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ARTICLES

THE COUNTY OF BRATISLAVA

JÁN STEINHÜBEL

STEINHÜBEL, Ján. The County of Bratislava. *Historický časopis*, 2013, 61, Supplement, pp. 3-28, Bratislava.

The County of Bratislava had its castle district (*hradský obvod*, *hradský vidiek*, *vármegye*) and castle demesne (*hradská župa*, *hradské španstvo*, *várispanság*). The castle demesne was the castle property, where its *castrenses* and *iobagiones* lived. The territory of the Bratislava castle district had three districts: Podhorie, Medzivadie and Čalov (Ostrov – the Island). Three small counties were also subject to the Sheriff of Bratislava: The County of Stupava consisted of the southern tip of Záhorie. It was dissolved when the king granted Stupava, Devín and the rest of the County of Stupava to the Austrian Count Ruger of Tallesbrunn, probably in 1296. The County of Šaštín or later Holíč included the greater part of Záhorie. In 1296, King Andrew III granted the County of Holíč, or to be more exact its demesne to the deputy sheriff (*podžupan*) of Bratislava Abraham Rufus. The County of Šintava did not have a castle district, but only a small and very scattered demesne. The Sheriff of Šintava Truslef died in 1261 and the king gave Šintava Castle and its whole county to Truslef's brother Leopold.

The County of Bratislava. Bratislava. Stupava. Devín. Šaštín. Holíč.

The castle district (*hradský obvod* or *hradský vidiek*, *vármegye*) and castle demesne (*hradská župa* or *hradské španstvo*, *várispanság*)

The King of Hungary was surrounded and accompanied by his loyal retainers, known as *comites*, who formed his *comitatus*, that is retinue. The king kept some of them close to him at the court and promoted them to the position of court nobles. Others were placed around the whole country in castles, where they became castle sheriffs (in Slovak: *župan*). Bratislava Castle was also the seat of a sheriff.

Sebeš, mentioned in the *Annals of Niederaltaich* (*Annales Altahenses*) as a *marchio*, that is a marcher lord,¹ came from the Poznan family. The name Sebeš, a shortened form of Sebeslav, was a favourite of the Poznan and later Hunt-Poznan family. They gave it to their sons, although not as often as, for example, Bukven.² Since the Sheriff of Nitra

1 “*Schebis marchio Ungarie eodem anno est defunctus.*” *Annales Altahenses maiores* ad a. 1039, recognovit Edmundus L. B. ab Oefele, *Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum ex Monumentis Germaniae historicis recusi*, Hannoverae: Impensis Bibliopolii Hahniani 1890, p. 23. KRISTÓ, Gyula. *A vármegyék kialakulása Magyarországon*. Budapest : Magvető Könyvkiadó, 1988, p. 61.

2 KARÁCSONYI, János. *A magyar nemzetségek a XIV. század közepéig*. Budapest : Magyar tudományos

was another Poznan named Bukven, Sebeš could have been sheriff of another frontier county, such as the County of Bratislava. Thanks to the forward position of the county and probably thanks to its castle on the frontier of the Bavarian Ostmark, the first Sheriff of Bratislava Sebeš could have been very well known in Bavaria. When he died in 1039, the unknown author of the Annals of Niederaltaich did not forget to record the fact. Other sheriffs of Bratislava were Levka mentioned in 1135, Vanlegen (1165), John (1183), Peter (1193, 1194, 1195) and John (1198).³

The sheriff, in Slovak the župan or more correctly the špan,⁴ in Hungarian the ispan, administered not only the castle itself, but also everything connected with the castle and its sheriff or subject to him, which meant the castle county (hradský komitát). The castle possessed especially the castle district (hradský vidiek) with a fixed boundary (vármege). Since the castle was the seat of state power and administration, especially in judicial matters, the castle district was the basic territorial unit or province of the state.

A castle county was mainly the royal or princely property subject to the castle, territorially integrated in the castle's own district or scattered in other, sometimes rather distant castle districts. This was the castle demesne (hradská župa or hradské španstvo, váršpanság), which provided the castle with various services, supplies, taxes, customs duties and other payments. The majority of villages in the castle district were subject to the castle. Apart from this, the villages or parts of villages and lands scattered in other castle districts also belonged to it. Its cives, castrenses or homines castri lived in them.

akadémia, 1900, p. 665-672; LUKAČKA, Ján. *Formovanie vyššej šľachty na západnom Slovensku. (The formation of the higher nobility in western Slovakia.)*. Bratislava : Minor, 2002, p. 30, 36-37.

- 3 "Leuca comite Posoniensi." Codex diplomaticus et epistolaris Slovaciae 1. Ed. Richard Marsina. Bratislava : Academia scientiarum slovacica, 1971, n. 75, p. 73. "intra suburbanos Posoniensis castris existens... Vanlegen (comitis) eiusdem castris." CDES 1, ed. R. Marsina, n. 89, p. 86. „Iohanne Posoniensi, Samođyno Nytriensi comitibus.“ CDES 1, ed. Marsina, n. 94, p. 90. "Petro comite de Poson." CDES 1, ed. Marsina, n. 102, p. 95, n. 103, p. 96, n. 104, p. 96. „Iohanne comite de Poson.“ CDES 1, ed. Marsina, n. 108, p. 98; ZSOLDOS, Attila. *Magyarország világi archontológiája 1000-1301*. Budapest : História. MTA Történettudományi intézete, 2011, p. 182-186.
- 4 PAULINY, Eugen. Západoslovenské výpožičky v staromaďarskej lexike. (West Slavonic loan words in the Old Hungarian vocabulary.). In *O počiatkoch slovenských dejín*. Editor: Peter Ratkoš. Bratislava : Vydavateľstvo Slovenskej akadémie vied, 1965, p. 193-194; DORULA, Ján. *Slováci v dejinách jazykových vzťahov. (The Slovaks in the history of linguistic relationships.)*. Bratislava : Vydavateľstvo Slovenskej akadémie vied, 1977, p. 21-23; SOKOLOVSKÝ, Leon. Grad – španstvo – stolica – župa. Príspevok k terminológii dejín správy. (Grad – španstvo – stolica – župa. A contribution to the history of administrative terms.). In *Slovenská archivistika*, 1981, year 16, no. 2, p. 99-101, 104; SOKOLOVSKÝ, Leon. Miestna správa a súdnictvo na Slovensku do roku 1918. (Local administration and justice in Slovakia up to 1918.). In *Kriminalita, bezpečnosť a súdnictvo v minulosti miest a obcí na Slovensku*. A volume of papers from the academic conference with the same title, held 1 – 3 october 2003 in Lučenec. Editor: Leon Sokolovský. Bratislava 2007, p. 12-13; RATKOŠ, Peter: Vývojový aspekt v administratívnej terminológii. Hradská, komitátna, stoličná, župná správa. (The developmental aspect of administrative terminology. Castle district and county administration.). In *Slovenská archivistika*, 1983, year 18, no. 1, p. 111-112; KRISTÓ, ref. 1, p. 50-52; VYKYPÉL, Bohumil. *Studie k šlechtickým titulům v germánských, slovanských a baltských jazycích. Etymologie jako pomocná věda historická. (Studies on aristocratic titles in the Germanic, Slavonic and Baltic languages. Etymology as a science assisting history.)*. Praha : Lidové noviny, 2011, p. 173-216. Hungarian "spani" had an old military origin. Simonis et Keza Gesta Hungarorum I 12, Sriptores rerum Hungaricarum tempore ducum regumque stirpis Arpadianae gestarum I. Ed. Emericus Szentpétery. Budapestini 1937, p. 155. Chronici Hungarici compositio saeculi XIV. 13, SRH I, p. 267.

These men served in the castle's military force, had labour obligations and provided supplies and taxes. Castrenses, who left military service and replaced it with other services or labour obligations, were distinguished from *iobagiones castri*, who remained permanently in the service of the castle and the king. The kings gradually removed castle properties from the authority of the sheriffs and gave them to the nobility, the Church and the towns, so that the demesne (župa or španstvo) disintegrated.

Some county castles did not have continuous castle districts, but only scattered castle demesnes. The castles of Šintava, Hlohovec together with Szolagyőr, Bana, Beckov, Babót, Kapuvár, Locsmánd, Úrhida, Karakó and Kovázd did not have their own castle provinces. The villages belonging to these castles were scattered through the territories of other, even very distant castle districts.⁵ Their sheriffs were not equal to the other castle sheriffs. Each was dependent on the sheriff in whose district his castle lay. The territory of the County of Nitra extended to the west "up to the river Váh [...] up to the river Morava". Its sheriff was the "Sheriff of Nitra and other castles".⁶ Bana and Hlohovec together with Szolagyőr were also subject to him. Like the Sheriff of Nitra, the Sheriff of Bratislava was not only Sheriff of Bratislava, but also of "other castles". The power of the Sheriff of Bratislava also extended to the castles of Stupava, Holič and Šintava with their sub-counties. Similarly, Hradná and Beckov were subject to the Sheriff of Trenčín.⁷

The castle demesne

The County of Bratislava also had its demesne (župa or španstvo), in which the Bratislava castrenses and iobagiones lived.⁸ The greater part of the demesne was originally

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- 5 PESTY, Frigyes. *A magyarországi várspanságok története különösen a XIII. században*. Budapest 1882, p. 159-170, 189-193, 216, 224, 404-411, 508-513; ILA, Bálint. *Gömör megye I*. Budapest 1944, p. 11, 16, 66, 87, 92, 97, 173-174, 204, 231-232, 242, 346, 500-501. ILA, Bálint. *Gömör megye II*. Budapest 1946, p. 197, 291; SEDLÁK, Vincent. Bratislavské hradné županstvo a Bratislava do roku 1291. (The Bratislava Castle County and Bratislava up to 1291.) Bratislava 6, 1970, p. 48-49; SEDLÁK, Vincent. K otázke vzniku a pôvodu inštitúcie Szolagyőr. (On the question of the origin of the institution of Szolagyőr.) In *Historické štúdie*, 1967, 12, s. 155-185; LEHOTSKÁ, Darina. Hradné panstvo v 12. a 13. stor. (The castle lordship in the 12th and 13th centuries.) In *Hlohovec a jeho okolie*. Bratislava : Obzor, 1968, p. 50-57; RATKOŠ, ref. 4, p. 112-114; KRISTÓ, ref. 1, p. 166-167, 169-177, 185, 263, 269-271, 276-283, 293, 304-305, 351-352, 354-364; MAREK, M. Hrad Bana v systéme správy ranostredovekého Uhorska. (Bana Castle in the administrative system of early medieval Hungary.) In *Studia Historica Tyrnaviensia*, XI-XII, 2011, p. 51-80; SKALSKÁ, Monika. Územie hradu Beckov v povodí gemerskej rieky Gortva a jeho osud po zániku pohraničného županstva. (The territory of Beckov Castle in the basin of the river Gortva in Gemer and its fate after the disappearance of the frontier counties.) In *Studia Historica Tyrnaviensia*, XI-XII, 2011, p. 204-231; TIBENSKÝ, Martin. *Červenokamenské panstvo v stredoveku*. (The Lordship of Červený Kameň in the Middle Ages.) Kraków : Towarzystwo Słowaków w Polsce; Filozofická fakulta Trnavskej univerzity, 2011, p. 38-44, 64.
- 6 "comitem Nitriensem et aliorum castrorum". Anonymi (P. Magistri) *Gesta Hungarorum* 37, SRH I, ref. 4, s. 79-80. If the Nitra district extended "to the river Morava", it included not only the Skalica district with the narrow access to the Morava between the mouth of the Chvojnic and the mouth of the Velička, but also the territory up to the river Olšava, which belonged to the Kingdom of Hungary until 1126. The Diocese of Esztergom and Archdeaconry of Nitra must also have extended into this area. When Hungary lost this territory, the Diocese of Esztergom and Archdeaconry of Nitra also lost it.
- 7 PESTY, ref. 5, p. 189-193; KRISTÓ, ref. 1, p. 351-352, 362-363.
- 8 PESTY, ref. 5, p. 362-388; SEDLÁK, ref. 5, p. 37, 48-50; TIBENSKÝ, ref. 5, p. 21-22, 44-46, 61.

compact and made up almost the whole of the castle district. It did not extend into Záhorie, which belonged to the castles of Stupava and Holíč. Royal donations gradually reduced and fragmented the Bratislava demesne.⁹

The Bratislava demesne had its dispersed parts in neighbouring and more distant castle districts. In the Nitra district, Bratislava Castle held part of the village of Taman in the territory of Rumanová until 1274.¹⁰ The village of Fiš (*Fis*, today Trávnica) in Tekov was inhabited by Bratislava castrensens in 1237, as well as by others subject to Szolgagyőr and Tekov.¹¹ We know from a document from 1256 that the northern part of Fiš (*Fys*) belonged to Bratislava Castle.¹² In the trans-Danubian part of the Ráb (Győr) district, Bratislava Castle shared the village of Dorog with Moson Castle until 1252.¹³ In the Moson district, Bratislava Castle held part of the island between the Danube and the Moson Danube.¹⁴ In the Sopron district it held *Zolonta* in 1243,¹⁵ and in the Železný hrad (Vasvár) district, the village of Bozzaj (*Bozey*) in 1271.¹⁶ In the village of Tolve (*Tolooy*), which lay in the south-east corner of the Fejér district, people, who were bound to Bratislava Castle by conditions of service (“*quidam castris Poseniensis homines condicionales*”, lived “*among the people of the Bishop of Veszprém*”. In 1217, the king granted this village to the Bishopric of Veszprém, including the part subject to Bratislava Castle.¹⁷

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- 9 VARSÍK, Branislav. *Z osídlenia západného a stredného Slovenska v stredoveku. (From the settlement of western and central Slovakia in the Middle Ages.)*. Bratislava : Veda, 1984, p. 38, 44, 45, 52, 53, 55, 57, 59, 61, 64-65, 67, 68, 70-72, 89-90, 91-92, 100, 113, 115, 117, 118, 119, 121, 124, 125, 127, 130.
- 10 Codex diplom. Arpadianus continuatus. Árpádkori új okmánytár IX. Ed. Gusztáv Wenzel. Pest 1871, n. 46, p. 83. Az Árpád –házi királyok okleveleinek kritikái jegyzéke II/ 2-3. Ed. Imre Szentpétery, Iván Borsa. Budapest 1961, n. 2547, p. 109.
- 11 “*hominibus de villa Fis nomine Si[.]h, Zotha et... recipientes ab eisdem pro eadem terra unam marcam argenti presentibus hominibus de triplici castro, Poseniensi scilicet Zulgageur et Borsiensi et consentientibus.*” Codex diplomaticus et epistolaris Slovaciae 2. Ed. Richard Marsina. Bratislava : Obzor, 1987, n. 29, p. 22; SEDLÁK: K otázke vzniku, ref. 5, p. 163-164.
- 12 “*a septemtrione collaretur alii terre Fys, que dicta esse fuisse prius castris Poseniensis*” CDES 2, ed. Marsina, ref. 11, n. 521, s. 361; GYÖRFFY, György. *Az Árpád-kori Magyarország történeti földrajza I.* Budapest : Akadémiai kiadó, 1966, p. 440.
- 13 “*in concambium eiusdem terram Durug Poseniensis et Mosoniensis castrorum*”. CDES 2, ed. Marsina, ref. 11, n. 395, p. 274, n. 596, p. 413; Codex diplom. Arpadianus continuatus. Árpádkori új okmánytár IX. Ed. Gusztáv Wenzel. Pest 1861, n. 146, p. 223, n. 203, p. 297.
- 14 CSÁNKY, Dezső. *Magyarország történelmi földrajza a Hunyadiak korában III.* Budapest 1897, p. 678, 680.
- 15 “*terram igitur Sadundorf ad decem aratra a castro Musvniensi... et terram Zolonta ad quatuor aratra a castro Poseniensi exemptam et terram nomine Pucyn ad sex aratra a castro Supruniensi exemptam, que omnes sunt in comitatu Supruniensi*”. We do not know where *Zolonta* was situated. It could have been close to Sattendorf (*Sadundorf*), which was located west of Sopron. Urkundenbuch des Burgenlandes und der angrenzenden Gebiete der Komitate Wieselburg, Ödenburg und Eisenburg I. Ed. Hans Wagner. Graz; Köln 1955, n. 290, p. 206.
- 16 “*Corrardus, Agabit, Cholka, Warda, Mortun, Wyda, Rumen et Gout de villa Bozey in comitatu Castriferrei, populi castris Poseniensis*” were raised to the noble estate. *Az Árpád –házi királyok okleveleinek kritikái jegyzéke II/I.* Ed. Imre Szentpétery. Budapest 1943, n. 2088, s. 106. Bozzaj was situated south-east of Szombathely.
- 17 “*Proinde cum in quandam villa nomine Tolooy, que sita intra portum Apostog et Feldwar, usque ad hec tempora semper inter homines episcopi Vesprimiensis habitaverint quidam castris Poseniensis homines condicionales... ne videlicet propter permixtam habitationem hominum diversos dominos habentium, ecc-*

Not only the county castles, but also the oldest Hungarian monasteries such as Pánónhalma,¹⁸ Hronský Beňadik¹⁹ and Zniev (in 1251 and 1252)²⁰ already from their foundation, had numerous properties scattered in various, often distant parts of the Kingdom of Hungary. The properties surrounding the castle and those scattered outside the district were granted to the castle by the king, who also granted properties to monasteries.

Some villages or their parts, lying in the Bratislava Castle district belonged to other county castles. Up to 1212, the land of Milej (*Miley*, near Diosek) belonged to Nitra Castle.²¹ Up to 1243, the land of Jablonec (*Ablench*, in the territory of Zeleneč) belonged to Šintava Castle.²² In 1113, the village of Gáň as mentioned as belonging to Hlohovec Castle.²³ The Szolgagyőr iobagio Joanka (*Ioanka*) lived at Dvorníky (*Vduornuk*) in 1252.²⁴ Up to 1261, the land of Tõña (*Tyna*) belonged to Szolgagyőr Castle.²⁵ In 1261, the king granted the three parts of Tõña (*Thena*), which had belonged to Szolgagyőr Castle, to Sziget Abbey.²⁶ In 1264, Beš and Árpádsoka (*Arpadsuka*) belonged to Szolgagyőr.²⁷ In 1269, Beš (*Beus*, now Gabčíkovo) still belonged to Szolgagyőr, but Árpádsoka already belonged to Bratislava.²⁸ In 1270, Hlohovec held the land of Vištej (*Wystey*), lying near the village of Vištej (near Zavar), which belonged to Bratislava Castle.²⁹ The villages of

lesie ius aliquo umquam tempore perturbetur... homines castris predicti cum omni iure suo in eadem villa Tolooy habitantes possidendos ab eadem ecclesia iure perpetuo, ita videlicet, quod servicia ad que prius castris tenebatur ecclesie persolvant." CDES 1, ed. Marsina, ref. 3, n. 223, p. 175-176. The village of Tolve (*Tolooy*) was situated between Kisapostag and Dunaföldvár.

- 18 GYÖRFFY, György. *Az Árpád-kori Magyarország történeti földrajza II.* Budapest : Akadémiai kiadó, 1987, p. 626-634; ACSÁDY, Ignác. *Dejiny poddanstva v Uhorsku. (The History of Serfdom in Hungary).* Bratislava : Vydavateľstvo Slovenskej akadémie vied, 1955, p. 61-73.
- 19 *Diplomata Hungariae antiquissima I.* Ed. Georgius Györffy. Budapestini : Akadémiai Kaidó, 1992, n. 73/I, II, p. 204-218; GYÖRFFY, ÁMF I, ref. 12, p. 441-444; JUCK, Eubomír. *Majetky hronskobeňadického opátstva do roku 1235. (The properties of Hronský Beňadik Abbey up to 1235).* In *Historické štúdie*, 1973, 18, p. 121-156.
- 20 CDES 2, ed. Marsina, ref. 11, n. 370, p. 256-258, n. 400, p. 276-282; BEŇKO, Ján. *Starý Turiec. (Old Turiec).* Martin : Osveta, 1996, p. 55-62.
- 21 "*item terram Miley ad unum aratrum, in parrochia Poseniensi existentem, a castro etiam Nitriensi exemptam*". CDES 1, ed. Marsina, ref. 3, n. 173, p. 136.
- 22 "*quandam terre porcionem castris de Sempthey, ad sex aratra sufficientem, nomine Ablench, sitam in comitatu Poseniensi, vacuam et habitatoribus carentem*". CDES 2, ed. Marsina, ref. 11, n. 126, p. 83.
- 23 "*De villa Gan in villa episcopi, ibi est terminus illius ville, in villa Gan, que pertinet ad Golguz.*" DHA I, ed. Györffy, ref. 19, n. 142/I, p. 394; CDES 1, ed. Marsina, ref. 3, n. 69, p. 66.
- 24 "*Ioankam, iobagionem castris Zulgageuriensis... idem Ioanka in terra ville Vduornuk nullum penitus haberet ius hereditarium, sed super terra pignori oblata resideret in villa Wduornuk antedicta.*" CDES 2, ed. Marsina, ref. 11, n. 408, p. 286.
- 25 "*super terram Tyna...de conditione illorum, qui gerebant se pro iobagionibus castris Svlgageuri, utrum essent veri iobagiones*". GYÖRFFY, György. *Az Árpád-kori Magyarország történeti földrajza IV.* Budapest : Akadémiai Kiadó, 1998, p. 385.
- 26 "*tres partes terre nostre ad castrum Zulgageuriense pertinentis Thena in Chylloukuz*". Codex diplom. Arpadianus continuatus. Árpádkori új okmánytár XI. Ed. Gusztáv Wenzel. Budapest 1873, n. 351, p. 503; GYÖRFFY, ÁMF IV, ref. 25, p. 385.
- 27 "*terras castris nostri Zulgageur Beus et Aparsuka*". GYÖRFFY, ÁMF IV, ref. 25, p. 385.
- 28 "*terras...Beus Zulgageuriensis et Arpadsuka Poseniensi castrorum*". GYÖRFFY, ÁMF IV, ref. 25, p. 385.
- 29 "*terram castris de Golgouch iuxta fluvium Dudwag existentem, Wystey vocatam: ...a quodam fluvio Bala-*

Petend and Gyömölcs (*Petend et Gumulch*) were inhabited by Szolgagyőr castrenses.³⁰ Up to 1262 Dolné Dubové (*Dumbou*) belonged to Hlohovec.³¹ Horné Dubové (*Fuldombo*) belonged to Szolgagyőr until 1277.³² Up to 1251, Kľúčovec and nearby Negyven³³ situated in Čiliz (*Csilizköz*) belonged to Hlohovec, although they were in the Bratislava Castle district.

The castle district

The district (obvod or vidiek) of Bratislava Castle included the territory on the east side of the Malé Karpaty, extending from Bratislava to the Blava and Váh and the greater part of Žitný Ostrov. It was divided into three districts: Podhorie, Medzivodie and Čalov (Island). The Bratislava district also included two small castle districts in Záhorie: Stupava and Holíč, and the castle of Šintava on the river Váh, which did not have its own castle district.

The Provostry of Bratislava and Archdeaconry of Šaštín were responsible for the ecclesiastical administration of the Bratislava Castle district.³⁴ Around the year 1000,

ta vocato circa quam villam Wystey vocatam ad castrum Poson pertinentem... ad fluvium Dudwaga dictum... revertit ad fluvium Balata". Codex diplomaticus patrius hungaricus. Hazai okmánytár VIII, ed. Iván Nagy, Budapest 1891, n. 105, p. 134-135. GYÖRFFY: ÁMF IV, ref. 25, p. 386.

- 30 "terrarum Petend et Gumulch, que sunt castrensiū Zurga Jauriensium in comitatu Poson". GYÖRFFY, ÁMF IV, ref. 25, s. 385. In 1332 they still remembered "Pethend, que antiquitus erat Zulga Jauriensium". GYÖRFFY, ÁMF IV, ref. 25, p. 388.
- 31 Codex diplom. Arpadianus continuatus. Árpádkori új okmánytár VIII. Ed. Gusztáv Wenzel. Pest 1870, n. 18, p. 24-26; Codex diplom. Arpadianus continuatus. Árpádkori új okmánytár XII. Ed. Gusztáv Wenzel. Budapest 1874, n. 21, p. 26; GYÖRFFY, ÁMF IV, ref. 25, p. 385, 386, 398-399, 440, 453.
- 32 In 1277, the king took Horné Dubové from the property of Szolgagyőr Castle and granted it to Serafin son of Kunt. CDAC IX, ref. 10, n. 114, p. 171-172; Az Árpád-házi királyok okleveleinek II/2-3, ed. Szentpétery – Borsa, ref. 10, n. 2811, p. 194.
- 33 In 1251, the king removed Kľúčovec from the legal authority of Hlohovec Castle and granted it and other properties to the monastery at Zniev: "Item contulimus eis duas villas scilicet Colchud et Negeuen una cum populis nostris condicionalibus in eisdem villis residentibus ad castrum de Golgouch pertinentibus... Sunt autem hec eorum nomina: in villa Kulchud Vnd, Chonter, Enderes, Ian, Paka, Gonter, Bortol, Foca, Tuka, Iba, Chechkv, Petur, Andreas, Gurg, Heten, Chaka, Thobias, Folka, Vras, Duhus, Briccy, Thama, Buka, Vtev, Seba, Kulen, Chenta, Chymur, Kotov, Zegun, item in villa Negeuen: Iba, Pyncusd, Bortol, Chubzo, Symun, Urbanus, Petur, Iba, Tyba, Videcus, Heten, Ida, Tuluoy, Wos, Thabias, Warod, Petur, Paul, Mourut, Warod, Mortun, Bulchu, Ian, Buthe, Myksa, Torda, Wysa, Boda, Hozuga, Keuerug, Byzod." CDES 2, ed. Marsina, ref. 11, n. 370, p. 257. In 1252, the king amended the grant to the monastery and repeated it. CDES 2, ed. Marsina, ref. 11, n. 400, p. 280-281; GYÖRFFY, ÁMF II, ref. 18, p. 606-607, 610-611; KRISTÓ, ref. 1, p. 265.
- 34 ORTVAY, Tivadar. *Magyarország egyházi földleírása a XIV. század elején a pápai tizedjegyzékek alapján feltüntére I.* Budapest 1891, p. 7-16; KRISTÓ, ref. 1, p. 339-345; RÁBIK, Vladimír. Formovanie farskej siete na juhozápadnom Slovensku v stredoveku (Bratislavské prepošstvo). (The formation of the parish network in south-western Slovakia in the Middle Ages (Provostry of Bratislava)). In RÁBIK, Vladimír et al.. *Vývoj cirkevnej správy na Slovensku.* Kraków 2010, p. 29-131; HOFERKA, Martin. Vývoj cirkevnej správy v Šaštínskom archidiakónáte v 16. – 18. storočí. (The development of ecclesiastical administration in the Archdeaconry of Šaštín in the 16th – 18th century.). In *Ibid.*, p. 315-334. The County of Trenčín also had two archdeaconries, one large and the other marginal and small, separated by mountains, namely the archdeaconries of Trenčín and Hradná. ORTVAY, MEF I, p. 62-100; ZEMENE, Marián. Územie nitrianskej diecézy za feudalizmu. (The territory of the Diocese of Nitra under feudalism.). In *Slovenská archivistika*, 1980, year 15, no. 2, p. 139-146.

a new church was built on the foundations of the Great Moravian church. It inherited the old dedication to the Most Holy Saviour,³⁵ just as Nitra Cathedral inherited and still bears the same dedication to St. Emmeram as the original church built by Pribina in 828.³⁶ In about 1100, King Koloman ordered the holding of trials by ordeal using red hot iron and water at the seats of bishops and of more important provosts and in Bratislava and Nitra (“*nec non Posanii et Nitrie*”).³⁷ Koloman’s law shows that around 1100 Bratislava had the same ecclesiastical position as Nitra. If there was a provostry in Nitra, there was in Bratislava as well. The Provostry of Bratislava was also an Archdeaconry.³⁸ It had three vice-archdeaconries, which corresponded in territory to the above mentioned three districts. The Papal register of tithes from 1332 – 1337 names 27 parishes in the Archdeaconry of Bratislava, and none of them were situated in Záhorie or Žitný ostrov.³⁹ The same part of the Archdeaconry of Bratislava also contained 49 villages, in which the Canon John of Esztergom had “*quarta or chapel (quartam seu capellam)*” given to him by the Archbishop of Esztergom Čanáď in exchange for two village in Novohrad in 1335.⁴⁰ In 1390, Canon Martin of Esztergom protested against the violation of the rights of the Chapter of Esztergom by the Provost of Bratislava Laurence and the 86 parish priests of the provostry, who are named together with their parishes.⁴¹

A canonical visitation of the Archbishopric of Esztergom was done in 1397. A record of this visitation appeared in adapted form in the record of an episcopal synod held at Trnava in 1629. The visitation record from 1397, edited and copied in 1629, also includes a list of parishes, taken from older documents from the 14th century. In 1397, 119 parishes belonged to the Provostry of Bratislava and 24 to the Archdeaconry of Šaštín.⁴² A list of the monasteries, provostries, archdeaconries and parishes in the Diocese of Esztergom

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- 35 ŠTEFANOVIČOVÁ, Tatiana a kolektív. *Dóm sv. Martina v Bratislave*. Archeologický výskum 2002 – 2003, (St. Martin’s Cathedral in Bratislava. Archaeological research, 2002 – 2003.). Bratislava 2004, p. 10-11.
- 36 STEINHÜBEL, Ján. *Nitrianske kniežatstvo. Počiatky stredovekého Slovenska. (The Principality of Nitra. The beginnings of medieval Slovakia.)*. Bratislava 2004, p. 76-79.
- 37 Colomanni regis decretorum liber perimus XXII. A szent István, szent László és Kálman korabeli törvények és zsinati határozatok forrásai, írta Levente Závodszy. Budapest 1904, p. 186.
- 38 ŠEDIVÝ, Juraj. Die Anfänge des Pressburger Kapitels. In: *East Central Europe at the Turn of the 1st and 2nd Millennia*. Ed. Vincent Múcska. Bratislava : Stimul – Centrum informatiky a vzdelávania FiFUK, 2002, p. 111; ŠEDIVÝ, Juraj. *Mittelalterliche Schriftkultur im Pressburger Kollegiatkapitel*. Bratislava : Chronos, 2007, p. 31; HLAVÁČKOVÁ, Miriam. *Kapitula pri Dóme sv. Martina. Intelektuálne centrum Bratislavy v 15. storočí. (The Chapter of St. Martin’s Minster. The intellectual centre of Bratislava in the 15th century.)*. Bratislava : Spoločnosť Pro Historia, o. z., 2008, p. 26-27.
- 39 Monumenta Vaticana Slovaciae, tomus I. Rationes collectorum pontificiorum in annis 1332-1337. Ad edendum praeparavit Vincentius Sedláč. Trnavae; Romae : Vydavateľstvo Trnavskej univerzity, 2008, p. 60-63; Monumenta Vaticana Hungariae historiam regni Hungariae illustrantia, series I., tomus I. Rationes collectorum pontificiorum in Hungaria. Budapest 2000, p. 201-203; RÁBIK, ref. 34, p. 34.
- 40 Monumenta ecclesiae Strigoniensis III. Ed. Ludovicus Crescens Dedek. Strigonii 1924, n. 380, p. 258-260; RÁBIK, ref. 34, p. 34-35.
- 41 Codex diplomaticus Hungariae ecclesiasticus ac civilis X 8. Ed. G. Fejér. Budae 1844, p. 313-316; Zsigmondkori oklevéltár I (1387-1399), összeállította Elemér Mályusz. Budapest 1951, n. 1498, p. 168; RÁBIK, ref. 34, p. 35-36.
- 42 PÉTERFFY, Carolus. *Sacra concilia Ecclesiae Romano-Catholica in Regno Hungariae celebrata II. Posonii 1742*, p. 271; RÁBIK, ref. 34, p. 36-39.

was produced in 1516 on the basis of the above mentioned 14th century documents.⁴³ The list from 1516 names 82 parishes and two exempt parishes in the Provostry of Bratislava and 23 parishes in the Archdeaconry of Šaštín.⁴⁴

The Provost of Bratislava had a Vice-Provost, who represented him in the archdeaconry during his frequent absences. In 1332, Thomas, a canon of Bratislava was Vice-Provost.⁴⁵ The Papal tithe register from 1332 – 1337, names the Bratislava parish priest and Vice-Provost (or Vice-Archdeacon) Bertold,⁴⁶ who collected the Papal tithes from 11 parishes in the villages of Dolná Streda (“*ecclesie Sancti Jacobi*”), Pác (*Pocna*), Špačince (*Spassa*), Pavlice (*Pauli*), Biely Kostol (*Alba Ecclesia*), Čukár (*Choquaria*), Dubová (*Dombó*), Častá (*Chastue*), Malý Pác (*Payca*), Brestovany (*Sili*), Vištuk (*Bista*) in the Podhorie and Medzivadie parts of the Archdeaconry of Bratislava.⁴⁷

Podhorie, Medzivadie and Čalov

Podhorie extended from Bratislava to the river Blava and from a certain time also included the southern tip of Záhorie. The parishes in the Podhorie part of the Bratislava Castle district and later county belonged to the Vice-Archdeaconry of Podhorie. The Vice-Archdeacon Bertold, mentioned in the Papal tithe register from 1332 – 1337, may have administered precisely this central vice-archdeaconry. In 1561, the parish priest of Horné Orešany (*Nemetdyos*) Anthony was also Vice-Archdeacon of Podhorie.⁴⁸ The canonical visitation “*in the district of the Provostry of Bratislava*” in 1562 “*began under the mountains*”, that is in the Podhorie district.⁴⁹ The canonical visitation of the Podhorie district in 1561 and 1562 visited the towns and villages of Bratislava, Devín, Stupava, Hochštetno, Láb, Zohor, Záhorská Bystrica, Lamač, Rača, Svätý Jur, Grinava, Pezinok, Limbach, Modra, Zumberg, Čukár (Kučišdorf, now Veľké Trnie, it belongs to Vinosady), Dubová, Častá, Ompítal (now Doľany), Dolné Orešany (*Tott dyos*), Horné Orešany (*Nemet dyos*), Smolenice, Nádaš (now Trstín), Krupá, Dubové, Bohunice, Špačince, Trnava, Modranka, Zeleneč, Hrnčiarovce nad Parnou, Ružindol, Boleráz, Bohdanovce, Suchá nad Parnou, Budmerice, Vištuk, Dlhá, Báhoň, Gocnod (now Jarná, it belongs to Cífer), Cífer, Igram (today it belongs to Báhoň), Slovenská Nová Ves, Biely Kostol, Šarfia (now

43 MELNÍKOVÁ, Marta. O stave cirkevnej organizácie na Slovensku začiatkom 16. storočia. (On the state of the ecclesiastical organization of Slovakia at the beginning of the 16th century.). In *Slovenská archivistika*, 1995, 30, p. 127-140; RÁBIK, ref. 34, p. 38-39.

44 MELNÍKOVÁ, ref. 43, p. 136, 137; RÁBIK, ref. 34, p. 38-39.

45 “*honorabilis vir dominus Thomas vicarius ac viceprepositus et canonicus ecclesie Posoniensis*”. MES III, ref. 40, n. 306, p. 208.

46 “*Bertoldus vicearchidiaconus [Posoniensis] iuratus [dixit, non credere] beneficium ultra duas marcas et mediam valere, solvit unum fertonem.*” Mon. Vat. Slov. I, ed. Sedlák, ref. 39, p. 61. Mon. Vat. Hung. I/1, ref. 39, p. 202; RÁBIK, ref. 34, p. 44-45.

