and security authorities.¹⁰⁹ Široký logically denied this reality, when he was interrogated by the Central State Security in summer 1941.¹¹⁰

At the seventh congress of the CPC in April 1936, Široký spoke about the cadre and organizational policy of the party. He was elected to the CC CPC, politburo and secretariat of the CC CPC.¹¹¹ At the Slovak conference of the CPC in Banská Bystrica, he presented his well known *Plan for the economic, social and cultural elevation of Slovakia*. He was soon entrusted with the function of secretary of the regional leadership of the CPC. His activity intensified in 1938, when he spoke at many demonstrations throughout Slovakia in Hungarian, Slovak and German. Široký's speeches followed the spirit of the existing line of the CPC – in defence of the Czechoslovak Republic and against fascism. For example, on 29 May 1938, the communists organized a public meeting in the Alfa Cinema in Bratislava. Speaking in Hungarian, Široký sharply criticized the greater Hungarian policy and especially János Eszterházy and Andor Jaross.¹¹² It is possible to describe Široký as the leading personality of the CPC in Slovakia.

105 Ref. 89, Spomienky Júliusa Ďuriša, p. 950.

106 NA, f. Ďuriš, Július, c. no. 1, a. u. 1. Vojenská knižka (Military record book), Ďuriš Július. Ďuriš was recognized as able to perform military service as a conscript on 10 May 1924 in Lučenec.

107 See: <http://www.psp.cz/eknih/1935ns/ps/stenprot/100schuz/s100001.htm>.

108 At the seventh congress of the CI he gave a speech on 16 August 1935 with the title: "Against the dangers of fascism and war, for the freedom of the Slovak people".

109 KAPLAN, ref. 1, p. 151.

110 See: SYRNÝ, Marek – MEDVECKÝ, Matej. Zápisnice o výsluchu Viliama Širokého na Ústrední štátnej bezpečnosti. (Records of the interrogation of Viliam Široký by Central State Security.). In *Soudobé dejiny*, 2010, year 17, no. 1-2, p. 248. ISSN 1210-7050.

111 ŠTVERÁK, ref. 72, p. 58.

112 SNA, f. Policačné riaditeľstvo, c. no. 260. Record of a public meeting of the CPC from 29 May 1938.

After his return from military service, Ďuriš moved from Prague to Bratislava, where he became involved in party work. He served as the organizational secretary of the regional leadership of the CPC in Slovakia, as well as editor of the *Ludový denník* (*People's Daily*) and *Pravda*. Apart from political – organizational work, Ďuriš and Široký were united in the mid 1930s by their distrust of the Slovak leftist intellectuals grouped around the magazines *Dav* and *Šíp*. For them, especially Vladimír Clementis represented a symbol of the unhealthy intellectual cut off from the working masses. They also criticized the Davists for their alleged nationalism. From their youth, Široký and Ďuriš considered themselves to be internationalists (T. Č.).

Ján Púll also mentioned this distrust in his memoirs: “*Ďuriš, actually an intellectual, strictly followed the way of life of a party worker. Like the whole leadership of the party in Slovakia, he had reservations towards the Dav and Šíp groups. He only once came into open conflict with the leadership, namely when we expressed dissatisfaction with the organization and results of the elections in Bratislava... On that occasion, Široký invited us to V. Clementis' flat and threatened us with the Bratislava workers.*”¹¹³

We also find in the second half of the 1930s, the roots of the deep aversion, which Široký and Ďuriš felt towards Gustáv Husák. The latter was one of the leading personalities in the second generation of Davists and he was strongly influenced by Vladimír Clementis. Husák worked according to the instructions of the party leadership, participated in demonstrations organized by the CPC and often spoke on platforms beside Široký and Ďuriš, but distrust still deepened between them.

Husák criticized them in internal circles, he regarded them as dogmatists, who did not understand the work of the leftist intelligentsia: “*G. Husák asked me (Ján Púll), probably in 1938 or 1939 to go with him (Ďuriš). It involved the disputed theoretical question of the position of the intelligentsia in society. I strove to avoid the dispute becoming sharper, but Ďuriš and Husák did not back down and this was the beginning of the relations between them.*”¹¹⁴ The relations between Široký and Ďuriš on one side and Husák on the other later grew to the level of open hostility. Ďuriš always regarded Husák as a simple careerist.

In spite of this agreement, Široký and Ďuriš could not avoid serious disputes. For example, in his memoirs, Ďuriš accused Široký of depriving him of membership of the party leadership in Slovakia, because he had criticized him in front of Gottwald.¹¹⁵ Široký did not like Ďuriš's style of work in the party leadership or his personal ambition. However, Gottwald changed Široký's decision and Ďuriš remained in his function. Ďuriš was really not afraid to express his view to anybody, including the party authorities, and he sometimes subjected Široký to sharp criticism. Široký was sensitive to the criticism of his work and did not forget it. However, in contrast to Ďuriš, he did not go into open conflict, but solved personal disputes more by intrigue and behind the scenes machinations. This was undoubtedly connected with his contacts with Soviet intelligence.

113 Ref. 25, p. 6.

114 Ref. 25, p. 6.

115 Ref. 89, Spomienky Júliusa Ďuriša, p. 959.

The end of 1938 meant the end of the legal activity of the CPC and for Viliam Široký departure to exile. He spent the first few months in the Soviet Union, and from May 1939 he founded and led the Foreign Secretariat of the CPC in Paris in cooperation with Jan Šverma and Bruno Köhler. It is generally known that Široký significantly engaged in the expulsion of Vladimír Clementis from the party because of his opposition to the Soviet – German Pact.

Ďuriš went into illegality. He lived alternately in the Czech Lands and Slovakia, and became a member of the first illegal Central Committee of the Communist Party of Slovakia. He took the same view as Široký on Clementis and on the Soviet – German Pact, since both obediently accepted the instructions of the Moscow leadership of the CPC. They supported Stalin's foreign policy and opposed Osohová's conception of a Soviet Slovakia. The journeys of Široký and Ďuriš met again in summer 1941, but in very unfavourable circumstances.

The Moscow leadership of the CPC sent Viliam Široký to Slovakia at the end of May 1941 with instructions for the illegal leadership of the CPS. He crossed the frontiers successfully, but on the basis of an accidental denunciation, he was arrested in Banská Bystrica on 6 July, even before he contacted the leadership of the CPS. Ďuriš fell into the hands of the Central State Security (Ústredňa štátnej bezpečnosti – ÚŠB) on 30 August 1941 in Bratislava.¹¹⁶ They became the most prominent prisoners in Slovakia and underwent a whole series of interrogations, including a cruel session with the Brno Gestapo, after the Germans demanded that they be sent there.¹¹⁷ However, the Slovak authorities succeeded in getting them back, which probably saved their lives. On 3 July 1943, they were put on trial before the Regional Court in Bratislava, which sentenced Široký to 14 years in prison and Ďuriš to 13 years. Shortly before the outbreak of the Slovak National Uprising, Gustáv Husák organized an attempt to free them from imprisonment in Nitra. The failure of this attempt meant that they could not participate in the uprising, and they thought that this was Husák's intention.¹¹⁸ Relations between them got even worse.

Ďuriš and Široký succeeded in gaining their freedom only by escaping from the Palace of Justice in Bratislava on 5 February 1945. With the help of partisans, they reached the Nitra Partisan Brigade and with its members, they succeeded in crossing the front line on the river Hron near the village of Orovnica. Everything suggests that the crossing was coordinated with the Soviet side and that units of the Red Army attacked the German positions in this area mainly so that Široký and Ďuriš could get to the other

116 On the illegal activity of Viliam Široký and Július Ďuriš and the circumstances of their arrest and imprisonment see, e.g.: JABLONICKÝ, Jozef. *Samizdat o odboji II. (Samizdat about the resistance II.)*. Bratislava : Kalligram, 2006, p. 441 – 513. ISBN 8071497819.

117 For records of the interrogations of Viliam Široký and Július Ďuriš by the Central State Security (ÚŠB) see: SYRNÝ, Marek – MEDVECKÝ, Matej. *Zápisnice o výsluchu Viliama Širokého na Ústredni štátnej bezpečnosti, (Record of the interrogation of Viliam Široký by Central State Security)*, p. 238-268 and SYRNÝ, Marek. *Zápisnica o výsluchu Júliusa Ďuriša na Ústredni štátnej bezpečnosti. (Record of the interrogation of Július Ďuriš by Central State Security)*. In *Acta historica Neosoliensia*. Banská Bystrica : Katedra histórie FHV UMB, 2006, p. 335-344. ISSN 1336-9148. The records of the interrogations by the Gestapo have not been found.

118 For further information see: JABLONICKÝ, Jozef. *Samizdat o odboji: Štúdie a články I. (Samizdat about the resistance: Studies and articles I.)*. Bratislava : Kalligram, 2004, p. 165-200. ISBN 8071496812.

side. After successfully crossing the front, they spent a week with Soviet military intelligence in Hungary, and then their paths diverged.

Viliam Široký went to Moscow, where he participated in the so-called Moscow talks about the first post war government programme. Ďuriš went to Košice.¹¹⁹ The next activities of Široký and Ďuriš were determined by Gottwald's directive that "*the comrades, who could not participate in the Uprising*" had to be delegated to the central Czechoslovak government.¹²⁰ Viliam Široký became the deputy prime minister in the first post-war government, while Július Ďuriš became minister of agriculture. Where party functions are concerned, both were coopted onto the CC CPS on 26 February 1945, and in April they also became members of the CC CPC. They also got into the Presidium of the CC CPC, where they remained until 1954. At the so-called Žilina conference of the CPS in August 1945, Široký became its chairman and kept this position for eight years.¹²¹ Ďuriš also gained a place in the CC CPS at the national conference of the CPS in Žilina.¹²²

Both were regarded in this period as so-called Prague Slovaks and centralists, because they lived permanently in Prague, had their networks there and came to Slovakia only rarely. This applied especially to Ďuriš. In spite of the fact that Široký held the function of chairman of the CPS, he dealt with all matters either from Prague or on short visits to Bratislava.

Both Široký and Ďuriš participated in the events of February 1948 in Bratislava, and they did not avoid dispute. Ďuriš regarded the Bratislava February as an operetta lacking revolutionary character.¹²³ He constantly criticized the situation in the CPS and in Slovakia. He also directly attacked Viliam Široký. The session of the Presidium of the CC CPC on 13 January 1949, to which some Slovak functionaries were invited, can serve as an example. Ďuriš and Kopecký accused Široký of responsibility for expressions of nationalism in Slovakia.¹²⁴

Ďuriš was a consistent centralist in his political activity. He rejected any attempts at autonomous organization in Slovakia, and to a much greater degree than Široký. Široký

119 According to Ďuriš's memoirs, he was also supposed to go to Moscow, but Široký allegedly prevented this. See: Ref. 89, Spomienky Júliusa Ďuriša, p. 831.