47 Mon. Vat. Slov. I, ed. Sedlák, ref. 39, p. 61-63; Mon. Vat. Hung. I/1, ref. 39, p. 202-203.

48 “*Anthonijs plebanus eorundem et vice archydiaconus districtus Posoniensis sub montibus.*” Visitatio praepositurae Posoniensis ex a. 1561. In BUCKO, Vojtech. *Reformné hnutie v arcibiskupstve ostrihskom do r. 1564. Pramenný príspevok k slovenským cirkevným dejinám.* (The Reformed movement in the Archdiocese of Esztergom up to 1564. A contribution to the sources for the ecclesiastical history of Slovakia.). Bratislava : „Unia“ kníhtlačiareň Bratislava, Edícia „Svetlo“, 1939, p. 134.

49 “*visitacio Ecclesiarum Ecclesie Collegiate Posoniensis... in districtu prepositurę Posoniensis peracta et primo sub Montibus*”. Visitatio praepositurae Posoniensis ex a. 1562. In BUCKO, ref. 48, p. 141.

Blatné), Čataj, Grob, Senec, Maďarský Bél (now Veľký Biel), Boldog, Čeklis (now Bernolákovo) and Prača (now Vajnory).⁵⁰

Medzivodie lay between the Čierna voda and the Váh. The Dudváh flowed through the middle of it. Medzivodie (Vízköz) is mentioned in the record of the canonical visitation of 1561 as the “*District between the waters (Districtus inter Aquas)*”. The document names the villages in it of Brestovany (Zyly), Šúrovce, Zavar, Križovany nad Dudváhom, Farkašín (now Vlčkovce), Sereď, Streda nad Váhom, Veľký Mačad (now Veľká Mača), Galanta, Takšoň (now Matúškovo), Saliby (Zely), Kert’ (now Mostová), Vízkelet (now Čierny Brod), Diosek (now Sládkovičovo), Abrahám and Majcichov.⁵¹ The rector John in the village of Apka, mentioned in 1334 and 1336, was “*vicearchidiaconus penes Dudwag*”.⁵²

- 50 Visitatio praepositurae Posoniensis ex a. 1561. In BUCKO, ref. 48, p. 132-137; Visitatio praepositurae Posoniensis ex a. 1562. In BUCKO, ref. 48, p. 141-148. The original record of the canonical visitation of the Vice-Archdeaconry of Podhorie from 1501 does not survive. However, the Archdeacon of Bratislava and Bishop of Vác George Draškovič had it when he wrote the record of the visitation of the Archdeaconry of Bratislava in 1634. The “*Districtus sub montibus*” was smaller in 1634, because its Záhorie communities and Bratislava formed the Záhorie District, which originated in 1626. See notes 90, 123, 124. The record of the visitation from 1634 names the parishes and chapelries in the Podhorie District: Rača, Svätý Jur, Neštich, Pezinok, Cajla, Švancpach (now Viničné), Grinava, Limbach, Čukár, Trlinok (now Malé Trnie, it belongs to Vinosady), Modra, Kráľová, Šenkvice, Vištuk, Budmerice, Halmeš (now Jablonec), Štefanová, Dubová, Častá, Ompítal, Dlhá, Borová, Dolné Orešany, Horné Orešany, Smolenice, Lošonec, Naháč, Nádaš, Biňovce, Dechtice, Horné Dubové, Kátlovce, Bohunice, Jaslovce, Paderovce, Radošovce, Dolné Dubové, Dolná Krupá, Horná Krupá, Boleráz, Neštich (now Smolenická Nová Ves), Ružindol, Biely Kostol, Suchá nad Parnou, Košolná, Zvončín, Bohdanovce, Šelpice, Klčovany, Špačince, Veľké Brestovany, Malé Brestovany, Horné Lovčice, Hrnčiarovce nad Parnou, Zeleneč, Modranka, Cífer, Pác (today it belongs to Cífer), *Balazhaza*, Svätý Peter, Slovenská Nová Ves, Hrušov, Voderady, Gocnod, Báhoň, Kaplná, Igram, Čataj, Nemecký Grob (now Veľký Grob), Pustý Fedýmeš (now Pusté Úľany), Šarfa, Boldog, Senec, Maďarský Bél, Nemecký Bél (now Malý Biel), Čeklis, Chorvátsky Grob, Slovenský Grob and Prača. Pázmány Péter egyházlátogatási jegyzőkönyvei (1616-1637), válogatta, bevezette, jegyzetekkel ellátta Margit Beke. Budapest 1994, p. 30-31, 201-248, 300-301, 305-308; LOPATKOVÁ, Zuzana. Národnostné zloženie obyvateľstva Podhorského dekanátu vo svetle kanonickej vizitácie z r. 1634. (The ethnic composition of the population of the Decanate of Podhorie in the light of the canonical visitation of 1634.) In *Studia historica Tyrnaviensia VI. Národnosti v minulosti Slovenska*. K životnému jubileu prof. PhDr. Vincenta Sedláka, CSc. Editori Marta Dobrotková, Vladimír Rábik. Trnava 2006, p. 149-162; LOPATKOVÁ, Zuzana. Vývoj cirkevnej správy na území neskoršieho Trnavského vikariátu v 16. – 18. storočí. (The development of the ecclesiastical administration in the territory of the later Vicariate of Trnava in the 16th – 18th century.) In RÁBIK et al., ref. 34, p. 348-349; RÁBIK, ref. 34, p. 43-85.
- 51 Visitatio praepositurae Posoniensis ex a. 1561. In BUCKO, ref. 48, p. 137-138. The visitation of these villages was repeated in 1562; Visitatio praepositurae Posoniensis ex a. 1562. In BUCKO, ref. 48, p. 146-147. In 1634 the “*Districtus Vízköz*” was again subject to a canonical visitation of its parishes and chapelries, namely: Ivánka, Nová Ves pri Dunaji (which now belongs to Nová Dedinka), Hasvár (now Kostolná pri Dunaji), Jelka, Veľký Fedýmeš (now Veľké Úľany), Vízkelet, Kert’, Dolné Saliby, Takšoň, Galanta, Kajal, Veľká Mača, Sereď, Šúrovce, Zavar, Križovany nad Dudváhom, Farkašín, Majcichov, Abrahám and Diosek. Pázmány Péter egyházlátogatási jegyzőkönyvei, válogatta Beke, ref. 50, p. 31, 248-263, 301-302. The villages of Hasvár and Jelka originally belonged to the Čalov District. Visitatio praepositurae Posoniensis ex a. 1561, 1562. In BUCKO, ref. 48, p. 138, 146.
- 52 The Vice-archdeacon John is known from 1334: „*Joannes vicearchidiaconus penes Dudwag sancti Michaelis (sacerdos)... villam Scentmychael seu Opka*“. Anjou-kori okmánytár. Codex diplom. Hungaricus Andegavensis III. Szerkesztették Iván Nagy, Gyula Tasnádi Nagy. Budapest 1883, n. 91, p. 125. A document from 1336 again mentions “*dominum Joannem presbiterum ecclesie sancti Michaelis rectorem, vicearchidiaconum prope Dudwag*”. MES III, ref. 40, n. 412, p. 289; RÁBIK, ref. 34, p. 122-123.

The territory between the Váh and the lower course of the Dudváh, in which lie Kráľová nad Váhom, Šaľa, Diakovce, Pered (now Tešedíkovo), Žihárec, Farkašd (now Vlčany) and Neded, originally belonged to the neighbouring County of Nitra. In 1560, Diakovce and the whole of this territory still belonged not only to the Archdeaconry of Nitra, but also the County of Nitra.⁵³ Therefore, the records of the canonical visitations of the parishes in the Provostry of Bratislava in 1561 and 1562 do not include these villages. This territory did not belong to the Provostry of Bratislava or to the County of Bratislava. The county gained most of this territory only sometime after 1562. According to the portal registers from 1598 – 1602, Diakovce, Pered and Žihárec already belonged to the County of Bratislava or more precisely to its second district, which was identical with Medzivadie.⁵⁴ From the territories west of the Váh only Šaľa, Kráľová nad Váhom, Farkašd and Neded remained in the County of Nitra.⁵⁵ However, the boundary of the Archdeaconry remained unchanged. The canonical visitation of 1630 still placed the parish of Diakovce with its chapelries of Pered and Žihárec in the Archdeaconry of Nitra.⁵⁶

Čalov was the name of the Little Danube river.⁵⁷ The part of the County of Bratislava watered by the Little Danube and Čierna Voda also received the name Čalov (Csallóköz). The deputy sheriff and two reeves of the County of Bratislava wrote to King Charles Robert (1310 – 1342), “*that all the noblemen of the Province of Čolov*” and with them also “*the whole Province of Čolov*” to complain about the archbishop’s mill at Vrankuňa

Apka lay between Veľký Fedýmeš, Abrahám and Malý Mačad. ŠMILAUER, Vladimír. *Vodopis starého Slovenska. (Hydrography of old Slovakia.)*. Praha; Bratislava: Učená spoločnosť Šafaříkova v Bratislavě, 1932, p. 27.

- 53 According to the record of the visitation of the County of Nitra in 1560, Šaľa (*Selye*), Diakovce (*Deaky*) a Farkašd (*Farkasd*) belonged to the District of Kýr (*Districtus Ker*) in the County of Nitra. Visitatio comitatus Liptoviensis, Thuroczensis et Nitriensis ex a. 1560. In BUCKO, ref. 48, p. 193. According to the report of the commission on the state of Church property from 1544 “*Plebanus in Deaky est in comitatu Nitriensi.*” Egyháztörténelmi emlékek a magyarországi hitújítás korából IV. Szerkesztették János Karácsonyi, Ferencz Kollányi. Budapest 1909, n. 292, p. 335.
- 54 KOHÚTOVÁ, Mária. *Demografický a sídlíštný obraz západného Slovenska. (The demographic and settlement structure of western Slovakia.)*. Bratislava 1990, p. 85-88.
- 55 KOHÚTOVÁ, ref. 54, p. 116-118.
- 56 The parish of Diakovce in the County of Bratislava had chapelries not only at the villages of Pered and Žihárec in the County of Bratislava, but also at Hetméň on the other side of the Váh in the County of Nitra. Pázmány Péter egyházlátogatási jegyzőkönyvei, válogatta Beke, ref. 50, p. 151-152; LOPATKOVÁ, Vývoj, ref 50, p. 347.
- 57 In 1209 “*Challov*”. Codex diplom. Arpadianus continuatus. Árpádkori új okmánytár VI. Ed. Gusztáv Wenzel. Pest 1867, n. 206, p. 334; CDES 1, ed. Marsina, ref. 3, n. 155, p. 123. In 1291: “*Concessimus insuper eisdem portum in Chollowkwz transeundi infra civitatem Posoniensem in capite fluvii Cholow existentem, ubi terra ab utraque parte ipsius fluvii pertineret ad eandem civitatem nostram cum utilitate ipsius portus perpetuo possidendam... in portu Chollow in Zeuleus...*” Bratislavské mestské privilégium. Transcribed by Vladimír Horváth. Bratislava: Obzor, 1991, p. 13-14. In 1324 “*ad fluvium Challov*” or “*eundem fluvium Challov*” is mentioned. A Pécz nemzetség Apponyi ágának. Az apponyi grófok családi levéltárban orizett oklevelei I. Ed. Ernő Kammerer. Budapest : Franklin-Tarsulat nyomdája, 1906, n. 33, p. 66; ŠMILAUER, ref. 52, p. 293-295; STANISLAV, Ján. *Slovenský juh v stredoveku. (The Slovak south in the Middle Ages.)*. Turčiansky sv. Martin : Matica slovenská, 1948, p. 101-102; VARSÍK, ref. 9, p. 129-132. VARSÍK, *Slovenské (slovenské) názvy riek na Slovensku a ich prevzatie Maďarmi v 10. – 12. storočí. (Slavonic (Slovak) river names in Slovakia and their adoption by the Magyars in the 10th – 12th centuries.)*. Bratislava : Veda, 1990, p. 16-17.

and about the violence, which happened “*through the water of Čolov, which surrounds the Province of Čolov (per aquam Chollo, que provinciam Chollokuz circumdabat)*”. Since the mill deprived them of use of the water, the deputy sheriff and reeves “*together with all the noblemen of the above mentioned Province of Čolov*” appealed for justice from the king.⁵⁸ In 1401, a parish priest is mentioned “*from Gala in the district of Čalov (de Galee in districtu Challockoz)*”.⁵⁹ The Čalov district had its own vice-archdeaconry. In 1324, John parish priest of Gala (Kostolná Gala) was Vice-Archdeacon of Čalov⁶⁰ and in 1341 Thomas, parish of Potôň.⁶¹

The Čalov district (*Districtus Challockewz*) had a canonical visitation in 1561 and 1562, which included the parishes and their chapelries of Ivanka, Hasvár (*Egyhazasfalva*, now Kostolná pri Dunaji), Jelka, Svätý Peter, Veľký Mager (now Rastice), Čaka, Eberhard (now Malinovo), Most na Ostrove, Fél (now Tomášov), Štvrtok na Ostrove, Gomba (now Hubice), Veľký Lég, Svätý Michal (now Michal na Ostrove), Kostolné Kračany, Dunajská Streda, Kert' na Ostrove (*Egyhazas Kywrth*, now Ohrady), Vrakúň, Beš (now Gabčíkovo), Baka, Bar, Derčika (now Jurová), Kostolná Gala (today it belongs to Holice), Paka, Béke (now Mierovo), Úzor (now Kvetoslavov), Šámot (*Samoth*), Veľká Paka, Svätý Jur na Ostrove, Sarva (now Rohovce), Šúl'any, Vojka nad Dunajom, Čilistov, Čakany (*Klythy*), Gutor (now Hamuliakovo), Svätá Alžbeta, Šamorín, Misérd (now Nové Košariská), Dénesd (now Jánošíková), Szemet (now Kalinkovo) and Biskupice.⁶²

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- 58 The document was issued by “*magister Phylipus, vicecomes Poseniensis, ac comes Andreas de Churle (Čela, now Rovinka) et Iacobus de Kiliti, iudices nobilium comitatus eiusdem... Datum Posonii*”. Regesta diplomatica nec non epistolaria Slovaciae I. Ed. Vincent Sedlák. Bratislava : Veda, 1980, n. 845, p. 361.
- 59 Zsigmondkori oklevéltár II 1 (1400-1407). Összeállította Elemér Mályusz. Budapest 1956, n. 838, p. 99.
- 60 “*Johannes plebanus de Gele, vicearchidiaconus de Chollokuz.*” MES III, ref. 40, n. 77, p. 44; HÁZI, Jenő. *Pozsony vármegye középkori földrajza*. Bratislava : Kaligram, 2000, p. 277; RÁBIK, ref. 34, p. 90.
- 61 “*Capitulum ecclesie Poseniensis, vos discretum virum magistrum Thomam vicearchidiaconum in Chollokuz, et rectorem ecclesie beati Micha[elis] archangeli de Pothun, amicum nostrum.*” MES III, ref. 40, n. 555, p. 384.
- 62 Visitatio praepositurae Poseniensis ex a. 1561. In BUCKO, ref. 48, p. 138-140; Visitatio praepositurae Poseniensis ex a. 1562. In BUCKO, ref. 48, p. 148-150. The Čalov district later lost Hasvár and Jelku, since the record of the canonical visitation from 1634 places them in Medzivodie. Pázmány Péter egyházlátogatási jegyzőkönyvei, válogatta Beke, ref. 50, p. 248, 250-251, 308. The territorial extent of the Čalov district is also shown by the list of its parishes and chapelries covered by the canonical visitation of 1634: Misérd, Dénesd, Szemet, Gutor, Šamorín, Čilistov, Dolný Bar (*Egyházasbár*), Bodak (now Bodíky), Baka, Beš, Vrakúň, Dolný Štál, Kert' na Ostrove (*Egyházkürt*), Trhová Hradská (*Vásárut*), Naražd (now Topoľníky), Dunajská Streda, Kostolné Kračany, Lesné Kračany (it now belongs to Kráľovičove Kračany), Boleráz (*Belahaz Karcha*), Kráľovičove Kračany, Šipošové Kračany (today they belong to Kostolné Kračany), Jastrabie Kračany (*Solymos*, today it belongs to Kráľovičove Kračany), Svätý Michal na Ostrove, Kostolná Gala (*Gele*), Beketfa (today it belongs to Holice), *Regencze*, Malá Lúč (today it belongs to Lúč na Ostrove), Stará Gala (today it belongs to Holice), Malá Póšfa (today it belongs to Holice), Veľká Póšfa (today it belongs to Holice), Budafalva (now Budín, it belongs to Holice), *Bodofalva*, Nová Ves pri Dunaji (today it belongs to Nová Dedinka), Blatná na Ostrove (*Sarosfalva*), Dolný Macov, Horný Macov, Čentófa (today it belongs to Holice), Čéfá (today it belongs to Holice), *Marczefalva*, Vieska (*Kisfalud*), Trstená na Ostrove (*Nadaslak*), Veľká Lúč (*Nagy Luchye*, today it belongs to Lúč na Ostrove), Derčika, Veľká Sarva, Malá Sarva, Tárnok (now Trnávka), Svätý Ondrej („*Szent Andras praedium familiae Györffy*“), Vojka, Svätý Jur na Ostrove, Báč (*Bochfalva*), Vojka nad Dunajom (*Keszölez*), Dobrohošť, Šúl'any (*Sül*), Šámot (*Samor*), Kráľovianky (today it belongs to Šamorín), Bučuháza (today it belongs to

The Bratislava district, then the County of Bratislava and so also the Čalov district also extended onto the south bank of the Danube, where it included part of the island between the Danube and its Moson branch. The record of the visitation of 1397⁶³ and the list from 1516 place the parishes of Dunakiliti and Lipót from this area in the Provostry of Bratislava.⁶⁴

In 1277, Comes Pamlen of Sap (now Palkovičovo) the Castelan of Komárno and soldier of the Bán and Sheriff of Bratislava, Nitra and Komárno Thomas, obtained from the king the abandoned land of Tunig (*Tunyg*), which belonged to Bratislava Castle. Tunig lay “*in comitatu Jauriensi*”, that is in the Győr (Ráb) Castle district,⁶⁵ or to be more exact in its small part called Čiliz (Csilizköz) situated north of the Danube. In 1269, Čiliz still belonged to the Bratislava district, because Baloň (Balun), situated in the middle of Čiliz, was then “*in comitatu Posoniensi*”.⁶⁶ Čiliz was transferred from the castle district of Bratislava to the castle district of Győr (Ráb) sometime in the period 1269 – 1277. The properties of Bratislava Castle in the Čiliz territory are often mentioned.⁶⁷ Apart from the above mentioned Tunig, Bratislava Castle also held part of Čilizská Radvan, where people of Bratislava castle (“*ville Roduan populorum castri Posoniensis*”) lived and Medved'ov (“*cum villa Medve castri Posoniensis*”).⁶⁸ Bratislava

Šamorín), Úzor, Béke, Veľká Paka (*Egyházás Paka*), Čukárska Paka (today it belongs to Veľká Paka), Malá Paka (*Lak Paka*, today it belongs to Veľká Paka), Veľký Lég (today it belongs to Lehnice), Malý Lég (today it belongs to Lehnice), Svätý Peter, Eliášovce (today they belong to Nový Život), *Zerhashaza*, Tonkovec (today they belong to Nový Život), Bělvata (today Vojtechovce, it belongs to Nový Život), Veľký Mager (today Rastice, it belongs to Zlaté Klasy), Oľdza, Dolné Janiky, Horné Janiky, *Uyvásár*, Čenkovec, *Chórge*, Malý Mager (today it belongs to Nový Život), Gomba, Dlhá, Svätá Alžbeta, Štvrtek na Ostrove, Čakany, Fél, Eberhard a Most na Ostrove (*Kaposztaspruk, Pruk*). Pázmány Péter egyházlátogatási jegyzőkönyvei, válogatta Beke, M, ref. 50, p. 31, 263-291, 309-310.

63 “*Kiliti...Lipoltfalva*”. PÉTERFFY, ref. 42, p. 271.

64 “*Kelethy, Lypoltfalva*”. MELNÍKOVÁ, ref. 43, p. 136. In 1329 the Chapter of Bratislava entrusted the parish priest “*de Kylitit*” and the parish priest from Čilistov, which lay on the opposite, north bank of the Danube, with witnessing the will of Margaret, wife of John of Čilistov. MES III, ref. 40, n. 212, p. 145-146. The parishes in the villages of Dunakiliti, Püski (with chapelries of Kisbodak, Darnó and Zseli), Dunaremete a Lipót, which belonged to the Provostry of Bratislava and formed the “*Districtus Sziget Köz*”, were visited by the 1634 canonical visitation. Pázmány Péter egyházlátogatási jegyzőkönyvei, válogatta Beke, ref. 50, p. 31, 292-295, 310-311; RÁBIK, ref. 34, p. 86, 109-110, 130; LOPATKOVÁ, Vývoj, ref. 50, p. 349. The records of the visitations of the Provostry of Bratislava in 1561 and 1562 do not mention the Sziget district. Therefore its territory still belonged to the Čalov district from which it could have been separated sometime between 1562 and 1634.

65 “*quandam terram castri nostri Posoniensis Tunyg vocatam in comitatu Jauriensi existentem vacuum et habitatoribus destitutam, vicinam et contiguam terre sue hereditarie Zup...predictam terram Tunyg cum omnibus suis pertinentiis... quibus eadem quidam castrensis castri Posoniensis Buhte nomine noscitur...*” Az Árpád-házi királyok okleveleinek II/ 2-3. Ed. Szentpétery – Borsa, ref. 10, n. 2813, p. 194-195; GYÖRFFY, ÁMF II, ref. 18, p. 624, 640; KRISTÓ, ref. 1, p. 265-266.

66 “*Ceterum possessionem Balun dictam in comitatu Posoniensi.*” CDAC VIII, ref. 31, n. 168, p. 247; GYÖRFFY, ÁMF II, ref. 18, p. 580. In 1252, Baloň (Bolon) was the property of the Chapter of Győr: „*villa Bolon, que est ecclesie beate virginis lauriensis*“. CDES 2, ed. Marsina, ref. 11, n. 400, p. 281; GYÖRFFY, ÁMF II, ref. 18, p. 580.

67 GYÖRFFY, ÁMF II, ref. 18, p. 567, 569-570, 576; KRISTÓ, ref. 1, p. 265.

68 Part of the territory of Radvaň belonged to the monastery of Zobor: “*terre ville Rodoan, que est abbatis de Zvbur*”. CDES 2, ed. Marsina, ref. 11, n. 400, p. 281; GYÖRFFY, ÁMF II, ref. 18, p. 571-572, 607, 608, 621.

castrensens are also mentioned at the village of Pataš (*Potos*, now Pastúchy) on the river Čiliz in 1270.⁶⁹

The County of Stupava

Stupava Castle stood on the ancient Amber Road, which went through the whole of Záhorie.⁷⁰ In spring 1271, King Přemysl Ottakar II of Bohemia invaded Hungary. On 13 April, he had a bridge built over the river Morava and captured the castles of Devín and Stupava. On 16 April, they also captured Bratislava.⁷¹ Stupava Castle was defended against the Czech siege by the Sheriff Comes Alexander son of Marcellus. Alexander fell in battle when the Czechs captured Stupava. In the same year, King Stephen V gave Alexander's sons Dominic and Charles the land of Znojša (later Hochštetno, now Vysoká pri Morave), which he detached from the property of Stupava Castle and so from the County of Stupava.⁷² In 1279, the Sheriff of Bratislava Peter, who was also Sheriff of Moson granted to the mayor (richtár) of Bratislava James the abandoned land of Blumenuau (*Plumou*), which belonged to the County of Stupava ("*ad comitatum Vztumpa*").⁷³ This grant was confirmed by King Ladislav IV in 1280.⁷⁴ Disputes between James and the town of Bratislava about this land ended with an agreement, recorded in writing by the Chapter of Bratislava on 8 May 1280. The town of Bratislava left Blumenau, which lay between the two Vydrica (*Wýdurcha*) streams, to the former mayor.⁷⁵ In 1288, King Ladislav again granted the land of the wardens of the forests of Bratislava Castle to mayor James and he exactly defined it. It lay between the Veľká Vydrica (*Nogwydrice*, the present Vydrica stream, which flows from Železná studnička through Mlynská dolina and into the Danube at Lafranconi), the Suchá Vydrica (*Ozzywuidrice*, which flows

69 "*terra agasonum...Potos cum stagno suo Chelch...super aquam Chelch...castrensens castris Poseniensis...seorsum super aquam...*" GYÖRFFY, ÁMF II, ref. 18, p. 615.

70 Codex diplom. Arpadianus continuatus. Árpádkori új okmánytár IV. Ed. G. Wenzel. Pest 1862, n. 130, p. 217-218. Stupavu is mentioned in a document from 1269: "*iuxta Ztumpa*". CDAC VIII, ref. 31, n. 159, p. 235-236. In 1288: "*ad magnam viam, per quam itur in villam Stumpa*". CDAC IV, n. 200, p. 310-312; VARSÍK, ref. 9, p. 137, note 133. The old county castle could have stood on the site of the later mansion in Stupava, just as at Šaštín, Holič, Šintava and Hlohovec.

71 "*Otakarus rex Bohemie et Austrie...Ungariam violenter ingrediens, castris Tewen et Stampha et alii quibusdam expugnatis, Posenium in primo impetu expugnat et capit, dimittens liberos et illesos inhabitatores eiusdem urbis, ab ipsa urbe trans Danubium ligneum pontem construens, et propugnaculis muniens confirmavit.*" Continuatio Claustro-neoburgensis VI, ad a. 1271, GOMBOS, Albinus Franciscus. Catalogus fontium historiae Hungaricae aevo ducum et regum ex stirpe Arpad descendium ab anno Christi DCCC usque ad annum MCCC. Tomus I. Budapestini: Nap Kiadó, 1937, p. 766; VARSÍK, ref. 9, p. 91.

72 "*quandam terram castris de Ztumpa Znoyssa vocatam, que olim ab eodem Alexandro ad ius predicti castris devoluta fuerat, ab ipso castro exceptam penitus et exemptam Dominico et Karulo filiis eiusdem Alexandri cum omnibus utilitatibus et pertinentiis suis ac tributo dedimus*". CDAC VIII, ref. 31, n. 226, p. 336-337.

73 CDAC IX, ref. 10, no. 172, 251-252.

74 "*quod Jacobus villicus de suburbio castris Poseniensis... vt quandam terram Plumow vocatam, vacuam et habitatoribus destitutam, ad comitatum Vztumpa pertinentem*". CDAC IV, ref. 70, n. 130, p. 217-218.

75 CDAC IV, ref. 70, n. 197, p. 306-307.

through Kútiky and Líšcie údolie into the Danube), the Danube and the road from Bratislava to Stupava.⁷⁶

If the Blumenau property originally belonged to the County of Stupava, then the eastern boundary of this property on the Vydrica stream was also the eastern boundary of the County of Stupava. If the Vydrica stream was the eastern boundary of the County of Stupava or more precisely of its castle district, then Devín, which is situated west of this stream, belonged to the County of Stupava. Thus, the County of Stupava, which formed the southern tip of Záhorie,⁷⁷ had two castles, Stupava and Devín.⁷⁸ The original county castle could have been the older castle of Devín. As the importance of Bratislava and its Danube ford below Bratislava Castle increased, the importance of the Danube crossing below Devín declined. The building of the Water Tower, which guarded the ford, testifies to the growing importance of the ford under Bratislava Castle.⁷⁹ It is mentioned for the first time in a royal document from 1254.⁸⁰ The road that crossed the Danube here went through the town and continued through Lamač, Stupava, Plavecký Štvrtok, Šaštín and Holíč to Moravia. In 1233, the Duke of Austria Frederick the Quarrelsome captured and destroyed Devín Castle.⁸¹ It lost its old importance and its role in the small Záhorie county

76 “*quod eadem terra sita est retro castrum Poseniense, inter duos rivulos... quorum unus a parte castris Poseniensis Nogwydrice nuncupatur et alter a parte castris Dywendrize appellatur*”. CDAC IV, ref. 70, n. 200, p. 310-312; HÚŠČAVA, Alexander. *Dejiny Lamača. Príspevok k dejinám Veľkej Bratislavy. (The history of Lamač. A contribution to the history of Greater Bratislava.)*. Bratislava : Kultúrny a informačný odbor ÚNV v Bratislave, 1948, p. 11-17; KRISTÓ, ref. 1, p. 370.

77 PESTY, ref. 5, p. 435-436; SEDLÁK, ref. 5, p. 45-46; KRISTÓ, ref. 1, p. 370; ZSOLDOS, ref. 3, p. 272.

78 Other Hungarian counties also had two or three castles. In 1085, the Pechenegs penetrated „*into the province of Ung and Borsua castles (usque in provinciam castrorum Vng et Borsua)*“ Chron. Hung. comp. saec. XIV. II 134, SRH I, ref. 4, p. 408; STEINHÜBEL, ref. 36, p. 188. The castles of Zemplín, Potok and Serenč, were alternately centres of the same county, which was sometimes called Zemplín, sometimes Potok and sometimes Serenč according to its centre at the time. STEINHÜBEL, ref. 36, p. 326-327, 491-492, note 1 870.

79 FIALA, Andrej – PLACHÁ, Veronika – VALLAŠEK, Adrián. *Bratislavská Vodná veža (The Water Tower in Bratislava.)*. Bratislava 3, 1967, p. 41-42, 56-57; *Archeologická topografia Bratislavy. (The archaeological topography of Bratislava.)*. Bratislava: Veda, 1991, p. 162-165; KLINČOKOVÁ, Katarína – FERUS, Viktor. Stavebno-historický vývoj Vodnej veže v Bratislave. (The structural – historical development of the Water Tower in Bratislava.). In *Pamiatky a príroda Bratislavy 7*, 1984, p. 109-132; KLINČOKOVÁ, Katarína – FERUS, Viktor. Čiastková správa o stavebno-historickom vývoji Vodnej veže a predbežné výsledky komplexného pamiatkárskoho výskumu. (Preliminary report on the structural – historical development of the Water Tower and preliminary results of comprehensive monument research.). In *Pamiatky a príroda Bratislavy 11*, 1989, p. 68-79.

80 The document concerns the toll charged for crossing the Danube below Bratislava Castle at Vydrica. The king shared it with the abbots of Pilis and Panónhalma. To protect the crossing of the Danube and securely collect a toll there, the Abbot of Pilis with the agreement of the king had “*a tower or house (turrem seu domos)*” built at Vydrica. In 1254, the king confirmed that a third of the Bratislava toll and the above mentioned tower belonged to the Abbot of Pilis apart from other properties. CDES 2, ed. Marsina, ref. 11, n. 447, p. 310-312. *Pramene k dejinám Slovenska a Slovákov III. V kráľovstve svätého Štefana. (Sources on the history of Slovakia and the Slovaks III. In Saint Stephen's Kingdom.)*. Translated by Richard Marsina. Bratislava : Literárne informačné centrum, 2003, no. 87, p. 186-188.

81 “*Rex Ungarie circa festum omnium sanctorum Austriam exercitu magno intrans, partem terre incendio et rapinis devastavit, et usque ad Hovelin pervenit, et interfectis multis de suo exercitu et nobilibus quibusdam captivatis, in civitate Tewen exusta et depopulata, ulterius procedere non valens, pro concordia*

passed to the younger Stupava Castle, which lay on the above mentioned road. This may have happened at the same time as Holíč took over the role of Šaštín.⁸² A small royal stone castle, mentioned in 1271,⁸³ may have grown up at Devín in the mid 13th century, but Stupava remained the centre of the small county in Záhorie. Thus, an original County of Devín of which we have no written record, may have become the County of Stupava. With the transfer of the seat of the county to Stupava, the demesne was also transferred. Therefore, we had information about the castle properties of Stupava (*Znoyssa* and *Plumou*), but not of Devín. If the Sheriff of Bratislava in 1271 and 1279 separated land from the County of Stupava and granted it, then the County of Stupava was subject to the Sheriff of Bratislava.

The Austrian Count Ruger of Tallesbrunn received from one of the predecessors of King Charles Robert “*a certain property, namely Devín (Thebun), Stupava (Stampha), Pajštún (Pelystan), Zohor (Suhar), Mást (Messuch), Sarkov (Sarkou), Záhorská Bystrica (Pistrich) and Isar (Ishar)*”. On 25 July 1314, Charles Robert confirmed the possession of these properties “*existing in the County of Bratislava (in comitatu Posoniensi existentes)*” by Ruger’s son Otto.⁸⁴ The properties that the king granted to Ruger formed the Castle demesne of Stupava. Devín, Stupava, Pajštún, Mást and Záhorská Bystrica lay in the Stupava Castle district. The locations of Sarkov and Isar are not known, but they were not in Záhorie. They lay outside the Stupava Castle district and were presumably remnants of the dispersed part of the Stupava demesne.

If Devín was still a royal property in 1288⁸⁵ but Ruger received it before the accession of Charles Robert to the throne of Hungary, then the grant of Devín, Stupava and the other properties happened in the period 1288 – 1308. If Ruger came from Austria, he could have come to Hungary in the retinue of the daughter of the Duke of Austria and Styria Albrecht von Habsburg, Agnes, who married King Andrew III of Hungary in February 1296.⁸⁶ The wedding was held in Vienna, and after the royal couple came to Hungary, Andrew may have made grants to Agnes’ retinue. The County of Stupava disappeared when the king granted it to Ruger of Tallesbrunn. Castle demesne of Stupava became an aristocratic lordship, or to be more exact two lordships: a larger one of Stupava with its seat at Pajštún and a smaller one of Devín. The Stupava Castle district disappeared in 1296 and was added to the Bratislava Podhorie district.

Otto Ruger’s son gave up Devín on 14 May 1323. He returned it to the king, together with the other properties confirmed by the king on 25 July 1314. Together with these properties, he also gave up the village of Láb (*Laup*), the acquisition of which had earlier

laboravit, qua habita revertitur ad sua.” Continuatio Claustroneoburgensis III ad a. 1233; GOMBOS, Catalogus I, ref. 71, p. 764.

82 “*ad magnam viam, per quam itur in villam Stumpa*”. CDAC IV, ref. 70, n. 200, p. 310-312.

83 See note 71. PLACHÁ, Veronika – HLAVICOVÁ, Jana. *Devín. Slávny svedok našej minulosti. (Devín. Glorious witness of our past.)*. Bratislava : Perfekt, 2003, p. 56-63.

84 RDES 1, ed. Sedlák, ref. 58, n. 1225, p. 520.

85 “*terras castris nostri Dywen*”. CDAC IV, ref. 70, n. 200, p. 310-312.

86 WERTNER, Mór. *Árpádok családí története*. Nagy-Becskerekén : Pleitz Fer. Pál könyvnyomdája, 1892, p. 574-580.

been confirmed to him by the Chapter of Bratislava.⁸⁷ Since the royal document of 25 July 1314 did not mention or confirm Otto's possession of the village of Láb, Otto gained Láb and added it to his new Lordship of Stupava only later, but before 14 May 1323, when he gave up the Lordship of Stupava, including Láb. Thus, Láb became part of the Lordship of Stupava sometime in the period 1314 – 1323.