120 Cited from a copy of a letter that Gustáv Husák sent to the CC CPC on 1 May 1963. The author of the study has a copy of the letter.

121 On the problem of the activity of the CPS and the people appointed to its leading bodies in the period 1945 – 1948 see: PEŠEK, Jan. *Komunistická strana Slovenska 1945 – 1948. Členstvo, organizácia, vedenie, stranický aparát, vzťah ku KSČ.* (The Communist Party of Slovakia 1945 – 1948. Membership, organization, leadership, party apparatus, relationship to the CPC.) In *Historický časopis*, 2011, year 59, no. 3, p. 471-491. ISSN 0018-2575.

122 PEŠEK, Jan. *Komunistická strana Slovenska. Dejiny politického subjektu I. (The Communist Party of Slovakia. History of a political organization I.)*. Bratislava : Veda, 2012, p. 184. ISBN 9788022412568.

123 For more on the problem of the February events in Slovakia see e.g.: BARNOVSKÝ, Michal. *Na ceste k monopolu moci. (On the road to the monopoly of power.)*. Bratislava : Archa, 1993, 248 pages; PEŠEK, Jan. *Priebeh februárových udalostí na Slovensku.* (The course of the February events in Slovakia.) In PODOLEC, Ondrej (ed.). *Február 1948 a Slovensko*. Bratislava : ÚPN, 2008, p. 178-202. ISBN 9788089335077.

124 NA, f. ÚV KSČ, 03/10, vol. 1, a. u. 119, p. 18-19. Record of a conversation with Július Ďuriš on 9 October 1963.

participated to a much greater degree in uncovering the so-called Slovak bourgeois nationalists and their subsequent criminalization. Both had no doubts about the guilt of Husák and his associates. It was the same in the case of Rudolf Slánský and other political trials. Thanks to their positions and activities, they bear part of the responsibility for the wave of mass illegality, which afflicted Czechoslovakia at the beginning of the 1950s.

In 1950, Viliam Široký succeeded Vladimír Clementis as foreign minister and three years later he became prime minister. Ďuriš held the function of minister of agriculture until 1951, when Gottwald dismissed him because of inadequate implementation of collectivization, and moved him to the post of chairman of the Board of Commissioners in Bratislava. However, he did not feel well in Slovakia and he waited for an appropriate opportunity to return to Prague. It came at the beginning of 1953, when he was appointed minister of forests and the timber industry. After a few months he became minister of finance.

He remained in this post for ten years with Viliam Široký as his direct superior. The political careers of both ended in 1963. Široký was dismissed from his position in that year because of his significant share in the trial of the so-called Slovak bourgeois nationalists, but he remained a member of the CC CPC until 1966. The main reason for Ďuriš's political end was disagreement with the first secretary of the CC CPC and President of the Republic Antonín Novotný.

After their retirement, Široký and Ďuriš had almost identical destinies. Especially Široký psychologically declined, because after losing his position, he could not find a place for himself in ordinary life. He knew nothing apart from politics and he had no friends. His marriage was childless and his wife committed suicide in 1964. He remained entirely alone and suffered from health problems, while verbal attacks on his person multiplied because of his responsibility for political trials.¹²⁵

He continued to live in Prague after his retirement. He did not return to Bratislava and maintained only minimal contacts with his relations in Slovakia. From his former political colleagues, only Ďuriš visited him. They never reconciled themselves to the political rise of Gustáv Husák and they sharply criticized his activity. However, Husák was conciliatory, especially in the case of Viliam Široký. He ensured that Široký's membership of the CPC was restored after being cancelled in 1968. A few months later, on 6 October 1971, Viliam Široký died in Prague.

After 1968, Július Ďuriš passed through a turbulent personality change from dogmatic communist to critic of Soviet policy and of Normalization in Czechoslovakia. He condemned the military invasion of 21 August 1968 and the bloody suppression of demonstrations a year later, after which he declared that he was a communist outside the party. He definitively left the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. It was as if Július Ďuriš ceased to exist for the ruling communist regime after 1970.

After screening, he was excluded from the party and his name was mentioned only sporadically. He lived alternately in Prague and in his country cottage at Milevsko. Apart from his wife Eleonóra and distant relations at Rovňany, with whom he maintained

125 On the life of Viliam Široký after 1963 see: ŠNAJDER, Bohuslav. *Proces proti dvanácti miliónům. (Trial against twelve million.)*. Praha : Delta, 1990, p. 15-23.

postal contact, he had no other family. In this period, he no longer visited Slovakia, his siblings in Hungary had died, so his contacts were mainly with other Prague Slovaks, especially Ján Púll and Ladislav Šimovič.

In the course of the 1970s and 1980s, he wrote his extensive memoirs, in which basic features were condemnation of the Soviet model of communism, which he considered imperialist, and irreconcilable criticism of Gustáv Husák. Július Ďuriš died on 18 February 1986 in Prague. At his request, the urn with his ashes was deposited next to his parents in his native village of Rovňany.

VILIAM ŠIROKÝ UND JÚLIUS ĎURIŠ – FAMILIÄRE HERKUNFT, SOZIALE VERHÄLTNISSE UND DIE ANFÄNGE DEREN TÄTIGKEIT IN DER KOMMUNISTISCHEN BEWEGUNG

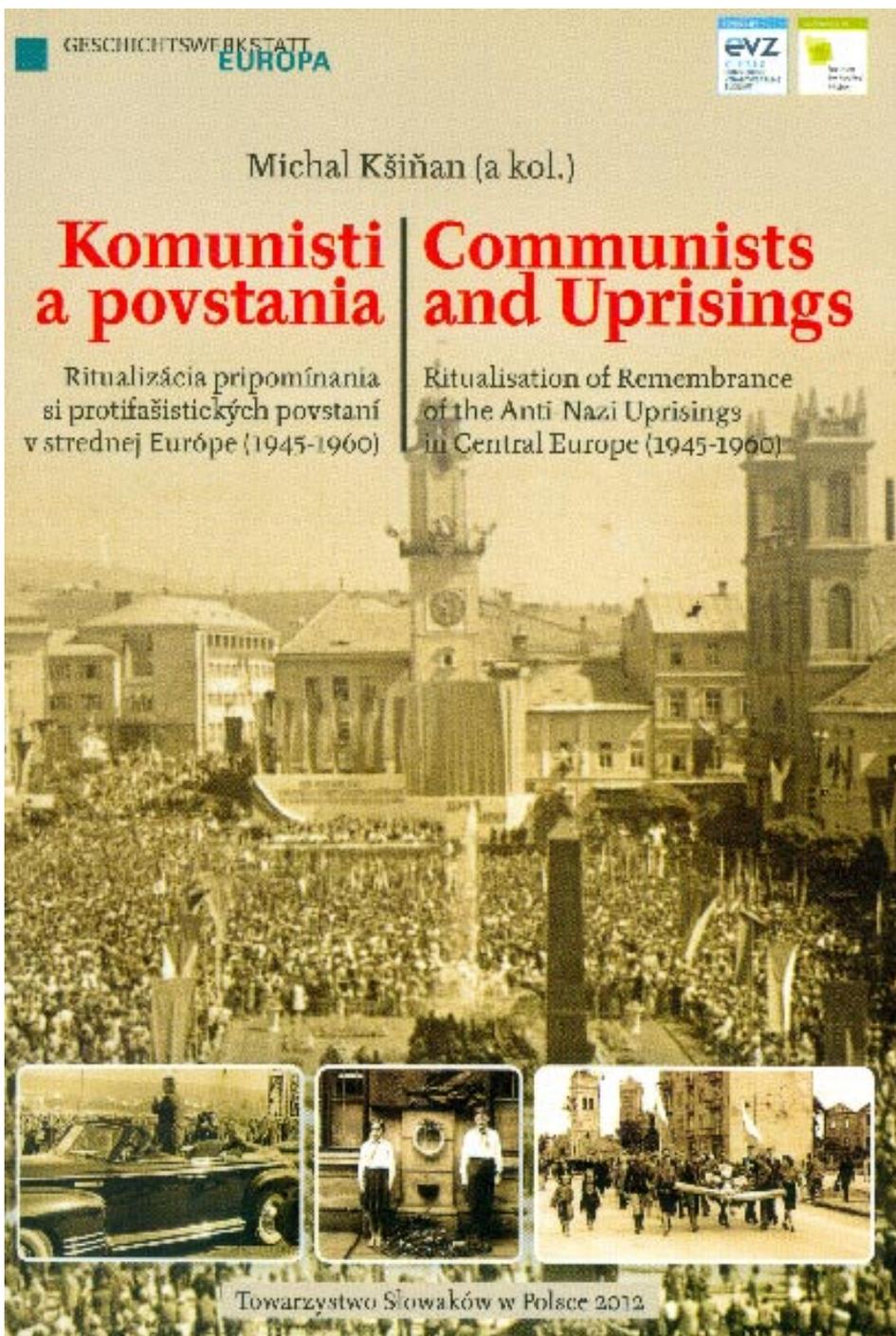
TOMÁŠ ČERNÁK

Viliam Široký und Július Ďuriš wurden nach dem Ende des zweiten Weltkrieges zur tschechoslowakischen kommunistischen Elite und es lässt sich feststellen, dass sie die einzigen Vertreter der Slowakei in der engeren Führung der Kommunistischen Partei der Tschechoslowakei (KSČ) waren. Beide verkleideten Regierungsposten und wurden für sog. Prager Slowaken gehalten, da sie den Großteil ihres Lebens im tschechischen Umfeld verbrachten.

Široký und Ďuriš gehörten seit ihrer Jugend, die sie in nationalgemischter Umgebung verbrachten, zu den überzeugten Kommunisten und ihre politischen Ansichten formten sich zum Ende des ersten Weltkrieges. Ihre Richtung beeinflusste auch die Tatsache, dass beide aus sozial schwächeren Verhältnissen stammten. Široký engagierte sich in der KSČ bei ihrer Gründung und wurde rasch einer der wichtigsten Funktionäre in der Slowakei. Wegen dem Studium begann die Karriere eines professionellen Revolutionärs bei Ďuriš erst Ende der 20er Jahre, aber bereits zu dieser Zeit charakterisierte ihn Radikalität und Dogmatismus.

Von Anfang an geraten Široký und Ďuriš in Konflikt mit den staatlichen Behörden und gewisse Zeit waren sie gezwungen in Illegalität zu leben. Während der innenparteilichen Krise an der Wende 1928/29 schlossen sie sich der Gruppe um Klement Gottwald an und unterstützten sog. Bolschewisierung der KSČ. Široký war auch in der Kommunistischen Internationale tätig und im Jahr 1935 wurde er zum Abgeordneten der Nationalversammlung. Ďuriš lebte und arbeitete gewisse Zeit in Frankreich, wo er sich in der französischen kommunistischen Bewegung engagierte. Nach seiner Rückkehr begann er mit der Parteiarbeit im Rahmen der Landesführung der KSČ in der Slowakei.

PhDr. Tomáš Černák
Historický ústav SAV, Klemensova 19, 813 64 Bratislava
cernaktomas@gmail.com



REVIEWS

DVOŘÁKOVÁ, Daniela. *BARBORA CELJSKÁ. Čierna kráľovná. Životný príbeh uhorskej, rímsko-nemeckej a českej kráľovnej (1391 – 1451).* (BARBARA OF CILLY. THE BLACK QUEEN. The life story of the Holy Roman Empress and Queen of Hungary and Bohemia (1391 – 1451).) Budmerice : Vydavateľstvo Rak, 2014, 304 pages. ISBN 9788085501605.

Historical biography concerned with the Middle Ages is not one of the preferred genres of Slovak historiography. This situation has various causes, but the main reason is that it is very difficult to obtain the necessary information. The available biographical data is rare, scattered in sources of varied origin and often directly contradictory. Daniela Dvořáková has already successfully attempted this genre in the monograph: *Rytier a jeho kráľ: Stibor zo Stiboric a Žigmund Luxemburský (A knight and his king: Stibor of Stiborice and Sigismund of Luxembourg)* (2010). Therefore she was able to embark on a new monograph devoted to the exceptional woman and Queen Barbara of Cilly. She researched all the existing writings and found that almost all authors had started from the same sources. A negative image of the queen was first created by her contemporary Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini, later Pope Pius II. This important humanist scholar and Church dignitary did not spare her crowned head and “embellished” her with various perversions and an insatiable sexual appetite. Moreover, in the last years of her life Queen Barbara came in contact with the Czech Utraquists. In Piccolomini’s view, this further emphasized the negative features of her personality. All later authors took over Piccolomini’s claims and added to them further juicy details supplementing the image of the black queen, who devoted herself to the occult sciences or a German Messalina craving carnal pleasures. The author has correctly identified expressions of piety by Barbara of Cilly already at a young age. During the Council of Konstanz, she was able to pray for hours beside her husband Sigismund of Luxembourg at religious services and ceremonial processions. According to patronage records, she made grants to many monasteries and churches to secure the salvation of her soul.

Daniela Dvořáková was not satisfied with older stereotypical evaluations and concentrated on detailed research into untraditional biographical sources – medieval charters, on the basis of which she began to create an entirely new and positive image of Queen Barbara. She found that the queen was an effective manager, who was able to rationally administer her relatively extensive properties. This is shown by the active correspondence between the queen and her castelans and economic administrators. During the long absences of King Sigismund, she took over part of the responsibility for administering the Kingdom of Hungary. This happened especially during the Husite expeditions into Hungary or into the present territory of Slovakia to be more specific, when she directed with great verve the defence of her dower properties mainly in the central Slovak mining region. The marital relationship of the aging King and Holy Roman Emperor Sigismund with Barbara of Cilly remained firm until the last days of the life of the great monarch. The author points out the great generosity of Sigismund to his wife. The number of castles granted to her reached a total of thirty and it is necessary to add the revenue from the central Slovak mining towns, the Chamber of Mines and minting of coins. The author has correctly observed that the generosity of the declining King and Emperor began to disturb his son in law and heir Albert of Habsburg. The latter realized that his mother in law would be as rich as him and with good health, she would continue to hold her dower property for a long time. Hungarian and the majority of Czech historians have accepted the stereotyped claim that Barbara established contacts with some of the Czech Utraquist lords with the aim of thwarting Albert’s succession in the Kingdom of Bohemia. According to

them, King Sigismund learnt about these machinations and had his wife arrested on 5 December 1437. However, trustworthy contemporary sources testify that at this time, Sigismund was already gradually approaching his deathbed, and he relied for everything on his closest advisers Duke Albert and the Imperial Chancellor Gašpar Šlik. Daniela Dvořáková convincingly rejects the usual claims about the power hungry Queen Barbara, who was willing to do anything so that she could continue to rule the Kingdom of Hungary as regent. Allegedly, she did not hesitate to get married again to one of the Jagiellonian princes, although they were still only children! She had no possibility to defend herself against the plot engineered by Albert and Chancellor Šlik, since they imprisoned her in Znojmo and later interned her in Bratislava. The author has convincingly proved that the removal of Barbara clearly benefited Albert of Habsburg, who forced Queen Barbara to give up to him all the strategically important castles, leaving her with only four castle lordships in central Slovakia and a relatively low financial revenue. He awarded some of Barbara's water castles in the County of Trenčín to his wife Elizabeth, who was Barbara's daughter. In fact this could happen only after the dramatic flight to Poland of the "old Queen" Barbara, who rightly feared for her life. Her not very large retinue was attacked near the frontier by Albert's soldiers, and the unfortunate queen escaped with only a few servants, while all her valuables became loot for the attackers. The author points to the warm welcome for Barbara at the Polish royal court. Apart from the basic necessities, she was granted various properties so that she could live a dignified life in Poland.

It is surprising that Barbara's position did not change even after the unexpected death of King Albert of Habsburg. She could not return to Hungary, and so it was certainly good for her that the Bohemian Estates recognized her property claims in the Kingdom of Bohemia. She gained the town of Mělník in central Bohemia with a castle, in which she lived until her death in 1451.

The monograph by Daniela Dvořáková is undoubtedly a significant contribution to knowledge of the history of Slovakia and the whole Kingdom of Hungary in the mid 15th century. By meticulously examining all the relevant sources, she has convincingly cleared Queen Barbara of many false accusations against her, spread by her enemies, especially her son in law Albert of Habsburg and his chancellor Gašpar Šlik. The incorrect year in a title on page 225, where the author extends the life of Barbara of Cilly by 3 years, can be mentioned as one small mistake.

Ján Lukačka

DUCHOŇOVÁ, Diana. *PALATÍN MIKULÁŠ ESTERHÁZY A JEHO DVOR. Spoločnosť, normy, rituály každodennosti. (THE PALATINE NICHOLAS ESTERHÁZY AND HIS COURT. Society, norms, everyday rituals.)* Bratislava : Institute of History of the Slovak Academy of Sciences and the publisher Prodama s.r.o., 2013, 346 pages. ISBN 9788089396252.

Slovak historiography has already taken an increased interest in researching the Hungarian nobility for almost two decades. At first, work was mainly of a genealogical, heraldic and lexical character. Works approaching the problems of aristocratic families from the point of view of their political, social and military activity or researching the everyday life of the nobility came later.

The publication of Diana Duchoňová, a young research worker at the Institute of History of the Slovak Academy of Sciences, is a noteworthy contribution to research on this theme. It is the first Slovak study of the life and career of the important Palatine of Hungary Count Nicholas

Esterházy, a member of a leading Hungarian Catholic magnate family. This family also significantly reached into our national history, especially in the Early Modern period. It originated in our territory. It is not very well known that apart from the first Esterházy lordship of Galanta, their original noble property, the settlement of Zerháza, also lay in the territory of Slovakia. Research into the Esterházys and especially the two palatines from this family, has a relatively long tradition in Hungarian historiography, represented most recently by the works of L. Berényi, I. Hiller, I. Bitskey and K. Péter. Duchoňová's work not only connects with this work, but also supplements it with new findings from detailed archive research, which opens up relatively little known themes from the life of aristocrats in the Kingdom of Hungary after the Battle of Mohács.

It is especially necessary to observe here that this work is not a biography directed mainly towards the career and socio-political activity of the Palatine, or the building up of his estates. These aspects are not absent from it, but the centre of gravity of the author's attention lies in presenting little known aspects of the Palatine's court, its structures, personal composition and role in his official and private life. This is an almost unstudied problem among us, but it falls within the current trends of historical research on the Hungarian aristocracy and social elites in the modern period.

The publication is divided into three main parts, which appropriately supplement each other and bring the reader a relatively new and modern view of the court and family of a Hungarian magnate, in this case the Palatine Nicholas Esterházy. The first part, with the title *A homo novus at the head of the Kingdom of Hungary* deals with the Esterházy family, its origin and initial social position until it gained entry to the aristocracy. This social rise of the family was associated precisely with the person of Nicholas, who achieved by means of a single-minded political career, well-thought out marriages and gradual building up of his property base, his advancement from the not very propertied lower county nobility to the position of the most important and richest magnate in Hungary in the first half of the 17th century. An important foundation for this successful rise was especially the acquisition of a substantial part of the "property and social capital" of the Thurzos, after they died out. Nicholas achieved this by the advantageous marriage policy for his children, which continued into the following generations.

The second part of Duchoňová's work: *The Palatine's court as a social system* examines in detail the phenomenon of the aristocratic court and its role in the life of Hungarian magnates. Since Hungary lacked its own royal court in the period after the Battle of Mohács, its social function began to be partly replaced by the courts of the Palatine, governors, Archbishop of Esztergom and other important state dignitaries. The structure of these courts derived from the domestic medieval tradition of the royal court, but in many ways they also copied the new royal court of Vienna and through it also foreign models from Spain, Burgundy and France. The work presents Nicholas Esterházy's court, with analysis of the court's order, its structure and lists of personnel. Special attention is devoted to the court functionaries, their responsibilities and the method of rewarding them. The court captain, prefect, court master and chamberlain played important roles at the Palatine's court. These posts were usually held by members of the middle and lower nobility from the Esterházy lordships and their surroundings. Young people from the extended family and related families were sent to the Palatine's court from childhood, so that they could gain social skills and develop their careers by serving there.

The published findings on the methods and progression of the careers of noblemen at these courts are a valuable result of Duchoňová's research. They progressed from apprentices, who were still almost children, through riders and Truchsas(es) or young or mature age, to become familiares, a position they sometimes retained until their deaths or the death of their patron. This information is important, for example, for archontology. We know that the great majority of royal officials in the modern age began their careers at the courts of magnates. When working out biographies of officials, this first period of their lives is always the most difficult to trace, but it is almost always

necessary to look at the court of one of the leading Hungarian magnate families. It is also clear that the Palatine built up his political influence in the country by getting his long-serving and meritorious familiares appointed to posts in the royal and county administrations, for example, directing posts in the Hungarian Chamber, or positions as deputy sheriffs or notaries in counties where they had property.

The author's research, presented in the publication, is relatively broad and also enables the readers to obtain detailed knowledge of further parts of the "Palatine's house", including his personal military unit, his wife's court (*Fraucimer*), his court craftsmen, or less known and attractive parts such as the kitchen, dining arrangements, court musicians, stable or gardens. Relatively less space is devoted to the so-called official court and chancellery of the Palatine. For example, we learn very little here about the post of the Vice Palatine (*vicepalatinus, officii palatinalis vicegerens*), his responsibilities and activities during the time Nicholas Esterházy was Palatine. This even applies to names of the holders of this post. For example, the work contains no mention of the Vice Palatine Baron Leonard Amade. However, he should not be missing from the work, because this magnate held the post of Vice Palatine for 15 years (1630-1645) and so was the long-term right hand man to Nicholas Esterházy in the performance of his official duties as Palatine. These two magnates must also have been close in personal and family terms. Leonard succeeded in getting his son John and daughter Helen married to close relations of the Palatine from the Esterházy family.