The Papal tithe register from 1332 – 1337 does not include parishes in the Záhorie part of the Provostry of Bratislava. In January 1389, the Provost of Bratislava Laurence called on the parish priests of Devín, Pajštún, Stupava and other parishes in the Provostry of Bratislava, which are "*ultra montes*" (beyond the mountains) to jointly pay the prescribed 4 florins for the papal Chamber. The whole provostry paid 30 florins to the Papal Chamber.⁸⁸ The size of these payments gives us an approximate idea of what proportion of the territory of the Provostry of Bratislava was located in Záhorie. A document from 1390 names among 86 parishes in the Provostry of Bratislava, the Záhorie parishes of Devín ("*de Thewna*"), Stupava ("*de Stompha*") and Selendorf ("*de Selendorff*").⁸⁹ The record of the 1397 visitation included Záhorská Bystrica, Devín, Selendorf, Horný and Dolný Láb, Hochštetno, Stupava and Zohor in the Záhorie part of the Provostry of Bratislava.⁹⁰ Devín (*Theben*), Stupava (*Sthompha*) and Selendorf (*Hellendorf*) are also placed in the Provostry of Bratislava in the list of monasteries, provostries, archdeaonries and parishes in the Diocese of Esztergom produced in 1516 on the basis of 14th century documents.⁹¹ We know from the report of the commission on the state of Church property in 1548, that the parish of Stupava had chapelries in the villages of Hochštetno, Láb, Zohor, Lozorno, Mást and Záhorská Bystrica.⁹² These villages together with

87 Regesta diplomatica nec non epistolaria Slovaciae 2. Ed. Vincent Sedlák. Bratislava: Veda, 1987, n. 953, p. 415; MENCLOVÁ, Dobroslava. Stavební vývoj hradu Děvín. In *Bratislava*, 1937, year 11, no. 1, p. 28-29; VARSÍK, ref. 9, p. 91-92.

88 "*plebanis de Thebna, de Paylstain, de Stompha et ceteris in nostra prepositura ultra montes constitutis*". ZsO I, ref. 41, n. 867, p. 86. If the parishes mentioned here do not include Plavecký Štvrtok, the location of an important market already in 1206 (see note 117), then Plavecký Štvrtok did not belong to the Archdeaonry of Bratislava. If it did not belong to Bratislava, then it belonged to the neighbouring Archdeaonry of Šaštín.

89 CDH X 8, ed. Fejér, ref. 41, p. 313-314; ZsO I, ref. 41, n. 1498, p. 168.

90 PÉTERFFY, ref. 42, p. 271. A note names further communities, which were placed in the Provostry of Bratislava according to the records of old visitations. Lamač is also included "*in antiquissimis regestis visitationum*". "*In vetustis visitationibus*" the Provostry of Bratislava also included the Záhorie communities of Kiripolec, Malacky („*Kirelo seu Malaczka*"), Kuchyňa, Pernek, Jablonové, Sološnica, Rarbok, Leváre („*Levár seu Schyzen*"), Plavecký svätý Mikuláš and Plavecký svätý Peter, which Bratislava gained from the Archdeaonry of Šaštín in 1626. PÉTERFFY, ref. 42, p. 271, note t. The Záhorie district and together with it also the Vice-Archdeaonry of Záhorie were probably established in 1626, when the Provostry of Bratislava was enlarged at the expense of the Archdeaonry of Šaštín (see note 123). This new "*Districtus Ultra Montes*" is first mentioned in the record of the canonical visitation of 1634. It included the city of Bratislava and the Záhorie communities of Selendorf, Devín, Devínska Nová Ves (*Horvat Uyfalu*), Dúbravka (*Hidegkut*), Lamač, Záhorská Bystrica, Mariánka, Stupava, Mást, Pajštún, Hochštetno, Uhorská Ves, Zohor, Láb, Lozorno, Gajary, Malé Leváre, Veľké Leváre, Malacky, Jakubov, Kiripolec, Plavecký Štvrtok, Sološnica, Hasprunka (now Studienka), Rarbok, Plavecký Svätý Mikuláš, Plavecký Svätý Peter, Plavecké Podhradie (*Szent borbalavaria*), Pernek, Kuchyňa and Jablonové. Pázmány Péter egyházlátogatási jegyzőkönyvei, válogatta Beke, ref. 50, p. 30-31, 175-201, 304-305, 311.

91 MELNÍKOVÁ, ref. 43, p. 136.

92 Egyháztörténelmi emlékek a magyarországi hitújítás korából V. Szerkesztették János Karácsonyi,

Pajštún and Stupava formed the Lordship of Stupava.⁹³ According to the records of the canonical visitations of 1561 and 1562, the Záhorie small towns of Devín and Stúpava, and the villages of Hochštetno, Láb, Zohor, Záhorská Bystrica and Lamač belonged to the Podhorie district.⁹⁴

Since Stupava Castle still held the land of Znojša, later Hochštetno, the County of Stupava reached to there. The river Morava bordered Znojša to the west. The northern boundary of Znojša began “*where a stream called the Kavica (Kegwich) starts from the Morava (de Morwa). From there it goes to the Panse stream and then to the Rudavka (Rouda) stream. From the bend of the Rudavka, it goes directly to the hill (ad monticulum), where the new boundary is marked. From there it goes to the corner of Láb Wood (ad angulum silue Loyp)*”.⁹⁵ The unnamed hill may be the elevation north-east of Hochštetno (spot height 148.7m), and Láb Wood is the present Mokrý les (Wet Wood) with Láb lake, which lies between Hochštetno and Láb. These western and northern boundaries of Znojša also defined the north-west corner of the County of Stupava.

The Záhorie part of the Provostry of Bratislava, comprising the southern tip of Záhorie with the castles of Devín, Stupava and Pajštún, as well as the villages of Selendorf, Blumenau, Záhorská Bystrica, Mást, Zohor, Lozorno and Hochštetno, was the territory of the former County of Stupava. The village of Láb, lying on the north bank of the Močiarka stream, did not belong to the County of Stupava in the 13th century, although it was in the Provostry of Bratislava in 1397, and in the parish of Stupava in 1548, 1561 and 1562. Láb must originally have belonged to the County of Holíč to the north. It could have become a chapelry in the parish of Stupava and part of the Provostry of Bratislava only after the disintegration of both small counties, when it was added to the new Lordship of Stupava sometime in the period 1314 – 1323.

The castle district of the County of Stupava, or earlier of Devín was defined to the east by the Vydrica stream and the Malé Karpaty Mountains, to the south by the Danube between the mouths of the Vydrica and the Morava, to the west by the Morava from the Danube in the south to the mouth of the Kavica stream in the north. The northern boundary ran from the confluence of the Kavica with the Morava to Láb Wood and from there to the middle course of the Močiarka and then to the Malé Karpaty up to the summit of Somár. The villages of Hochštetno, Zohor and Lozorno arose on the northern margin of the County of Stupava. This territorial extent corresponded to 4 florins from Záhorie, in

Ferencz Kollányi, József Lukcsics. Budapest 1912, n. 92, p. 102-104.

- 93 According to the urbarium from 1592 the Lordship of Stupava consisted of Stupava, Mást, Pajštún, Zohor, Hochštetno, Lozorno, Láb, Záhorská Bystrica, Gajary and Malé Leváre. Urbáre feudálnych panstiev na Slovensku I. (*Urbaria of feudal lordships in Slovakia I.*). Prepared for publication by Richard Marsina and Michal Kušík. Bratislava 1959, p. 523-538; KOHÚTOVÁ, Mária. *Demografický a sídlitný obraz západného Slovenska. (The demographic and settlement picture of western Slovakia.)*. Bratislava : Veda, 1990, p. 28-29. Gajary and Malé Leváre still belonged to the parish of Kiripolec and so the Archdeaconry of Šaštín in 1548. Egyháztörténelmi emlékek V, ref. 92, s. 99-102. Therefore Gajary and Malé Leváre belonged to the Lordship of Plavec.
- 94 Visitatio praepositurae Posoniensis ex a. 1561. In BUCKO, ref. 48, p. 132-133; Visitatio praepositurae Posoniensis ex a. 1562. In BUCKO, ref. 48, p. 141-143.
- 95 CDAC VIII, ref. 31, n. 226, p. 336-337; ŠMILAUER, ref. 52, p. 5-7.

comparison with 26 florins from the other districts of Podhorie, Medzivodie and Čalov, collected for the Papal Chamber in 1389.

The County of Šaštín (Holíč)

The County of Šaštín made up the greater part of Záhorie.⁹⁶ It had two county castles, the older Šaštín and the newer Holíč. Like every county castle, Šaštín had its castrenses and iobagiones.⁹⁷ In 1217, the king confirmed his older grant of the Skalica territory, which belonged to the County of Nitra, to the Sheriff of Nitra, Thomas from the Poznan family. The Chvojnica stream was the granted territory's southern boundary,⁹⁸ which separated it from the neighbouring County of Šaštín. A document from 1256 confirming a grant from 1217, states that Senica and Holíč were southern neighbours of the Skalica territory.⁹⁹

Holíč Castle grew up at the northern tip of the County of Šaštín sometime in the second half of the 12th century.¹⁰⁰ When its fortifications of earth and wood were replaced with a stone wall, perhaps in the mid 13th century, Holíč became more important than Šaštín Castle, which remained wooden. Therefore, the king transferred the centre of the county to it¹⁰¹ and began to call it Newcastle (Nový hrad in Slovak, Újvár or *Wyuar* in Hungarian). Thus the County of Šaštín became the County of Holíč. Šaštín is mentioned

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- 96 PESTY, ref. 5, p. 220, 397-400; GYÖRFFY, ÁMF IV, ref. 25, p. 455-456; ZSOLDOS, ref. 3, p. 272. Gy. Kristó casts doubt on the location of the County of Šaštín in Záhorie and seeks it on the upper Tiso. As a result the County of Holíč, which he does not doubt, would not be a continuation of the County of Šaštín. KRISTÓ, ref. 1, p. 364-369. However, the existence of the County of Šaštín in Záhorie is further proved by the Archdeaconry of Šaštín, which survived until modern times.
- 97 In 1220, Šaštín iobagiones and castrenses lived in the village of Dravce: „*quinque iobagiones castris Sasuar, scilicet Zobozlou, Vtesam, Bagdanum, Chequeleu, Polouc et castrenses de villa Draucy*“. GYÖRFFY, ÁMF IV, ref. 25, p. 455.
- 98 In 1217, the king granted to Sheriff Thomas “*a certain piece of land named Skalica (Skalza)... located on the frontier of our kingdom with Bohemia*”. “*It begins from the end of the river Chvojnica (a fine paludis Hoynicha), where it falls into the Morava (in Morowa) and along this water upwards to the place, where the river Velička (palus Velika) falls into the Morava, and along this water to the gate of Tozoy (ad portum Thozoy), from there along the Czech road which the people call Symarut up to the source of the river Vojšič (Wysich) to the east...*“ CDES 1, ed. Marsina, ref. 3, n. 221, p. 174; GYÖRFFY, ÁMF IV, ref. 25, p. 463; ŠMILAUER, ref. 52, p. 3-4; ŠÁTEK, Jozef. Od historických začiatkov do roku 1918. (From the historical beginnings to 1918.). In *Skalica v minulosti a dnes*. Edited by Ján Buchta, Ján Sloboda and Zora Viestová. Bratislava 1968, p. 68-70.
- 99 „*ut terram Zakolcza, que castris fuerat Nitriensis... prima meta incipit ab occidente a fine paludis Haynicha vocate, ubi cadit in fluvium Morowa..., per ipsam aquam ...ad caput paludis Woysicz versus orientem ...a parte meridionali sunt commetanei villani de Senicze et de Wywar, ubique mete eiusdem terre terminatur*“. CDES 2, ed. Marsina, ref. 11, n. 532, p. 368; GYÖRFFY, ÁMF IV, ref. 25, p. 463.
- 100 Újvár Castle with the village of the same name must have existed already in the reign of Andrew II. In 1234 or 1235, Andrew II granted to the Sheriff of Nitra Kemin “*possessionem quandam... Wywar vocatam*“. CDES 1, ed. Marsina, ref. 3, n. 445, p. 322-323; SEDLÁK, Vincent. Die älteste Besiedlung des Komitates Bratislava. In *Studia historica Slovaca XVIII*, 1994, p. 57.
- 101 TÓTHOVÁ, Štefánia. Zisťovací historicko-archeologický výskum areálu národnej kultúrnej pamiatky kaštieľa v Holíči, okr. Senica. (Exploratory historical-archaeological research in the area of the national cultural monument, Holíč Castle, district of Senica.). In *Archaeologica historica* 6, 1981, p. 443-446; PLAČEK, Miroslav – BÓNA, Martin. *Encyklopédia slovenských hradov. (Encyclopedia of Slovak Castles.)*. Bratislava 2007, p. 133.

in 1296 as a wooden castle, which the Deputy Sheriff of Bratislava Abraham Rufus, Meynolth's son captured from the Austrians.¹⁰² If the deputy sheriff of Bratislava fought for Šaštín in 1291, while defending the territory of the County of Bratislava against the Austrians and Czechs,¹⁰³ then Šaštín and with it the whole County of Holíč still belonged to the County of Bratislava.

The king settled mainly Székelys¹⁰⁴ in the County of Šaštín, and after 1238 also Cumans or Plavci.¹⁰⁵ The Šaštín Székelys included Zolok and his son in law Philip. In 1279, Queen Elizabeth granted property in Spiš "to Philip, Zolok's son in law, archer from Šaštín".¹⁰⁶ Dominic Salomon's son, mentioned in 1323, was also a Székely. He inherited the villages of Sekule, Veľké Leváre and Moravský Svätý Ján from his ancestors.¹⁰⁷ Since the Székelys settled in the County of Holíč (earlier Šaštín), these villages were situated in the territory of this county, since they were Székely property.

In contrast to the County of Stupava, which came under the ecclesiastical administration of the Provostry of Bratislava, the County of Šaštín had its own archdeaconry. The first known Archdeacon of Šaštín, Matthew, is mentioned in 1210.¹⁰⁸ His successors

102 "Abrae Rufi, filii Meynolth, curialis comitis Poseniensis... dominus Albertus, dux Austrie et Stirie, tunc capitalis inimicus noster, ad devastandum comitatus (!) Poseniensem, totam militiam suam transmisisset, ipse comes Abraam ut miles strenuus... ad expugnandum quoddam castrum ligneum, quod ...quoddam castrum nostrum Sasvar vocatum per Teutonicos detineretur occupatum, idem comes Abraam dictum castrum obtinuit ab eisdem... castrum nostrum Poseniense fuisset occupatum... inter cetera idem comes Abraam in expugnatione dicti castrum." App. I, ref. 57, n. 19, p. 30-32. "magister Abraham Rufus, filius Menoldi"; App. I, ref. 57, n. 21, p. 34. "comes Abraam Rufus, filius Meynolch"; App. I, ref. 57, n. 22, p. 37. "comitis Abrahe dicti Rufi, videlicet filii Maynolth"; App. I, ref. 57, n. 24, p. 43. „comes Abraam Rufus dictus, filius quondam comitis Moynolthy"; App. I, ref. 57, n. 28, p. 53. „comes Abraam Rufus, filius Meinoch"; App. I, ref. 57, n. 29, p. 55.

103 Codex diplom. Arpadianus continuatus. Árpádkori új okmánytár X. Ed. G. Wenzel. Pest 1873, n. 86, p. 135-136; App. I, ref. 57, n. 19, p. 31; GYÖRFFY, ÁMF IV, ref. 25, p. 455.

104 GÖCKENJAN, Hansgert. *Hilfsvölker und Grenzwächter im mittelalterlichen Ungarn*. Wiesbaden 1972, p. 124; GYÖRFFY, György. *A magyarság keleti elemei*. Budapest 1990, p. 15, 40; MAREK, Miloš. K procesu zaraďovania príslušníkov cudzích etník do stredovekej uhorskej spoločnosti. (On the process of absorbing members of foreign ethnic groups into medieval Hungarian society.). In *Studia historica Tyrnaviensia VI*, 2006, p. 112; MAREK, Miloš. *Cudzí etniká na stredovekom Slovensku. (Foreign ethnic groups in medieval Slovakia.)*. Martin 2006, p. 269-272.

105 VARSÍK, ref. 9, p. 173-174.

106 „Philippo, genero Zolok, sagitario de Sasvar“. RDES 1, ed. Sedlák, ref. 58, n. 1149, p. 489-490.

107 Dominic defended his Székely origin and his property before the Chapter of Esztergom: „Dominicus filius Salomonis ...de generatione Syculorum de Saaswar se esse dicebat, ...idem Dominicus coram nobis testibus infrascriptis Syculum in comitatu Saswariensi de Temus, de Nogh Lweuu apud sancti Johannem se esse... comprobavit. ...ipsum Dominicum... et parentes ac avos eius...Syculos de Sasvar esse asseruerunt.“ Dominic also mentioned his Székely origin to the king: „Dominicus filius Salomonis dicit nobis, quod de generatione Syculorum de Saaswar esset.“ Dominic's origin and property were finally confirmed by the Chapter of Eger: „idem Dominicus est verus Syculus de generatione Syculorum de Sasvar et... habet hereditarium possessionem in Magna Luew de Themusy Zekul, in qua esset ecclesia in honorem sancti Joannis baptiste“. *Anjou-kori oklevéltár VII*. Szerkesztetők László Blazovich, Lajos Géczy. Budapest; Szeged 1991, n. 170, p. 85; GYÖRFFY, ÁMF IV, ref. 25, s. 455, 456; GYÖRFFY, ref. 104, p. 15, 40. On Veľké and Malé Leváre, Sekule, Moravský Ján and Kuklov see SEDLÁK, ref. 100, p. 50-53.

108 The Archdeacon of Šaštín Matthew is mentioned in a document issued by the Provost of the Chapter of Esztergom Peter. His name appears in a list of dignitaries together with the names of the archdeacons of Nitra, Tekov and Novohrad: „Apollinari Nitriensi, Petro Barsiensi, Matheo de Sasvar, Seraphino Nogra-

were John (1218), Manasses (1229, 1230, 1231), Vincent (1233), Nicholas (1244 – 1245, 1248), Magister Anthony (1272), Magister Čepan (1288, 1294), Magister James (1292) and Magister Urkundinus.¹⁰⁹ The archdeacon of Šaštín was also a canon of Esztergom.¹¹⁰ The Papal tithe register from 1332 – 1337 does not mention the Archdeaconry of Šaštín or its parishes. The Archdeaconry of Šaštín coincided territorially with the County of Šaštín and later of Holíč, or to be more precise with its castle district,¹¹¹ and it survived the dissolution of the county. The territorial extent of the Archdeaconry of Šaštín is shown by the list of parishes from 1397, which was included in the record of the synod of the Diocese of Esztergom from 1629. This list names the following parishes and their chapelries: Brodské, Čáčov, Dojč, Borský Svätý Jur, another Svätý Jur (Šandorf, now Prievaly), Holíč, Jablonica, Jablonové, Kiripolec (now Kostolište), Kuchyňa, Sološnica, Leváre, Borský Svätý Mikuláš, Plavecký Svätý Mikuláš, Borský Svätý Peter, Plavecký Svätý Peter, Pernek, Rarbok (now Rohožník), Šaštín, Stráže, Sekule, Petrova Ves and Unín.¹¹² The list of monasteries, provostries, archdeaconries and parishes in the Diocese of Esztergom produced in 1516 on the basis of 14th century sources, names the following villages in the Archdeaconry of Šaštín: Holíč, Unín, Dojč, Šaštín, Brodské, Veľké Leváre, Petrova Ves, Borský Svätý Peter, Borský Svätý Mikuláš, Svätý Jur (Šandorf), Jablonica, Čáčov, Plavecký Svätý Peter, Plavecký Svätý Mikuláš, Sološnica, Rarbok, Kuchyňa, Pernek, Jablonové, Kiripolec, Borský Svätý Jur, Sekule and Stráže.¹¹³

The southern part of the Archdeaconry of Šaštín belonged to the parishes of Pernek, Sološnica and Kiripolec. The parish of Pernek and its chapelries of Kuchyňa and Jablonové, the parish of Sološnica and its chapelries of Plavecký Svätý Peter, Plavecký Svätý Mikuláš and Rarbok, and the parish of Kiripolec and its chapelries of Malacky, Jakubov, Gajary, Malé and Veľké Leváre also belonged to the Archdeaconry of Šaštín according to the list from 1548.¹¹⁴ Dimburg (now Suchohrad)¹¹⁵ and Uhorská Ves (now Záhorská Ves).

diensi archidiaconis.” CDES 1, ed. Marsina, ref. 3, n. 164, p. 130.

109 CDES 1, ed. Marsina, ref. 3, n. 231, p. 181, n. 345, p. 248, n. 360, p. 256, n. 376, p. 269, n. 407, p. 298, n. 409, p. 300; CDES 2, ed. Marsina, ref. 11, n. 158, p. 107, n. 304, p. 213; GYÖRFFY, ÁMF IV, ref. 25, p. 455-456.

110 The Archdeacon of Šaštín Manasses is mentioned 1229 as a canon of Esztergom: “*Manasses archidiaconem de Sas War et canonici Strigonienses.*” CDES 1, ed. Marsina, ref. 3, n. 345, p. 248. A document from 1294 mentions the already deceased canon of Esztergom and Archdeacon of Šaštín Čepan: “*Ladislaus et Fabianus, nepotes condam magistri Chepani concanonici nostri et archidiaconi de Saswar.*” *Monumenta ecclesiae Strigoniensis II.* Ed. Ferdinandus Knauz. Strigonii 1882, n. 361, p. 363; GYÖRFFY, ÁMF IV, ref. 25, p. 455.

111 CHALOUPECKÝ, Václav. *Staré Slovensko. (Old Slovakia.)* Bratislava 1923, p. 212; RATKOŠ, Peter. Podmanenie Slovenska Maďarmi. (The conquest of Slovakia by the Magyars.). In *O počiatkoch slovenských dejín*. Red. Peter Ratkoš. Bratislava 1965, p. 166, 167; GYÖRFFY, ÁMF IV, p. 455-456.

112 PÉTERFFY, ref. 42, p. 271.

113 MELNÍKOVÁ, ref. 43, p. 136, 137; RÁBIK, ref. 34, p. 38-39; HOFERKA, ref. 34, p. 316-317.

114 Egyháztörténelmi emlékek V, ref. 92, p. 99-102. In 1561, Gajary was the only chapelry of Kiripolca, because Malacky was already an independent parish and had a chapelry at Jakubov. *Visitatio archidiaconatus Sasvariensis ex a. 1561.* In BUCKO, ref. 48, p. 199, 200; VARSÍK, ref. 9, s. 101; HOFERKA, ref. 34, p. 319.

115 In 1548 “*Dyrumpurg*” belonged the Lordship of Plavec. The fishermen, who lived there, attended the

The canonical visitation of the Archdeaconry of Šaštín in 1561 included the parish of Šaštín and its chapelries of Stráže, Borský Svätý Peter, Borský Svätý Mikuláš and Štefanov, the parish of Borský svätý Jur, the parish of Gbely and its chapelry of Brodské, the parishes of Holíč, Unín and Petrova Ves, the parish of Dojč and its chapelries of Koválov and Čáčov, the parish of Sološnica and its chapelries of Šandorf, Plavecký Svätý Peter, Plavecký Svätý Mikuláš and Rarbok, the parish of Pernek and its chapelries of Kuchyňa and Jablonové, the parish of Kiripolec and its chapelry of Gajary, and finally the parish of Leváre and its chapelries of Moravský Svätý Ján and Sekule.¹¹⁶

According to the documents from 1397, 1516, 1548, 1561 and 1562, the Archdeaconry of Šaštín and so also the County of Šaštín and later Holíč ended in the south with the villages of Jakubov and Jablonové. This agrees with the above mentioned northern extent of the Záhorie part of the Provostry of Bratislava. If the County of Šaštín included Plavec Castle and the villages of Plavecký Mikuláš and Plavecký Peter, then it also included the southernmost Plavec village in Záhorie, namely Plavecký Štvrtok.

The Záhorie villages of Láb, Jablonové, Plavecký Štvrtok, Malacky, Myslen (later Pernek) and Kuchyňa became the property of the above mentioned Sheriff Thomas and his sons Sebeš and Alexander. In 1206, King Andrew granted Plavecký Štvrtok to Alexander with its territory extending “*to the Jablonové stream (usque in Jablampotoca)*”, that is up to the Močiarka stream, which flows through Jablonové. The neighbouring villages of Láb and Jablonové already belonged to his father Thomas.¹¹⁷

In 1231, King Andrew II confirmed to Thomas' sons Sebeš and Alexander the properties taken from them by Andrew's son, the younger King Belo. Apart from possession of Kozma, Pezinok, Veľké Kostolany and Čokol situated outside Záhorie, Alexander's possession of the Záhorie villages of Jablonové, Kuchyňa, Myslen, Plavecký Štvrtok and Malacky was confirmed by the king.¹¹⁸ The Poznan properties in Záhorie reached the southern boundary of the County of Šaštín and did not go beyond it.

The castle district of the County of Šaštín or Holíč ended in the north with Holíč Castle, where it reached the lower course of the river Chvojnicka and the villages of

church in the Austrian village of *Stykperth* on the other side of the Morava. Egyháztörténelmi emlékek V, ref. 92, p. 100; VARSÍK, ref. 9, p. 101, 104.

116 *Visitatio archidiaconatus Sasvariensis ex a.* 1561. In BUCKO, ref. 48, p. 195-200; HOFERKA, ref. 34, p. 317-318, 320.

117 “*fideli nostro comiti Alexandro quoddam predium, quod vulgo dicitur Cheturtuchyel cum omni proventu fori, quod in eodem predio est constitutum, contulimus tali scilicet proprietate... Eiusdem autem predii mete taliter sunt ordinate: prima meta... conterminatur ad terram comitis Thome, que vocatur Loyp, et inde procedit usque in Jablampotoca, de qua ascendit iuxta aquam usque in Chechuty, hinc extenditur meta et conterminatur terre Thome comitis, que dicitur Jablam...*” CDES 1, ed. Marsina, ref. 3, n. 139, p. 111. This grant was confirmed by Andrew II in 1216. CDES 1, ed. Marsina, ref. 3, n. 206, p. 161-162; ŠMILAUER, ref. 52, p. 6; VARSÍK, ref. 9, p. 99-100, 104, 174.

118 “*eisdem Alexandri comitis dignum duximus sibi in perpetuum et suis heredibus restituendas. Quarum sunt nomina Cozma, Yablan, Cuhna, Bozyn, Myslen, item iste sunt empticie: Coturtukhel et tota terra Maluchka, item iste sunt a nobis sicut et relique iam dudum collate Colchona videlicet et Chokol cum eisdem metis et pertinenciis, quibus antea iuste possidebat*”. CDES 1, ed. Marsina, ref. 3, n. 373, p. 265-266; VARSÍK, Branislav. *Kontinuita medzi veľkomoravskými Slovienni a stredovekými severouhorskými Slovanmi (Slovákmi)*. (Continuity between the Great Moravian Slovieni and the medieval Slavs or Slovaks of northern Hungary.). Bratislava : Veda, 1994, p. 123, 125-126; LUKAČKA, ref. 2, p. 34-36.

Radimov, Unín, Koválov, Smrdáky, Čáčov, Hlboké and Jablonica. Its western boundary was the river Morava from the mouth of the Chvojnica to the mouth of the Kavica. Its eastern boundary followed the ridge of the Malé Karpaty Mountains from the summit of Somár to Dlhý Vrch and Bzová. The southern boundary of the county followed the lower course of the Močiarka and its southernmost villages were Jablonové, Plavecký Štvrtok, Láb, Jakubov and Uhorská Ves.

The County of Šaštín was much larger than the neighbouring County of Stupava. It was large enough to have its own archdeaconry. The County of Stupava was very small, so it did not have its own archdeaconry. It was so small that it could not even have its own vice-archdeaconry.

In 1296, King Andrew III granted “*the county or district known as Újvár, located by the river Morava and belonging to the County of Bratislava*”, which means the County of Holíč or more precisely its demesne, to Abraham Rufus.¹¹⁹ Thus, the County of Holíč was dissolved and this happened at the same time as the dissolution of the County of Stupava.

Šaštín and Brodské were still included in the County of Bratislava in 1317.¹²⁰ Together with them, the whole territory of the dissolved County of Holíč, which included Šaštín and Brodské, must have belonged to the County of Bratislava. Stráže and with it the northern part of the Holíč part of Záhorie, which still belonged to the County of Bratislava in 1317, was included in the County of Nitra in 1379.¹²¹ Therefore, sometime between 1317 and 1379, the part of the former County of Holíč situated north of the river Myjava, including the castles of Holíč, Šaštín and Korlátka, was transferred to the County of Nitra.

The tax register produced in 1452 by a reeve (slúžny) of the County of Nitra John of Nové Sady, names 16 villages “*beyond the mountains around Skalica*” and 23 villages “*belonging to Ujvár*”, which means Holíč Castle, as well as other villages in his reeve’s district (slúžnovský okres). The villages of Osuské, Ropov, Prietrž, Jablonica, Svätý Jur (Šandorf), Kunov (now part of Senica), Senica, Rybky, Sobotište, Smrdáky, Častkov, Chropov, Koválovec, Sotiná (now part of Senica), Čáčov (now part of Senica) and Rovensko, which lay “*around Skalica*”, and the villages of Lopašov, Holíč, Kátov, Vrádište, Močidlany, Vlčkovany (now part of Dubovce), Lackova Vieska (between Dubovce and Radošovce), Vidovany, Radošovce, Oreské, Radimov, Unín, Gbely, Brodské,

119 “*comitatum seu districtum Wyuar vocatam, iuxta fluvium Marava existentem, ad comitatum Posoniensem pertinentem cum omnibus suis utilitatibus, pertinentiis quibuslibet ac circumstantiis universis*”. App. I, ref. 57, n. 19, p. 30-33; „*accepit enim donatione mediante ad dies vitae totum districtum seu comitatum Ujvár, comitatus Posonien. maiori adjacentem*“ Codex diplomaticus Hungariae ecclesiasticus ac civilis VII 2. Ed. Georgius Fejér. Budae 1831, p. 196; CHALOUPECKÝ, ref. 111, p. 157, note 620.

120 A royal document from 29 September 1317 mentions “*quasdam possessiones, Sasvar et Baracka vocatas, in comitatu Posoniensi existentes*”. RDES 2, ed. Sedlák, ref. 87, n. 231, p. 117; App. I, ref. 57, n. 25, p. 46. A document from the Archbishop of Esztergom from 30 September 1317 also mentions “*possessiones Sasvar et Baracka vocatas, in comitatu Posoniensi existentes*”. RDES 2, ed. Sedlák, ref. 87, n. 234, p. 118; App. I, ref. 57, n. 26, p. 48.

121 “*possessio eorum Straso dicta, in Nitriensi comitatu habita*”. App. I, ref. 57, n. 88, p. 199. The part of Záhorie placed under Nitra was probably shifted south to the river Myjava because the northern boundary of the Skalica territory and so also the northern frontier of the Kingdom of Hungary and the County of Nitra, was moved south from the Velička to the Biele Karpaty Mountains.

Kúty, Šaštín, Petrova Ves, Letničie, Dojč, Koválov, Kobylany (situated in the territory of Radošovce), Popudiny and Surovín, which belonged to the Holíč Castle lordship, define the area that the County of Nitra acquired in Záhorie after the shift of the county boundary to the river Myjava.¹²² Only the southern half of the territory of the former County of Holíč with Plavec Castle remained in the County of Bratislava, or to be more precise in the Bratislava district of Podhorie.

In 1626, the Archdeaconry of Šaštín lost Uhorská Ves, Zohor, Láb, Lozorno, Gajary, Malé Leváre, Veľké Leváre, Malacky, Jakubov, Kiripolec, Plavecký Štvrtok, Sološnica, Hasprunka (now Studienka), Rarbok, Plavecký Svätý Mikuláš, Plavecký Svätý Peter, Plavecké Podhradie (*Szent borbalavaralia*), Pernek, Kuchyňu and Jablonové. They were placed in the new Záhorie district, which included the whole Záhorie part of the Provostry of Bratislava.

At the same time, the Archdeaconry of Šaštín gained Biksard (now Buková) from the Podhorie part of the Provostry of Bratislava. In 1626, Moravský Svätý Ján, Závod, Lakšárska Nová Ves, Mikulášov, Šandorf, Biksard and Jablonica became the boundary villages of the Archdeaconry of Šaštín in the south and east.¹²³ The Pálffy's, who became the owners of the Lordship of Plavec in 1621, were responsible for the change in the archdeaconry boundaries in 1626.¹²⁴

122 Vyrubovanie krajinskej dane na Záhori. Upravil Peter Ratkoš. (The charging of state tax in Záhorie. Edited by Peter Ratkoš.) In *Naše národná minulosť v dokumentech; Chrestomatia k dejinám Československa*. Editor Václav Husa. Praha : Nakladatelství Československé akademie věd, 1954, p. 452-453. Register o vyberaní zisku kráľovskej komory v Nitrianskej župe v obvode slúžneho Jána z Nových Sadov. Preložil Ján Lukačka. (The register of payments to the Royal Chamber in the County of Nitra in the district of reeve (slúžny) John of Nové Sady. Translated by Ján Lukačka.) In *Pramene k dejinám Slovenska a Slovákov VI*. Bratislava : Literárne informačné centrum, 2004, no. 15, p. 50-54.

123 This new state was recorded by the visitations of the Archdeaconry of Šaštín in 1626, 1632 and 1634, and the visitation of the Záhorie district in 1634 Pázmany Péter egyházlátogatási jegyzőkönyvei, válogatta Beke, ref. 50, p. 175, 189-201, 314-429. The record of the canonical visitation from 1626 names the following parishes and chapelries in the Archdeaconry of Šaštín: Závod, Moravský Svätý Ján, Sekule, Borský Svätý Jur, Stráže, Šaštín, Brodské, Gbely, Holíč, Unín, Petrova Ves, Štefanov, Dojč, Koválov, Borský Svätý Peter, Borský Svätý Mikuláš, Lakšárska Nová Ves, Šandorf and Biksard. Pázmany Péter egyházlátogatási jegyzőkönyvei, válogatta Beke, ref. 50, p. 32, 314-364. The parishes and chapelries of the Archdeaconry of Šaštín are also named in the record of the 1632 visitation: Biksard, Šaštín, Závod, Moravský Svätý Ján, Sekule, Borský Svätý Jur, Lakšárska Nová Ves, Borský Svätý Peter, Borský Svätý Mikuláš, Stráže, Čáry, Brodské, Kúty, Gbely, Petrova Ves, Holíč, Unín, Štefanov, Dojč, Koválov, Jablonica, Cerová and Šandorf. Pázmany Péter egyházlátogatási jegyzőkönyvei, válogatta Beke, ref. 50, p. 32-33, 364-413. The visitation of the Archdeaconry of Šaštín in 1634 included the following parishes and chapelries: Biksard, Šandorf, Jablonica, Koválov, Dojč, Štefanov, Unín, Petrova Ves, Gbely, Holíč, Brodské, Borský Svätý Jur, Sekule, Moravský Svätý Ján, Závod, Lakšárska Nová Ves, Borský Svätý Mikuláš, Borský Svätý Peter, Stráže, Šaštín and Čáry. Pázmany Péter egyházlátogatási jegyzőkönyvei, válogatta Beke, ref. 50, p. 33, 414-429; KOHÚTOVÁ, Mária. Vybavenie kostolov šaštínskeho archidiakonátu podľa vizitácií z rokov 1626 – 1634. (The equipment of the churches in the Archdeaconry of Šaštín according to the visitations of 1626 – 1634.) In *Monumentorum tutela* 16, 2005, p. 133-138; HOFERKA, ref. 34, p. 322-324, 333; LOPATKOVÁ, ref. 50, p. 348, p. 350.

124 HOFERKA, ref. 34, s. 322. Hochštetno may have separated from the parish of Stupava at this time. It became a separate parish with the neighbouring village of Uhorská Ves as a chapelry. The canonical visitation in 1634 recorded that the parish of Hochštetno also included Uhorská Ves: "*Pertinet ad hanc Parochiam vicinus pagus Magyarfalu Germanicae Ungerai nuncupatus.*" Pázmany Péter egyházlátogatási jegyzőkönyvei, válogatta Beke, ref. 50, p. 187-188; VARSÍK, ref. 9, p. 104-105, 164.