The last part of the work, under the title *Rituals of everyday life at the Palatine's court*, devotes attention to marriage policy or the significance of marital unions in the building up of aristocratic careers. We find here an interesting and source rich consideration of important events in the family and social life of the Hungarian aristocracy, which were also closely connected with the function of their aristocratic courts. It is especially useful for researchers concerned with the problem of the private social contacts of the higher nobility, visits, personal friendships, choice of marriage partners for children, and the resulting family events, such as betrothals, preparations for marriage, weddings, funerals, christenings and bringing up of children. In this context, we must comment that Slovak historiography still lacks modern genealogical work about the Hungarian aristocracy with complete genealogical tables for the individual families. Therefore, we still do not have an exact overview of the family relationships between the important Hungarian state dignitaries, magnates and their familiares, so we do not identify many connections, which would more precisely clarify the building up of the structures of aristocratic courts and the careers of their members.

The index of names at the end of the book increases its usefulness especially for researchers from the fields of genealogy, prosopography and archontology. However, it is necessary to observe that it is not entirely consistent. Various names from some of the tables and reviews of the familiares of the Palatine are missing from it.

In conclusion, we can state that historical research on the nobility still has great possibilities in our country, and it will remain one of the main themes of Slovak historiography in the future. Many aspects of the social activity of the nobility and especially of the aristocracy are still unknown to us. We also lack especially monographs on the most important aristocratic families, the so-called official nobility serving the Habsburgs, and biographies of important state dignitaries of the Kingdom of Hungary, especially from the Early Modern period. D. Duchoňová's publication is one of the pioneering works contributing to this long-term research aim. Since it sheds light on many hitherto little known findings about aristocratic courts and the everyday or family life of aristocratic families, it may become an important and frequently used expert publication in research on this problem.

Frederik Federmayer

KOLLÁROVÁ, Ivona. *SLOBODNÝ VYDAVATEL, MYSLIACI ČITATEL. Typografické médium v jozefínskej dobe. (FREE PUBLISHER, THINKING READER. The typographic medium in the reign of Joseph II.)*. [Budmerice] : Vydavateľstvo Rak, 2013, 296 pages. ISBN 978808550157.

The history of typography has remained rather on the margin of interest of Slovak expert historiography up to now, in spite of the fact that the theme provides a multitude of possibilities for research. Knowledge of the distribution network for books, reading habits and author's aims may, at first sight, only concern the world of books, but closer consideration reveals an important part of the spread of ideas. By means of the world of printed media, it is possible to identify otherwise difficult to trace processes of penetration of important ideas in a vertical direction to specific people on the local level. We see in correct handling of this theme, the interpenetration of the so-called large and small histories – their possibilities and limits.

In recent years, Ivona Kollárová has become a leading expert on the problem, showing outstanding ability to pose untraditional questions, and move our knowledge forward. On the basis of an extensive review of the published literature, inter-disciplinary approach and thorough archive research, I. Kollárová has produced cultivated texts bringing interesting stimuli for further research in these fields. The author of the reviewed publication devotes systematic attention to book culture and has established herself in the small group of experts in this field, who do not study only quantitative data. Together with her colleagues, she looks for things hidden between the lines in the catalogues of book collections, and by means of research into surviving correspondence, she partially grasps phenomena that are difficult to research.

After various earlier studies and monographs, Ivona Kollárová decided to write *Free publisher, thinking reader*. As she wrote in the introduction, the process of creating a monograph had to mature over several years while the conception of the prepared work became clear. Her many years of study led to a really invaluable book with content that provokes further research and efforts to see things differently, also applying the results of research into cognitive approaches such as the reception of text, which enabled other ways of looking at the world of readers and their personal preferences. After reading the book, an enthusiastic reader gets the feeling that everything was already here, and the thinking of our recipients of the book has hardly changed.

The core of I. Kollárová's high quality text is divided into seven chapters of roughly equal length, which logically follow each other. This maintains the reader's attention by means of expectation of the next chapter. In this way, the author draws even the lay reader into the text. The chosen approach of inter-connection of themes and keeping the reader in suspense was not an end in itself: I. Kollárová had the ambition to present the results of her work to the wider reading public. Many experts forget to follow such an approach and so their monographs become no more than additional incomprehensible academic titles.

The first chapter, *Enlightened Emperor*, presents the basic outlines of the efforts of Joseph II to reform his Empire with regard for the typographic medium. In the Emperor's view, the free press enabled the promotion of his reforms and education of useful mature citizens of the country. From the present day point of view, limited freedom of the press arose with looser but still continuing censorship. From the mercantilist point of view, partial freeing of the publication of books and lesser printed items was expected to increase the revenue of the dynasty. The monarch issued generally formulated principles to regulate the publishing sector. These principles had to be gradually modified in the light of real conditions. Joseph II aimed with his reform to support books that enriched the knowledge of the reader, but the production of uncontrollable shorter publications became an unwanted by-product.

The second chapter *Uncontrollable publications* explains the origin of small-format brochures and pamphlets, which provided space for expression on topical questions in public affairs, the form of state organization, the economy, reforms and the position of the churches in society. In the end, the imperial court itself participated in the unwanted result of reduced censorship, namely the flood of pamphlets, by producing disguised propaganda for its reforms and massaging public opinion. The pamphleteers were put in the pillory by the serious writers, but many important ideas reached the general public precisely thanks to the pamphlets, since expert books promoting the Enlightenment were rejected by the wider reading public. Jozef Bencúr became one of the most active pamphleteers in the Kingdom of Hungary, and this phenomenon did not avoid the Slovak linguistic environment in the form of the actions and reactions of the two rivals Juraj Fándly and Jozef Ignác Bajza.

The third chapter, *The thankful Protestant* shows how the phenomenon of the pamphlet was not grasped in the environment of the Evangelical Church. After the issuing of the Toleration Patent and the limitation of censorship, the elite of the religious community thought that a favourable time had come for the publication of translations and original Slovak works with the ambition of influencing the educational and theological level of the faithful. Idealistic conceptions about the search of the faithful for deeper knowledge in their national language struck against a wall of lack of interest from the readers. The Church representatives did not pay attention to the serious reality that the circle of Slovak reading people did not consist of scholars, but of ordinary people with low levels of education, who were not able to understand difficult passages. Publishers lost money on books that remained in their store rooms and they limited publication of slow sellers.

The fourth chapter – *More publishers than authors* – directly continues the previous lines about the formation of “publishing plans” after the publishers found that the public was not interested in their products. Joseph II endeavoured to introduce voluntary cooperation between the publishers and censors by means of regulated freedom, but this was never achieved in practice. The publishers cooperated with the offices only in the case of titles with unproblematic content. In spite of the decree on sending lists of all their products, publishers only included a fraction of the total, not only because of possible bans on publication, but also because of the amount of tax on their activity. Using the example of Bratislava publishers, the author clearly proves that beginners did not know how to evade the system, but with the passage of time they learned. The publishers were the first to understand the interests of the general public and the hunger of the majority of readers for light entertainment. Only a fraction of them wanted to learn about new discoveries.

The fifth chapter – *The reading public* – uncovers the “true face” of the contemporary reader, who sought entertainment and shortening of long free periods rather than instruction. The authors had the opposite intension, they wanted to educate the reader in the spirit of Enlightenment ideals, to raise the economic level of the small farmers, who resisted instruction, because they were used to reading only religious literature, and they regarded reading as an activity of lazy townspeople. The Enlightenment activists wrote in a demanding style, and when translating into Slovak, they failed to adapt the text to the level of ability of the small farmers to understand the meaning of words. Fándly’s noble efforts to raise the level of the country people collapsed for these reasons. Even noblemen did not read books. They might have large libraries, but these were often only an expression of their social status. The first public libraries appeared in the time of Joseph II. Apart from higher literature, they satisfied the hunger for novels, Masonic texts, women’s and lascivious literature, since visitors to libraries wanted entertainment.

The sixth chapter – *In the head of the censor* – directs attention to the person of the censor, who strove to eliminate the above mentioned inferior entertainment literature. The decisions of individuals were the paradox of censorship. While the Vienna censor allowed some titles, the Bratislava censor had a problem with them and local censors wanted to completely ban them. Many works

were not considered inappropriate in the capital city of the Monarchy, but in the conservative environment away from the centres of the Enlightenment, they were condemned. The traditionalist thinking in the regions is best illustrated by the case of the Banská Bystrica censor Matej Platy, a former Jesuit. In spite of the Toleration Patent, he refused to tolerate the Evangelicals and took the view that all Evangelical books were automatically unacceptable and worthy of being banned.

The seventh and last chapter – *If I had known what would happen* – demonstrates self-censorship as a further category limiting the output of the author. Complete freedom was unattainable both then and even today, because the limits of freedom were set by a particular “super-ego” depending on the position in the given society and the development of the individual personality. Provocative books that got onto the index of banned works were mostly written by people aged over thirty. However, they later became politically correct under the influence of clashes with censorship and their own aging. The pamphleteer Johann Friedel also underwent this change. When he prepared a reworked version of earlier works at the end of his life, he significantly curtailed problematic passages.

The monograph reviewed here is one of the best works thanks to its inter-disciplinary character, which is much discussed but rarely put into practice. The book shows the way to look at familiar ideas about the past. The result is a highly professional text, the value of which is not reduced by some inadequacies. The work uses the Slovak word “župa” to designate the county administrative units run by the nobility. This is unhistorical, since the Slovak documents of the period always use the word “stolica”. On page 208, the village of Ivančina is said to be in Liptov, but it is actually in the former County of Trenčín.

Tomáš Janura

KOVÁČ, Dušan et al. *SONDY DO SLOVENSKÝCH DEJÍN V DLHOM 19. STOROČÍ. (SOUNDINGS INTO SLOVAK HISTORY IN THE LONG 19TH CENTURY.)*. Bratislava : Historický ústav SAV, 2013, 341 pages. ISBN 9788097154011.