The County of Šintava

The County of Šintava did not have a castle district and only a small and very scattered demesne.¹²⁵ Šintava Castle guarded the crossing of the Váh, where the Czech road crossed the road from Bratislava to Nitra.¹²⁶ King Solomon of Hungary held only the three frontier counties of Sopron, Moson and Bratislava after he was deposed in March 1074. In August 1074, he came to Šintava, which lay on the edge of the County of Bratislava. Solomon waited at Šintava for the military units of the already mentioned three counties. After the arrival of a German army led by the King of Germany Henry IV, Solomon, the three county units and the German force quickly advanced to Nitra.¹²⁷ If Solomon stayed in Šintava and waited for his troops there, he was in territory that belonged to him according to his agreement with Gejza I. Therefore, Šintava and its whole county belonged to Solomon's County of Bratislava, and the Sheriff of Šintava was subordinate to the Sheriff of Bratislava, just as the sheriffs of Hlohovec (Szolgagyőr) and Bana were subordinate to the Sheriff of Nitra and the Sheriff of Beckov was subordinate to the Sheriff of Trenčín. Around 1177, Zemere was Sheriff of Šintava.¹²⁸ In 1251, the king granted to the monastery of Zniev, two thirds of the revenue from the Šintava toll, which had previously belonged to Hlohovec Castle.¹²⁹

In 1261, the Sheriff of Šintava Truslef died and the king granted Šintava Castle and the whole of its county to Truslef's brother Comes Leopold. The king decreed "*that the people under the castle or in other villages belonging to it would not be judged by any of the judges of the kingdom, not by the Sheriff of Bratislava or the Sheriff of Nitra, but only by Leopold himself*". He ordered "*all the judges and especially the sheriffs of Bratislava and Nitra, that they could not judge him or the people under him*".¹³⁰ Thus, the County of Šintava was dissolved in 1261.¹³¹

125 PESTY, ref. 5, p. 404-411; KRISTÓ, ref. 1, p. 354-355; TIBENSKÝ, ref. 5, p. 38-42.

126 IŠTOK, Pavol. Archeologický výskum hradu Šintava 1984 – 1992. (Archaeological research at Šintava Castle 1984 – 1992.). In *Šintavský hrad vykopaný – zakopaný*. Editors: Rastislav Petrovič, Július Matis. Sered' 2006, p. 12-19; IŠTOK, Pavol. Stratigrafické pomery archeologickej lokality. (Stratigraphic relations of an archaeological locality.). In *Šintavský hrad vykopaný – zakopaný*. Editors: Rastislav Petrovič, Július Matis, p. 20-31.

127 Chron. Hung. comp. saec. XIV. 127-128, SRH I, ref. 4, s. 398-400; Simonis de Keza Gesta Hungarorum II 60, SRH I, ref. 4, p. 180-181.

128 "*Zemere, comes de Simtei.*" CDES 1, ed. Marsina, ref. 3, n. 93, p. 89; ZSOLDOS, ref. 3, p. 190-191.

129 In 1251, the king granted to the monastery of Zniev "*quodcumque tributum a castro Symtey descendendo per aquam usque in paludes accresci poterit in portu vel in ponte, dictum monasterium de illo duas partes habeat et terciam ille, cui de iure debet provenire*". CDES 2, ed. Marsina, ref. 11, n. 370, p. 257. In 1252, the king amended and repeated the grant. CDES 2, ed. Marsina, ref. 11, n. 400, p. 277.

130 "*comitatum de Semtey cum appenditiis et utilitatibus ...post mortem Trusleph... [fratri suo] Lyuppoldo comiti... ut populos sub castro seu in aliis villis ad ipsum pertinentibus... in omnibus debet iudicare, sed nec comes Poson, nec et Nitria, nisi sua persona*". Codex diplom. Arpadianus continuatus. Árpádkori új okmánytár III. Ed. Gusztáv Wenzel. Pest 1862, n. 1, p. 1-2; GYÖRFFY, ÁMF IV, ref. 25, p. 459.

131 KRISTÓ, ref. 1, p. 354-355; SEDLÁK, Vincent. Šintava v stredoveku. (Šintava in the Middle Ages.). In *Historický zborník*, 2001, year 11, no. 1, p. 24-26. The Deputy Sheriff of Bratislava Abraham Rufus later became the owner of Šintava. In 1323, the king regained possessions of Šintava. Instead of Šintava, he gave Abraham Čeklis Castle and the whole of its lordship. App. I, ref. 57, n. 29, p. 54-57, n. 33, p. 62-69; RDES 2, ed. Sedlák, ref. 87, n. 942, p. 410. The king regained Devín as well as Šintava in 1323.

The beginning of the county court (súdna stolica, biróság)

Royal grants¹³² gradually diminished the Bratislava Castle demesne. Grants of the castles of Šintava, Holíč and Stupava together with the remnants of their demesnes in 1261 and 1296 ended the history of the castle counties of Šintava, Holíč and Stupava. However, Bratislava Castle remained in royal hands and was still the seat of a sheriff.¹³³ On 11 March 1301, the deputy sheriff (or to be more precise the court sheriff) of Bratislava John Ryneker issued a document from a session of the Bratislava county court at Šamorín. It was composed of the above mentioned deputy sheriff and four reeves (slúžni, szolgabírák).¹³⁴ This document is the first evidence of the existence of the Bratislava county court (súdna stolica, biróság, sedes iudiciaria, sedria).

The division of the County of Bratislava into 3 districts and 3 small subordinate counties disappeared. Their territorial outlines were preserved by the Archdeaconry of Šaštín and the vice-archdeaconries in the Provostry of Bratislava. The reorganized County of Bratislava was divided into larger and smaller parts. The Greater County of Bratislava ("*Posonium maius*") comprised Podhorie including Záhorie and Medzivodie. The Lesser County of Bratislava ("*Posonium minus*") was limited to the Čalov or island district. Each of them had two reeve's districts (slúžnovské okresy, járások).¹³⁵

We know the territorial extent of the four reeve's districts from the portal registers from 1598 – 1604. The "*first district (Processus primus)*" was Podhorie. It lay on both sides of the Malé Karpaty and included about half the County of Bratislava. The "*second district (Processus secundus)*" was Medzivodie. The "*third district (Processus tertius)*" was the upper part of Čalov, while the "*fourth district (Processus quartus)*" was the lower part of Čalov.¹³⁶

* This work was produced in the framework of the project VEGA 2/0064/11 *Hospodárske privilégiá a obchodné aktivity vybraných slovenských miest v stredoveku. (The economic privileges and commercial activities of the Slovak towns in the Middle Ages.)*

132 VARSÍK, ref. 9, p. 38, 44, 45, 52, 53, 65, 70-72, 89-90, 91-92, 100, 115, 121, 124, 126.

133 Only eight Hungarian county castles remained royal property after 1310 and were still the seats of sheriffs, namely: Bratislava, Trenčín, Komárno, Spiš, Šariš, Timișoara, Kovin (Keve) and Požega. All the other county castles became the property of aristocrats. ENGEL, Pál. Honor, vár, ispánság. Válogatott tanulmányok. Budapest : Osiris Kiadó, 2003, p. 123.

134 "*Nos Iohannes dictus Ryneker, curialis comes Posoniensis significamus..., quod presentibus quatuor iudicibus, videlicet comite Ab[raam de Sancto] Georgio, comite Farcasio, comite Petro Magno, [.]bano, magister Iohannes de Potun in communi iudicio, [quo]d in villa Sancte Marie habuimus, surgens et confessus, quod...*" RDES 1, ed. Sedlák, ref. 58, n. 8, p. 32, n. 9, p. 32-33.

135 KRISTÓ, ref. 1, p. 344-345; ŽUDEĽ, Juraj. Stolice na Slovensku. (The counties of Slovakia.). Bratislava 1984, p. 35-37. „Posonium minus“ had the same position in the whole County of Bratislava to "*Minor Hont*" in the County of Hont.

136 KOHÚTOVÁ, ref. 93, p. 76-93. ŽUDEĽ, ref. 135, p. 37.

THE PROPOSED FEDERALIZATION OF THE HABSBURG MONARCHY IN THE WORK: THE UNITED STATES OF GREATER AUSTRIA BY AUREL C. POPOVICI

KAROL HOLLÝ

HOLLÝ, Karol. The Proposed Federalization of the Habsburg Monarchy in the Work *The United States of Greater Austria* by Aurel C. Popovici. *Historický časopis*, 2013, 61, Supplement, pp. 29-50, Bratislava.

The study analyses the proposal to federalize the Monarchy contained in the work *The United States of Greater Austria* (1906). Its author was a political representative of the Transylvanian Rumanians in the Kingdom of Hungary, Aurel C. Popovici (1863 – 1917). His work appeared in a period of crisis for the Monarchy and represented a proposal for its solution by means of constitutional reform. Popovici proposed the formation of 15 federal states headed by the Emperor and central government in Vienna. This proposal is analysed in the study in the wider context of the political situation in the Habsburg Monarchy. As a comparative framework for the interpretation of Popovici's ideas, the study also analyses the thinking of the Austro-Marxists, specifically K. Renner and O. Bauer. They were working on projects to reform the Monarchy at the same time. Aurel C. Popovici. *Austria-Hungary. Beginning of the 20th century. Reform proposals. Federalization. Austro-Marxists.*

In Slovak historiography, the work *Die Vereinigten Staaten von Groß-Österreich. Politische Studien zur Lösung der nationalen Fragen und staatsrechtlichen Krisen in Österreich-Ungarn*¹ (hereinafter *The United States of Greater Austria*) by a member of the middle generation of the national movement of the Rumanians of the Kingdom of Hungary around 1900, Aurel Constantin Popovici (1863 – 1917),² is known but also unknown. This work is sometimes mentioned in the products of Slovak historiography but no study or monograph has devoted greater space to it. For this reason, it is especially necessary to emphasize the well-known and substantial work by Popovici's contemporary, the politician Milan Hodža *Federation in Central Europe. Reflections and Reminiscences*, because it contains a summary of the content of Popovici's work and an analysis of it. Hodža's work written in exile during the Second World War, but published

1 POPOVICI, Aurel Constantin. *Die Vereinigten Staaten von Groß-Österreich. Politische Studien zur Lösung der nationalen Fragen und staatsrechtlichen Krisen in Österreich-Ungarn*. Leipzig : Verlag von B. Elischer, 1906, 424 pages and 1 map. At this point, I would like to thank Kazimier Jurczak of Warsaw University for his support and help while researching this theme.

2 The subject of this study is mainly the history of Popovici's Greater Austria project, and so I will give his biographical data only briefly. From the most recent literature about him: CRIȘAN, Vasile. *Aurel C. Popovici (1863 – 1917)*. Alba Iulia : Editura ALTIP, 2008, 285 pages and 43 illustrations. M. Turda provides a valuable analysis of Popovici's nationalist thought, see: TURDA, Marius. *Aurel C. Popovici's Nationalism and its Political Representation in the Habsburg Empire (1890-1910)*. It is accessible on the Internet: <<http://dacoromania.net/en/article/aurel-c-popovicis-nationalism-and-its-political-representation-habsburg-empire-1890-1910>> [October 2013].

in Slovak translation only in 1997, has so far remained the only serious source accessible in Slovak.³

I mention this absence of an expert study of Popovici's work in Slovak historiography mainly because of its undoubted importance in the intellectual, political and legal history of the Habsburg Monarchy at the beginning of the 20th century. In the following text, I will mainly devote attention to selected parts of the content of this theoretical-political text. I will be concerned especially with his Greater Austria project and conception of national autonomy. The analysed text also has various other aspects, such as considerations based on the theories of social Darwinism, contemporary racism or anti-Semitism. However, this problem goes beyond the framework of this study. Apart from this, I will at least schematically mention the political and conceptual context of the time, looking especially at selected conceptions of the Austro-Marxists,⁴ which are appropriate comparative material for the interpretation of Popovici's conceptions. A reflection on Popovici's work forms a separate part of the study.

1. The political and conceptual context

The crisis of Dualism

In the years 1905 – 1906, Austria-Hungary passed through the most serious constitutional crisis. The electoral defeat of the Liberal Party (Szabadelvű Párt), which had supported the pillar of the Austro-Hungarian Ausgleich as the ruling party in Transleithania for three decades,⁵ and the victory of the supporters of the programme of an independent Hungary led by the Independence Party (or Independence and Forty-eight Party – Függetlenségi és Negyvennyolcas Párt)⁶ led to the danger that the basic pillars

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- 3 HODŽA, Milan. Federácia v strednej Európe (Reflexie a reminiscencie). In HODŽA, Milan. *Federácia v strednej Európe a iné štúdie*. Ed. Pavel Lukáč. Trans. Jana Plulíková. Bratislava : Kalligram, 1997, p. 79-84 and elsewhere.
 - 4 From Slovak historical literature concerning the thinking of the Austro-Marxists, it is necessary to point to the older study of M. Podrimavský, which was partly devoted to the conceptions of this stream of thought, see: PODRIMAVSKÝ, Milan. Oszkár Jászi a národnostná otázka. (Oszkár Jászi and the nationality question.). In *Historický časopis*, 1972, year 20, no. 1, p. 65-88. In more recent works, this theme was outlined by X. Šuchová, who also provides references to other Slovak and Czech literature on the theme: ŠUCHOVÁ, Xénia. „Heslo autonómie alebo právo na odtrhnutie?...“ (Komunistické ponímanie národnostnej a „slovenskej“ otázky do polovice 20. rokov). (“The slogan of autonomy or the right to separate?” (The communist understanding of the national and “Slovak” questions up to the mid 1920s.)). In ŠUCHOVÁ, Xénia (ed.). *Ludáci a komunisti: Súperi? Spojenci? Protivníci?*. Prešov : UNIVERSUM; Historický ústav SAV v Bratislave : Katedra histórie FHV UMB in Banskej Bystrici, 2006, p. 24-52, especially p. 24-26.
 - 5 See e.g.: PODRIMAVSKÝ, Milan. Vyvrcholenie politickej krízy. Koaličná vláda (1905 – 1910). (The culmination of the political crisis. The coalition government (1905 – 1910.)). In KOVÁČ, Dušan et al. *Na začiatku storočia 1901 – 1914*. Bratislava : Veda, vydavateľstvo Slovenskej akadémie vied, p. 157.
 - 6 For more details on the Liberal Party and the Independence Party or the groupings with the independence of the Kingdom of Hungary as their programme see: CHROMEKOVÁ, Valéria. *Politické strany Uhorska. Vznik a vývin politických strán Uhorska do roku 1890. 1. zväzok. (Political parties of Hungary. The origin and development of political parties in Hungary up to 1890.)* [Publication of the Faculty of Education in Banská Bystrica]. Bratislava : SPN, 1979, p. 132-152; CHROMEKOVÁ, Valéria. Program politických strán Uhorska v období parlamentnej krízy v rokoch 1903 – 1905. (Programmes of the political parties of Hungary in the period of the parliamentary crisis of 1903 – 1905.). In *Acta historica Neosoliensia. II.*, 1999, p. 159-169; CHROMEKOVÁ, Valéria. Odras politickej krízy Uhorska

of the internal organization of Austria-Hungary as sanctioned in 1867, would collapse.⁷ Since this is a well-studied problem,⁸ I will not devote more detailed attention to the complex relationships on the political scene of the time, the demand for universal suffrage and the mass demonstrations organized by the social democrats.⁹ In the context of the subject of this study, it is necessary to emphasize that serious destabilization of the Dualist system in Austria-Hungary created space for proposals and projects of constitutional change. In the given situation, reformist ideas had a chance to progress from the level of theoretical considerations to planning of real change to the existing internal political system.

Therefore, Popovici's work *The United States of Greater Austria* did not appear in the period 1905 – 1906 by accident. It presented proposals for constitutional change in

na programe politických strán v rokoch 1905 – 1906. (Reflection of the political crisis of Hungary in the programmes of the political parties in the period 1905 – 1906.). In *Acta Universitatis Matthiae Belii - sekcia spoločenskovedná* 4, 2000, p. 128-135; MESÁROŠ, Július. Lavicové strany a frakcie v Uhorsku s programom štátoprávnej a hospodárskej nezávislosti Uhorska; Liberálna strana. (Leftist parties and factions in Hungary with the programme of the constitutional and economic independence of Hungary; the Liberal Party.). In LIPTÁK, Lubomír (ed.). *Politické strany na Slovensku 1860 – 1989. (Political parties in Slovakia 1860 – 1989.)*. Bratislava : Archa, p. 68-79.

- 7 From the more recent literature about the legal aspects of the Austro-Hungarian Ausgleich and the Hungarian state mechanism after 1867 see e.g.: VOJÁČEK, Ladislav – SCHELLE, Karel. *Právní dějiny na území Slovenska. (Legal history in the territory of Slovakia.)*. Ostrava : KEY, Publishing s. r. o. 2007, p. 161-184. For breadth and depth of consideration, the following volume remains the basic work on the Austro – Hungarian Ausgleich: VANTUCH, Anton – HOLOTÍK, Ludovít (eds.). *Der österreichisch-Ungarische Ausgleich 1867. Materialien (Referate und Diskussion) der internationalen Konferenz in Bratislava 28.8. – 1.9.1967*. Bratislava : Verlag der slowakischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1971.
- 8 From the numerous studies see e.g.: HANÁK, Péter. A dualizmus kora 1867-1918. (The age of Dualism 1867-1918.). In MOLNÁR, Erik (ed.). *Magyarország története II. kötet*. Budapest : Gondolat könyvkiadó, 1964, p. 153-161, 197-243; PODRIMAVSKÝ, ref. 5, p. 157-185; POTEMLA, Milan. Boj za všeobecné volebné právo v Uhorsku v politike slovenskej buržoázie v rokoch 1905-1910. (The struggle for universal suffrage in Hungary in the politics of the Slovak bourgeoisie in the period 1905 – 1910.). In *Historické štúdie*, 1976, XX, p. 161-202; SZARKA, László. *Szlovák nemzeti fejlődés – Magyar nemzetiségi politika 1867-1918/Slovenský národný vývin – národnostná politika v Uhorsku 1867 – 1918. (Slovak national development – nationality politics in Hungary 1867 – 1918.)*. Bratislava : Kalligram, 1999, p. 96-114, 247-265; SZÁSZ, Zoltán. Politik und Nationalitätenfrage in der Zeit des Dualismus (1867–1918). In KÖPECZI, Béla – SZÁSZ, Zoltán (eds). *Kurze Geschichte Siebenbürgens*. Trans. Harriett Ferenczi. Budapest : Akadémiai Kiadó, 1990, p. 620-628; ZSUPPÁN, F. Tibor. The Hungarian Political Scene. In CORNWALL, Mark (ed.). *The Last Years of Austria-Hungary. A Multi-National Experiment in Early Twentieth-Century Europe* [revised and expanded edition]. Exeter : University of Exeter Press, 2002, p. 97-119.
- 9 In the context of the political scene at the given time, it is also necessary to mention the organization of the non-Magyar members of the Hungarian Parliament. Apart from the fact that it can be regarded as a qualitatively new continuation of the organized work of the Rumanian, Slovak and Serbian national movements in the Kingdom of Hungary from the 1890s, it was undoubtedly a new phenomenon in the history of Hungarian parliamentarism. From the most recent studies see: MÁNDRUT, Stelian. Die Rumänisch-Slowakische Zusammenarbeit im Budapester Parlament zwischen den Jahren 1906-1910. In EDROIU, Nicolae – KRAJČOVIČ, Milan (eds.). *Solidaritatea Mișcărilor Naționale în Europa Centrală și de Sud-Est 1895-1906. Congresul Nationalităților din anul 1895 și Clubul Parlamentar al Românilor, Slovaciilor și Sârbilor de la Budapesta, 1906/Die Solidarität der nationalen Bewegungen in Zentral- und Südosteuropa 1895-1906. Der Kongress der Nationalitäten aus dem Jahr 1895 und der Parlamentarische Klub der Rumänen, Slowaken und Serben aus Budapest, 1906*. Cluj-Napoca : Argonaut, 2008, p. 78-86.

the Monarchy during a time of real crisis. The book became widely known in the circles of the intelligentsia and politicians. Especially the so-called Belvedere circle devoted attention to it. Popovici, with his clear orientation to Vienna and especially towards the heir to the throne Franz Ferdinand d'Este, represented one of the central orientations in the political thought of the Rumanian patriots.¹⁰

The movement for Greater Austria

From the revolutionary years 1848-1849, the leading politicians of the Habsburg Monarchy strove to find the optimal organization to guarantee the stability and strength of the state. Its prestige in the eyes of the other European powers visible declined, especially after defeat in the Austro – Prussian war. Apart from this, the nationality question and the conflicts connected with it became ever more topical. The social democrat movement was a new phenomenon, which represented a significant problem for the conservative governments of the Monarchy. The need for substantial reform of the existing arrangements became ever more topical. As a result of the increasing age of the Emperor, the alternative of a new monarch gradually began to be considered. Political groupings outside the circle around Franz Jozef emerged and worked on alternative solutions to the constitution of the Monarchy with the aim of protecting its position. These activities became generally known as the Greater Austria movement.¹¹ Since it was to some degree a reaction to a feeling of threat to the Monarchy, it is possible to speak of this phenomenon having more a psychological than a theoretical character. The most important members of the Greater Austria movement included the heir to the throne Rudolf,¹² who died tragically in 1889 at Mayerling in Austria, the next heir to the throne Franz Ferdinand and A.C. Popovici,¹³ who joined the movement in Vienna and gradually became one of its leading representatives. In 1905, he participated in the establishment of the magazine *Grossösterreich*,¹⁴ which also devoted space to the nationality question.¹⁵ It was important that Popovici was the first author to present the theoretical programme of Greater Austria publicly and comprehensively in the book *The United States of Greater Austria*.¹⁶

10 For more details see: HITCHINS, Keith. Introduction. In HITCHINS, Keith (ed.). *The Nationality Problem in Austria-Hungary. The Reports of Alexander Vaida to Archduke Ferdinand's Chancellery*. Leiden : Brill, 1974, p. ix-xvii, especially p. x-xii.

11 According to the historian R.A. Kann, this designation spread more widely only under the influence of Popovici's work, although the movement clearly existed earlier. See: KANN, Robert A. *The Multi-national Empire: Nationalism and National Reform in the Habsburg Monarchy, 1848 – 1918*. Volume II, Empire reform. New York : Columbia University Press, 1950, p. 356, note no. 37.

12 See e.g.: HAMANNOVÁ, Brigitte. *Rudolf, korunní princ a rebel. (Rudolf, Crown Prince and rebel)*. Trans. Věra Macháčková-Riegerová. Praha : Odeon, 1993, 439 pages.

13 For more details see: KANN, ref. 11, p. 181-187

14 See: TURDA, ref. 2.

15 The evaluation of this periodical as “*the only free tribune for the nationalities*” is clearly exaggerated or tendentious, see: RANDA, Al[exandru]. Der »Europäer des Banats«. In DRĂGAN, Iosif Constantin. *Aurel C. Popovici [Series: Les précurseurs de l'européisme I]*. Milan : Fondation Européenne Dragan, 1977, p. 86.

16 KANN, ref. 11, p. 197.

On the activities and conceptions of A. Popovici up to the end of the 19th century

Popovici already participated significantly in the activities of the Rumanian patriotic society in the Kingdom of Hungary during his time as a student of medicine at Graz in the 1890s.¹⁷ He also participated in joint actions of the non-Magyar national movements, for example, when he actively participated in the Prague Jubilee Exhibition in 1891.¹⁸ Apparently the most important event from the point of view of his activity in the Rumanian national movement in this period, as well as from the point of view of his further personal development, was the polemic between Rumanian and Hungarian students from the beginning of the 1890s. He was responsible for the well-known *Replica* (1891) – the reply of the Rumanian university students to the document from the Hungarian university students.¹⁹ A notable political trial followed and Popovici was sentenced to four years in prison.²⁰ He went into exile to escape imprisonment, first to Austria and Italy, then to Bucharest, where he worked as a German language teacher. While there, he established the magazine *România Jună*.²¹ Popovici mentioned his personal experience of repression for the views expressed in the *Replica* as one of the motives leading to the writing of *The United States of Greater Austria* (see below). Apart from actual public activity, he already formulated in this period his theoretical views on the nation and on solution of the so-called Rumanian question in the Kingdom of Hungary. He published the theoretical text *Principiul de Naționalitate* in Bucharest in 1894. Since this work represents the theoretical background for his later views, it is worth devoting some space to it.

17 For more details see e.g.: HITCHINS, Keith. *A Nation Affirmed: The Romanian National Movement in Transylvania, 1860 – 1914*. Bucharest : The Encyclopaedic Publishing House, 1999, p. 141-142.

18 Among other things, he expressed his opposition to conceptions based on the principle of historic rights. For more details see: KRAJČOVIČ, Milan. *Slovenská politika v strednej Európe 1890-1901. Spolupráca Slovákov, Rumunov a Srbov. (Slovak politics in Central Europe 1890-1901. Cooperation between Slovaks, Rumanians and Serbs.)*. Bratislava : Veda, vydavateľstvo SAV, 1971, p. 17-18.

19 In 1891, the Cultural League (*Liga pentru Unitatea Culturală a tuturor Românilor*) published a Memorandum of students in Bucharest and Iași on the situation of the Rumanians in Transylvania. Hungarian students from Cluj and Budapest replied to this document with a text expressing public disagreement with the argumentation of the young Rumanians. Soon after this publication, Rumanian university students from Vienna, Graz, Paris and Berlin began to work on a “contratext”, the result of which was a 172 page brochure published simultaneously in Rumanian, German, English, French and Italian. This work, the main author of which was actually Popovici, became known as the *Replica*. These events also need to be analysed in close connection with the Memorandum of the Rumanians from 1892. I have devoted more detailed attention to this theme in another place, where I also cite Slovak translations of parts of the above mentioned documents, published in the *Národné noviny (National News)*, see: HOLLÝ, Karol. *Rumuňski ruch narodowy na Węgrzech w okresie dualizmu (1867-1914). (Polityka i ideologia narodowa). (The Rumanian national movement in Hungary in the period of Dualism (1867-1914). (National politics and ideology))*. Dissertation for the degree of master. Warszawa : Uniwersytet Warszawski. Instytut Orientalistyczny. Studium Europy Wschodniej, 2008, p. 76-80.

20 POPOVICI, ref. 1, *An den gesinnungsverwandten Lesser*, unnumbered. Matúš Dula informed Tomáš G. Masaryk about the imprisonment of Popovici for the “excellent replica” in 1893 and his transfer to Cluj, where the final trial was to be held. See: Letter from M. Dula to T.G. Masaryk from 27 August 1893. In RYCHLÍK, Jan (ed.). *Korespondence TGM. T G. Masaryk – slovenští veřejní činitelé [do roku 1918]. (Correspondence of TGM. T.G. Masaryk – Slovak public figures [up to 1918].)*. Praha : Masarykův ústav a Archiv AV ČR, v. v. i., 2008, p. 38. This imprisonment was still only on remand.

21 TURDA, ref. 2.

Popovici drew on Western European thought and applied the conception of social Darwinism to his conception of the idea of the nation or to the process of national self-determination. His view was deterministic – according to him the triumph of the “nationality principle” was an inevitable result of “natural law”. He regarded national thinking or the effort of nations to develop in harmony with their own specific conditions as the most fruitful force in modern Europe. He regarded them as a more developed phase of the “*natural evolution of the idea of freedom and equality*” from the end of the 18th century. He connected the fact that a certain community feels that it is a separate nation with national consciousness. The nation was usually characterized by means of the existence of attributes such as language, territory, political solidarity, customs, race or religion.

However, according to Popovici a nation can also exist without the presence of some of the listed characteristics, and so no one characteristic is sufficient for the definition of national consciousness. In his view, the definition is based on the fact that a certain group of people, on the basis of some or all of the above mentioned, is conscious of being a separate community.²² Precisely this psychological factor forms the essence of the nation and is the source of national aspirations. At the moment of origin of this national self-awareness, the nation already has all the signs of a living organism according to Popovici.

As a result of this, it naturally had the right to life and free development, and so a nation needed its own living space. He saw the fulfilment of this in the creation of an autonomous or independent state.²³ However, Popovici did not consider the “nationality principle” to be inevitably separatist. He gave the case of Switzerland as an example of the possible coexistence of various nations in one state. Although the situation in the Kingdom of Hungary was very different to that in Switzerland, he did not seek the future of the Rumanians of Hungary outside historic Hungary, but in the reform of the whole Monarchy into a federation of national states.²⁴ Before presenting his conception, I will outline the views of the given problem from the position of the Austro-Marxists.

The Austro-Marxist idea of non-territorial, personal national-cultural autonomy

From the point of view of analysis of Popovici’s ideas, it is useful to at least briefly devote some space to the then topical views of the Austrian social democrats on solution of the nationality question in the Habsburg Monarchy and on the nation in general. The attention that Austrian social democrats devoted to the question of the nation was evidently greater than that at the Second Internationale,²⁵ or in the programme of the Hungarian social democrats.²⁶ This specific orientation in the framework of the leftist

22 We find a similar idea in *The United States of Greater Austria*, see: POPOVICI, ref. 1, p. 219. For more details on the conception of the nation in this work see: POPOVICI, ref. 1, p. 219-240.

23 My presentation of Popovic’s work *Principiul de naționalitate* starts from the interpretation of K. Hitchins. For more details see: HITCHINS, ref. 17, p. 348-349.

24 For more details see: HITCHENS, ref. 17, 349-350.

25 See: ŠUCHOVÁ, ref. 4, p. 24.

26 ERÉNYI, Tibor. Der Austromarxismus und die ungarische Sozialdemokratie. In ERDÖDY, Gábor (ed.). *Das Parteienwesen Österreich-Ungarns*. Budapest : Akadémiai Kiadó, 1987, p. 92-93.

thinking of the time is known in history as Austro-Marxism.²⁷ Like Popovici, its two leading representatives, Otto Bauer and Karl Renner thought about the changes in the declining Monarchy, full of national antagonisms.

Renner, especially in the work *Staat und Nation* from 1899,²⁸ like Bauer, especially in *Die Nationalitätenfrage und die Sozialdemokratie* from 1907, based his reform proposals on the programme of non-territorial and personal national-cultural autonomy. This concept started from the principle of personal autonomy, according to which membership of a nation does not depend on place of residence. Thus Renner rejected the territorial principle, which he regarded as an instrument of domination and spreading of inequality of rights in the sense that: "If you live in my territory, you are subject to my power, my law and my language."²⁹ According to Renner, the principle *cuius regio illius lingua* prevailed in the modern nation state. This meant that the ruler of the given territory decided the language of the territory. The principle of personal autonomy independent of territory would separate the question of state power from the question of the protection of national and cultural identities.³⁰ The principle of personal autonomy would mean that all adult citizens, who identified with a particular nationality could have the same defined national-cultural rights regardless of where they lived.³¹ Renner used the example of religious communities as an analogy for the functioning of this system. For example, Catholics, Lutherans and Jews coexist in the territory of one city.³²

Renner emphasized the importance of preserving the Habsburg Monarchy, which had to defend the rights of the nationalities. This was a condition for the later victory of internationalism and socialism.³³ According to Renner, the interests of the working class connect with the question of the nation, since the nationalism of the bourgeoisie is fundamentally aggressive, the working class needed a form of federation, in which, for example, the Slavonic and German worker would not be placed in hostility to each other. He also worked out a concrete project for the federalization of the Habsburg Monarchy, which contained various inspiring ideas, but was evaluated by critics as excessively complicated.³⁴ Renner's proposal had two dimensions: on the one hand, provinces with a compact ethnic majority had to be created,³⁵ a view he later revised as unachievable

27 For a detailed analysis of Austro-Marxism before 1918 see: BLUM, E. Mark. *The Austro-Marxists 1890-1918. A Psychobiographical Study*. Lexington, Kentucky : The University Press of Kentucky, 1985, 254 pages.

28 On Renner's interpretation of the state in this work and in later texts see: BLUM, ref. 27, p.50-71.

29 The quotation comes from his work *Staat und Nation*, cited according to: NIMNI, J. Ephraim. Introduction for the English-Reading Audience. In BAUER, Otto. *The Questions of Nationalities and Social Democracy*. Ed. Ephraim J. Nimni. Trans. Joseph O'Donnell. Minneapolis; London: University of Minnesota Press, 2000 [it is a translation of the second edition from 1924; first edition: 1907], p. xxvi.

30 See: NIMNI, ref. 29, p. xxvi-xxvii.

31 See: NIMNI, ref. 29, p. xxvii.

32 See: NIMNI, ref. 29, p. xxv.

33 WIERER, Rudolph. *Der Föderalismus im Donauraum*. Graz; Köln : Verlag Hermann Böhlau Nachf., 1960, p. 106-107.

34 For more details see: KANN, ref. 11, p. 163-166.

35 One of the reasons for Austro-Marxist criticism of territorial autonomy was the problem of national minorities, which would be dominated by majority nations.

in a bourgeois society,³⁶ and on the other, the principle of personal autonomy had to be applied.³⁷

O. Bauer's conception of the nation, especially in his younger period, largely started from Renner's conception. E. Czerwińska identified Bauer's conceptual starting point as follows: a) separation of state and nation; b) membership of a nation should not be dependent on territory;³⁸ c) limitation of autonomy [of the nation – K. H.] to the field of culture; d) thinking with Greater German categories connected with fear of the Slavization of the German nation.³⁹ Like Renner, Bauer considered it necessary to preserve a strong monarchy, since the development of capitalism had to create the conditions for socialism in the vision of Karl Marx.⁴⁰ It is also necessary to mention here that we also encounter the idea of the creation of the United States of Greater Austria in the thought of Bauer.⁴¹ However, Bauer had different starting points than Popovici. The basic difference between them lay in the fact that while for the Austro-Marxists, the existence of a strong multi-national monarchy respecting the principle of non-territorial and personal national cultural autonomy was the basis for the future class struggle of the proletariat under the leadership of the social democrats,⁴² for Popovici the project of federation pursued mainly the political development of individual nations in their own territorial – federal states.

2. Popovici's United States of Greater Austria (1906)

Popovici already expressed the main aim of the work in the sub-title – *A political study of the solution to the nationality question and constitutional crisis in Austria-Hungary*. In the introduction, Popovici wrote about the motives that led to him writing the work and the experiences, which influenced his views. He underlined the importance of the non-Magyar nations in the periods of state crisis. His ideas have two sources:

36 For more details see: BLUM, ref. 27, p. 55.

37 See: CZERWIŃSKA, Ewa. *Filozofii demokrata. Studium myśli społeczno-politycznej Otto Bauera (1881-1938). Tom I. (Philosopher and democrat. A study of the social and political thought of Otto Bauer (1881-1938). Vol. I)*. Poznań : Wydawnictwo Fundacji Humaniora, 1998, p. 189. For more details see also: WIERER, ref. 33, p. 106-108.

38 The author uses the term "exterritorial principle".

39 CZERWIŃSKA, ref. 37, p. 190-191. According to this author, Renner was also striving with his conception to defend especially the Germans in regions where they formed a minority. See: CZERWIŃSKA, ref. 37, p. 189.

40 See: JÁSZI, Oscar. *The Dissolution of the Habsburg Monarchy*. Chicago : Univ of Chicago Pr., 1961, [first edition: 1929], p. 178.

41 BAUER, ref. 29, p. 345. The fact that the programme of the Austro-Marxists included a strong Habsburg state led to the impression of similarity between the policy of the imperial court and the social democrats, which critics described as "court socialism". See: JÁSZI, ref. 40, 182. B. Anderson is an example of a writer, who later joined this criticism, especially in connection with Bauer's idea of the United States of Greater Austria, see: ANDERSON, Benedict. *Wspólnoty wyobrażone. Rozważania o źródłach i rozprzestrzenianiu się nacjonalizmu. (Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism.)*. Trans. Stefan Amsterdamski. Kraków : Znak, 1997, p. 110-112.

42 See: CZERWIŃSKA, ref. 37, p. 192. The views and conceptions of the Austro-Marxists gradually changed. For example, Bauer later began to work with the territorial principle. See: CZERWIŃSKA, ref. 37, p. 192, note no. 91.

his experience as a campaigner for the Rumanian cause in the Kingdom of Hungary as shown by his participation in the memorandum movement and his conviction for publication of the *Replica*, and secondly his political idea of a large, united Austria. He wanted to modestly present his view of the given problem in the form of *an opinion documentée* to use the French expression.⁴³

The book has two parts. In the first, historical-critical part,⁴⁴ we find Popovici's conception of Greater Austria with a description and commentary on the situation in the Monarchy, placing special emphasis on the nationality question in Austria and Hungary and on the character of the Dualist system. The second part⁴⁵ is devoted to his proposals on how to apply the idea of Greater Austria. Popovici drew on the public writing of the time, political tracts and programmes, as well as on the results of sociology, history and political science.

One of the basic assumptions of Popovici's conception of a Greater Austria was his conviction that it was essential to revise the Dualist system of the Monarchy,⁴⁶ and he sharply criticized the Hungarian nationality policy.⁴⁷ He saw the cause of the crisis of 1905 – 1906 in the Dualist system, in the effort of the Hungarians to gain independence and in nationality conflicts. He described the situation of the time as *bellum omnium contra omnes* (the war of all against all) – no nation was satisfied, least of all the Hungarians with their autonomist ambitions.⁴⁸ "*The political immaturity of the Hungarians*" was the source of all the crises of the Dualist period.⁴⁹ In his understanding, Dualism inevitably meant the disintegration of the Monarchy. Every part of the state lived for itself and the current trend was the Hungarian effort to become independent.⁵⁰ He described this trend as "madness", because it led them to their own destruction. Fulfilment of their desire for independence would lead to their destruction by the non-Magyar nationalities. Their only possibility was orientation towards Austria. Only Austria was able to defend the Hungarians against the "*erasing of the sons of Arpád from the map of Europe*".⁵¹

The on-going nationality conflict lay in the basic conceptual conflict between the historical – political principle of historic state rights, and the national – political principle of demands deriving from natural national rights. Popovici connected with the natural rights concept, according to which the ideals of the liberty and equality of individuals,

43 POPOVICI, ref. 1, An den gessinnungsverwandten Lesser, unnumbered.

44 Die seit dem Jahre 1867 geschaffene Lage, see: POPOVICI, ref. 1, p. 3-216.

45 *Groß-Österreichs Neubegründung*, see: POPOVICI, ref. 1, p. 219-427.

46 For example: „*Unser ganzes dualistisches-statsrechtliches Gefüge ist völlig unhaltbar geworden.*“ See: POPOVICI, ref. 1, p. 10. The following presentation of Popovici's work is a selection of his ideas, which I usually do not cite literally, but only paraphrase or interpret.

47 Criticism of the Hungarian or Magyar national conceptions appears very frequently in his text. For the chapter primarily devoted to this theme see: POPOVICI, ref. 1, p. 41-119.

48 POPOVICI, ref. 1, p. 14.

49 POPOVICI, ref. 1, p. 147.

50 POPOVICI, ref. 1, p. 11.

51 POPOVICI, ref. 1, p. 163.

derived from the French Revolution, were applied in social groups. A national community was also an example of such a group.⁵²

Popovici was opposed in principle to the historical-political principle, which, in his view, legitimized the “swallowing” of non-dominant nations by one dominant nation.⁵³ The way to solve the “nationality Babylon” had to be recognition of the “non-historical” principle.⁵⁴ If the national-constitutional principle had been applied, the nationality question and the Dualist crisis would have disappeared long before.⁵⁵

Popovici called for concrete action and criticized the general and empty proposals of the reformers. It was essential for the idea of Greater Austria to gain concrete outlines.⁵⁶ One of the basic questions was: How should power be divided between the centre and the components of the federation?⁵⁷

Popovici found a realistic answer somewhere in the middle. Centralism was necessary for the real politics of the state, but federalism was necessary in relation to the nationalities. The middle way is a federal state as a compromise between extreme centralism and extreme federalism.⁵⁸ As a federal state of separate nations, Greater Austria had to fulfil a special role in south-east Europe and so secure the future.⁵⁹ Popovici realized that the supporters of the Dualist system did not support this project, or other non-federalist alternatives. He considered that the constitutional route of approval of the new system by the Austrian and Hungarian parliaments was impossible. The only possible way to create Greater Austria was by a decree (German: Oktroy) from the Emperor.⁶⁰

Popovici proposed the creation of federal states in each of which one nation would dominate. He was aware of the problem of the existence of national minorities within such states, but he thought that the unified national character of the territorial units should not be disturbed.⁶¹

On the other hand, he proposed for some groups of Germans, a certain level of rights, which had to be guaranteed: a) by legislation similar to the Nationality Act of 1868; b) by means of Renner’s principle of personal autonomy, which had to form the legal basis for their representation in the parliaments of the individual national states. He also proposed autonomy for Jews, which would prevent many complaints against them („[...] *viele der Klagen gegen die Juden würden verstummen*”).⁶²

52 POPOVICI, ref. 1, p. 220.

53 POPOVICI, ref. 1, p. 123. Popovici devoted a separate chapter to the “historical-political” principle, see: POPOVICI, ref. 1, p. 120-142.

54 POPOVICI, ref. 1, p. 142.

55 POPOVICI, ref. 1, p. 123.

56 POPOVICI, ref. 1, p. 19 and 21.

57 Among other things, Popovici observed that while in the 1840s and 1860s, the dilemma between centralism and federalism was solved, in his time, the dilemma lay in the question: Dualism or federalism? See: POPOVICI, ref. 1, p. 242.

58 POPOVICI, ref. 1, p. 242-243.

59 POPOVICI, ref. 1, p. 22.

60 POPOVICI, ref. 1, p. 328-329.

61 POPOVICI, ref. 1, p. 309.

62 POPOVICI, ref. 1, p. 309-310.

According to Popovici, oppressed nations had realized the importance of political autonomy for their existence in the course of the last century, which was characterized by struggle for national sovereignty, democracy, decentralization and so on.⁶³ In his view, the “nationality questions” in the Monarchy were not linguistic, but constitutional questions.⁶⁴ As he stated, an effort to achieve the right to decide about their own political questions was characteristic of all the nations in the Monarchy⁶⁵ during the previous fifty years.⁶⁶

The main pillar of the Monarchy had to rest on the following constant elements: the dynasty, functional army and especially on the principle of justice for all the nations in the state.⁶⁷ Popovici emphasized the need for analysis of the relationship of the nationality question to the problem of the existence of the Monarchy;⁶⁸ the relationship of the nations to the Monarchy did not have to be an expression of effort to gain independence or of irredentism, but the effort of the nations to achieve political autonomy in national states within the framework of the Monarchy.⁶⁹ The division of Switzerland into cantons was an inspiration for him.⁷⁰ Greater Austria had to defend all the nations, while the member nations had to see their membership of this community as advantageous to their own interests.⁷¹ The inhabitants of Greater Austria had to be so satisfied, that like the Germans, French and Italians in Switzerland, they would not have a tendency to strive for independence, whether in the form of pan-Slavism or irredentism.⁷² A. Randa interpreted this idea in the sense that Central Europe had to change into an “imperial Switzerland” (*“Zentraleuropa als kaiserliche Schweiz”*).⁷³

It is also possible to observe anti-Slavonic and anti-Russian views in Popovici’s work. The common denominator of his anti-Slavism and anti-Russianism was fear of pan-Slavism. Since stopping of the general increase in the number of Slavs in Cisleithania was in the interest of the Austrian Germans, a change in the Dualist system was inevitable. This could be done only by federalization of the Monarchy. He also considered data on the structure of the population of Greater Austria,⁷⁴ and stated that Slavs would

63 POPOVICI, ref. 1, p. 223.

64 POPOVICI, ref. 1, p. 228. He wrote the same in the first theoretical chapter: *„So ist auch das wahre Wesen aller unserer Nationalitäten-kämpfe nicht sprachenrechtlicher, sondern nationalstaatsrechtlicher Natur.“* See: POPOVICI, ref. 1, p. 21-22.

65 However, Popovici rejected the idea that only sovereign nation states had the right to exist. He mentioned Switzerland as an example of a functioning multi-ethnic state, see: POPOVICI, ref. 1, p. 19-20.

66 POPOVICI, ref. 1, p. 240.

67 POPOVICI, ref. 1, p. 21.

68 POPOVICI, ref. 1, p. 19.

69 POPOVICI, ref. 1, p. 243.

70 POPOVICI, ref. 1, p. 245-246.

71 POPOVICI, ref. 1, p. 22.

72 POPOVICI, ref. 1, p. 246.

73 See: RANDA, ref. 15, p. 77.

74 It is interesting that in the framework of this argumentation, he placed the Czechs and Slovaks together in the category “Czecho-Slovaks” (*“Tschecho-Slowaken”*), in spite of the fact that he separated their national states in the framework of Greater Austria. Together, they had 8 million people. See: POPOVICI, ref. 1, p. 347. Hodža commented that the Czecho-Slovak political movement was topical at the time, and

form a minority. Even if Bosnia-Herzegovina was added to Croatia, non-Slavs would remain the majority. The difference between non-Slavs and Slavs would be around 1.5 – 3 million. In his view, this would be “*a thousand times better than a majority of Slavs!*”⁷⁵ Popovici feared pan-Slavism, which would persist only as long as Slavonic nations were oppressed.⁷⁶ Therefore, the formation of national states in the framework of Greater Austria also had geopolitical importance for the Slavs.

In his view, however, Russia represented a great threat. The aim of the foreign policy of Greater Austria should be to avoid the “threat of pan-Slavism”. According to Popovici, it was probable that Russia would soon adopt a democratic constitution⁷⁷ and grant nationalities the right to autonomy. Break up of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy would then be only a question of time.⁷⁸ To avoid the possible Russian threat and save the Monarchy, it was essential to make basic changes to its system.⁷⁹

Since Russia also represented a threat for the foreign policy of Germany, the orientation of the Habsburg Monarchy towards the German Reich was natural.⁸⁰ In connection with the foreign policy of Greater Austria, Popovici considered the possibility of its extension to include the Balkan states. He also cited various Rumanian politicians, who supported the vision of including the Kingdom of Rumania in a federalized Habsburg Monarchy. It is clear that he sympathized with this possibility, although in the short-term, he emphasized only the need to gain the sympathy of the nations living to the east of the frontiers of the Habsburg Monarchy.⁸¹ As a reply to the frequent Hungarian accusations about Rumanian irredentism and Daco-Romanism, Popovici stated: “*Irredentism is utopia for the Rumanians, just as pan-Slavism is for the Slavs.*”⁸² In other words, Rumanian irredentism and Daco-Romanism are “madness” from the point of view of Rumanian interests⁸³ Popovici supported the possibility of adding the Balkan states to Greater Austria with the example of the United States of America, which originated from thirteen states, but later grew to include 45 states. The important thing was that these 32 states joined voluntarily, because their freedom, autonomy, and share in the development of the common state and so on were guaranteed. Therefore, Greater Austria had to be concerned with the national-political and economic development of its

so Popovici was right. In another place he expressed dissatisfaction with the separate national states for the Czechs and Slovaks. According to Hodža, they would have united in the parliament of Greater Austria and they would have been almost equal in number to the Germans or Hungarians. See: HODŽA, ref. 3, p. 80-81 and 90.

75 POPOVICI, ref. 1, p. 347.

76 POPOVICI, ref. 1, p. 349.

77 It is necessary to understand this in the context of the Russian revolution of 1905.

78 POPOVICI, ref. 1, p. 207.

79 POPOVICI, ref. 1, p. 215-216. For a summary of mentions of Russia in the analysed work see: RANDA, ref. 15, p. 75-76.

80 For more details see: POPOVICI, ref. 1, p. 184-185.

81 See e.g.: POPOVICI, ref. 1, p. 403, 417-424.

82 POPOVICI, ref. 1, p. 399-400.

83 “*Was man Dakoromanismus und rumänische Irredenta nennt, ist eine müßige Erfindung und ist von Standpunkte der großen rumänischen Interess ein Programm des Wahnwitzes.*” See: POPOVICI, ref. 1, p. 418. It is a statement of George Popovici, a representative of the Rumanians from Bukovina.

nations. If the individual nations had good positions, trust in the Monarchy would also grow among the small nations to the east of its frontiers.⁸⁴

Principles of the federal constitution of the state⁸⁵

The United States of Greater Austria – a monarchy and federal state – should have 15 states,⁸⁶ or national-political units. They are:

1. **German Austria** – the German region of the Austrian interior, together with the German areas on the western frontier of the Kingdom of Hungary the south-western and southern borders of Bohemia and Moravia (seven representatives in the central government, below this figure is given in brackets);
 2. **German Bohemia** – the German regions of north-western Bohemia (2);
 3. **German Moravia (Silesia)** – the whole of German Silesia with German areas of Bohemia and Moravia. Several Czech enclaves were expected (1);
 4. **Bohemia** – the Czech regions of Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia (5);
 5. **Western Galicia** – the region inhabited by Poles (32);
 6. **Eastern Galicia** – the part of Galicia inhabited by Ruthenians combined with the Hungarian counties and part of Bukovina inhabited by Ruthenians (6);
 7. **Transylvania** – together with Rumanian regions in eastern Hungary and Bukovina (4);
 8. **Croatia** – including Dalmatia, Croatian Istria and Fiume [Rijeka – K.H.] (3);
 9. **Krajina** – all the regions inhabited by Slovenes(1);
 10. **Slovakia** (“*Slowakenland*”) (2);
 11. **Vojvodina** – the Serbian region of southern Hungary (1);
 12. **Hungary** – the ethnic Magyar regions (7);
 13. **Székely Land** – the ethnic Magyar region in Transylvania (1);
 14. **Trento** [Trident – K. H.] (1);
 15. **Triest** – with Italian Istria and Goricia (1);
- Bosnia and Herzegovina were left as occupied territories.⁸⁷

These 15 national states had to form a monarchic state union headed by His Imperial Highness the Emperor Franz Joseph I. Every inhabitant of a national state would be an Austrian citizen. Political rights would be limited by the boundaries of the national states.⁸⁸ The united states would form a customs union.

84 See: POPOVICI, ref. 1, p. 407-408.

85 This is found in the sixth chapter of the second part of the book: *Grundsätze einer föderativen Reichsverfassung* (see: POPOVICI, ref. 1, p. 317-327), from which I have drawn an outline of Popovici’s proposed constitution. I took the specification of the territories of the national states from the preceding chapter, see: POPOVICI, ref. 1, p. 308-309. I also took from this part of the book the order in which the national states are listed. The order in the proposed constitution is partly different.

86 When dividing the states, Popovici followed the example of Palacký’s proposal for the Kroměříž constitution. On Palacký’s proposal see: KANN, ref. 11, p. 27-31. For comparison of the proposals of Palacký and Popovici see: PONS, M. Aurel C. Popovici, le fédéraliste. In DRĂGAN, ref. 15, p. 55-57.

87 POPOVICI, ref. 1, p. 308-309, 317 and 321. For a more detailed list of the regions belonging to the national states see: POPOVICI, ref. 1, p. 308-309.

88 “*Niemand kann in mehr als einem Nationalstaate politische Rechte ausüben*”, see: POPOVICI, ref. 1,

The legal powers of the central state

The legislative, executive and judicial powers of the central government would relate to all the national states. The common matters are:

1. The Emperor and imperial court [“*Hofstaatsdotation der Krone*”]
2. Foreign policy – including diplomacy, foreign trade and concluding of international treaties;
3. Army and navy – including legislation concerning the army;
4. Customs legislation (tariffs);
5. Legislation in the fields of citizenship, criminal and judicial law;
6. Central and strategic legislation concerning railways;
7. Solution of civil affairs and rights of residence;
8. Legislation concerning shipping and maritime trade;
9. Passports, foreigners, medical and veterinary services;
10. Striking of coins and regulation of the currency;
11. Weights and measures;
12. Control of trade marks, standards and patents;
13. The rights of courts over the matters mentioned below;
14. The administration of Bosnia and Herzegovina;
15. Administration of common financial affairs;

The central government will be composed of representatives of the national states. It will be headed by a chancellor appointed by the Emperor.

The parliament will be composed of the House of Lords and Chamber of Deputies.

The central legislative authorities

The following will have legislative power:

- a) The Emperor,
- b) Members of the Chamber of Deputies.
- c) The members of the Chamber of Deputies will be elected by universal, direct and secret elections by all the nations of the Empire.

The following will become members of the House of Lords:

- a) By birth – adult princes from the Imperial House;
- b) by the legal route – archbishops and bishops of various confessions, rectors of universities, chairmen of academies of sciences, representatives of chambers of commerce and industry;
- c) Elected members – every federal state will delegate one representative for a period of five years from the following professions: doctors of medicine, lawyers, engineers, architects, directors of banks, small farmers, teachers in primary and secondary schools, officials and journalists;
- d) Appointed members – the Emperor will have the right to grant life membership to deserving representatives of the state or Church, science, army, navy, trade, industry, art and so on. The sessions of both chambers will be held in Vienna.

The government

Executive power will belong to the Emperor and the imperial government. The governments of the individual national states will delegate representatives to the central government. A total of 42 members will form five committees:

- a) Interior;
- b) Foreign affairs;
- c) Defence and naval affairs;
- d) Finance;
- e) Administration of occupied territories.

Each committee must include representatives of at least three states. A state will have only one vote in a committee. The central government will be headed by a president – the imperial chancellor, who will present the proposals and decisions of the government to both houses of parliament. The chancellor will also sign decisions of the Emperor and so take responsibility for them.

The Emperor⁸⁹

The Emperor will be sacred, inviolable and not bear responsibility (*unverantwortlich*). He will rule through the central government and the state officials subordinate to it. The imperial chancellor will bear responsibility for governing the state. The Emperor will appoint and dismiss the chancellor. He will also appoint the higher officials in every national state, including the imperial governors. Legal documents will be issued in the name of the Emperor and signed by the chancellor or the appropriate governor. The Emperor will represent the Empire externally in international relations. He will have the right to declare war and conclude peace in the name of the Empire with the agreement of the government. He will open, suspend and close sessions of both houses of parliament. Sessions must be held at least once a year.

The Judiciary

The basic element will be the Imperial Court (*Reichsgericht*), which will decide about the following:

- a) matters concerning the Empire;
- b) cases in which federal states or the Empire are parties;
- c) cases in which federal states and citizens or associations, or the Empire and citizens or associations are parties;
- d) cases in which citizens of two federal states are parties;
- e) cases in which imperial officials are accused;
- f) treason against the state;
- g) insults and attacks against imperial institutions;

89 Popovici wrote in a note to the part of the constitution concerning the Emperor, that these and many more provisions were taken from the January Constitution [the constitution of Cis-Leithania from 1867 – K. H.] and from the constitution of the German Empire after unification. He did not want to be suspected of stimulating revolution: “*Ich übernehme absichtlich [...] um allen Befürchtungen über Gott weiß welchen ‚Umsturz‘ einfach den Boden zu entziehen.*” See: POPOVICI, ref. 1, p. 322. See also: HODŽA, ref. 3, p. 82. Further details of the responsibilities of the Emperor can also be found there.

- h) violations of international law;
- i) misuse of the press against the ruling dynasty, the Empire and its institutions.

The legislative authority of the Empire will have the right to decide on the legislation concerning the matters mentioned above.

The national states

Matters which do not fall within the responsibilities of the Empire, will be the responsibility of the national states. Each state will have its own parliament, government and judiciary. The government will be headed by an imperial governor (*kaiserlicher Statthalter*) appointed by the Emperor. He must be a citizen of the given country. The Emperor will appoint the members of the government on the proposal of the governor. The national states will write their own constitutions, but the Empire must approve them.

Constitutional guarantees for the national states

The Empire will guarantee to the national states their territories and autonomy, if this is not limited by the imperial constitution. The guarantee will have the following limitations:

- 1) The national constitution
 - a) cannot be in conflict with the imperial constitution;
 - b) forms the government according to the principles of constitutional monarchy.
 - c) The absolute majority in the national parliament must support it.

Official language

The national states will decide their own official languages. The international official language of the Empire will be German. German will also be the official language of the imperial offices with their seats in Vienna: the government, parliament, army and navy. Correspondence with these institutions will also be written in German. German will also be used in communication between the individual national states and the Empire. However, in parliament, every member will be able to use his native language. The offices of the Empire in the national states will use the national languages with the exception of the army. Every official in the Empire must show perfect knowledge of a national language and of German. Acts, orders, announcements and notices issued by the Empire will be written and published in all the national languages. The national languages must also be used on coins and banknotes.

Enforcement

If a national state does not appoint its representative to the central government, the Emperor will have the right to appoint the members of the government in the number appropriate to the national state in question. If a state does not fulfil its constitutional obligations, it will be reprimanded three times. If it does not respect the reprimands, they can be enforced by depriving the state authorities of their share of power and administration in their territory.

General provisions

All officials of the Empire in the national states must be citizens of the given states. This does not concern the central institutions in Vienna. Vienna will be the capital city and seat of the head of state.

3. Evaluation and reflection on Popovici's United States of Greater Austria

As R. Wierer stated, Popovici used the principles of federalism in his project. The national states would not only have their representatives in the central government, but also in the House of Lords by means of elected representatives of individual professions from each state.⁹⁰ In his view, the structure of the government would have been relatively complicated. According to him, the guaranteeing of the national constitutions by the Empire would have been undemocratic and unfederal. However, apart from this guarantee, the governments of the individual national states would have had the possibility to independently exercise their autonomous rights.⁹¹ By separating 15 national states, Popovici would have broken up the traditional system with a sometimes already created economic system. Critics emphasized this, pointing, for example, to Transylvania, Moravia, Banát and Bukovina.⁹² The creation of more than one state for some nations was problematic. Popovici planned three German states and two Hungarian states. Even the small Italian group would be divided between two states. As I already mentioned, Hodža expected the combination of the Czech and Slovak members of parliament.⁹³ The pro-German and centralist system would not be acceptable for radical Slavonic groups. Critics agreed on the view that the Italian national states of Triest and Trento would certainly strive for independence.⁹⁴ Franz Ferdinand also feared such an effort by the Austrian Italians, that is of the Italian "*Idea nazionale*".⁹⁵ Therefore, it is not probable that he would have agreed to Italian autonomy in Triest.⁹⁶

Popovici strove to consistently apply the national-territorial principle, but he was aware that this principle could not be applied always and everywhere. In such cases, it would be necessary to apply other, supplementary principles, such as Renner's principle of non-territorial personal autonomy.⁹⁷ According to R.A. Kann, Popovici's project shows that federalization of the state on the ethnic principle was not a real solution to the nationality question, if it was not accompanied by the important institution of personal autonomy.⁹⁸ However, by declaring the political rights of non-historical nations, he also predicted the history of the twentieth century. On the other hand, he did not propose radical social reforms. In spite of universal suffrage and relative decentralization, Greater

90 In connection with the professions named by Popovici, R. Wierer points to the absence of workers and tradesmen. WIERER, ref. 33, p. 119, note no. 19.

91 WIERER, ref. 33, p. 118-119.

92 WIERER, ref. 33, p. 118.

93 See ref. 74.

94 WIENER, re. 33, p. 118.

95 For more details see HODŽA, ref. 3, p. 117-118.

96 VALIANI, Leo. *The end of Austria-Hungary*. New York: Knopf, 1973, p. 328, note no. 92.

97 WIERER, ref. 33, p. 118.

98 See: KANN, ref. 11, p. 205.

Austria suited the existing aristocracy, with privileges for selected social groups, the existence of a House of Lords and so on. According to Popovici, nations are political units and so it is not possible to satisfy their demands on the linguistic and cultural level, but only in state and constitutional terms.

These efforts derive from the natural rights of nations to exist and not from the principle of legal continuity with the past. For this reason, there are justified doubts about whether his project supporting non-historical and oppressed nations could correspond to the political ambitions of the Hungarians, Czechs or Austrian Germans. However, Popovici's proposals were not received exclusively positively even in Rumanian circles. In spite of the fact that the ideology of the Rumanian National Party supported natural rights from the 1890s,⁹⁹ argumentation in support of the historic right of Transylvania to autonomy¹⁰⁰ still existed.¹⁰¹

The reaction to Popovici's book from the leading representative of the Rumanian National Party Iuliu Maniu testifies to this. Although he appreciated the style of the book, in general he did not agree with it, because it ignored historic frontiers and traditions. Thus his criticism was based on the principle of historic rights. Maniu then declared that the demand for an autonomous Transylvania was one of the points in the political programme of the Rumanian National Party.¹⁰² The editor of the journal *Tribuna* Ioan Russu-Şirianu disagreed with the views in the book, which he considered to be "rather unrealistic".¹⁰³ However, Popovici's concept received unambiguous support from Alexandru Vaida-Voevod. In his report written for the military office of Archduke Franz Ferdinand, he wrote about the traditional pro-dynastic orientation of the Rumanian people in Transylvania, in the sense that the key events in the history of the Rumanians were connected with the Habsburg Monarchy. In his view, the Rumanian nation

99 As M. Turda correctly pointed out, it was precisely Popovici, who in the *Replica* became the first Rumanian patriot to write a programme document that abandoned the historical right demand for the autonomy of Transylvania. When defining the identity of the Transylvanian Rumanians, Popovici presented a new element – "national consciousness" instead. See: Turda, ref. 2. As I pointed out, his work *The United States of Greater Austria* is also based on natural right argumentation.

100 The introduction of Dualism definitively deprived Transylvania of its autonomous status, specifically by Act no. 43/1868 on the union of Transylvania with Hungary, see: MÁRKUS, Dezső (ed.). *Magyar Törvénytár; 1836-1868. évi Törvénczikkek*, Budapest : Franklin Társulat, 1896, s. 486-489. From the literature see e.g.: HOLEC, Roman - PÁL, Judit. *Aristokrat v službách štátu. Gróf Emanuel Péchy, An aristocrat in the service of the state. Count Emmanuel Péchy*. Bratislava : Kalligram, 2006, p. 254-258; HOLEC, Roman - PÁL, Judit. *Gróf Emanuel Péchy ako kráľovský komisár Sedmohradska (1867 – 1872)*. (Count Emmanuel Péchy as royal commissioner in Transylvania (1867 – 1872)). In *Historické štúdie*, 2007, year 45, p. 169-203; PÁL, Judit. *Siebenbürgens Integration nach 1867*. In SLÁDEK, Kamil - ŠKVARNA, Dušan. (eds.). *Historické korene integrácie (strednej) Európy. Hľadanie novej podoby strednej Európy (Fenómén integrácie a dezintegrácie od osvietenstva po I. svetovú vojnu)*. (*The historical roots of the integration of (Central) Europe. The search for a new form of Central Europe (The phenomenon of integration and distegration from the Enlightenment to the First World War)*). Bratislava : Centrum pre európsku politiku, 2005, p. 117-125.

101 This demand was more or less topical in the political thinking of Rumanian patriots, see e.g.: HOLLÝ, ref. 19, p. 16 and elsewhere.

102 SETON-WATSON, Hugh - SETON-WATSON, Christopher. *The Making of a New Europe. R. W. Seton-Watson and the last years of Austria-Hungary*. Seattle : University of Washington Press, 1981, p. 36-37

103 SETON-WATSON, ref. 102, p. 37.

believed that freedom and justice also come with the Emperor. He saw this as the essence of Popovici's idea.¹⁰⁴ Augustín Bunea, a historian from Blaj, also expressed the view that Popovici's book expressed the view of the majority of Transylvanian Rumanians.¹⁰⁵

According to Hodža, the book attracted great interest among the Germans in Cis-leithania and in Catholic circles among the South Slavs¹⁰⁶ On the other hand, the evaluation in Hungarian government circles was clearly negatives, and representatives of the Czechs and Poles also had objections. In his view, the Rumanian and Slovak politicians also did not receive Popovici's work unambiguously positively. They criticized especially the Austrian-German centralism, which concentrated power in the hands of the Emperor, his court, staff and bureaucracy. According to Hodža, if Popovici's plan had been accepted and it had been proved that the Monarchy could not be changed into a "Danubian commonwealth", the Slavs and Rumanians would have taken the route of self-determination.¹⁰⁷ Hodža formulated these entirely sober assessments of the influence of Popovici's proposal only after the passage of time in his above-mentioned work *Federation in Central Europe*.¹⁰⁸ However, in spite of this, it is not surprising that, at the time of its publication, Hodža welcomed Popovici's book in the magazine *Slovenský týždenník (Slovak Weekly)*. It is interesting that this happened in connection with Július Botto's book *Slováci. Vývin ich národného povedomia (The Slovaks. Development of their National Consciousness)*.¹⁰⁹

The anti-Slavonic aspect emphasized above is considered to be one of the weaknesses of Popovici's proposal. Popovici was concerned with stopping the threat of pan-

104 Bericht Vajdas Dezember 1908. In HITCHENS (ed.), ref. 10, doc. no. XXII, p. 47.

105 SETON-WATSON, ref. 102, p. 36.

106 However, Hodža adds that Popovici's solution was no longer topical for the Croats after the Fiume Resolution. For more details see: HODŽA, ref. 3, p. 83-89. On this period from October 1905 see e.g.: JELAVICH, Barbara. *History of the Balkans: Twentieth century*. Cambridge : Cambridge University Press, 1983, p. 68-70

107 See HODŽA, ref. 3, p. 83. Hodža saw the importance of Popovici's work in the fact that it provided a basis for a possible new policy. See: HODŽA, ref. 3, p. 79-80. In another place, he mentions that also for Rumanians, Popovici's proposal was only one of the alternatives. If it did not succeed, they would pursue another. See: HODŽA, ref. 3, p. 90.

108 I think that Hodža's above mentioned evaluation of *The United States of Greater Austria* only on the level of a possible and not the official or central alternative, also corresponds to the political profile of the Slovak national movement. In my view, the evaluation of the influence on the Slovak political elite of Popovici's project or Greater Austria conception by M. Krajčovič is clearly exaggerated. See: KRAJČOVIČ, Milan. Prorakúska koncepcia ako alternatíva československého riešenia slovenskej otázky. (The pro-Austrian conception as an alternative to the Czechoslovak solution to the Slovak question.). In *Historické štúdie* 2007, year 45, p. 142 and elsewhere

109 [HODŽA, Milan]. To i to. (This and this); [HODŽA, Milan]. Demokraciou k národnostnej rovnoprávnosti. (With democracy to nationality and equality.). In *Slovenský týždenník*, 9 March 1906, year 4, no. 10, p. 1-2. On this see also: HOLLÝ, Karol. Historik a „národná disciplína“: ideologicko-politický aspekt historického myslenia Júliusa Botto s dôrazom na interpretáciu genéz a charakteru textu *Slováci. Vývin ich národného povedomia* (1906). (The historian and "national discipline": the ideological-political aspect of the historical thinking of Július Botto with an emphasis on interpretation of the origin and character of the text: *The Slovaks. Development of their national consciousness* (1906).). In IVANIČKOVÁ, Edita et al. *Kapitoly z histórie stredoeurópskeho priestoru v 19. a 20. storočí: pocta k 70-ročnému jubileu Dušana Kováča*. Bratislava : Historický ústav SAV in the publishing house Typoset print spol. s.r.o., 2011, p. 159-176

Slavism. However, at a time of strong nationalism, especially among the South Slavs and Czechs, it was not realistic to expect their agreement with such a proposal. The anti-Magyar consideration in his conception would undoubtedly have provoked further negative reactions. The development of Hungary after 1920 is evidence that the majority of Hungarians would not have accepted his proposals. In this context, the reaction of the leading Rumanian representative Vasile Goldiș to Popovici's book is accurate. He thought that the Hungarians would defend the existing system "to the death".¹¹⁰ The American historian R.A. Kann also noticed problems, which the theory would provoke if applied in practice. In his view, it would have been impossible to implement Popovici's ideas without a great conflict. Tradition supported the old system, while Popovici's Greater Austria would have meant the introduction of a new, but still imperfect order, and by unconstitutional means.¹¹¹

The historian Wierer appreciated Popovici's success in foreseeing the trend in the development of national states corresponding to the situation in inter-war Central Europe. The Russification of Rumania and of the rest of Central and Eastern Europe also confirmed Popovici's vision. Wierer's analysis was published in 1960. According to this researcher, the sobriety of Popovici's view, in contrast to the then popular social optimism,¹¹² places him among the important theorists of federalism in Central and Eastern Europe.¹¹³ It is possible to add that some researchers have seen Popovici as a forerunner of European integration.¹¹⁴

It is interesting that the Hungarian national state proposed by Popovici in the framework of Greater Austria, roughly corresponded to Hungary after 1920.¹¹⁵ If the vision of adding the Kingdom of Rumania to Greater Austria had been fulfilled, the Rumanians would have found themselves in a state formation with a similar territory to inter-war Rumania. However, it is not necessary to especially emphasize that the Rumania formed on 1 December 1918 was the direct negation of Popovici's Greater Austria project from the point of view of state ideology, namely in its relationship to the Habsburg Monarchy and as an independent nation state.

In the end, it is necessary to add that thanks to Popovici's work, the Rumanian question came to be discussed in the highest circles, and in a completely different way to the previous pattern of complaints, memoranda and so on. Popovici represented an important, although not the only political orientation of the Rumanians in the Kingdom of Hungary. He expressed the view of the conservatives, oriented towards the dynasty and supporting the Habsburg court in Vienna. The vision of the future of all the Rumanians

110 SETON-WATSON, ref. 102, p. 38.

111 KANN, ref. 11, p. 204-205.

112 For example: "According to Stefan Zweig, people at the end of the nineteenth century were really convinced by their liberal optimism that there is a simple and infallible path to the best of all possible worlds." See: HOLEC, Roman. Veda na Slovensku a prijímanie nových vedeckých teórií. (Science in Slovakia and the acceptance of new scientific theories.). In KOVÁČ, ref. 5, p. 215.

113 WIERER, ref. 33, p. 119.

114 A volume of papers about Popovici in French and German was published. The main idea was that Popovici was a forerunner of European integration. See: DRĂGAN, ref. 15.

115 See: RANDA, ref. 15, p. 78.

in the Habsburg Monarchy was an important alternative to the political orientation of the Rumanians of Hungary towards the Hungarian ruling circles¹¹⁶ or the idea of uniting with the Kingdom of Rumania.¹¹⁷ The fact that Popovici's solution was still proposed by some political circles in 1918,¹¹⁸ testifies to its potential, especially in crisis situations.¹¹⁹

The idea of federalism on the European continent in the 19th century was an expression of an effort to avoid the negative consequences of the growth of nationalism and centralism.¹²⁰ Popovici's concept of a middle way between extreme federalism and extreme centralism corresponds to this general scheme. If we follow the more general background of his argumentation, we find points of contact with the thinking of the time on federalism. According to Immanuel Kant, one of the main aspects of federalism is the idea of peace as a value. This was often the ideological basis of federalist projects in the 19th century.¹²¹ In Popovici we really find the idea of peace between nations and in relation to the Empire. The vision of the possible expansion of Greater Austria to include the Balkan nations beyond its frontiers, including Rumania, was conditioned precisely by the above mentioned peace and prosperity of the national states in the framework of the federalized Monarchy. This possible expansion was not associated with annexation, but with the voluntary accession of these territories to the Monarchy.