The concept of the long 19th century also includes decades from the previous and succeeding centuries, in which processes characterizing the epoch of fundamental transformation of society and still influencing life today, either developed or matured. In this period, the functioning of the economy, army and state became extraordinarily more effective (Jürgen Osterhammel), the Estates organization of society ended, the mobility of people increased, new media and means of communication grew and enabled applications of the ideas of the modern nation and civil society, attitudes to the churches and religious questions changed. Before 1989 Slovak historiography produced numerous works about this important period, including comprehensive accounts, but it saw the complex processes of change mainly from the points of view of the development of the Slovak national movement and of social protests, especially the “revolutionary workers’ movement”. The present project of the Agency for Support for Research and Development, undertaken by the Institute of History of the Slovak Academy of Sciences, plans to present “*a new look at the traditionally dominant period in the Slovak national story... in a broad temporal and spatial context*” (p. 8). The reviewed book is a preparation for a new synthesis. It is directed towards some themes and problem areas, which were “*neglected or need re-evaluation*”. These are concentrated in five chapters – on the nation and nationalism, on the wider political context of the Slovak national movement, on the economic and legal system, on selected problems from social and religious life.

The best feature of the whole publication is that the majority of the authors clarify the theoretical concepts and approaches used to evaluate the history of the 19th century in new ways, since the planned comprehensive work will not have space for such considerations. László Vörös sets a high standard immediately in the introduction with his methodological comments on the method of writing national history. One of his starting points is the considerations of the philosopher John R. Searle on the construction of social reality and the functioning of social phenomena, which are “based on collective faith in shared convictions about the state and nature of things”. He repeatedly emphasizes the usual way of thinking about nations – so-called objectification, by which the particular actions or views of individuals such as national activists or patriots are identified with a socially defined category of people. Stereotyping, psychological essentialism and attribution of human qualities or personification are also part of the objectifying understanding of the nation. The author states that the “concepts hiding behind such words as denationalization and assimilation start from an essentialist understanding of nationality or membership of a nation” (p. 20). This certainly applies to the term denationalization, since it designates the idea of the separation of an individual from an already existing national collective where he “authentically” belongs and expects an inclination to a “foreign” collective. In my view, however, the term *assimilation* is not connected with the essentialist idea of nationality as an inborn and natural trait of a person, because it designates adaptation, either forced or voluntary, to the dominant cultural context and to social and political relationships,¹ but it does not inevitably mean the unambiguous abandonment of one nation in favour of another. L. Vörös starts from a perception of nations as social entities, the existence of which is a result of the collective intentions of people and social practice. He proposes to write their history from this point of view. This *national historiography of a new type* should not present “nations” as actors or subjects of history, in which “the nation did something”. Instead, the origin and strengthening of collective intentions concerning the existence of “nations” should be researched. This approach enables a more comprehensive interpretation of history, since the objectifying concept of the nation leads to blurring of the differences between social strata or groups in different periods. The actors in new “national histories” should not be “nations”, but people who believe in the existence of “nations” (p. 29). The last sentence should be reformulated, according to it we would have to exclude from the “national history” the majority of 19th century Slovak speakers because they were indifferent to the national question.

It is certainly possible to agree with the conclusions of the study, but in historiographic practice, it is not always easy to abandon the usual – objectifying – way of talking about nations, sometimes also for stylistic reasons. It has not been avoided even in this publication, where the word “Slovaks” is used in some places instead of the expressions “Slovak national elites” or “representatives of the national movement”. For example, Napoleon III was unpopular among the Slovaks (p. 78), the rights of national groups were violated by the ruling nations (p. 105), and nation builders (p. 138) or the national revival (p. 255) are mentioned. Modern nations did not exist until then, so they could not be “revived”, but in spite of this inaccuracy, an agreement could be reached to use the expression “national revival” as a technical term. However, it should be placed in quotation marks to express some degree of distance.

The second part of the chapter on the nation starts from urban historiography. Eva Kowalská directs her attention to the importance of towns for the beginnings of the Slovak national movement. She points out that not only personalities and political ideas were important for the process of nationalization, but also socio-cultural space. In spite of the emphasis on the ruralness of the Slovaks, in connection with such phenomena as preservation of their language, traditionalism and

1 *Slovník společenských věd. (Dictionary of the social sciences.)*. Bratislava : Slovenské pedagogické nakladateľstvo, 1997, p. 22.

paternalism, all the steps leading to the establishment of the basic features of a nation were associated with the urban and bourgeois environment. The author innovatively and precisely summarizes the changes in the political position of the towns in the context of the Kingdom of Hungary, the economic and social position of the townspeople, administration and the religious sphere in the 18th and first half of the 19th centuries. Using the example of several Slovak towns, she considers to what degree the beginnings of the development of civil society acquired an ethnic character. She analyses the complicated connection of the national movement of the Slovaks with the towns. She accepts the conclusions of the older literature about Bratislava (Pressburg – Prešporok) as the centre of this movement in the 1830s to 1840s, and analyses how and why romantically inclined intellectuals, mostly coming from the small town or rural environment, did not feel at home in the dynamically developing city.

Ideas about the national territory formed an important part of the national ideology. Peter Macho has researched them using the example of the changes in the symbolic functions of the Tatras in the nationalist discourse of the 19th century. Older authors identified the land between the Tatras and the Danube as the original Slavonic homeland. The study clarifies how and why a different idea of Slovakia developed in the first half of the 19th century. Instead of the symbolic distinguishing of the national territory from the rest of the Kingdom of Hungary, an idea arose of the Slovak territory as the imaginary (geographical and linguistic) centre of the Slavs. The central position among the Slavonic nations fulfilled a compensating function in relation to the peripheral position in the Kingdom of Hungary. It raised the prestige of the Slovak region and its inhabitants. The last part of the chapter is a comprehensive view by Peter Šoltés of important actors in the national movement drawn from the Slovak members of the Evangelical Church of the Augsburg Confession, and their national political conceptions in the first half of the 19th century. From the end of the 18th century, their views were influenced on one side by the increasing importance of the laity in Lutheran Church organization, and on the other by the nationalization of Church life in the Kingdom of Hungary. Especially the secular patrons promoted the linguistic homogenization in favour of Hungarian and supported the project of uniting the Lutherans and Calvinists of Hungary. Apart from the patrons, who provided economic support, the orientation of the Evangelical communities was influenced by two theological traditions: orthodoxy and the competing trend towards rationalism and liberalism. In these conditions, four national – ideological conceptions developed among the Slovak Evangelical patriots: the idea of reformed, constitutional patriotism directed towards the Kingdom of Hungary (the *Hungarus* concept), the conception of the Czechoslovak branch of the Slavonic nation, the idea of the Slavonic nation and the idea of the Slovak branch of the Slavonic nation. P. Šoltés shows why there was a change of paradigm before the revolution of 1848/49, by which the younger generation of Evangelical intellectuals abandoned the conception of Czechoslovak unity and Slavonic community, in favour of a new solution of the “Slovak question” within the Kingdom of Hungary.

The second chapter bears the title: *The national movement in foreign and internal policy*. Dušan Kováč analyses elements of the foreign policy thinking of individual generations of representatives of the Slovak national movement with an orientation to anti-British and to some degree also anti-French stereotypes. This was based mainly on criticism of the imperialist policies of these colonial powers. The *Národné noviny* (*National News*) of Martin evaluated events abroad from the point of view of application of the nationality principle, identified with the “struggle for freedom” in any country and a pro-Russian view. A change from Anglophobia to Anglophilia followed the Russian – British rapprochement and the formation of the Entente bloc. The Martin conservatives and their Hlasist competitors came to this view for different reasons, with the Hlasists supporting an orientation towards modern European democracy. In conclusion, the author can state that after the outbreak of the First World War, the Slovak political and cultural elite was mentally prepared

for an inclination towards the Entente bloc and struggle against Austria – Hungary. Dušan Škvarna summarizes his work up to now on evaluating the Slovak National Council of 1848, the context of its origin, character, aims and inspiring role in Slovak politics. The readability of his text is noteworthy. In contrast to the demanding expert terminology of the theory of nationalism, with expressions such as “construction of the nation”, he also writes understandably for the non-expert reader about new solidarity, programmed, deliberate and enthusiastic building, defence and cultivation of the modern nation. In fact, he sometimes loses precision, as in the statement: “*the nation ... was built*” (p.88). The chapter on politics also includes a partial study in English about the activities of Vavro Šrobár in Ružomberok before the First World War. The Swiss historian and political scientist Josette Baer already announces “interdisciplinary research” in her title. She attempts it by appealing to the contextual biographical method, by which she looks into the environment of Slovak politics from the personal perspective of Šrobár. She mentions “*his psychological overview trained by medical science*” (p. 121), but a critical analysis of the relevant parts of his memoirs is lacking. On the basis of a very brief comparison of the features of the formation of modern nations among the Slovaks and Czechs, the author identifies “*a special Central European form of nation-building ... under foreign rule*”, starting from a mixture of philosophically contradictory ideas (p. 106). Use of the designation “*foreign rule*” expresses distance from the historic Hungarian state in general, not only from the ethnic Hungarian or Magyar political group, but in reality, the majority of Slovaks were loyal to Hungary even under Dualism. It is a pity that J. Baer does not consider the more recent international and Slovak literature on nationalism and on the political currents in Hungary. For example, she evaluates Hungarian anti-liberalism only in connection with the “*brutal assimilation policy*”, while ignoring, for example, political anti-Semitism and political Catholicism and their influence on the Slovak national movement. She starts from already published sources. The only archive source is cited without mentioning the archive (p. 122). The study may have importance for informing foreign readers, but for Slovak historiography, it does not bring new findings or approaches.

A study by Tomáš Gábriš on the modernization of the Hungarian legal system introduces the chapter devoted to law and the economy. He points to a new understanding of law in Europe from the end of the 18th century, when the rules on behaviour were no longer made and enforced by the local community, but by the state and its institutions. The position of written law in the form of official legislation was strengthened at the expense of customary law, although the latter did not entirely disappear. The extensive contribution describes the continuity and discontinuity of legal development in the Kingdom of Hungary. Modernization in this sphere ended where it threatened the property interests of the aristocratic families and great landowners. In spite of this, the temporary judicial rules from 1861 formed the basis for the modern Hungarian and later also Slovak legal order until the middle of the 20th century. The study by Eva Ondrušová on cameralism in the Habsburg Monarchy brings further analysis, useful for understanding the public affairs of the state and state enterprise. She analyses the theoretical concepts of cameralism as a Central European variety of mercantilism and the institutionalization of the science of the state economy. The work of the 18th century cameralists on development of the economic strength of the state indirectly initiated the beginnings of industrialization and influenced the economic theory and practice of the 19th century. Ľudovít Hallon and Miroslav Sabol present the emergence of modern construction of industrial character using the example of the Bratislava company Pittel and Brausewetter under Dualism. From the personal and commercial – economic points of view, the development of this company was a typical example of the history of a firm under the Monarchy. Branches of the firm, individual buildings, new building methods and technologies and individual experts are evaluated by the authors on the basis of the company’s archive in Vienna.