The interpretation of this version of "peace as a value" presented by the above mentioned socialist thinker Bauer is characteristic. In his view, it was "*a capitalist conception for dominating the Balkans*". According to Bauer, the capitalists would support the self-determination of nations, because they wanted to incorporate the Balkan peoples into their "*sphere of exploitation*".¹²² Thus, in Bauer's interpretation, peace is a means for the development of imperialism, since it is directly connected with expansion. In the context of the beginning of the 20th century, this apparent paradox is an expression of the complexity of the changes in society, which did not know how to deal with the rise of nationalism, liberalism and socialism.¹²³

116 For more details see: HOLLÝ, ref. 19, p. 200-206.

117 However, in the period before the Balkan Wars, this concept had only a minimal chance of being implemented.

118 BOIA, Lucian. *Rumuni științifico-istorică, mite, istorie. (The Rumanians, consciousness, myths, history).* Trans. Kazimierz Jurczak. Kraków : Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, 2003, p. 168-169.

119 For further evaluations of Popovici in the eyes of the activists of the time and of historians see: WOLF, Franz. Aurel Constantin Popovici. In DRĂGAN, ref. 15, p. 110-111.

120 Por.: BOKAJŁO, Wiesław. Federalizm rozwój idei i niektóre teorie. (Federalism, development of the idea and some theories.). In BOKAJŁO, Wiesław (ed.). *Federalizm. Teorie i koncepcje.* Wrocław : Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego, 1998, p. 98.

121 See: BOKAJŁO, ref. 120, p. 96.

122 "*Peace between the nations within the empire thus constitutes a means of capitalist conquest of the Balkans. [...] the capitalist will struggle for the self-determination of the nations because they want to incorporate the people of the Balkans into their sphere of exploitation.*" See: BAUER, ref. 29, p. 350 and 482, note no. 30.

123 See the view of a Polish academic on the idea of federalism in the 19th century: "*Federalism could not be implemented in the 19th century, because the transformation of the state system from feudalism to capitalism was not complete, and the principles of solving class disputes were not established... Above all, the incomplete processes of nation forming, which occurred under the protection of state power, denied the principles of civil society.*" See: BOKAJŁO, ref. 120, p. 96-97, note no. 125.

Old Europe and the stable traditional values were obviously disintegrating. This process was a threat to the Empire. The intellectuals from the ranks of the court aristocracy endeavoured to analyse the situation, to propose an alternative, and so avoid disintegration. One of them was A. Popovici. It is already only necessary to add that in comparison with the Austrian aristocracy, he argued in the name of an officially unrecognized and unhistorical nation. The combination of conservative, pro-dynastic values with modern nationalism is a characteristic, general feature of his thought. This combination is undoubtedly attractive as a subjective for history. Analysis of Popovici's work can give us a better understanding of the complexity of the conceptual world in Central Europe at the beginning of the twentieth century.

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VORSCHLAG DER FÖDERALISIERUNG DER HABSBURGERMONARCHIE IM WERK
VOM AUREL C. POPOVICI VEREINIGTE STAATEN VON GROSS-ÖSTERREICH

KAROL HOLLÝ

In der Studie analysieren wir den Vorschlag zur Föderalisierung der Monarchie, der in dem Werk Vereinigte Staaten von Groß-Österreich (1906) anwesend ist. Sein Autor war ein Politiker der siebenbürgischen Rumänen in Königreich Ungarn, Aurel C. Popovici (1936 – 1917). Sein Werk entstand während der Krisenzeit der Monarchie und stellt einen Vorschlag zu ihrer Lösung aufgrund der Änderung der Staatsregelung dar. Popovici schlug die Entstehung 15 föderalen Staaten mit dem Kaiser und einer zentralen Regierung in Wien am Kopf. Dieser Vorschlag wird in der Studie in einem breiterem Kontext der politischen Situation in der Habsburgermonarchie und im Kontext der im Rahmen von dem rumänischen Nationalbewegung aktuellen Konzeptionen analysiert. Als ein Vergleichsrahmen für die Interpretation der Ideen von Popovici, wird in der Studie auch das damalige Denken der österreichischen Austromarxisten, K. Renner und O. Bauer, analysiert. Diese Denker arbeiteten nämlich in derselben Zeit an Projekten der Reformierung der Monarchie. Sowohl die Anknüpfungspunkte, als auch die grundsätzlichen Unterschieden zwischen der Vorschlägen der Austromarxisten und Popovici sind auch der Gegenstand der Studie.

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A SLOVAK LACKEY AT THE VIENNA COURT AND HIS VIRTUAL LIFE IN HUNGARIAN POLITICS AND CULTURE

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Anton Szmolen (1856 – 1939) worked as a lackey at the Vienna court of the Emperor Franz Joseph from 1894 to 1910. Therefore, his manuscript memoirs are a remarkable source of information on how a Slovak came into immediate proximity to the monarch and his family, and how he remained loyal practically until his death. No less interesting is the mystification around this person, which made Szmolen's memoirs an excellent example of manipulation and distortion, which he even believed himself to some extent.

Even more interesting than his military and court career is the virtual life of Anton Szmolen. In the 20th century Hungarian political and intellectual discourse, his name became a symbol of Vienna, the hated court clique and its arrogance. He appeared in this function in caricatures in humorous magazines, in the theatre, songs and parliament. The Emperor and Vienna were indirectly attacked through Szmolen. This symbol also survived beyond the period of Szmolen's service and even the fall of the Monarchy. Szmolen's name was gradually transformed and acquired a wider meaning as a symbol of treason, lackeyism and service to foreign powers. It was used with this meaning even in the recent past.

Austria-Hungary. The Imperial court in the period of Dualism. The name of a person as the symbol of an institution up to 1918 and of negative properties in the whole 20th century.

Today few can imagine what an immense and intricate structure the imperial court in Vienna represented. The court had 1500 – 2000 employees and was practically a state within a state. Concealed from the public, it was directed by its old established rules and court etiquette. Apart from the actual court with imperial properties, gardens, finance offices, chancelleries, stud farms, coaches, collections, theatre, musicians, library, kitchen, doctors of medicine, vets, pharmacy and dozens of other institutions of all kinds, each member of the ruling family – each archduke and archduchess also had his or her own smaller court. Understandably, the court of the Emperor and Empress was the most important. The Emperor's court was the largest and most diverse.¹

1 For more details on the functioning of the court see HAMANN, Brigitte. *Der Wiener Hof und die Hofgesellschaft in der zweiten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts*. In MÖCKL, Karl (ed.). *Hof und Hofgesellschaft in den deutschen Staaten im 19. und beginnenden 20. Jahrhundert*. (Büdingen Forschungen zur Sozialgeschichte). Boppard am Rhein 1990, p. 61-78 and on the basis of research in original court documents most recently WINKELHOFER, Martina. *Die obersten Hofbeamten unter Kaiser Franz Joseph*. Diplomarbeit. Universität Wien 2005; WINKELHOFER, Martina. *Viribus unitis. Der Kaiser und sein Hof. Ein neues Franz-Joseph-Bild*. Wien 2008; WINKELHOFER, Martina. *Der Alltag des Kaisers. Franz Joseph und sein Hof*. Wien 2010; WINKELHOFER-THYRI, Martina. *Der Hof unter Kaiser Franz Joseph*. Dissertation. Universität Wien 2010.

The court as a historic institution preserved its openly aristocratic character until the fall of the Monarchy. The strictest “racial prescriptions” in favour of the old historic aristocracy prevailed at the court. A person had access only if he could prove his undoubted aristocratic origins going back 16 generations. The only way to achieve this was by being born in the right family.

Apart from the members of the ruling family, the aristocrats with access to the court and the higher and lower officials, the most numerous group was the servants. This group was very varied in character and function. The chamberlains and a few of the lackeys were the closest and most intimate to the monarch. There were about 50 lackeys at the court and they had very varied duties. They were assigned to the service of individual archdukes, other high members of the court or to state visits. They served food and secured important activities at the court.

The names of these people, whether they were personal chamberlains or belonged to the pleiad of court lackeys, did not mean anything to anybody. They were literally anonymous servants, who stood in the background or appeared and disappeared in the recesses of the Hofburg, Schönbrunn, Laxenburg, Gödöllő and other Imperial and Royal palaces and villas. A few of them came from Slovakia. For example, among the court lackeys in the first half of the 19th century, we find a certain Franz Nowak (František Novák?), born on 3 December 1812 at Svätý Jur in the Malé Karpaty. He went into service directly from the army on 1 April 1842 with pay of 450 Gulden and a housing allowance of 60 Gulden. He also received livery and 20 Gulden “for equipment”. “He served faithfully and sincerely” for 11 years, 1 month and 10 days. Then he was forgotten like hundreds of others.²

Actually only one of these people is well-known today among experts and people interested in the history of the Habsburgs in the last decades of their rule or those interested in the personality of Franz Joseph. This notable person is the Emperor’s first chamberlain Eugen Ketterl (1859 – 1928), who became known thanks to the extensive memoirs written during his retirement. These were published in 1929, after the author’s death.³ They were translated into various languages and many intimate details from the everyday life of the Emperor are known precisely from them. Thanks to Ketterl, Franz Joseph stands before us, literally “undressed”. Ketterl entered the service of the monarch in 1894 and stayed until Franz Joseph’s death in 1916. Therefore, he had an insider’s ability to describe the Emperor’s character, eating habits, behaviour and daily regime.

Immediately after coming to the court, Ketterl was placed among the monarch’s four personal chamberlains, thanks to the fact that he had already worked in the court kitchen and as a waiter at court, and that there was a free place among the chamberlains. He started as the last in the group of four. In 1898, Ketterl was already in third place with numerous foreign honours, and in 1902 he gained second place. In 1907, we already find him in first place among the personal chamberlains with a rich collection of mainly foreign

2 Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv Wien, Hofarchiv, Oberstallmeisteramt, Sonderreihe, 443. Protokoll der Leiblackaien, Damendiener, Büchsenspanner und Edelknabendiener.

3 The most recent edition: [KETTERL, Eugen]. *Paměti komorníka císaře Františka Josefa I. Císař v nedbalkách. (Memoirs of the Chamberlain of the Emperor Franz Joseph I. The Emperor undressed.)*. Praha 1993.

honours.⁴ He received these from various monarchs, since as the Emperor's chamberlain, he found himself close to them and also served them. Ketterl remained first chamberlain until the death of the monarch and was undoubtedly closest to him and not only because his room was immediately next to the monarch's private apartments.

Ketterl's memoirs are an outstanding source especially for information on the monarch's everyday life. It is strong here and irreplaceable by other sources. Soon after the publication of Ketterl's memoirs, a Košice publisher printed the critical reaction of Anton Szmolen from Banská Bystrica, who was presented as a former chief lackey of the Emperor Franz Joseph. In the article, Szmolen denied some of Ketterl's statements and expressed surprise about how it was possible to write in memoirs "*about the great men of history*" such nonsense, which finally insulted the memory of the imperial couple. Respect and unshakable loyalty to Franz Joseph were obviously a permanent part of the position of Anton Szmolen. In contrast to his colleague, the chamberlain Ketterl, whose position had been several degrees higher, Szmolen never regarded the ruling couple as entirely ordinary people.⁵

Undoubtedly as a reaction to Ketterl's memoirs and their commercial success, Anton Szmolen wrote his own memoirs in the first three months of 1934 under the title *Biography of Anton Szmolen as the thirteenth child requested from God, from his fifth year until his retirement from the Imperial and Royal Court of Franz Joseph I*. These memoirs of Anton Szmolen, a first class lackey at the court of Franz Joseph in the period 1894 – 1910, are a unique source, which historians can study from the most varied angles.⁶

The densely written manuscript has 113 pages, but the author devoted only about a quarter of the whole text to his actual service at the court. It cannot be compared with the comprehensiveness of Ketterl's memoirs. This was certainly influenced by the fact that in 1929, Szmolen read the memoirs of his more successful colleague, and he only added what he knew and remembered himself. His text was actually not intended for the public and for publication but only for his immediate family. He was also writing at a substantially older age than Ketterl, which is reflected in the lack of dates, chronology, connections and conception. Therefore, we also find such a justifying and explaining passage: "*I should have written this out from the beginning, but it did not come to my memory, because it was already long ago and at my age it is not surprising that a person cannot remember all moments, but I still thank the Almighty, that I am still able to put so much down on paper and that I have the patience, because I was never a writer, but devoted myself to my craft.*"⁷

4 *Handbuch des allerhöchsten Hofes und des Hofstaates seiner K. und K. Apostolischen Majestät für 1898*. Wien, s. d. [1897], p. 93; *Handbuch des allerhöchsten Hofes ... für 1902*. Wien, s. d. [1901], p. 114; *Handbuch des allerhöchsten Hofes ... für 1907*. Wien, s. d. [1906], p. 122.

5 Smólen [as his name was consistently written in Hungarian with a possible indication of his non-Magyar ethnic origin - authors] Tóni, Ferenc József főlakája leszedi a keresztségét "kollegájáról", aki tücskötbogarat hord össze most megjelent emlékirataiban. *Kassai Ujság*, 19, no. 77 from 31 March 1929.

6 Stredoslovenské múzeum (Central Slovakia Museum) Banská Bystrica, Pm 2009/1, *Životopis Antona Szmolena ako trinásť od Boha vyproseného dieťa, od 5. roku až do penzie z cisárskeho a kráľovského dvora Fraňa Jozefa I*.

7 Ref. 6, p. 88.

The language of the memoirs is down to earth, direct and lively. Szmolen mixed three languages as if on a conveyor belt and he demonstrated a sort of monarchist Esperanto. It could be seen that he was not really educated in even one language, but he knew how to make everything understood. In contrast to Ketterl, the Slovak lackey at the court of Franz Joseph is much more concise and objective. He does not really write about his everyday work, which is only briefly mentioned, but more about individual episodes without chronological connections, as he remembered and recalled them. The relations between them appear only incidentally. He lacked structure and conception, but was more concerned with direct testimony for those nearest to him about times long past and about his own life. Szmolen wrote in the introduction to his text: *“If this biography is read by strangers not from my family, don't take it badly that I wrote it the way I knew with grammatical errors, aber natur getreu und leserlich [but naturally true and readable]”*.⁸ It is clear from everything that he was not concerned with stylization, but with sincere testimony directly from the heart: *“If my biography is to be used by the public, I ask that the grammatical errors should be corrected, since I am more skilled in my craft than in writing”*, as he added at the end of the text. Even this was not the real conclusion, since he remembered something else and added a supplement to the already finished text. Another conclusion followed: *“With the help of God, I have written with no great will what has remained in my memory from early childhood until now, and I leave it to others after my death, to remember me, but justly and not with ridicule, I thank in advance for their good wishes and sincerely greet them...”*⁹ In the end, this was not the final conclusion. He added a few more pages with two experiences. In spite of all the deficiencies, it is admirable that he could remember so much at his advanced age. The manuscript contains dozens of names.

But first let us speak of Anton Szmolen and the period of his life before his service at the Vienna court. He came from a poor Catholic family of town craftsmen and was born as the thirteenth child *“under the Hungarian crown”* (*“pod maďarskou korunou”*) in 1855. At least, this was what he wrote in his memoirs and so according to them he was four years older than Ketterl. His parents had moved from Žilina to Banská Bystrica two decades before his birth, but both of them came from Dolný Kubín. His mother Terézia came from the *“good Radlinský family”*. His father Imrich learnt the craft of a smith and after a working tour, he became a master smith making finer and artistically more demanding products. In spite of his craft and undoubted skill he dreamed of his children supporting themselves with easier work. His first son Jozef became a priest.¹⁰

8 *„Ak by tento môj životopis iný, a nie z mojej rodiny čítal, tak nech mi nevezme za zlé, že som tak písal, ako som vedel, skrze gramatické chyby, aber natur getreu und leserlich.”* Ref. 6, p. 1

9 Ref. 6, p. 110.

10 Jozef Szmolen was born at Malužiná in Liptove in 1834, before his parents moved to Banská Bystrica. He was more than 20 years older than Tóni, the youngest. After completing his theological studies, Jozef served as a chaplain in Podkonice, Oslany, Horné Hámry, Kláštor pod Znievom, where he was a founder member of the famous gymnasium, and Prievidza. As a chaplain, he participated in the discussions at Turčiansky Svätý Martin in June 1861, which produced the Memorandum of the Slovak Nation. After the establishment of Matica Slovenská he became a member. All this testifies to his clearly profiled national consciousness, which could have influenced his younger brother. From 1871 he was parish priest at Bačúrov, from 1874 in Medzibrod and from 1878 in the centre of the Slovak national movement, Martin.

In 1835, the couple and their son moved via Žilina to Banská Bystrica, where they bought a small house, in which the remaining 12 of their children were born. Both parents died soon after and the family looked after the small children.

Anton's oldest brother Jozef, then chaplain at Kláštor pod Znievom arranged a place for his youngest brother with the Piarists of the same place. Although Anton Szmolen does not mention it, a Slovak Catholic gymnasium operated here at the time. His parents from Orava, siblings and other children among whom Anton moved in childhood, as well as the atmosphere and environment of a community in Turiec contributed to the formation of our hero's Slovak identity, which he retained throughout his life. He said: "*Ich bin ungarischer Slowak*" ("*I am a Slovak from the Kingdom of Hungary*") to anybody who asked about his origin.¹¹ At the same time, he had no problem with keeping "Sz" in his name, according to Hungarian rather than Slovak spelling customs, because that was how his father had written it. Anton Szmolen dreamed of becoming a gunsmith, and he worked with determination for the following years with the aim of becoming a master gunsmith. However, his characteristics included a tendency to act impulsively and to take basic decisions about his life spontaneously and quickly.

This was how he volunteered to join the army. During military service he wanted to apply his mastery and skill. Through Lučenec and the Arsenal in Vienna, he came to the Croatian town of Karlovac, where he was assigned to the artillery of the fortress. From there he asked to return to the Vienna Arsenal, where he worked on production of pistols. The Arsenal was an extensive military complex in south-eastern Vienna used for production and storage of weapons and as barracks.

Szmolen was always more a craftsman than a soldier, so he strove to apply himself in the field of his own specialization, where he had the best conditions for this. It was not always possible, but in the end he succeeded. On 13 June 1877, he was appointed as master gunsmith to the 44th Hungarian Infantry Regiment of Archduke Albrecht. The stars of a non-commissioned officer were placed on his collar. He had finally achieved his aim, but the idyll did not last long. In 1878, an order came like a bolt from the blue that the whole 44th Infantry Regiment had to move to Trieste. The transport by ship from this port to Herzegovina indicates that Anton Szmolen became a direct participant in the military occupation of Bosnia-Herzegovina, which Austria-Hungary occupied and then administered on the basis of a decision by the Congress of Berlin.¹²

At the end of 1880, the regiment was transferred in several stages to the surroundings of Trieste. In September 1882, Szmolen experienced the great celebrations for the 500th anniversary of the incorporation of Trieste into the Habsburg Empire and the associated

Here, Jozef also held the position of chairman of the county education authority, which gained him the respect of his fellow citizens. He died in 1890, before his younger brother started his service at court. He is buried in the National Cemetery in Martin.

11 Ref. 6, p.25 (in a conversation with Archduke Johann Salvator).

12 The biographical notes of Anton Szmolen are good accompanying documentation for a naive painting from 1879, which the Central Slovakia Museum in Banská Bystrica bought in February 1941 and has kept in its collection since then. It is a group portrait set in the landscape between the towns of Plevlje and Novi Pazar on the borders of Montenegro and Bosnia. The local dignitary Suleyman Hakik Pasha, a friend of Szmolen, stands out in the foreground. The back of the painting bears his name and that of another Turk, who presented the picture to his good friend Anton Szmolen in 1879.

unsuccessful attempt of an Italian irredentist of Slavonic origin to assassinate Franz Joseph. Szmolen's memoirs are concerned especially with life in the army. He describes various events, activity in the Sandzak of Novi Pazar, an explosive and internationally disputed territory, and the coexistence of various mentalities and cultures.

As a result of frostbite and pneumonia, he had to go for treatment at military expense to the spa at Balatonfüred near Siófok in 1892. Princess Stephanie, widow of the heir to the throne, Crown Prince Rudolf came to the spa at the same time. She was accompanied by the head of her court Count Franz Bellegarde, whose grandfather was patron of Szmolen's 44th Regiment. This led to the decisive turning point in Szmolen's life. Through an audience with Bellegarde and his recommendation, Szmolen had an audience with Prince Rudolf von Liechtenstein, one of the most important men at the court, where he held the post of chief equerry. Liechtenstein delayed the issuing of a decree and on 1 October 1894, Anton Szmolen could start his service to the court. It is not without interest that Eugen Ketterl also gained his place among the personal chamberlains of the monarch in 1894 and also on the basis of the activity of Count Bellegarde.

After his introductory first month, Szmolen was assigned to Ida Ferenczy as a member of the "body of lackeys". It was allegedly said that after training he would be assigned to the Empress Elizabeth. The official function of Ida Ferenczy sounded like "reader" to the Empress Elizabeth. In reality she was Elizabeth's confidant and favourite court lady or *éminence grise* at the small court of the Empress. Apparently Szmolen's origin from the Kingdom of Hungary led to Ida Ferenczy requesting him.

The picture Szmolen has left us of Ida is not very positive and opposes all the idealized stereotypes preserved about her.¹³ Therefore, Anton Szmolen did not have the best entry to service at the court. Conflict between master and servant always has only one winner. However, service to Ida brought Szmolen into immediate proximity to the Empress Elizabeth, and it was characteristic that he had only good words for her. On the occasion of the Millennium celebrations in Hungary, Szmolen received a Millennium commemorative silver coin and silver spoon thanks to Elizabeth. The coin is now in the collections of the Central Slovakia Museum in Banská Bystrica.

If Szmolen still had some ideals about his employment, he gradually lost them. Sometimes only the thought of his pension kept him in service and he wrote about it with unconcealed bitterness: "*This service did not turn out as I had imagined it... This nagging and that falsity from many, when I was soon convinced, that troubled me and I thought about how I could disentangle myself from it.*"¹⁴ Szmolen complained about the falsity of the environment throughout the period of his service. He wrote himself that "*I did not want to be worse off in service, the best off were those, who knew how to flatter some and blacken others from behind...*"¹⁵

13 For example KARAFIÁTH, Máriusz. *Ferenczy Ida. Életrajz. (Biography of Ida Ferenczy)*. Levice 1935 or more recently *Kedves Idám! Erzsébet királyné, Ferenc József, Andrássy Gyula és Schratt Katalin levelei Ferenczy Idához. (My dear Ida. Letters to Ida Ferenczy from Queen Elizabeth, Franz Joseph, Gyula Andrássy and Katarine Schratt.)*. Budapest 1992; SZABÓ, Margit. *Nemzetének őrangyala volt. Ferenczy Ida emlékezete. (She was an angel of the nation. Memories of Ida Ferenczy)*. Gödöllő 2003.

14 Ref. 6, p. 86.

15 Ref. 6, p. 95.

When he became ill, somebody else replaced him in the service of Ida Ferenczy. Where was Ida, there was the Empress, where was Elizabeth, there was Franz Joseph, and so he ceased to be in immediate proximity to the monarch, and was again placed among the other lackeys available to the court. He became literally a maid of all works. Sometimes he was free and went to do regular service at the court. He was once assigned to the serving adjutant of the monarch. In Prague he was assigned to serve the Archduchess Maria Annunziata, half-sister of the heir to the throne Franz Ferdinand and aunt of Karl the last Emperor. At the end of 1908, Szmolen was assigned for three months to the Archduchess Augusta. She was the Emperor's granddaughter and she often stayed in her property in the mansion at Topoľčianky.

Szmolen regularly accompanied Franz Joseph on the annual September manoeuvres and other inspection journeys such as regular visits to Budapest, thanks to which he was often close to the monarch, especially away from Vienna. He accompanied the Shah of Persia, was assigned to German and Russian delegations, and was with the monarch on his visits to the Kingdom of Hungary.

In September 1897, Szmolen got into a conversation with the long-serving Minister for Home Defence (Honvédelmi Minister) Baron Géza Fejérváry. To the direct question about his nationality, Szmolen said that he was Slovak. To the question of where he came from, he replied, from Neusohl, the German name for Banská Bystrica. Fejérváry immediately translated it as Besztercebánya, and stated that in Hungarian he was a Magyar and not a Slovak (tót). "*A little of each*" concluded Szmolen on the question of his origin, which may have satisfied Fejérváry.¹⁶

Szmolen was led to service at the court especially by the idea of providing for his old age. As a pensioned soldier he would receive 18 Gulden a month, but a position as a court lackey would secure a pension of 85 Gulden a month – almost five times more, not to mention high pay and the possibilities to profit from various types of gratuity. However, he had to serve a minimum of 15 years, a period Szmolen eventually exceeded with his service from 1894 to 1910, as we will see.¹⁷

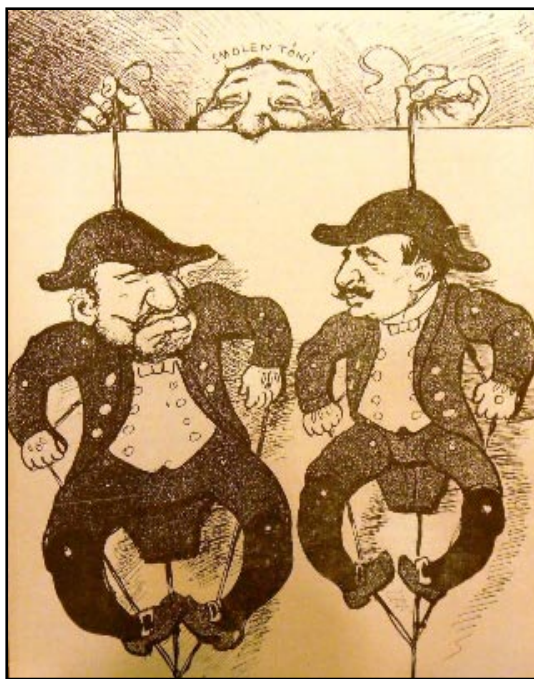
When he started his service at the court, Szmolen received 50 Gulden a month, from which 10 were deducted for his pension. A lackey received 200 Gulden a year for housing, but this did not at all correspond to the situation in Vienna. For such a sum it was possible to find a very small flat somewhere in the suburbs of Vienna, but this required further expense for transport. On the other hand, he also had to represent the court, so he could not live in bad and undignified conditions, go around with an unkempt appearance or eat in backstreet pubs. Szmolen mentions that he twice asked for higher pay, but without success. Then he turned to Viktor Adler (1852 – 1918), an important member of parliament and one of the key representatives of Austrian Social Democracy. It must have been an interesting sight, when servants of the Imperial and Royal court set out like proletarians to this charismatic politician with a request for help.¹⁸

16 Ref. 6, p. 95.

17 Ref. 6, p. 86 and 94; ref. 3, p. 52-53.

18 Ref. 6, p. 89-90.

We do not have an exact date, but sometime in September 1909, Szmolen had a so-called inspection. This meant that he had to wait, prepared for whoever and whatever would need him. The heir to the throne Franz Ferdinand called and asked for a coach. Szmolen dressed and took the coach to the Belvedere Palace. A whole day of driving around awaited him, including visits and the evening at the Burgtheatre. In the course of the day, a serious misunderstanding grew up. It could have been elegantly resolved, if it were not for the explosive and arrogant Archduke. Independently of insults from Franz Ferdinand, Szmolen also received a denunciation for violating court regulations, since after being without food all day he went to have dinner in his service clothes. The resulting reaction was typical of Szmolen's mentality: After 37 years and 6 months of work and service in the army and court, he asked to be pensioned off for health reasons.



Although the majority of court personnel came from the army, return to the army was not possible and the Emperor unambiguously rejected it. Therefore, Szmolen had to retire. He allegedly went to medical examinations for three months, but the natural result was the statement that he was healthy. Only discussions with court doctors made it clear that false people and disgust with the situation were driving the court personal lackey first class from service, which he liked and had done honourably and correctly. And so he finally received the necessary papers and Anton Szmolen became a state pensioner from the beginning of 1910. The court almanach for 1910 still contains his name, but information about Szmolen is gradually lost to us. His memoirs end and where he lived during the last pre-war and war years is questionable.

Official court materials shed a little more light on his departure from the court. According to the diary of the office of the supreme equerry, which was responsible for the court servants, a request for a pension was received from the lackey Anton Szmolen on 24 February 1910. Two days later, a letter was sent to the 44th Infantry Regiment about counting his years of service, and the requested reply was obtained by return. A resolution about his pension was already issued on 5 March 1910 and on 12 March, Anton Szmolen was able to receive the decree about his pension. It all took a little less than three weeks. At his own request, Szmolen received 60 crowns on 25 February 1910

to help with his plan to move to the Kingdom of Hungary.¹⁹ With this, he excluded the assumption that he might remain with his daughters in Vienna. Anton Szmolen left the capital of the Monarchy, where he had lived for more than 15 years. No information is available on his life and place of residence up to 1918.

In 1896, two years after the beginning of his service, Anton Szmolen had 49th place among the 53 lackeys. When he finished in 1910, he had 10th place among 46 lackeys as well as dozens of honours or medallions.²⁰ As we already mentioned, he was often in immediate proximity to the Emperor, whether as a result of his membership of the court of the Empress or later mainly during the regular manoeuvres. However, his position was substantially more important than would appear from the previous sentence or only from the mechanical position in the court scheme.

The really surprising thing is that Anton Szmolen became, especially in the Kingdom of Hungary, the most famous of all the lackeys and chamberlains at the Vienna court in the reign of Franz Joseph. It was not simple to find out how he “achieved” this exceptional position. From the beginning, it could only be supposed that the reason was the fact



that he appeared in immediate proximity to the monarch much more often than any of the other first class lackeys, he came from the Kingdom of Hungary and could speak Hungarian. Therefore, he could be regarded as a sort of extended hand of the country in the most intimate proximity to the monarch. However, Szmolen’s unreserved loyalty to Franz Joseph and his Slovak identity, although declared only in answer to direct questions, meant that he could not be drawn into any behind the scenes games at court.

For precisely this reason, he became in the whole of Hungary, a symbol of Vienna, of the Viennese camarilla, which in Hungarian eyes pre-determined everything, which betrayed and embezzled Hungarian interests instead

of strenuously defending them. Szmolen’s name became part of the current political stereotypes, and very quickly became firmly rooted in them. This continued even after Szmolen had left his service. His name began to live its own life, without regard for its bearer. This was the beginning of the second – virtual life of Anton Szmolen.

19 Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv Wien, Hofarchiv, Oberststallmeisteramt, Geschäftsbücher, 98. Geschäftstagebuch (1910).

20 *Handbuch des allerhöchsten Hofes und des Hofstaates seiner K. und K. Apostolischen Majestät für 1896*. Wien, s. d. [1895], p. 73; *Handbuch des allerhöchsten Hofes ... für 1910*. Wien, s. d. [1909], p. 129.

He may have first appeared as a negative symbol of the court and the Viennese camarilla in caricatures published in the course of 1903 on the pages of the Budapest humorous magazine *Bolond Istók*.



Humorous magazines had a great tradition in Hungary and more than enough were published in this period: national, regional, pro-government, anti-government, nationality, anti-Semitic and so on. For example the humorous weekly close to the government *Borsszem Jankó* had its 36th year in 1903, while the already mentioned opposition weekly *Bolond Istók* had its 26th year. Both sometimes produced tens of thousands of copies.

We will be concerned mainly with *Bolond Istók*, which represented the united opposition, supporting anti-Vienna positions and emphasizing the independence of Hungary with its main attributes, namely independent foreign policy, currency-issuing central bank, army and so on. It is not surprising that it was precisely on its pages that Szmolen became a literally emblematic figure with entirely clear position and characteristics. He holds the

threads of events and decides their course. He is arrogant, anti-Hungarian and possesses great decision making power (ill. 1).²¹ The aim of every caricature, to exaggerate a characteristic and on this basis create a witty situation, was fulfilled in the case of the lackey precisely by the last attribute.²² Quotation of his name was necessary. It showed that it was not the form but the name that possessed the informative ability.

It is necessary to realize that the monarch was untouchable and beyond any criticism. The sanctions in the Criminal Code (Act V) from 1878 unambiguously testified to his exceptional position. In the case of a physical assault on the monarch, the offender was

21 Császári királyi udvari kuruczok. *Bolond Istók*, 31, no. 8 from 23 February 1908. The essence of the picture: independent kuruci (anti-Habsburg fighters) hang on black and yellow ribbon, which Szmolen moves in the background.

22 For more details on the theoretical questions: SANGS, Heribert. *Die Karikatur. Didaktische Hinweise zu Einsatzmöglichkeit im Unterricht*. Darmstadt 1985; LOCH, Werner – GÖRRES, Karl. *Politische Karikatur und ihr Einsatz im Unterricht*. Limburg 1985; HEINISCH, Severin. *Die Karikatur. Über das Irrationale im Zeitalter der Vernunft*. Wien-Köln-Graz 1988; ACHTERBERG, Christoph. *Karikatur als Quelle. Determinanten sozialwissenschaftlicher Interpretation*. Frankfurt am Main 1998. In the Monarchy: BUZINKAY, Géza. *Borsszem Jankó és társai. Magyar élclapok és karikatúráik a XIX. század második felében. (Borsszem Jankó and Company. Hungarian humorist newspapers and caricatures in the second half of the 19th century.)*. Budapest 1983; VOCELKA, Karl. *K. u. K. Karikaturen und Karikaturen zum Zeitalter Kaiser Franz Josephs*. Wien-München 1986

punished with imprisonment for 10 – 15 years and loss of civil rights (§ 139). Paragraph 140 of the Criminal Code stated that “*whoever insults the king can be punished with up to two years in prison and loss of office. However, whoever distributes or exhibits in public offensive writing, printed text or pictures can be punished for this by imprisonment for up to three years and loss of office.*”²³ In the case of members of the royal family or members of the royal house, the penalties were more moderate: for physical assault imprisonment for up to five years, and in the second case up to two years. Paragraph 173



stated that “*whoever attacks (by word, printed text or picture) the inviolability of the person of the monarch, the legal method of inheritance of the throne, the constitutional state form or the effectiveness of legislation will be punished by state imprisonment for up to five years. It is the same for anybody, who incites against individual provisions of the constitution, against the relationship of the Monarchy and other states or against the state unity of the regions forming the Hungarian state, as well as against the legal rights of the king, parliament, parliamentary committees or committees called to discuss joint affairs.*”²⁴

The editors of the magazine *Bolond Istók* had unpleasant experience with such a case. In the mid 1890s, in connection with the struggle against the introduction of civil marriage, the magazine published a caricature with a crucified Franz Joseph. Hungaria, a female personification of the country, was weeping at his feet. The minister of foreign affairs Gusztáv Kálnoky and the head of the royal cabinet office István Pápay had the roles of the two crucified thieves. The minister for homeland defence Géza Fejérváry took the place of the Roman soldier in the picture. It was no accident that they were all

23 1878: V. t. cz. A magyar büntetőtörvénykönyvről. In *Magyar törvénytár. 1877 – 1878. évi törvényczikkek.* (Hungarian Legislation. 1877-1878.). Budapest 1896, p. 123.

24 Ref. 23, p. 128.

people of Hungarian origin, who faithfully served the Emperor. In the eyes of Hungarian patriots, they fulfilled the role of ordinary traitors in this case.

As a result of the daring caricature, a trial for insulting His Majesty was hung around the neck of the editors. The lesson learnt from this case was that if it was necessary to depict Franz Joseph in future, it had to be done in a neutral way and any criticism or satire had to be directed against a substitute figure. From 1903, this was nobody other than Szmolen.

Whatever Szmolen's real qualities, the fact that as a lackey he replaced the Emperor, evoked smiles, but on the other side of the political barricade also a feeling of humiliation and indignation. A lackey decided, accepted, rejected, declared... And this was a further aim of every political caricature in the magazine of this political current.