An extraordinarily interesting chapter, offering mostly new themes, is concerned with social and environmental questions. A precise study by Gabriela Dudeková with the title *Right or charity?* analyses the administrative-legal category of place of residence as the basic principle of social care in the Kingdom of Hungary. Application of the principle that the needy had to get assistance from their home municipality made it possible to exclude whole groups of people from the public system of social assistance. This became an instrument for disciplining the population. Igor Harušťák has striven to present in a new way, a traditional subject of Slovak historiography: emigration. Although he considers economic theories and models shedding light on the causes of emigration and impulses for migration, his conclusions are no different from those of the majority of existing Slovak historical and ethnographic literature on emigration. The passage about the stereotypical images of America and attitudes to emigration in the Slovak press is interesting. Daniel Hupko has studied an attractive theme in an attractive way. Using the example of Lucia Wilczek, he traces the strategy for maintaining the social status of the aristocracy in the period of the definitive disintegration of the Estates society. The family and strengthening of contacts between closer and more distant relations played the most important role. The far reaching cultural changes of the 19th century also influenced environmental thinking in Hungary. Roman Holec concentrates in his innovative text on the example of the changing relationship of people to animals. An extensive study written on the basis of a noteworthy quantity of theoretical literature, unknown contemporary brochures and voluntary association materials, considers the movement for the protection of endangered animal species and song birds, discourses about “thinking animals” in connection with experiments on mathematically gifted horses or dogs, the alternative movement of life reform, and even the use of horses, pigeons and rats during the First World War. Conservation was especially the work of societies in the towns. Individual aristocrats showed great ambivalence in this area from today’s point of view. For example, they introduced foreign animal species. By studying an apparently partial and previously unconsidered problem, the author shows that industrialization and urbanization did not bring only negative impacts on the natural environment. They also brought about a break through in social thinking, communication and the development of civil society where the environment was concerned.

The concluding chapter – *The Church in social modernization processes* – comprises two studies of religious institutions. Ingrid Kušniráková has written a detailed and initiated analysis of the restrictive measures of the state authorities towards monasteries and religious orders under Joseph II. It was the most radical reform of monasteries applied by a European Catholic monarch before the French Revolution. In the Kingdom of Hungary, 140 from an original total of 314 mendicant and contemplative monasteries were dissolved. The monasteries that survived the Josephine reforms included the monastery of St. Elizabeth in present day Bratislava. Tomáš Králik proves on the basis of documents from the convent archive that the Vienna court played an important role in financing the Elizabethine convent and its hospital in Pressburg during the 19th century.

From the point of view of content, the majority of contributions surpass the average level of Slovak historiography with their theoretical background, broad contextualization, new themes and unknown facts, but from the formal point of view, it reflects the usual practice of the quickest and cheapest publication of books with saving especially at the expense of language editing. Such editing could, for example, ensure consistent writing of the initial letters of names such as Habsburg Monarchy or Hlasists, a single form for Werbőczy’s *Tripartitum* or *Tripartita*, or the constitutional arrangement after 1867, usually called the “Austro-Hungarian Ausgleich” but on page 324 “Austro-Magyar”. The collective monograph provides only a sounding into the history of Slovakia in the long 19th century, but with the hope of a high quality comprehensive work on the level of the present state of research.

Elena Mannová

MICHÁLEK, Slavomír – LONDÁK, Miroslav et al. *GUSTÁV HUSÁK. Moc politiky. Politik moci. (GUSTÁV HUSÁK. The power of politics. A politician of power)*. Bratislava : Vydavateľstvo Veda, 2013, 1067 pages. ISBN 9788022413121.

The biographical profiles of important political, cultural or other notable personalities, especially from 20th century history are probably one of the most popular genres in the field of expert and popular historical writing from the point of view of interest among the reading public. The lively response to the relatively rich output of Slovak historiography in the last 25 years testifies to this. Naturally, historical biographies were also published here before 1989, but they were almost exclusively concerned with figures connected with the established leftist political movement. Štefan Janšák's two volume biography of Pavol Blaho was an exception to some degree. Special attention was devoted to the person of M.R. Štefánik, who was usually uncritically idealized, sometimes even legendarized, or, on the other hand, disavowed, ironized or demonized. Some of the historical and journalistic works of Slovak exiles attempted entirely uncritical presentations of Ludák politicians, especially consideration of their activity in the period of the wartime Slovak Republic. The authors of historical biographies are always exposed to the danger of some degree of historical presentism, which need not derive only from ideological pressures or current political orientation, but also from subjective sympathies or negative prejudices towards the personality being researched. I think that the team of authors of the publication about Gustáv Husák reviewed here have entirely successfully avoided these pitfalls.

The centenary of Gustáv Husák's birth was undoubtedly a stimulus for increased attention to be devoted to this politically and humanly controversial figure. However, this was certainly not only a celebration, since Slovak and Czech historians give priority in their research and interpretation to the reconstruction of the two totalitarian systems in the framework of Slovak, Czech and joint Czechoslovak history, during the Second World War and especially during more than 40 years of communist rule in Czechoslovakia. Gustáv Husák had many personal and especially political connections with both these sections of our history and with events that occurred in them. One of the noteworthy results of this interest is the extensive collective monograph about him with the telling subtitle: *The power of politics. A politician of power*. These short phrases laconically but accurately describe the whole political career of the chief hero of the book and his high power political ambitions, his ruthless political advances and his tragic personal and political falls. From the purely professional viewpoint, the person of G. Husák is and will clearly long remain for the historian, sociologist, political scientist and perhaps also for the psychologist, an exceptionally attractive, interesting and permanently irritating subject of research, which provokes hypotheses, attempts at comparison with the destinies of other domestic and foreign political leaders, posing of questions and the search for answers.

The above mentioned starting points and features also appear in the reviewed publication with more than a thousand pages, an unparalleled length for a Slovak historical biography. Thirty nine domestic and foreign authors, almost half of them from the Institute of History of the Slovak Academy of Sciences, participated in writing the collective monograph. The large team of writers inevitably meant a varied range of themes of expert research on G. Husák or on the social conditions in which his life and political career occurred. However, a strict or fussy reviewer could still blame the compilers of the book for omitting or not sufficiently emphasizing some further, more or less important aspects of Husák's activities. The wide range of sources of the authors is also imposing. They extend from archives and contemporary printed materials, through expert or memoir literature, to the use of information from personal interviews with people, who came into personal contact with G. Husák, whether in his political activities, private life or during his ten years in

prison. All these sources enabled the authors to draw a very comprehensive and trustworthy picture of G. Husák. He was a personality, whose activity in public and social life did not flow only from his unwavering and entirely unshakable communist convictions, but also from his passion to stand out and achieve something in politics. The authors of the publication essentially agree on the picture of the personal profile of the main hero: In the framework of the Slovak political elites of the 20th century, in general and not only considering the communists, he was a highly educated, exceptionally able, but also ruthless and when necessary also opportunistic politician with visibly Machiavellian features. He was a communist politician with extraordinarily developed national feeling, an introvert, naturally cold and so humanly isolated person, a pragmatic demagogue and manipulator of people. He had no really permanent personal or political friends and colleagues. He could not and did not want to accept any political or academic views opposed to ideas, ideals and aims. The common denominator of all these traits and characteristics was Husák's desire for political power. All this twice led to a tragic fate in politics and life. However, it happened in diametrically different situations: The first time was when his comrades labelled him as a traitor and he became a scorned political prisoner, literally standing in the shadow of the gallows. Paradoxically, the second time was when he was at the peak of his political power, which blinded him so that he entirely lost his sense for rational orientation in the world of current politics, especially in the second half of the 1980s. The paradox is that his cold pragmatism, by which he had tenaciously built his political career in the framework of the Communist Party over more than fifty years, failed here. At the end of its monopoly of power, the party expelled him from its ranks, this time definitively, as an unnecessary and inconvenient burden. In 1991, G. Husák died in political and human isolation, just as he had lived, and regarded by the majority of the public as one of the most negative figures in modern Slovak history.

It is necessary to state that, in spite of the mostly critical evaluation of Husák's political activities, the authors of the publication do not automatically demonize him, but seek the wider general and personal reasons for his views and actions. They positively evaluate his role in the Slovak anti-fascist resistance, especially in the Slovak National Uprising, they state with admiration his incredible resilience in the torture chambers of State Security, which probably saved his life and those of some of his fellow accused. In spite of these facts, the determining criteria for the whole of Husák's long and dramatic career are associated with his 18 years as general secretary of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, his 14 years as president, and so with the so-called Normalization process. It was one of the darkest stages not only in the development of Czechoslovak Republic, but also in the political career of G. Husák. Although he reached the peak of his career, he did so at the price of humiliating collaboration with the Soviet Union, which meant shockingly ruthless disappointment of the hopes a large part of society, especially in Slovakia, had placed in him after the tragic August of 1968. It was at the price of human and political betrayal of his political comrades, who had helped him return to the highest level of public life in the 1960s. He also compromised and substantially devalued the idea of the Czecho-Slovak Federation. In the end, it was only one of the means he used to reach the highest peaks of political power. As J. Rychlík correctly states in his chapter, G. Husák not only stood at the birth of the idea of the Czecho-Slovak Federation, he was also responsible for its liquidation. From 1970, its real constitutional content and meaning was eliminated in practice. Various authors observe that in this way, he compromised the idea of federation in both Czech and Slovak society, which further complicated Czecho – Slovak relations in the common state. Moreover, the Czech side unambiguously associated the federation with the so-called Normalization process, the main protagonists of which were the Slovak politicians G. Husák and V. Bilag, although the second of them was initially firmly opposed to federalism. Therefore, it is entirely logical that almost half the text of the whole publication is devoted to the period 1969 – 1989. The authors reconstruct from various

points of view not only the direct and usually decisive activities of G. Husák, but also his indirect legal, political and moral responsibility for the development leading not only to the deep crisis of the regime, but also to the moral devastation of the whole society.

Apart from the cultivated historical – philosophical introductory essay by V. Jaksiesová and the generalizing Czecho – Slovak evaluating conclusion by J. Rychlík and M. Zemko, the internal structure of the collective monograph is divided into seven parts, which are further divided into 41 chapters. The chronological and thematic approaches overlap in the structure of the book. However, the fact that 39 authors participated in writing the texts independently of each other, without preliminary discussion and coordination, direction by the editors or additional editorial adaptation, also brought various conceptual problems. These appear especially in the form of repetition, in repeated mentions and citation of the same facts and sources. I realize that in such collective works, repetition cannot be entirely avoided, but sensitive intervention from the editors is sometimes required. This also concerns passages of individual chapters, where the authors give a longer introduction to their own problems with presentation of generally known or sometimes excessively detailed or less important facts. In such cases, the reader should be referred to well known and accessible expert literature. In some chapters, the person of G. Husák has only a limited role as period background. These were included because they are concerned with the period, when the hero of the book held the highest party and state functions. In these cases, less might mean more, especially for the ordinary reader, who is not usually prepared to read books with a thousand pages. This extensive publication is not really a book for one reading and is not addressed only to the wider reading public, members of which can select individual chapters, mostly written very engagingly and bringing a multitude of new facts, contexts, considerations and comparisons.

With an unavoidable dose of simplification, the chapters in the collective monograph can be divided into three groups: The first group comprises general accounts describing or evaluating the overall life and political career of G. Husák (authors: V. Prečan, S. Sikora, M. Zemko), or through his person considering the function and position of the Slovak intelligentsia in the communist movement up to the end of the 1930s (J. Benko). It is possible to add to this category the chapter concerned with reflection on G. Husák in Slovak historiography, although A. Hudek has limited this to Marxist and exile historiography, with the latter limited to Ľudák writers. The group also includes the chapter by D. Podmaková, who has researched the interesting question of depiction of the figure of G. Husák in Slovak theatre and film, which may have more influence on the perception of individual historical figures than expert writing. The chapter by E. Londáková on G. Husák's two wives is attractive to readers. Without any intention to search for the sensational, it gives partial information on his private life, which otherwise receives little attention in this book.

The second thematic group in the publication is composed of chapters in which the authors attempt, against the background of international and domestic development, to compare the policy and position of G. Husák with communist leaders abroad (E. Zadorožňuk and partly also J. Šolta compare him with M. Gorbachev, while M. Mítrovits considers J. Kádár), and with some domestic political leaders or significant figures. I. Guba has researched the relationship of G. Husák with J. Lettrich in the resistance and in the period 1945 – 1948. R. Pavlovič considers relations with the Slovak political elites, especially through the figure of J. Lenárt. However, the widest range of information is found in the chapter by Z. Doskočil, who uncovers various questions concerning both the solution of Slovak – Czech relations, and G. Husák's pragmatic, cynical and manipulative relations with his temporary colleagues, against the background of his relations with the Czech historian M. Hübl. In this context, the historian is struck by a possible comparison that is entirely absent from the publication, namely G. Husák and J. Tiso. Although these leaders stood at opposite ends of the political spectrum, they had a surprising amount in common in their political practices: They were convinced of their irreplaceable role as leaders and of their infallibility. When carrying

out and justifying their enforced or voluntary collaboration with great powers, and in internal struggles with opponents from their own political camp, they applied the policy of the so-called lesser evil. They raised categories such as the nation, state, working people or building of socialism to the highest place in the hierarchy of social values, and in their name, either consciously or unconsciously, built totalitarian regimes with all their actions and crimes.

The third group includes the more or less “factographic” chapters of the book, which reconstruct in detail, the individual sections of the life and political career of G. Husák from the chronological and thematic points of view. The accounts of J. Leikert and T. Černák are concerned with his childhood, youth, student years and first society activities. The same authors together with M. Mocko and S. Mičev devote their attention to G. Husák’s activities in the anti-fascist resistance. They also objectively evaluate the less known and less “heroic” aspects of this activity, for example in the period up to the summer of 1943 and in November and December 1944. Further parts of the monograph reconstruct Husák’s activities already in the framework of “high politics”: his work as a commissioner, his role in the autumn political crisis in Slovakia in November 1947, and in February 1948 (M. Sýrný, J. Pešek), his attitude to the Hungarian population (Š. Šutaj). It is interesting that three Czech historians: J. Kalous, P. Blažek and J. Rokoský, devoted their attention to the problem of Husák’s imprisonment, the political trial in 1954 and the amnesty. G. Husák’s attempts to return to active politics in the period 1963 – 1967 are reconstructed by M. Štefanský, although as P. Žáček documents in his chapter, G. Husák remained the subject of increased interest from the State Security authorities even in this period of “political relaxation”.

Some chapters are connected by common themes, for example, the constitutional question and preparation of federalization (M. Macháček, J. Žatkuliak, J. Rychlík). Husák’s direct or indirect share in the solution of economic or social questions, which he always understood as primarily political, is the theme of essays by L. Hallon, M. Sabol, M. Londák, L. Vojáček, Š. Rámišová and S. Michálek. The stigma of Husák’s activity in the highest state and Communist Party functions is directly or indirectly present in the majority of chapters of the book. Among them, the articles by P. Weiss, J. Šolta and J. Mervart are devoted to the so-called Normalization period.

The publication includes some inaccuracies of fact or terminology, but the more observant reader can correct them for himself. The book has a rich photographic supplement, but in relation to its length, it has only a brief English summary, which only describes the individual chapters and does not give the potential foreign reader a more general view of the life and political activities of G. Husák. The concluding summary by M. Zemko and J. Rychlík could have been translated. This thousand page publication is worthy of it.

Ivan Kameneč

LONDÁK, Miroslav – MICHÁLEK, Slavomír et al. *20 ROKOV SAMOSTATNEJ SLOVENSKEJ REPUBLIKY. Jedinečnosť a diskontinuita historického vývoja. (TWENTY YEARS OF THE INDEPENDENT SLOVAK REPUBLIC. Singularity and discontinuity in historical development.)*. Bratislava : Veda, Publishing House of the Slovak Academy of Sciences, 2013, 680 pages. ISBN 9788022413138.

The turbulent years 1989 – 1993 brought events that ordinary citizens and often even leading politicians would not have even dreamed of only a short time before. They included the division of the

Czecho – Slovak Federal Republic and the origin of its two successor states: the Czech Republic and the Slovak Republic. These events were part of the huge geopolitical upheaval caused by the fall of the communist regimes in the Soviet Union and its satellite countries in Central and South-Eastern Europe. Its direct result was the process of creating a new political and economic order in Europe and in the territories of the former Soviet Union. These grandiose changes were often accompanied by violence and so the peaceful and relatively cultivated separation of the Czechs and Slovaks occurred without much opposition from the side of the countries of Europe and North America, which regulated this turbulent process only with great difficulty.

Last year the two successor states – the Czech Republic and Slovakia reached the 20th anniversary of their origin. This is always an opportunity for historians, political scientists, sociologists and experts on religion or other areas of the social sciences to stop and evaluate not only the past development, but also all the circumstances of the time and space, which led to this event. This is precisely why a broad inter-disciplinary team led by M. Londák and S. Michálek undertook the very difficult task of attempting to explain the circumstances of the division of Czecho-Slovakia, the origin of the Czech Republic and Slovakia and their further development. The range of their work in time and space is really imposing.

In the first part of the work under the title: *The historical context of the origin of Slovak statehood*, M. Zemko starts with a consideration of the origin and development of Slovak national identity over a long period of time. The first document he mentions is the *Privilegium pro Slavis* from King Louis I of Hungary to the burghers of Žilina in 1381. The varied and complex development of Slovak national identity from the 16th to 18th centuries led to the first Slovak constitutional demands in 1848, the *Memorandum of Slovak nation* from 1861, the constitutional efforts of the Slovak political elite under the First Czechoslovak Republic, the problematic development of the Slovak nation during the wartime Slovak Republic, the striving for an equal position of the Slovaks and Czechs under the communist regime in Czechoslovakia and finally the developments of 1990-1992, which led to the break up of the federation.

In a further extraordinarily valuable chapter, V. Bystrický and T. Gábriš attempt to compare the wartime Slovak Republic with the present state, naturally, including the conditions of their origin and development, and in the case of wartime Slovakia also its dissolution. They trace the constitutional and international political level of development, as well as the practical realization of the right of the Slovak nation to self-determination. They complete their account with an evaluation of the basic differences between the development in and after 1939 on the one hand, and in and after 1992 on the other. The important thing is that the differences prevail over the similarities. In contrast to that of 1939, the origin of the present Slovak Republic was the result of the fall of totalitarian regimes and the establishment of democracy in Central Europe, and this also determined the democratic character of present day Slovakia.

E. Londáková has successfully handled the problem of the development of Slovak national identity in the 1960s, when the communist regime had to react to the challenges of global megatrends – especially the scientific – technical revolution, called the Third Wave by A. Toffler. It was essential to escape from the backwardness of the “socialist camp” in this field. However, to achieve this, it was necessary to democratize the spheres of the economy and politics. This was sufficiently understood only in Czechoslovakia. Against the background of these democratization processes, the Slovak nation succeeded in achieving at least formal equality with the Czech nation by means of the constitutional statute on the Czecho-Slovak Federation. However, almost all the problems that matured in the years 1990 – 1992, especially the diametrically opposed views of the Czechs and Slovaks on what constitutes a “functional federation”, already appeared in the process of preparing this statute. I also have a small critical comment in connection with this chapter: L. Mňačko’s *Oneskorené reportáže (Late Reports)* was published in 1963 and not in 1968. In

different circumstances this would be a small “typing error”, but we must take into account the fact that this publication was one of the main “motors” of the “*pre-spring*” – a cautious liberalization of the communist regime in Czechoslovakia in the period 1963 – 1967.

This section of the publication ends with a chapter by A. Hudek on the image of the break up of the Czecho-Slovak Federation in English language academic literature. He has very clear-sightedly uncovered the contradictory fact that the literature published immediately after 1993 generally succumbed to Czech political propaganda, according to which the break up of the federation was the fault of separatist Slovaks, whose natural political orientation was to the East. Only later, when the break up of the federation was no longer politically topical, did the English language literature begin to include works that gave an objective and truthful image of these events. They already evaluated Slovak “guilt” and the political profile of the Slovaks entirely differently. I must also critically comment that the content and period covered by this chapter should place it in a different section, preferably at the end, but that is not the fault of the author.

The second part of the publication deals with the *political and economic development of Czechoslovakia in the period 1989 – 1992*. Two political figures from that time – J. Čarnogurský and P. Weiss – have participated in the analysis. J. Čarnogurský’s contribution is concerned with the constitutional conceptions of the Slovak political parties in the period 1990 – 1992. First of all, he states that after the fall of the communist regime in Czechoslovakia, the new Slovak and Czech political representatives agreed that the Czecho-Slovak Federation as curtailed in December 1970 and limited by the characteristics of the totalitarian communist regime, had to be reconstructed in a fundamental way, so that it could be functional in the new democratic conditions. He states that disputes soon arose between the political representatives of the two nations, on exactly what constitutes a functional federation. The Slovaks supported a loose federation with the centre of gravity of legal power in the hands of the national institutions, while the Czechs favoured a more centralized system with the federal bodies taking the decisions. A merry-go-round of negotiations in various Czech and Slovak castles and mansions followed, but with very doubtful results. This eventually led to the dissolution of the federation. Unfortunately, J. Čarnogurský does not sufficiently explain the reasons why the Christian Democrat Movement did not vote for the adoption of the Slovak constitution at the beginning of September 1992. The brief explanation that it was because the Federal Assembly of the Czecho-Slovak Federal Republic had not accepted legislation on a referendum does not stand up twenty years after these events.