The first picture with Szmolen in the main role was connected with the government crisis of 1903, when it was already clear that the government of Kálmán Széll was ending and there was feverish discussion about his successor (ill. 2). One of the hot candidates was Gyula Andrássy Junior. The arrogant Szmolen pats him on the shoulder, because he already knows that Andrássy will not become prime minister of Hungary. He tells Andrássy, depicted in the form of a boy with a black and yellow imperial flag and a cap from the liberal *Neue Freie Presse*, that he has a great future, perhaps even the position of prime minister. It was only necessary to be sufficiently loyal. The caricature shows that its artist did not know Szmolen's appearance.²⁵ The lackey and his name were only substitutes.

The power of Tóni Szmolen is also clear in another picture (ill. 3). In a moment from the council of ministers in Vienna, he informs Prime Minister István Tisza and other leading Hungarian liberal politicians, among whom the faces of Károly Hieronymi and László Lukács can be recognized, about the views of the highest decision making circles in Vienna. Szmolen nonchalantly and familiarly blows smoke from a pipe into the faces of the Hungarian politicians. In the background are other court lackeys placed as if they are members of the Austrian delegation. The exits from the meeting room are interesting. One leads to the toilets, the other to the k.u.k Hoppmeister, which is undoubtedly a reference to the head of the court, the chief hofmeister.²⁶ The artist of this drawing had probably already met Szmolen, since he captured the lackey's appearance relatively accurately.

A further picture presents one of the peaks of Szmolen's virtual career (ill. 4). It is captured at the time of the court's coming to Budapest and its symbolism is clear. An extravagantly sprawled out Szmolen is sitting instead of the monarch with the Prime Minister István Tisza in a coach as it goes between the cheering crowds. The embodiment of Vienna, the court and the monarch reached his peak here. Instead of the royal flag, a flag with the head of Ferenc Rákóczy is depicted. Another coach carries water from a

25 In the Vienna Burg. Szmolen Tóni (with condescending grandiosity): "*Only go so far my son, and maybe you'll become prime minister.*" (A bécsi burgban. *Bolond Istók*, 26, no. 23 from 7 June 1903).

26 The council of ministers in Vienna (a moment). Tóni Smólen informs Tibiszkus (István Tisza) on the views of the highest Vienna circles. (Minisztertanács Bécsben. *Bolond Istók*, 27, no. 10 from 6 March 1904)

mountain spring and a cow.²⁷ Is it a tasteless allusion to the late Empress Elizabeth and her healthy way of life?

No year passed without Szmolen appearing on the pages of the humorous opposition magazine as a symbol of Vienna, the court camarilla and the Emperor, whether in the text or in pictures. In October 1905, at a time of mounting internal political crisis, when struggle in the streets replaced discussion in the dissolved parliament, and Fejérváry's government of officials ruled the country in place of the united opposition, which had won the elections, Szmolen appeared on the title pages of the still government humorous magazine *Borsszem Jankó*. While cleaning, he had broken a statue with the inscription *Béke (Peace)*. This expressed the complexity of the situation, from which there was no starting point.²⁸ Further caricatures from the magazine *Bolond Istók* point to the struggle of the government of officials with the county authorities and other realities of the turbulent political scene. Szmolen as a symbol survived not only the government of the united opposition grouped around the Independence Party, but also the government of the National Labour Party, which was nothing other than the liberals repainted.

So-called pan-Slavist letters appeared regularly in the magazine *Bolond Istók*. They were always written in Slovak – Hungarian pidgin by the fictional “pan-Slavist voter” Mišo Chamajda. It was a genre that used relatively primitive and sometimes vulgar satire to ridicule the Slovak political elite. In one of these pan-Slavist letters from 1909, Szmolen was not placed in Vienna among politicians loyal to the Emperor, but in entirely different company, which clearly points to his other, this time ethnic identity. In this letter, the Slovaks describe Szmolen as “our great protector”, whose son was baptized by Andrej Hlinka, and with whom, the member of parliament Milan Hodža had drunk to friendship ten times. On the other hand, the letter describes “wittily” in debased Hungarian all the anti-Slovak activities of the individual Hungarian ministers, which the Emperor only ineffectively watches. “*The Emperor cannot be proud of this and we do not cry 'Long Live...' either for him or for Tóni Szmolen*”, adds the pan-Slavist Chamajda.²⁹

Thus, this article contained a unique combination of the loyalty and ethnic identity of our hero. While the first characteristic derived from the nature of his service and Szmolen declared it with his devoted everyday work, he did not hide the second, but it remained in the background and he did not derive any political consequences from it. We know of no contacts with the Slovak political elite, and so the above mentioned connections with Hlinka and Hodža were most probably invented in an effort to compromise Szmolen from this point of view.

Another so-called pan-Slavist letter from September 1911 spoke of Czecho-Slovak relations and the importance of universal suffrage for the pan-Slavist Slavs. Together with the pan-Romanians, they were more numerous than the ethnic Hungarians or Magyars, which gave them a chance to gain control of the government. “*I think we will succeed*” states the author Mišo Chamajda, “*because in Vienna we are friends with Tóni Smolen, who is a great potentate in the Burg. The Hungarians do not have such good*

27 The court in Budapest. Moving. (Az udvar Budapesten. *Bolond Istók*, 27, no. 19 from 8 May 1904).

28 A bécsi Burgból. *Borsszem Jankó*, 38, no. 1974 (41) from 1 October 1905

29 Panszláv levél. *Bolond Istók*, 32, no. 29 from 18 July 1909.

protection. We also strengthen our position by not obstructing. We render unto Caesar, the things that are Caesar's... especially recruits. We give as many as are wanted. In this way, we, the pan-Slavist leaders, are working for an independent Slovakia."³⁰

After a multitude of pictures and mentions in text, we meet our hero for the last time in 1914 on the eve of the First World War. He appears in a rather untraditional, apolitical position, because precisely in that year, the remains of the executed leaders of the so-called Jacobin conspiracy of 1795 were found in Budapest below Buda Castle. Tóni Szmolen meets the free thinking ghost of Ignác Martinovič in the corridors of Buda Castle, and as a person loyal to the Viennese structures, he is terrified: not simply by a ghost, but by the fact that Martinovič wanted to turn the Monarchy into a complex of republics. It was not known to the public in 1914 that Martinovič also cooperated with the secret police, or the virtual Szmolen might not have feared him the way the devil fears holy water...³¹

However, the life of Anton Szmolen did not happen only at the Vienna court and in a parallel virtual form on the pages of the magazine *Bolond Istók*. Otherwise only a minimal number of people would have learnt about him. Ordinary people did not visit the court and the magazine had a narrow range of readers with a particular political and social position. For example, it was not read by voters and supporters of the traditionally strongest Hungarian party – the Liberals, not to speak of members of the non-Magyar nationalities. In addition various humorous opposition magazines were published in Budapest alone.

In spite of this, the name of Tóni Szmolen became known far beyond the limits of the court and the voters for the parties that supported Hungarian independence. Perhaps it is not surprising that the name of the Vienna lackey also resounded in Budapest cabarets and on the stages of theatres. This brought it popularity among the widest layers of the population. This was the decisive phenomenon in the popular entertainment and artistic taste of the time. The theatres and pubs were filled every day and Tóni Szmolen gradually became known to everybody, although far from everybody knew that he really existed.

A play with the title *Szmolen Tóni*, presenting a picture of life in the capital city, was performed in the Népszínház of Budapest in spring 1905. Various allusions to the play and its popularity in the press of the time are also understandable in this context. It won the hearts of audiences from the beginning and by the first days of September it had been performed 50 times.³² Until the end of the shortened season, when the Népszínház was moving, nothing else was performed in this Budapest theatre. The play was written by Soma Guthi and the music composed by Barna Izsó.

The basic idea of the drama was that Tóni could gain his heart's desire only when he abandoned his anti-Hungarian hatred. His beloved asked the champagne intoxicated Tóni to sing Kossuth's song. At first he refused, but in the end he gave in and sang this historic popular song. They learnt about this in Vienna and Tóni was thrown out of

30 Panszláv levél. *Bolond Istók*, 34, no. 38 from 17 September 1911.

31 Kisértet a budai várban. *Bolond Istók*, 37, no. 23 from 7 June 1914.

32 *Magyar szinpad*, 8, no. 245 from 4 September 1905, p. 4.

service. The formerly Hungarian hating lackey left Vienna and swore allegiance to an independent, constitutional Hungary, with which the play culminated.³³

It would be interesting to know whether Szmolen went to the theatre and how he perceived his popularity. Various pictures show that this possibility was entirely real for the popular press of the time, although we have no evidence, in particular not from Szmolen himself.

In 1906, probably because of their great success, the two authors – Soma Guthis and Barna Izsó – wrote a short farce in three acts with the same title: *Smólen Tóni*. It entirely abandoned a storyline and concentrated only on some catchy and certainly already popular songs. The even more popular type of entertainment provided songs of a fairground and pub character. They were sung to beer and sometimes the whole pub joined in the chorus. The name of our Szmolen also came into such an environment. Károly Tüzér, a journalist and author of various cabaret or farcical texts wrote the song *Smólen Tóni daliból* (*From the songs of Tóni Szmolen*) and gave it first place in a small collection from 1906 with the title *Smólen Tóni s egyéb dalok* (*Tóni Szmolen and other songs*).

It is clear from these facts that the appearance of Szmolen in the humorist magazine *Bolond Istók* already gave the majority of readers a clear idea of who he was. The name must have been sufficiently fixed in the consciousness of the public, especially in the capital city. After demonstrating the “popularity” of Tóni Szmolen in the humorous magazine of the nationally oriented opposition and explaining the use of Szmolen’s name to represent the Vienna camarilla, centralism, the arrogance of the central power and even the monarch himself, from 1903 until the First World War, almost five years after Szmolen left his service, it is time to consider the causes of this situation. At the court, various chamberlains and dozens of lackeys followed each other and many of them came into close proximity to the monarch. Why was it that none of them except Szmolen entered the discourse of the time or historical memory and did not become so famous during their active service, not to mention the entirely independent symbolic meaning of his name? Even Eugen Ketterl became known to the public only after he wrote and published his memoirs in 1929... There is also space here for a further, no less serious question: How is it possible that Anton Szmolen did not even mention in his memoirs, his rich virtual life in Budapest, which he must have known about, at least from other people’s accounts?

The answer to this question is certainly more than surprising, especially after reading the memoirs, in which the author depicted himself as a principled person, who desired justice. It is found on the floor of parliament in November 1902. Beginning in October 1902, the autumn session of parliament was held for the first time in the vast new parliament building on the Danube embankment, which is still one of the dominant features of Budapest. The presence of the monarch at the opening of the parliamentary discussions was expected, since this was in accordance with historical tradition. However, the first day of discussions was to be 6 October, an extraordinarily sensitive day for Hungarians, because on that day in 1849, thirteen generals of the Hungarian revolutionary army

33 A Smolen Tóni szövege. *Magyar színpad*, 8, no. 245 from 4 September 1905, p. 4. According to the press of the time, the title of the play is “*the often mentioned name of the court lackey, a name, which is also mentioned in parliament and which has become a sort of tendentious political term*”. Irodalom és művészet. A budai szinkörben. *Vasárnapi Ujság*, 52, no. 31 from 30 July 1905.

from the defeated revolution of 1848/49 were executed at Arad. It was not considered desirable that the new parliament as symbol of Hungarian independence should be opened by the monarch, precisely on the anniversary of these executions, for which he had at least political responsibility. The opening of parliament was, therefore, moved a few days later, but the monarch still did not come. The reason was undoubtedly indignation over recent pompous celebrations of Kossuth in Budapest and other towns in Hungary, since the hundredth anniversary of Kossuth's birth came in September 1902. As a symbol of the anti-Habsburg struggle, Kossuth was still viewed very negatively in Vienna, and there was a high level of sensitivity to any celebrations concerning the revolution of 1848/49 and its symbolism. Political instrumentalization of the Hungarian struggle for independence mainly under the direction of the political opposition was a favourable opportunity for the escalation of Austrian – Hungarian tension.

Soon after the beginning of discussions in parliament, a monumental statue of King Mathias Corvinus by the sculptor János Fadrusz was unveiled at Cluj in Transylvania. Whoever has seen this statue at least once will know that its theme is a triumphant equestrian statue of the King of Hungary with the humbled Bohemian and Austrian Estates. For this reason, the monarch also did not attend the unveiling. The elderly Archduke Joseph, a former Palatine of Hungary, did not go to Cluj because of illness. His son, Archduke Joseph Augustus, at this time owner of Topolčianky and its lordship, came as the only representative of the ruling house. The public perceived this negatively as an indication that the dynasty scorned Hungarian history. In addition, Joseph Augustus left Cluj quickly and was an unwilling witness of how radicals booed the imperial anthem *Gott erhalte*.

The relatively turbulent discussions in parliament began in an atmosphere of festering historical reminiscences and mutual accusations. The opposition took advantage of every opportunity to criticize Vienna and its alleged or real anti-Hungarian views. The slow talks on concluding new customs tariffs, which paradoxically threatened the existence of the dual state more than anything else, and were associated with open political blackmail from the Hungarian side, contributed to the strained atmosphere. Other financial and budgetary questions facing the session of parliament were no less explosive.

The opposition member of parliament Zoltán Lengyel (1873 – 1940) spoke in this atmosphere on 7 November 1902. His extensive statement included the first mention of Anton Szmolen in parliament, and this is precisely where we have to seek the reason why he came to the attention of the political elites and the wider public sympathizing with the opposition. This was the birthplace of the virtual life of Anton Szmolen, his later “popularity” and symbolic meaning.³⁴

In his speech, Lengyel criticized the ever-increasing cost of the court, which “consumed an ever-larger slice of the budgetary “cake”. The ruling family was constantly growing, allowances had to be paid to the ever-growing number of archdukes and arch-duchesses. Hungary had to contribute an ever larger part of its quota for the functioning of the court, although in contrast to other countries, a Hungarian royal court hardly exis-

34 *Az 1901. évi október hó 24-ére hirdetett országgyűlés képviselőházának naplója. VIII. kötet. (Record of the session of the Chamber of Deputies called on 24 October 1901. Vol. VIII.).* Budapest 1902, p. 265-271 (141st session of the Hungarian Parliament from 7 November 1902).

ted. It was characteristic that when the court came to Hungary, it formally consumed a few bottles of Tokaj wine, but otherwise they drank Austrian, Rhinish and Burgundian wines as if Hungary had no high quality wines of its own. According to a shout from one member of parliament, the historian Kalmán Thaly, the court even brought its own water to Hungary. Let us recall the drawing of the coming of the court to Budapest in which the coach behind Szmolen's contains an Austrian cow and a barrel of Austrian mineral water.

Lengyel described with some enthusiasm how the court horses were always fed with Viennese oats and kept in stables with Viennese straw on the floor. All the food was transported from Vienna, as a result of which the Budapest market did not even notice the arrival of the court, while the Viennese market did not notice its departure. Cutlery was cleaned with Viennese emery, and dirty dishes were even washed in imported water. The court organized balls and banquets, but when its members left, according to Lengyel, no general uplifting feeling remained, and neither did the will, which normally moved the national forces forward. The wishes of great personalities did not remain here, nothing remained, only horse bedding and... Tóni Szmolen's debt!

This was how Szmolen's name was heard for the first time in the brand-new chamber of the new parliament building on Friday 7 November 1902. The rhetorical question: "Who is that?" immediately followed. Zoltán Lengyel declared in connection with Szmolen that "*up to now the world did not know him, but today he is already an important historical personality*".³⁵ In the winter of 1901/1902, Szmolen had allegedly participated in many parties in Budapest, which led to large debts, and he did not condescend to pay them. The case came before a court with a jury in the absence of Szmolen. Tóni's advocate used a particular method of defence, the arrogance of which took the breath away, and thanks to this, the whole case came to parliament. Szmolen accepted the debt, but since he was not an inhabitant of Budapest but of Vienna, he could literally whistle at the Hungarian court. Therefore, the Budapest court of the I-III district wrote to Szmolen's employer, namely the imperial and royal supreme equerry. Lengyel was already offended by the fact that they wrote in German, since it was a Hungarian court, which decided in the name of the King of Hungary and did not assume that a servant of the King of Hungary could be a citizen of a state other than Hungary. We know from court sources, that in August 1902, a letter really came from the above mentioned Budapest court, to enquire whether Szmolen came to Budapest as part of his service.³⁶

The arrogance of the highest degree allegedly came here. On 27 August 1902, letter no. 810/1902 from the office of the supreme equerry stated the following: "*The personal lackey Anton Szmolen performs his service for the greater part of the year in Vienna, and only from time to time, during the monarch's stays in Budapest, is he sent there to perform his service.*"³⁷ According to Lengyel, this letter was worthy of remaining in the memory of later generations, because what could be deduced from it? For example, when the King of Hungary declared that Budapest was his city of residence, he was not

35 Ref. 34, p. 268.

36 Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv Wien, Hofarchiv, Oberstallmeisteramt, Geschäftsbücher, 90. Geschäftstagebuch (1902), Nr. 810 from 21 August 1902.

37 Ref. 34, p. 268.

telling the truth, because according to the court office, Szmolen only came to Budapest from time to time. An occasional visit could be called a trip or recreation, something very different from maintenance of a court in Budapest, which had more than only symbolic importance for the Hungarians. Lengyel called on the minister of Home Defence (Honvéd) as a person close to the Emperor, to ask him who was right: The monarch, when he stated that Budapest was the regular seat of the court, or Szmolen and the office of the supreme equerry, according to whom it was possible to build up debts in Budapest and not pay them. After many deviations, the member of parliament returned to Szmolen. If the court and the monarch were not here, at least let Szmolen stay!

After such a great speech, people already learnt, who was hidden behind the name Tóni Szmolen. Thanks to the daily press, where his name acquired the character of a symbol, the public was also in the picture. From 1902, thanks to his personal debt and his employer's defence, behind which was rightly seen the inviolable majesty of the monarch, Szmolen was seen as the most famous of more than 50 lackeys at the Vienna court. As we already mentioned Szmolen's name lived on, even after his retirement for service. Until 1918 he was a symbol of the court and a substitute motif for every hidden attack on the monarch.

No week passed without the opposition member of parliament Győző Pichler making a speech criticizing the rising cost of the court, the growing number of archdukes and finally the servants with repeated use of Szmolen's name. In December 1902, the details of Szmolen's case were again presented to parliament by the opposition member Pál Nessi.³⁸ In connection with the ever increasing expenses, he stated that Hungary gave 160 million crowns for maintenance of the royal court, and so it had a right to demand an account of how this money was spent, when the court was not really located in Budapest. Nessi mentioned the equestrian statue of Prince Eugene of Savoy at Buda Castle. He was a great general, but a foreigner and certainly not a friend of the Hungarians. The polemic regarding the historical interpretation and the only temporarily placed statue, which, however, still stands there, already went beyond Szmolen, who, as has been shown, served only as a trigger mechanism for opposition – government exchanges of views. He gradually became a symbol of the arrogance of Vienna and all the alleged or real injustices towards the ethnic Hungarians or Magyars and their state. In the understanding of the politicians, the multi-national Kingdom of Hungary was exclusively Magyar.

This was also confirmed by the use of Szmolen's name by Endre Ady and others in the daily *Nagyváradai Napló* from the beginning of 1902. The main idea of the various complaints against the monarch and his relationship to the Hungarians was: where there is bread, there is also Tóni Szmolen; where there is money, there you will always find plenty of lackeys.³⁹

38 Ref. 34, p. 360 (145th session from 12 November 1902); *Az 1901. évi október hó 24-ére hirdetett országgyűlés képviselőházának naplója. IX. kötet. (Record of the session of the Chamber of Deputies called on 24 October 1901. Vol. XI.)*. Budapest 1902, p. 354 (165th session of the Hungarian Parliament from 6 December 1902).

39 Dr. K. M. [KADOSA, Marcell]: Haragszik a király (*Nagyváradai Napló*, 5 December 1902) and ADY, Endre: A hétről (*Nagyváradai Napló*, 7 December 1902). In *Ady Endre összes prózai művei. III. Újságcikkek, tanulmányok. (Endre Ady's Collected Prose Works. III Newspaper Articles, Essays.)*. Budapest 1964,

In October 1905, András Áchim, the well-known small farmer member of parliament of Slovak origin from Békescsaba, reacted to the criticism of the court and its anti-Hungarian policy, which was also popular among the Slovak political elite. According to Áchim: *“The Hungarian people are not taken in by the intrigues of the Vienna camarilla, the Hungarian people do not send their representatives here, so that Viennese Tóni Szmolens can laugh at their weakness, but so that they can produce laws and legislation for the benefit of the homeland and its people.”*⁴⁰

From that time, Szmolen’s name began to appear in parliament with iron regularity. It was usually in brief references, using his name in anti-Vienna rhetoric, and it was often heard in the shouts of individual members. Obviously, everybody already knew the meanings associated with this name, especially since from the summer of 1903, it regularly appeared in *Bolond Istók*, which was also popular reading in political and parliamentary circles, since every public figure looked for himself there and was certainly also pleased if he appeared. Ridicule and caricatures from the political opposition confirmed that a person was probably doing his work well, since otherwise he would not irritate and provoke anybody. The worst thing for any politician always was and still is not being talked about.

Szmolen actually was not a politician and we do not know to what degree he followed his name in Hungarian political discourse. However, it certainly could not have escaped the attention of people at the court, and information of this character must have reached Szmolen’s ears. That he could not and did not welcome it is also shown by the fact that he never mentioned his “popularity” even with one word.

However, it more surprising that Szmolen’s name continued to be instrumentalized in the Hungarian parliament after the break up of Austria-Hungary, from November 1921 until March 1939, with its most frequent occurrence in 1923. This shows that Szmolen remained fixed in the historical memory as a negative symbol in spite of all the constitutional changes. After 1918, his name remained a term of abuse and was sometimes put into a group with liberals, cosmopolitans, traitors and non-Magyars.

In December 1921, member of parliament Menyhért Kiss contributed to the discussion of foreign policy questions in connection with Trianon and the attempt of Karl Habsburg to return to the throne. He returned to the negative role of the Habsburg dynasty in Hungarian history. This dynasty and its representatives had allegedly done everything to ensure that: *“The Hungarian could not be independent, but became obedient and humiliated, rubbing his hands together with Tóni Szmolen at the Vienna imperial court, who is happy, when His Imperial Highness scatters crumbs or grants him the Order of St. Stephen, Order of the Garter or Order of the Golden Fleece. The policy of the Austrian imperial house looked like that.”*⁴¹

p. 182 and 403.

40 *Az 1905. évi február hó 15-ére hirdetett országgyűlés képviselőházának naplója*. II. kötet. (*Record of the session of the Chamber of Deputies called on 15 February 1905. Vol. II.*). Budapest 1906, p. 22 (40th session of the Hungarian Parliament from 10 October 1905).

41 *Az 1920. évi február hó 16-ára hirdetett nemzetgyűlés naplója*. XIII. kötet. (*Record of the session of Parliament called on 16 February 1920. Vol. XIII.*). Budapest 1921, p. 401 (269th session of the Hungarian Parliament from 15 December 1921).

Sycophancy and betrayal of national interests proved to be phenomena with a permanent place in Hungarian political discourse, so Szmolen as their bearer could become their permanent symbol. As a symbol of a policy of servility and subordination, in other words a policy without a backbone, his name was comprehensible to everybody, although the interpretation of further meanings it had picked up was not identical. As a result of the conceptual – political “emptiness” of this person, anybody could fill it with whatever he wanted. The rightists understood under the name Szmolen, orientation to any democratization of the country and abandonment of legitimism, which meant to them, loss of legal capacity or of a well-thought out, independent foreign policy of Hungary and its subordination to the policies of the great powers. For example, when a representative of Hungary participated in the celebrations of the fifth anniversary of the Czechoslovak Republic, a voice in parliament stated that the age of Tóni Szmolen had ended.⁴² On the other hand, the leftists understood under the name Szmolen, precisely legitimism and especially in connection with the magnates, the old subordination to dynastic interests.

Szmolen’s name was last heard in the Hungarian parliament as an example of a policy with no backbone, on 13 March 1939, so that even eleven days after the death of the state pensioner in Banská Bystrica, his virtual life still continued. It was probably the last time up to now... If he kept quiet about the instrumentalization of his person before the First World War for understandable reasons, he certainly did not even guess the length of his long virtual life.⁴³

The Hungarian writer, poet and journalist Gábor Oláh (1881 – 1942) mentioned in his diary for 1925 that at the June session of the city council in Debrecen, the mayor György Magoss was allegedly a man with the face of Tóni Szmolen, which could not be anything positive according to the symbolism of the time. We learn the real meaning of this comment, only when we find that in May 1919, Magoss led a delegation from the city of Debrecen to the King of Rumania Ferdinand I at Carei (Nagykároly). During their ceremonial reception, another member of the delegation, the Reformed Bishop Dezső Baltazár blessed the king and his political supporters, apparently after the occupation and looting of the city by Rumanian units. Oláh was alluding to precisely this expression of servility with his comparison. However, when Lajos Lakner prepared this diary for publication in 2002, he wrote because of inadequate knowledge in a note on the name Tóni Szmolen, that he was “*a popular figure in the humorist magazines of the time: a lackey with a shaved face and wide mouth.*”⁴⁴ In this way he shifted Oláh’s description to an entirely different level and deprived the original text of an important connotation.

In 1927, another of Oláh’s diary entries, this time concerning a session of the Petőfi Society (*Petőfi Társaság*) in Debrecen, again included a mention of Magoss with a

42 *Az 1922. évi június hó 16-ára hirdetett nemzetgyűlés naplója.* XVII. kötet. (*Record of the session of Parliament called on 16 June 1922. Vol. XVII.*). Budapest 1923, p. 36 (189th session of the Hungarian Parliament from 30 October 1923).

43 *Az 1935. évi április hó 27-ére hirdetett országgyűlés képviselőházának naplója.* XXII. kötet. (*Record of the session of the Chamber of Deputies called on 27 April 1935. Vol. XXII.*). Budapest 1939, p. 358 (381st session of the Hungarian Parliament from 13 March 1939).

44 LAKNER, Lajos (ed.). *Naplók. Oláh Gábor.* (*Diary of Gábor Oláh.*). Debrecen 2002, p. 356.

comparison to the “*Austrian lackey Tóni Szmolen*”.⁴⁵ Here, he already did not hide his criticism of servile or lackey-like behaviour towards every Habsburg or Austrian. He used Szmolen’s name precisely in the spirit of the stereotype of the time.

In 1927, one of the leading Hungarian writers Mihály Babits (1883 – 1941) published his fourth novel *Halálfiái (Sons of Death)*. The extensive work followed the destiny of three generations of a family in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. However, it is interesting for us that in the novel Szmolen also flashes past, and not only on the symbolic level, but also in real time – at the turn of the years 1905 – 1906 at the time of the government of officials of Baron Géza Fejérváry and turbulence on the domestic political scene. Whoever considered himself a patriot was against the government subservient to Austria, while the lackeys of Vienna and traitors served it.⁴⁶

The life of Szmolen in artistically valuable literature and in journalism had many forms and persisted further. Ferenc Rajniss (1893 – 1946), a native of Bardejov, rightist journalist and an extraordinarily observant and educated man, became a minister in the government of Ferenc Szálasi in the last phase of the Second World War. On the eve of the appointment of the former long-serving Hungarian ambassador to Berlin Döme Sztójay as prime minister and minister of foreign affairs on 18 March 1944, Rajniss noted in his diary Sztójay’s similarity to Szmolen. The already dead Szmolen also functioned here as an example of a traitor and a lackey, with an unconcealed allusion not only to the alleged negative characteristics of Sztójay, but also to his non-Magyar origin.⁴⁷

The life of Tóni Szmolen continued to appear in various areas of public discourse with political connotations in post-war Hungary. The writer and journalist Géza Laczkó (1884 – 1953) wrote a science fiction novel *The remarkable experiences of the Lunar David on Earth (Holdbéli Dávid csodálatos tapasztalatai a Földön)*. It was published in 1972, after the author’s death, and a second edition appeared in 1981. Although it is science fiction, in the middle of the action, a lackey appears and demands that one of the characters should go down on his knees and bow down before the king. However, this person would prefer to hit the “*unwanted Tóni Smólen*” in the tummy.⁴⁸ His name is, therefore, connected with the position of lackey and with somebody unpleasant and interfering. Since the novel dates from the beginning of the 1950s, it still fits into the wartime context, when the name of the Viennese lackey was still reverberating.

In 1958, the writer József Lengyel (1896 – 1975) published the novel *The troubled life of Ferenc Prenn (Prenn Ferenc hányatott élete)*. The novel originated during the author’s internment in the Soviet Union, from where he returned to Budapest in 1955. He finished the work at home. In it, an abstract lackey flashes past, taking hot sausages

45 LAKNER, ref. 44, p. 368.

46 BABITS, Mihály. *Halálfiái. (Sons of Death.)*. According to <http://mek.oszk.hu/05300/05361/05361.pdf>, p. 204.

47 Szálasi minisztere voltam. Rajniss Ferenc naplója. (*I was a minister under Szálasi. Diary of Ferenc Rajniss.*). Budapest 2001, p. 79-80.

48 LACZKÓ, Géza. Holdbéli Dávid csodálatos tapasztalatai a Földön. In LACZKÓ, Géza. *Innen és túl. (Here and there.)*. Budapest 1981, p. 144.

to the king on a golden plate: “*With short trousers, white stockings and a clean shaven face. Smólen Tóni, as such a person is pejoratively known...*”⁴⁹

An article from the pen of the rightist writer and journalist Lajos Marschalkó (1903 – 1968) was written in exile in direct reaction to the events of 1956 in Hungary. The author lived abroad already from 1945 and the people’s court condemned him to death in his absence immediately after the war. Under the title *The immortal city (A halhatatlan város)*, he recalls, seeks parallels and compares the capture of the city by the Soviets in 1945 and the struggle 11 years later. He sees the Hungarian soldiers and defenders as fighters for freedom, regardless of their religion, party allegiance and views. In the rhetoric of Hungarian nationalism, he writes that the spirit of Mother Hungaria will ask the Hungarians whether they remained faithful, or whether they toasted the glory of the Soviet Union with Voroshilov, and then with the same cup filled with whiskey they drank to the salvation of American senators and political scientists? “*The nation is not represented either by the Moscow lackeys or by the small cliques of Tóni Smólens polishing keys in Washington*” writes Marschalkó. Even in 2012, this text is enthroned on the website of the rightist Jobbik⁵⁰ party, and it is more than questionable whether the readers understand the use of Szmolen’s name. The same applies to novels written in the 1950s, but still published and possibly read. Today’s readers are not only unable to identify this name, they also do not understand its symbolism. If the name earlier lost its real bearer or bodily reality and became a mere symbol, it has now lost its added value and become incomprehensible. The Institute of Linguistics of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences has no rational interpretation of this name found in numerous artistic, journalistic and political texts.

We could quite well conclude our consideration with that statement, or, at least, so we thought, until we found in the depths of the Internet, a discussion about public transport in the Hungarian town of Szeged. In an extraordinarily rich and sometimes in the spirit typical of anonymous Internet discussion, in October 2007 a certain “Diégo” reacted with irony to a previous contribution: “*Thanks for the entry! You are the real thing and all the others are just ordinary Tóni Smolens.*”⁵¹

Thanks to this reaction, we have confirmation that Anton Szmolen still lives! It would be interesting to find out who or what the writer understands by this name. If Szmolen was silent about the instrumentalization of his name before the First World War for understandable reasons, he did not guess how long his virtual life would continue, and that it would remain in the historical memory almost seven decades after his death. This is a “performance” not achieved even by many politicians and artists.

Szmolen replaced István Pecsovics, a negatively popular name from 70 years earlier, as a symbol of treason and collaboration in 20th century Hungarian discourse. Thanks to the varied media of the modern period, Szmolen gained greater breadth and a longer life.

49 LENGYEL, József. Prenn Ferenc hányattott élete. In LENGYEL, József. *Mérni a mérhetetlent. Lengyel József összegyűjtött munkái. II. (Measuring the unmeasurable. The Collected Works of József Lengyel. II.)*. Budapest 1966 (cited according to the electronic edition <http://mek.niif.hu/06408/pdf/merni2.pdf>, p. 217).

50 <http://fajszijobbik.mindenkilapja.hu/html/23421109/render/a-becsulet-napja>

51 <http://217.20.131.3/Article/showArticle?go=72682160&t=9049702>

Rudolf Mrva played the role of traitor and in this case also police informer in the Czech environment in a similar way to Szmolen. However, the public did not appropriate his name to the same extent, and the events of 1918 led to him being quickly forgotten.⁵²

Szmolen's memoirs also uncover further space for interpretative possibilities, not only concerning what they include, but also what they omit. More thorough research very quickly shows that concealment of some circumstances and phenomena from his life was characteristic of Szmolen. He manipulated and mystified practically his whole life, and also had a share in his other, to a large extent virtual life story. According to the written memoirs, he was born in 1855, but according to the Banská Bystrica registers he was born on 5 September 1856, a year later! He was baptized on 14 September, apparently because of the feast day of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross, to which the so-called Slovak Church in Banská Bystrica is dedicated.⁵³ It is possible to speculate about why he had to make himself older. With the greatest probability, he did it earlier, and the aim was so that he could reach pensionable age sooner. He did not forget to write his fictitious date of birth into his hand written memoirs. He succeeded in extending the deception beyond his death, since his death certificate gave his date of death as 2 March 1939 and his age as 84 years!⁵⁴

In 1874, when Szmolen was 19 according to his version, an official letter from Vienna came to the authorities of the town of Banská Bystrica, releasing him from the local orphanage. The release came to the attention of the town, where Anton Szmolen was born and where he was officially resident. Tóni Szmolen left us in his memoirs only very fragmentary information about what happened to him and his siblings after their parents' deaths. He preferred to hide from the world the fact that he was cared for in such an institution.⁵⁵

Szmolen described the circumstances of his entry into service at the imperial court in detail in his hand written memoirs from 1933. He succeeded in getting to the court by the official route on the basis of a request, thanks to luck and a good impression through Count Bellegarde. However, already two years later he had the need to present to the secretary of the Banská Bystrica Chamber of Commerce and Industry Ján Balko an entirely different story: about military manoeuvres near Zlaté Moravce and about the good impression he made on the Emperor while serving as a "waiter". The Emperor asked him personally... perhaps this was going to be the meaning and point of a new story.

52 HOLEC, Roman – PÁL, Judit. *Aristokrat v službách štátu. Gróf Emanuel Péchy. (An aristocrat in the service of the state. Count Emanuel Péchy.)*. Bratislava 2006, p. 158; PERNES, Jiří. *Spiklenci proti Jeho Veličenstvu. (Conspirators against His Majesty.)*. Praha 1988, p. 251-275.

53 State Archives Banská Bystrica, Banská Bystrica branch, Collection of Church Registers, Roman Catholic Register of Births, Parish of Banská Bystrica, 1844 – 1866.

54 Bishopric of Banská Bystrica, Diocesan Archive, Copies of the register of deaths, Parish of Banská Bystrica, 1924 – 1953 and State Archives Banská Bystrica, Banská Bystrica Branch, Uznesenie Okresného súdu v B. Bystrici v dedičskej veci Antona Szmolena, c. D 183/39 (Opis smrtného zápisu). (Resolution of the District Court in B. Bystrica on the inheritance of the property of Anton Szmolen, c. D 183/39 (Copy of death record).

55 State Archives Banská Bystrica, Banská Bystrica Branch, Town of Mesto Banská Bystrica collection, 1874 admin, 1194, c. 179.