P. Weiss, another direct participant in the political development of Czechoslovakia in the period 1989 – 1992, is also concerned with the constitutional development finally leading to the division of the Czechoslovak state. In the introduction to his essay, he immediately points to the need to research the real causes of this historic event, since even today there are more myths than critical reflections in this field. As a sharp observer of political developments in which he was actively involved, he points especially to the inability of the inhabitants of the Czech part of the common state to reflect the demands of the Slovaks, who were experiencing the stage of the culmination of their national sovereignty: The Czechs regarded the central Czechoslovak institutions as their own and most of them could not understand why there had to be different Slovak or even also Czech institutions. He also uses the results of sociological research to support his views. It is especially worth mentioning the table on page 105, which shows among other things that immediately before the 1992 elections, 18% of Slovaks supported an independent state, while 31% supported a confederation. It would be worth finding out, if it could be done, what the Slovak citizens of the time actually understood under the word “confederation”. It appears to me that they confused it to a large extent with a looser federation, that they did not know that a confederation can only be concluded between two independent sovereign states! Today there is still a low level of political awareness in Slovakia, and then it was even worse. If they knew what a confederation really is,

then 49% of the Slovak population supported an independent Slovak state, and that does not appear probable to me.

V. Krivý's chapter: *The constitutional positions and views of the Slovak public in 1992* is the first of the excellent contributions by Slovak sociologists, who researched the actual views of Slovak citizens in the relevant period using their own methods and sufficiently representative samples. However, in this essay, we do not find only the results of sociological research concerning views on the constitutional problems, but also other data, which are certainly very surprising for the present day reader. For example, regarding the purchasing power of the people, 24.9% of citizens replied that they could afford less than under socialism and 42.1% even much less, making a total of 67% or more than two-thirds! 45.6% of the population were not satisfied with the development of Czechoslovakia since 1989, and 21.6% were very dissatisfied, which is also more than two-thirds. The high numbers in the ranks of supporters of confederation also testifies to an unclear understanding of the content of this political category among the Slovak citizens.

Chapters by two distinguished historians devoted to the development of views on constitutional relations between the Czechs and Slovaks follow. The first of them, by the Czech historian J. Rychlík, deals with the constitutional conceptions of the Czech political parties in the period 1990 – 1992. It is possible to say with satisfaction that also in this case the author has acted as an uncompromising adherent of objective, critical and impartial historiography. He has shown that personal national commitment and objectivity can be combined in the history of a nation. The Slovak historian J. Žatkuliak has given equally critical attention to the activities of the Slovak National Council in the constitutional context during the period 1990 – 1992.

The distinguished historian of recent economic history M. Londák has devoted his attention to analysis of the state of the Slovak economy after forty years of the communist regime. Essentially, he summarizes the results of his scientific research, already published in his numerous monographs. We find here an evaluation of the industrialization of Slovakia, so much celebrated by the communist regime, although the structure of Slovak industry and its equipment on the technical level of the inter-war period led to a multitude of future problems. We can also read about the disintegration of the third five year plan at the beginning of the 1960s and the resulting crisis within socialism, Šik's economic reforms of 1965 and their negative consequences for Slovakia, which represented one of the causes of the crisis in the party at the end of 1967 and beginning of 1968. The democratization movement of 1968 remembered these problems and strove to solve them, but Normalization put everything back to the initial situation of the 1950s. This was also one of the causes of the collapse of communism at the end of the 1980s: The communist regime was not able to receive scientific and technical progress in the industrial and economic fields, or to compete with "capitalist production".

A further chapter in the book, this time from the pen of J. Štaigl, is devoted to the economic problem. It concerns the sadly familiar "special production", namely the arms industry and its conversion in the period 1989 – 1993, after the fall of the communist regime in Czechoslovakia. It was one of the most tragic stories in the development of the Czechoslovak economy in the whole period of its existence. The conversion occurred in a very short time and to the very large extent of 25-30% per year. Foreign experts considered its preparation inexpert. The higher proportion of the Slovak arms industry in the federal total with an emphasis on heavy weapons also caused a much more severe impact on the Slovak economy than on the economy of the Czech Lands, and naturally with serious social impacts. This led to anti-Czech and anti-federal feelings, which increased the conviction that it would be better if the Slovaks had the state decision resources exclusively in their own hands.

The final essay in this section is that by Š. Šutaj: *The problem of ethnic minorities in the context of historical development in the period 1989 – 1993*. It is concerned with the problems of the

Hungarians, Romany, Ruthenians, Ukrainians and briefly also the Germans. The common feature of the development of all these national minorities in Slovakia during the given period was that the coming of democratic conditions brought the revival of themes that were not solved before the establishment of communism in Czechoslovakia and were then “frozen” by the regime for forty years. These issues included the post-war measures of the Czechoslovak and Slovak authorities against the “*Hungarians, Germans, traitors and collaborators*”, among which the injustices against the Hungarians were especially topical. A further common problem of all the national minorities was the effort to create a new type of representation, different from the cultural organizations from the time of the communist regime (Csemadok, KZUP and others). The Hungarians achieved the greatest success in this direction by creating a political party on a national basis.

The third section of the publication deals with the foreign policy connections of the division of Czechoslovakia. In the first part, S. Michálek analyses the relations between Bratislava, Prague and Washington in the period 1989 – 1993. The framework for this development was the fact that the USA, regarded in Czechoslovakia as an imperialist and hostile superpower for four decades, was transformed overnight into ally number 1. The complications in the relations between the Czechs and Slovaks were already watched with fear in the second half of 1991. After the parliamentary elections of 1992, the Americans were willing to accept the division of the federation, but they considered the common state of the Czechs and Slovaks preferable.

The Hungarian historian M. Mitrovits is concerned at first with the problems burdening Czechoslovak – Hungarian relations and Slovak – Hungarian relations in the years 1989 – 1993, including the Gabčíkovo – Nagymaros dams and canals on the Danube and the problems of the Hungarian minority in Slovakia. In the second part of his chapter, he has attempted to reconstruct how the Hungarian state behaved in connection with the division of Czecho-Slovakia and the recognition of the newly established countries: the Czech Republic and Slovakia. The French historian E. Boisserie considers the reactions of France to the developments in Czecho-Slovakia leading to the formation of two new states, while Z. Poláčková examines the relationship of Austria to the establishment of the Slovak Republic on 1 January 1993. Finally, the Russian historian Ella G. Zadorožnik is concerned with the reaction of the Russian Federation to developments in Czechoslovakia. She states that in relation to the hectic development in Russia after the break up of the Soviet Union, the development in Czechoslovakia was not important for the leadership of the time.

Unfortunately information is not given on the views of Czecho-Slovakia in the period 1990-1993 of Germany, which in contrast to Czecho-Slovakia, united with the former East Germany, or of Poland, which, also in contrast to Czecho-Slovakia, was almost homogeneous from the ethnic, religious and economic points of view. This part of the reviewed publication could be more balanced.

The fourth and final section of the book bears the title: *A new stage in the development of Slovakia after 1 January 1993*. The Slovak historian and political scientist J. Marušiak has written a chapter on the balancing of Slovakia between East and West in its most recent history. At first we were a rural country almost without industry, as was characteristic for Eastern Europe. The industrialization we underwent mainly in the 1950s and 1960s did not immediately free us from our eastern “peasant thinking”. In addition, our Slovak nationalism did not have an entirely democratic character. This was also shown after 1993, when coalitions of the Movement for a Democratic Slovak, Slovak National Party and others pulled us towards the authoritarian East and the democratic forces eventually triumphed only after a long struggle. This led to Slovakia joining the company of the developed democratic countries in NATO, the EU and so on.

The next chapter, the second by P. Weiss, applies the rich experience of a politician active in the sphere of international politics to consideration of the circumstances of the division of the

common state and the arrive of the Czech Republic and Slovakia on the international scene. Among other things, he states that after the break up of the USSR, in the chaos that engulfed the countries of Eastern and South-Eastern Europe, it was especially the cultured and peaceful separation of the Czechs and Slovaks that enabled their independent states to enter the European and world democratic structures relatively quietly.

Two successive chapters by the historians and economists L. Hallon, M. Sabol and M. Šíkula consider the economic development of independent Slovakia and the circumstances of its entry into international economic structures in the conditions of the general globalization of the world political and economic space. S. Morong informs us about the building up of the armed forces of the independent Slovak Republic, while the Ukrainian historian I.I. Mudrievska considers the main areas of cooperation of two new independent states: Ukraine and Slovakia.

The next group of three chapters is devoted to the development of the three Slovak Christian denominations: Roman Catholics, Evangelicals of the Augsburg Confession and Greek Catholics. The historians and experts on religion M. Tížik, M. Sokolová and P. Borza consider the fact that the sharp growth of freedom and independence after 1989 and 1993 brought feelings of happiness from religious freedom, but also many problems associated with incorporation of the individual Slovak Christian churches into the political, economic, social and cultural structures of the new democratic state.

One of the best parts of the book is the pair of sociological chapters from the pens of J. Bunčák, R. Džambazovič, J. Sopóci and B. Šprocha. They are devoted to the development of the social stratification of Slovak society in the last two decades, changes in the reproductive behaviour of the population of Slovakia after 1989 and the characteristic demographic development in Slovakia in this period. These sociologists continue the best traditions of Czech and Slovak sociology from the second half of the 1960s, when sociologists led by P. Machonin placed against the classic Marxist – Leninist three classes (working class, collectivized farmers and working intelligentsia) a modern stratification based on research. They start from as early as 1910, when the Kingdom of Hungary had its last census. The part on the radical change in reproductive behaviour of the Slovak population after 1989 is also extraordinarily interesting. This change has no parallel from the historical point of view.

The last chapter of the fourth section of the work and of the whole publication is an essay by L. Abaffyová *Using the memory of the Gentle Revolution in Slovakia and the Czech Republic*. This contribution aims to be an attempt to progress from researching an actual event to researching the various ways this event – the Gentle Revolution – is remembered and how its memory is instrumentalized. It is directed especially towards the Slovak and Czech daily press published around the time of the twentieth anniversary of the revolution. The results of this research are really very interesting.

Where the fourth part is concerned, it is necessary to emphasize that our historiography has not produced such a comprehensive review of the development of the independent Slovak Republic in its twenty years of existence.

The reviewed work by M. Londák, S. Michálek and their colleagues is really unique in Slovak historiography. The whole conception of the work with its broad temporal, spatial and inter-disciplinary range, with historians, political scientists, sociologists and experts on religion from various countries, and a precisely worked out apparatus of footnotes, has the positive result that Slovakia possesses a work, which still does not exist for the Czech Republic. I warmly recommend it to all social scientists in Slovakia and the Czech Republic, to students and to all educated people with an interest in the time in which we live and in its roots.

Stanislav Sikora



Slavomír Michálek, Miroslav Londák a kol.

GUSTÁV HUSÁK



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