With such a selective memory and various mystifications, it is not surprising that Szmolen did not write about the scandal in Budapest and its result: his virtual life as a symbol of everything bad that Vienna represented in Hungarian politics. The only explanation we have is second hand through the above mentioned Ján Balko. When he got to know Anton Szmolen, as will be considered further, he recalled, although as someone born in 1901, he could not have it from personal experience, that the bearer of this name was a famous person in the old monarchy: they sang songs and couplets about him in Budapest. Szmolen's answer was a beautiful example of how he could construe the past after decades, although the correct years do not appear in it!: "*The Hungarians ridiculed me because I was the Emperor's chamber pot bearer and as a Slovak, I strove to carry on chamber pot politics. It was an allusion to the fact that I was in contact with the Vienna Slovaks.*"⁵⁶ Later, he made this more exact with four names: the editor and journalist Anton Štefánek, the composer Mikuláš Schneider-Trnavský, the businessman Kornel Stodola and the guard captain Ferdinand Bitter. The first studied and worked in Vienna in the period 1898 – 1907, and the second studied in the period 1901 – 1903. Stodola studied in Vienna at the end of the 19th century, but returned there only at the beginning of 1913, although there were other Stodolas active in Vienna. We know nothing about the fourth name. It is possible that Szmolen had information about Slovak societies active in Vienna, namely the *Národ* for craftsmen and vegetable producers, the academic *Tatran* and the workers' *Slovenská vzdelávacia beseda* (*Slovak Education Club*), and that he participated in them from time to time. However, we do not find him among the members of the societies. It is also possible that he simply invented everything and deliberately avoided speaking about the Slovak community in Vienna during the war, because it would be much easier to verify that.

We know very little about what happened between Anton Szmolen's departure from the court at the beginning of 1910 and his death in 1939, a period almost twice as long as his service at the court. We can suppose from the available information that Szmolen headed for the Kingdom of Hungary after the end of his service. He probably found shelter with one of his sisters. We do not know where he was during the war or in autumn 1918. We do not know when he returned to Banská Bystrica. We also have only fragmentary information about his private life, about the women in Szmolen's life and about his children.

He wrote in detail in his memoirs only about his first wife Františka Pertot from Nabresina near Trieste. They were married on 12 March 1881. Their first daughter, Augusta was born at the beginning of 1882. In January 1884, Tóni's wife died in Budapest of complications resulting from the birth of their second daughter Františka. The widower Anton Szmolen with two little daughters needed to find a new partner. He was not so lucky this time. He found a young widow, but she was under the strong influence of her mother, an old woman from the suburbs of Budapest.

The mother in law with her "*fanaticism*" not only allegedly "*shortened*" the life of her husband, but also had a decisive influence on the failure of the new relationship.

56 BALKO, Ján. *Od cisára pána k tatičkovi Masarykovi. Život v piatich režimoch I. (From the Emperor to Daddy Masaryk. Life under five regimes I.)*. Prešov 2006, p. 364

According to Szmolen, “*she made our life unpleasant for so long that I was forced, when she [my wife] did not want to go with me to Bosnia, to leave her permanently from 1890, and in 1893 to find another person to care for my children. I still live with her today (1934), in poverty but happily, since she is reasonable, and if we very much need and cannot have, we are still content in our misfortune...*”⁵⁷

Like almost everything, this does not entirely correspond to the truth. The third woman in his life, about whom we have information, was Anna Szmolen. We actually do not know whether she was the woman with whom he lived from 1893 until “today” – 1934, when he wrote his memoirs. However, we know that in March 1902 Anna Szmolen wrote a letter to her husband’s superiors, asking them to secure the resources necessary for her existence, because her husband had abandoned her.⁵⁸ Tóni either left her out of his memoirs and “artificially stretched” life with another woman or was reconciled with Anna and continued to live with her? We do not know the answer. However, when Szmolen died in March 1939, he was already a widower, and the late Justina Gladibradičová is mentioned on his death certificate by his name. Is this the woman he lived with for so long and mentioned in his memoirs, while Anna is concealed? The alternative is that in the period 1934 – 1939, Anna died, then Anton met and married Justina, who also died before her husband. There are more than enough question marks. The truth is that there were enough women in Szmolen’s life, and he probably got married four times.

We know even less about his children. Both daughters from his first marriage, Františka and Augusta got married. The first lived in Trieste and the second in Vienna. Each had five children, so Szmolen had at least ten grandchildren. He was delighted about this, because like most children from large families, family meant a lot to him.

As a former lackey at the Vienna court, which disappeared with the Monarchy, he had great problems surviving as a state pensioner with a minimal income. It is not surprising that in this situation, he remembered the deposit of 300 Gulden, gradually built up as a guarantee by deduction from his pay, after he joined the Austro-Hungarian army. As a result of the pleasure of getting to the court, he allegedly entirely forgot to ask for this money back. In any case, he wrote to the Ministry of National Defence in Prague and all the necessary documents went to the financial directorate. A negative reply came only after nine months and many reminders. Since his regiment was Hungarian, Szmolen also wrote to Miklós Horthy in Budapest. He did not get a reply, but it would be interesting to see what effect the letter from the demonized Tóni Szmolen had among the Hungarian state officials. Perhaps they were surprised that the bearer of this famous name really lived...

Let us return to Ján Balko’s discussion with Szmolen, since it was precisely problems with his pension that led to it. Probably in 1935, an old and grey man appeared at the office of the chief secretary of the Chamber of Commerce and Industry in Banská Bystrica. Balko recalled: “*He was dressed in black, slightly faded clothes and had side whiskers on his long face. The old man respectfully bowed... ‘I am Anton Smolen from*

57 Ref. 6, p. 59.

58 Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv Wien, Hofarchiv, Oberststallmeisteramt, Geschäftsbücher, 90. Geschäftstagesbuch (1902), Nr. 241 from 11 March 1902.

Radvaň, I was a lackey of the Emperor Franz Joseph and I have a request for you!”⁵⁹ The request concerned financial securing. Szmolen was paid from the resources of the court and with the break up of the Monarchy, he lost his claim to a pension. He survived with the help of his family and was kept above water by his ownership of a family house on Radvanská Street. He asked for financial assistance or for work, which would secure at least some income. Balko asked for all the relevant data and when he met Miloš Ursíny at the Bryndza (soft sheep cheese) Makers Syndicate in Turčiansky Svätý Martin, he asked Ursíny to ask his brother, the agrarian politician Ján Ursíny to pass on Szmolen’s request to Milan Hodža, prime minister of Czechoslovakia and also an agrarian. The documents and summary of Szmolen’s life really reached Hodža and after about two months, Szmolen had on his table a notification of a monthly pension of 800 Czechoslovak crowns “*with back payments*”. Balko advised and helped the delighted old man write letters to thank Ursíny and Hodža.

In connection with the death of our hero and solution of the inheritance of his property, we find among the documentation a confirmation from the Financial Directorate in Bratislava that his pension was 794 crowns, which confirms Balko’s account. Therefore, Szmolen did not have to complain of not having enough in the last years of his life. His pension was three times larger than the average old age pension of a worker insured with the Central Social Insurance Company (Ústredná sociálna poisťovňa) and almost identical to the average monthly old age pension of private office workers insured with the General Pension Institute (Všeobecný penzijný ústav) in 1936.⁶⁰

Let us return to Szmolen’s reaction to Ketterl’s memoirs, where our whole story began. Szmolen’s reaction appeared on the pages of the newspaper *Kassai Ujság*, as a result of the mediation and translation of Gusztáv Zipser (1896 – 1944), his neighbour in Banská Bystrica and a journalist, probably also the regional correspondent for the *Kassai Ujság*. Zipser came to Banská Bystrica thanks to his marriage to a local woman, Anna Brveníková. He knew Szmolen from about the end of the 1920s, and Anton was certainly an extremely interesting person for him as a journalist. It is possible to imagine how Zipser anticipated much interesting information from behind the scenes of the highest structures of the old regime. However, Szmolen was mean with words as a result of his loyalty, and he said little of importance, especially about the former Emperor and his family. He expressed himself for the first time in the above mentioned reaction to Ketterl’s memoirs.

Ketterl was already dead when his memoirs were published, so Szmolen’s view could not lead to any polemics. However, the different views and commercial success of Ketterl’s memoirs, which were and still are widely read, were undoubtedly an important impulse leading to Szmolen reaching for the pen. Perhaps an even more important factor was the urging of Zipser, who certainly attached a lot of importance to the old lackey not

59 Ref. 56, p. 363.

60 State Archives Banská Bystrica, Banská Bystrica branch, Uznesenie Okresného súdu v B. Bystrici v dedičskej veci Antona Szmolena, (Resolution of the District Court in Banská Bystrica) c. D 183/39 (Generálne finančné riaditeľstvo (General Financial Directorate from 31 July 1939); PRŮCHA, Václav (ed.). *Hospodářské a sociální dějiny Československa 1918 – 1992. I. díl, období 1918 – 1945. (Economic and social history of Czechoslovakia 1918 – 1992. Part 1, 1918 – 1945.)*. Brno 2004, p. 408.

taking his experiences with him to the grave. Apparently all this led to the text written by Szmolen in 1934.

We know of two other written materials from the pen of Anton Szmolen, both of a personal character. From 30 January 1938, we have Szmolen's only letter known up to now. He wrote it in his uneducated German with the shaking writing of an old person to his second daughter Františka (Franciska), known as Fanny.⁶¹ She lived at Aurisina near Trieste. An interesting feature of the letter is that even at the end of his life, he signed it as the 83 year old former lackey of Franz Joseph. However, it is clear from the register that he was actually aged "only" 82. It is as if he believed in his virtual age... A characteristic feature of the letter is the humility of a person standing at the end of his life and deep resignation to the will of God, which, in Szmolen's view did not contradict his critical view towards priests and the Church.

In September 1938, not long before his death, Anton Szmolen wrote his will, in which he more or less symbolically, considering his minimal property, disinherited his first-born daughter Augusta Križajová, because "*even in the most difficult times, she did not care for me and harshly violated her duty to respect me. She did not care for me at all*".⁶² He made his grand daughter Silvia Križajová heiress to all his property. She lived in the Szmolen family house at Radvanská 18. However, this had to be only under the condition that she would not "*treat it rowdily, because she has a bad habit*".⁶³ These comments more than clearly testify to the poor state of relations in the family. This father and grand father was obviously not one of the most popular members of the family.

The grand daughter as Szmolen's sole heiress did not have the slightest reason to "look forward" to her inheritance. It included a few old pieces of furniture with a value of about 150 crowns. She was also supposed to inherit "*a large portrait of my great benefactor, His Majesty the Emperor and King of Hungary Franz Joseph I.*" However, according to the will, she would be allowed to sell it or donate it in memory only after 17 years "*to a serious person, who would treat the picture with respect as I have always done*". The deceased's pension for the first three months of 1939 had to be used to pay the cost of the funeral. Anton Szmolen wished to be buried from the house "*of his good parents*" and in his own grave.⁶⁴ Even this was not obvious, since according to his death certificate, he died at Radvanská 11 and this was his last address. His grand daughter lived in the old family house and as stated above relations between them were not as good as they might have been, so the course of the funeral was not so obvious that the old Szmolen did not feel the need to emphasize certain things.

Anton Szmolen died on 2 March 1939, soon after the dramatic events of 1938, the threats to the republic, Munich, the Vienna Arbitration and its consequences, the adoption of the Act on the Autonomy of Slovakia, and on the eve of the definitive break up of the remnants of the state and the formation of the Slovak Republic. The day after his

61 Anna Maria Paolin, great grand daughter of A. Szmolen sent the letter to M. Bovan.

62 State Archives Banská Bystrica, Banská Bystrica Branch, Uznesenie Okresného súdu v B. Bystrici v dedičskej veci Antona Szmolena, (Resolution of the District Court in Banská Bystrica on the inheritance of the property of Anton Szmolen) c. D 183/39 (will from 18 September 1938).

63 Ref. 62.

64 Ref. 62.

death, an obituary appeared in the *Kassai Ujság* under the title: *Tóni Szmolen, former favourite lackey of Franz Joseph, has died.*⁶⁵ It is more than probable that the prepared obituary came from the pen of the already mentioned neighbour Gusztáv Zipser, since it included details, which others could not know.

The obituary stated that the funeral would be on Saturday 4 March 1939, and it emphasized the discrete loyalty and faithfulness of the deceased, who took all his secrets with him to the grave in the spirit of his oath. Clearly, Zipser either did not know about the memoirs or simply did not want to write about them. However, he wrote about that which Szmolen had kept secret all his life, namely that a play was written about him and that from the 1890s (!?) he became the target of attacks from the Hungarian political opposition, which, through him, attacked the monarch, who rarely had his court in Hungary. Allegedly this was precisely why the deceased was favoured by Franz Joseph. According to the author of the obituary, attacks appeared in *Borsszem Jankó* and other humorous magazines. It is clear that the author knew something, but was not entirely accurate. *Borsszem Jankó* was a humorous magazine close to the government and the Liberal Party, and so it did not attack either the monarch or Vienna.

The obituary contains other errors. However, something that certainly corresponded to the truth, since the author must have seen it for himself, was the information that Szmolen regularly went to funerals of allegedly Hungarian old residents, and always wearing a black top hat, as was fashionable in the previous (19th) century. Few knew that the black mourning ribbon on the hat came from the funeral of the Empress Elizabeth. Allegedly Tóni Szmolen mourned for every deceased member of the ruling house with the exception of Franz Ferdinand from 1914, which can also be believed. Equally, it would be highly probable that he would have sincerely honoured the Emperor's "girl-friend" Katharina Schratt on her death, as if she was a legitimate member of the court. The problem was that Schratt was still alive. She died in 1940, a year after Szmolen. It is obvious that the obituary was written quickly and so contained many inaccuracies. However, the information that Szmolen congratulated Schratt on her eightieth birthday in September 1933 and received a reply thanking him, could be based on the truth. He must have known Schratt, and her approach to the servants gained her much sympathy among them. The repeated theme of the whole obituary is the unprecedented faithfulness and loyalty of the former lackey to his highest master. Nothing bad about Franz Joseph was ever heard from Szmolen's lips. Although he could tell much of interest about life at court, he always stopped before the majesty of the Emperor and King. He dealt with all questions by saying that a Hungarian never breaks his oath.

The last words do not look trustworthy. Banská Bystrica was a Slovak town and Tóni Szmolen declared his origin without problems even before 1918. Moreover, he wrote his memoirs in Slovak. It is more than probable that here the author of the obituary, namely Zipser, a person with an undoubtedly Hungarian or Magyar identity, was presenting his own view. In the end the text was intended for the *Kassai Ujság* and the self-confidence of Hungarians was sky-high in those March days of 1939.

65 Meghalt Szmolen Tóni, Ferenc József egykori kedvelt lakája. *Kassai Ujság*, year 29 from 3 March 1939.

A hand written letter from Silvia Križajová from April 1939 is preserved, with a request for quick settlement of the inheritance, since “*creditors are already pursuing payment of the deceased's debts to them*”.⁶⁶ In this context, the effort of the sole heiress several years later to sell everything of any value that remained is understandable. Precisely at the beginning of the 1940s, various objects, which recalled episodes in Szmolen's life story came to the Central Slovakia Museum in Banská Bystrica. He was already dead and the surviving members of his family improved their position at least a little in this way. As a result, some objects have survived until today. After the “discovery” of his memoirs, they have gained increased value.

In 1943, more than four years after Szmolen's death, his grand daughter Silvia Križajová handed over his handwritten memoirs to Gusztáv Zipser. He apparently had plans to publish them, as is showed by notes in Hungarian with ink pencil in the margins of Szmolen's text. However, the war not only thwarted his plans, but also deprived him of his life at his most productive age.

Zipser's son Juraj, now already at an advanced age, sorted through his father's possessions and decided that it was a pity to leave it forgotten, so he offered it to the Central Slovakia Museum in Banská Bystrica at the end of 2009. In this way, he not only preserved a unique source, but also enabled the revival of another interesting figure from the Slovak past. At the same time, he provided a stimulus to research, which has methodically shown, how it is possible on one side to deal with a person's past, and on the other, how a person's past can develop independently of the will of the person and live its own life even after his death.

SLOWAKISCHER LAKAI AM WIENER HOF UND SEIN VIRTUELLES LEBEN IN DER UNGARISCHEN POLITIK UND KULTUR

ROMAN HOLEC – MARIÁN BOVAN

Die Entdeckung der handschriftlichen Memoiren von Anton Szmolen (1856 – 1939), der in den Jahren 1894 – 1910 als Lakai am Hof des Kaisers Franz Josef in Wien arbeitete, wurde zum Anlass für die Erforschung dieser bis jetzt unbekannter Person. Als ein Slowake kam er in die unmittelbare Nähe des Herrschers und seiner Familie. Er blieb ihm auch nach 1918 loyal, als er in Banská Bystrica lebte. Seine Memoiren sind eine beachtenswerte Erkenntnisquelle. Noch interessanter ist aber die Mystifikation um die eigene Person, die aus den Memoiren von Szmolen ein fast methodisches Beispiel der Manipulation und Verschleierung der Wirklichkeit machte, woran er dann schließlich selbst glaubte.

66 State Archives Banská Bystrica, Banská Bystrica Branch, Uznesenie Okresného súdu v B. Bystrici v dedičskej veci Antona Szmolena, (Resolution of the District Court in Banská Bystrica on inheritance of the property of Anton Szmolen), c. D 183/39 (S. Križajová Okresnému súdu v Banskej Bystrici (S. Križajová to the District Court in Banská Bystrica) from 17 April 1939).

Interessanter als seine Karriere als Soldat und am Hof ist das virtuelle Leben von Anton Szmolen. Sein Name wurde nämlich in dem ungarischen politischen und intellektuellen Diskurs des 20. Jahrhunderts zuerst zum Symbol für Wien, Hofkamarilla und Hofarroganz. In solcher Funktion kam er in Karikaturen der ungarischen humoristischen Zeitschriften, in den Theaterstücken und Possen, in den Liedern und im Parlament vor. Durch Szmolen attackierte man indirekt den Kaiser und Wien. Die Namensymbolik überlebte dank damaligen Medien auch die Dienstzeit von Szmolen und sogar den Sturz der Monarchie. Nach 1918 transformierte sich den Namen von Szmolen und erlang eine breitere Bedeutung als Symbol für den Verrat, Lakai und Aufwarten bei fremden Mächten. Nach Jahrzehnten wusste niemand mehr, auf wen sich der Name bezieht und Szmolen verstarb in Vergessenheit in Banská Bystrica. Sein Name lebte aber in der ungarischen Politik, Literatur und Publizistik weiter, sein Name überlebte den zweiten Weltkrieg und die Jahrzehnte danach bis in die Gegenwart. Es handelt sich um einzigartiges Beispiel dafür, wenn die zusätzliche Symbolik des Namens wesentlich länger als sein wahrer Träger lebte.

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ECONOMIC POLICY AND MINING INTEREST ORGANIZATIONS IN SLOVAKIA UP TO 1929.

MIROSLAV LACKO

LACKO, Miroslav. Economic Policy and Mining Interest Organizations in Slovakia up to 1929. *Historický časopis*, 2013, 61, Supplement, pp. 81-105, Bratislava. The author maps the activities of mining interest organizations in Slovakia up to 1929. The Union of Mining and Foundry Enterprises (Zváz banských a hutníckych závodov) associated only private companies and membership was only voluntary. The union fully developed its activities after 1921, and engaged in many economic, political and social questions. In the process of reforming the fraternal insurance companies (bratské pokladnice), the need to more closely cooperate with the state-owned mines emerged. This led to the formation of a new interest group in 1926: the Slovak Mining Region (Slovenský banský revír). Since membership of this corporation was already compulsory, its influence on the development of economic policy increased, especially after 1929. The agenda of the banking interest organizations strongly reflects all the problems, with which the extractive industry in Slovakia had to struggle in the period of the first Czechoslovak Republic. Mining interest organizations. Union of Mining and Foundry Enterprises. Slovak Mining Region.

Interest organizations, which associated individual companies and enabled the promotion of common interests, also form part of the field of research and methodological concept of business history. The first of them already arose as a result of the process of industrialization in the 19th century, and in three types: chambers of commerce and industry, free economic associations and associations oriented towards the market, for example, the labour market.¹ German historiography has already devoted considerable attention to the problem of interest associations, and the first works on this theme in Czech historiography have appeared in recent years.² Czech historians have also realized the need for research on the interest structures of the business elites in the context of methodological considerations of the concept of the history of business.³ Concrete results

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- 1 PIERENKEMPER, Toni. *Unternehmensgeschichte*. Eine Einführung in ihre Methoden und Ergebnisse. Stuttgart : Franz Steiner Verlag, 2000, p. 273
 - 2 For more information on interest organizations in German historiography see PIERENKEMPER, ref. 1, p. 274-279. In addition, e.g. MÜLLER, Uwe. Der Verband ostdeutscher Industrieller zwischen Nationalismus und Regionalismus. In *Wirtschaftsnationalismus als Entwicklungsstrategie ostmitteleuropäischer Eliten*. Die böhmischen Länder und die Tschechoslowakei in vergleichender Perspektive. Praha: Verlag Aleš Skřivan ml.; Berlin: Berliner Wissenschafts-Verlag, 2004, p. 135-155. For more details on the results of Czech historiography in this field, see LACINA, Vlastislav – HÁJEK, Jan – SLEZÁK, Lubomír. Historiografie moderních hospodářských dějin českých zemí koncem 20. a na počátku 21. století. (The historiography of the modern economic history of the Czech Lands at the end of the 20th and beginning of the 21st century.). In *Hospodářské dějiny*, 2009, year 24, p. 232.
 - 3 ŠTAIF, Jiří. Moderní podnikatelské elity (koncepty, procesy, interakce a reprezentace). (Modern business elites (Concepts, processes, interactions and representation)). In *Moderní podnikatelské elity – metody a perspektivy bádání*. Praha : Dokořán, 2007, p. 33-34.

of such research were published by Vlastislav Lacina, who correctly pointed to the fact that in our conditions, the joint promotion of interests by means of whole-industry or sectoral organizations happened especially after the First World War.⁴ Up to now, Slovak historiography has not devoted any closer attention to the problem of economic interest organizations, apart from basic information in general works.⁵ Precisely this fact, as well as a trend in international historiography, was the stimulus for our research.

The Central Union of Czech Industrialists was established in Prague on 18 June 1918, already at the end of the First World War. On 18 May 1919, after the formation of the republic, it transformed itself into the Central Union of Czechoslovak Industrialists, which would be active in the whole state. *The Průmyslový věstník (Industrial Bulletin)* was published to provide information about its activities. The union had close personal connections to the Živnostenská (Trade) Bank and played an important part in the formation of the independent Czechoslovak economy and state. Representatives of Slovak industry also joined the union with some delay, and the Central Association of Slovak Industry operated in the territory of Slovakia as part of the union. It was originally established on 7 March 1920 as the Regional Group for Slovakia of the Central Union of Czechoslovak Industrialists with its seat in Bratislava. In 1926, it changed its name to the already mentioned Central Association of Slovak Industry. This organization published information about the state of industry in Slovakia in the annual Slovenský priemysel (Slovak Industry).⁶ The place of interest organizations in the shaping of economic policy in inter-war Czechoslovakia was not insignificant. After the end of the post-war economic crisis, stabilization of the situation and the coming of a boom, a liberal conception was applied in state economic policy. Until the outbreak of the great economic crisis in 1929, the state did not directly intervene in industrial production and prices. During this period, the interest organizations fulfilled various coordinating roles, which had previously been

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- 4 LACINA, Vlastislav. Průmyslové podnikatelské elity a hospodářská politika meziválečného Československa. I. Uplatnění vlivu průmyslníků na hospodářskou politiku prostřednictvím Ústředního svazu čs. průmyslníků při a po vzniku ČSR. (Industrial business elites and the economic policy of inter-war Czechoslovakia. I. Assertion of the influence of industrialists on economic policy by means of the Central Union of Czechoslovak Industrialists during and after the creation of the Czechoslovak Republic.) In *Moderní podnikatelské elity – metody a perspektivy bádání*. Praha : Dokořán, 2007, p. 93; LACINA, Vlastislav. Vznik čs. zájmových organizací průmyslníků a jejich místo v hospodářském životě nové republiky. (The formation of Czechoslovak interest organizations by industrialists and their place in the economic life of the new republic.) In *Na pozvání Masarykova ústavu 3*. Praha : Masarykův ústav – Archiv AV ČR, 2007, p. 50-55. See also the contributions by ŠTEMBERK, Jan. Stavovské podnikatelské spolky – cesta k poznání oborových elit? (Professional business associations – the way to knowledge of business elites?). In *Moderní podnikatelské elity – metody a perspektivy bádání*. Praha : Dokořán, 2007, p. 312-324; ŠTEMBERK, Jan. Ústřední svaz dopravy 1940 – 1948. (The Central Union of Transport.). In *Acta Oeconomica Pragensia*, 2007, year 15, no. 7, p. 405-416
- 5 Basic information about the importance of interest corporations in the process of restructuring the Czechoslovak economy after 1918 is presented by HALLON, Ľudovít. Príčiny, priebeh a dôsledky štruktúrnych zmien v hospodárstve medzivojnového Slovenska. (The causes, course and results of structural changes in the economy of inter-war Slovakia.). In *Slovensko v Československu (1918 – 1939)*. Bratislava : Veda, 2004, p. 357-361.
- 6 LACINA, Průmyslové podnikatelské elity, ref. 4, p. 100-105; HALLON, ref. 5, p. 359

performed by the state. This tendency continued in the 1930s, when there was less state intervention in industry, than, for example, in agriculture.⁷

However, the process of constituting these institutions was delayed in Slovakia. While the Union of Mine Owners was formed in Prague already in the first half of 1919, a similar association was formed in Slovakia only later. According to some views, this happened because it was necessary to create an entirely new society, adapted to the new constitutional situation, and as a result of the absence of any natural economic centre.⁸ Representatives of some of the Slovak mining enterprises met for the first time on 20 March 1920, when they discussed collective agreements concluded with the workers about working condition and improved wages. These discussions involved especially representatives of enterprises from the territory of eastern Slovakia, such as works of the Rima Murán – Salgótarján Iron joint stock company (hereinafter Rima Murán company), Mining and Foundry Company, Vítkovice Mining and Foundry Mining Association, (Vítkovické banské a hutné ťažiarstvo) and the Upper Silesian Company for Railway Products (Roztoky works). Almost all the mining enterprises were represented at a further meeting on 10 September 1920, which was devoted to the problem of supplies for the mining workforce. At this time, the population was experiencing a shortage of food and the state was regulating trade in it.⁹ At this session, the enterprises had discussions with representatives of the Economic Office and the Regional Cereals Institute about setting monthly quotas for rations of flour, pulses, potatoes and sugar for workers and oats for horses. Difficulties arose especially from the fact that the state authorities often could not secure the quantity of food required according to the official quotas. For this reason, the mining enterprises strove to supply their employees themselves, but this was not easy. The director of the Vítkovice Mining and Foundry Mining Association in Rudňany Arpád Hönsch pointed to the fact that from January to September 1920, his works received 15 fewer wagons of flour than the workers needed. The directors of the mining works were promised more from the new harvest, but even then they did not succeed in securing 9 kg of flour for each worker. Barley flour was delivered to the mine workers instead. During the shortage of these commodities, the black market boomed and prices increased immensely. Therefore, the directors of mining companies demanded the right to freely buy flour for their needs and centralize the distribution of pulses in the new economic year. The representatives of extractive industries expected that the quota for pulses would not be lower than 2 kg per worker or individual member of his family. At the meeting, they also agreed to assign the output of mills, which would supply the

7 LACINA, Vlastislav – SLEZÁK, Lubomír. *Státní hospodářská politika v ekonomickém vývoji první ČSR. (State economic policy in the economic development of the first Czechoslovak Republic.)* Praha : Historický ústav ČAV, 1994, p. 29, 44, 63-67; LACINA, Vlastislav. *Hospodářská politika československého státu a podnikání ve dvacátých letech 20. století. (Economic policy of the Czechoslovak state and business in the 1920s.)*. In *Moderní dějiny – Sborník k dějinám 19. a 20. století*, 1996, year 4, p. 179.

8 Štátny ústredný banský archív v Banskej Štiavnici (The Central State Archives of Mining in Banská Štiavnica) (hereinafter ŠÚBA), fond Sváz banských a hutnických závodov na Slovensku v Bratislave (Collection of the Union of Mining and Foundry Enterprises in Slovakia in Bratislava) (hereinafter SBHZ), inventory number (hereinafter inv. no.) 497a, Das Verband der Berg- und Hüttenwerksunternehmungen in der Slovaekci 1920-1929, carton (hereinafter c.) 42.

9 Ref. 8.

centres of the industry with flour. The quota for flour had to be 12 kg per worker and 8 kg for each family member. These quotas did not include breadcrumbs or partly ground grain. A larger quantity of potatoes had to be secured for the forested and mountainous counties. The quota for sugar of 1.25 kg was the same as in the Czech Lands. It was also necessary to secure shoes for the workers.¹⁰ These discussions also showed the need to discuss problems and defend the common interest in solving them.

The cooperation between people and groups interested in the mining business was soon put on an institutional basis. The Mining and Foundry Section of the Regional Group for Slovakia of the Central Union of Czechoslovak Industrialists was established on 30 September 1920 in Bratislava. The mining directors and engineers Rudolf Bíró, Oskar Goldstein, Ludwig Förster, Gabriel Görög, Fritz, Július Wick, Ľudovít Ertl, Arpád Hönsch, Richard Hoffmann, E. Piovarczy, Vondřej, Walter Schumacher, Pokorný and Maděrič participated in the founding assembly on 30 September 1920 in Bratislava. They decided that the section had to defend the common interests of the mining and foundry businesses in the framework of the Regional Group for Slovakia and cooperate with the Union of Mine Owners in the Czechoslovak Republic based in Prague. The central director of the Rima Murán Company Ing. Rudolf Bíró was elected as chairman of the section, with the directors Ing. Oskar Goldstein from the Coburg works and Gabriel Görög from the Handlová coal mines as his deputies. O. Goldstein (with director Ing. Oskar Rösner as his deputy), G. Görög (deputy: mining adviser Ing. Richard Hoffmann from Handlová), director Ing. Arpád Hönsch from Rudnany (deputy: director Ing. Walter Schuhmacher from the Upper Silesian joint stock company for Railway products – Hornosliezska účastinná spoločnosť pre železničné potreby) and the chief mining adviser Ing. Josef Lodl (deputy: chief mining adviser Ing. Aurel Lehotzky also from the state mines) were elected to the committee. The administrative agenda was entrusted to the secretary Dr. Ervin Hexner and from November 1920 Ing. Otto Kapp. Meetings of the section had to be held monthly, alternately in Bratislava and in Spiš.¹¹

Some organizational questions were also discussed at length during the plenary meeting of the section on 3 November 1920 at Starý Smokovec. The section passed a resolution stating that only mining and foundry enterprises, including those concerned with crude oil and magnesite, could become members. The activity of the section was relatively autonomous and only had to agree with the Regional Group for Slovakia of the Union of Czechoslovak Industrialists on general questions of social and economic policy. The organization had an independent budget. Every member of the section automatically became a member of the Union of Industrialists and paid membership fees to it. The section was represented in the Regional Group by its chairman and secretary. It also participated in the general running of the Union of Owners of Mines in the Czechoslovak Republic and the Union of Czechoslovak Engineering Companies. They also agreed at this meeting that the chairman of the section would discuss with the ministry adviser Josef Lodl, with regard to the membership of state enterprises, but this was not done. Dr.

10 ŠÚBA, f. SBHZ, inv. no. 471, Protokoll aufgenommen anlässlich der am 10. September d. J. stattgefundenen Sitzung in Angelegenheit der Arbeiterverpflegung der Bergwerke, c. 39.

11 ŠÚBA, f. SBHZ, inv. no. 471, Protokoll der konstituierenden Sitzung der Bergwerks- und Hüttensektion der Landesgruppe für die Slowakei des Zentralverbandes der čsl. Industriellen, c. 39

Peters from the Union of Owners of Mines commented that he would like every member of the section to be a member of this union as well, so that the whole organization would be a section.¹² The mining section solved its relationship to this union at its December session, which decided that every enterprise had to join the Prague union independently, rather than as a group. Independent membership of the individual business entities was more advantageous because of a greater weight of votes, since graduated voting rights applied in the Union of Owners of Mines in the Czechoslovak Republic. In the end, the mining section also became part of this union and had two places reserved for it on its board. Ing. R. Bíró and Dr. G. Görög were nominated to it, with O. Goldstein as a deputy. Exchange of minutes of the meetings of the two organizations was agreed and their cooperation was supposed to be strengthened by a representative of the union, who could participate in sessions of the section.¹³

Changes came in 1921 – the Mining and Foundry Section of the Regional Group for Slovakia of the Central Union of Czechoslovak Industrialists was dissolved and a new, independent interest organization was established: the Union of Mining and Foundry Enterprises in Slovakia. Its statutes were officially approved on 18 May 1921, and from then it operated as an autonomous legal person. As the statutes of this corporation state, its aim “*is to defend and support the interests of the mining and foundry industry in Slovakia*”. It was a non-political association with its headquarters in Bratislava. Its languages of discussion were German, Hungarian and the “Czechoslovak language”. Any physical person or legal person involved the mining or foundry business in the territory of Slovakia could become a member of the union. If more than one business belonged to the same owner, each could become a separate member of the union. A member of this organization also became a member of the Central Union of Czechoslovak Industrialists or the Regional Group for Slovakia and the Union of Owners of Mines in the Czechoslovak Republic. The board decided on acceptance into the association on the basis of an application with a declaration that the applicant would accept all the decisions of the board and general assembly, and would discuss essential questions only after hearing the recommendations of the union. Any member could leave the organization at any time after declaring its decision to the board. Similarly, the board could decide to exclude a member, which damaged the reputation of the organization or seriously violated the obligations of membership. A member could appeal against exclusion to the general assembly, which decided by a two-thirds majority. If the ownership of a member enterprise changed, the obligations of membership passed to the legal successor.

Every member had an active and passive voting right and the right to submit proposals to plenary meetings and to the board. Naturally, all members were obliged to observe the statutes, resolutions of the board and general assembly, as well as to pay membership fees. A member was represented in the union by one or more of its executives, who were

12 ŠÚBA, f. SBHZ, inv. no. 471, Protokoll aufgenommen am 3-ten November 1920 in Stary Smokovec anlässlich der monatlichen Plenarsitzung der Bergwerks und Hüttensektion der Landesgruppe für die Slowakei des Zentralverbandes des Čsl. Industrieller, c. 39

13 ŠÚBA, f. SBHZ, inv. no. 471, Protokoll aufgenommen am 6. Dezember 1920 in Bratislava anlässlich der monatlichen Plenarsitzung der Bergwerks- und Hüttensektion der Landesgruppe für die Slowakei des Zentralverbandes der čsl. Industriellen, c. 39

announced to the authorities of the association. Only persons in leading positions, such as directors or procurists could be appointed as representatives of individual members. If a member had more than one representative, only one had the right to vote. Every member had to pay the cost of its own representatives.

The authorities of the union were the chairman, board and general assembly. The chairman was elected by the general assembly from among its members and he could be elected repeatedly. Together with one deputy, he represented the union externally and directed its administration. In exceptional cases, he could appoint a member of the board or the secretary as his representative. His tasks included monitoring all developments in the extractive industries, preparing and calling the meetings prescribed by the statutes, and chairing these meetings. The board comprised five members of the union, who held this position for one year. A deputy had to be nominated for each member of the board. Both member and deputy could come from the same business. The board dealt with the current affairs of the union, which did not require resolutions from the general assembly. The board was able to take decisions by majority vote if at least three members were present. If there were equal numbers of votes, the chairman decided. Minutes of meetings were produced and signed by the chairman and the keeper of records. The board also had the right to appoint a secretary and other assistant staff, and to decide their pay. The general assembly was composed of representatives of the members. It had to be held monthly, and if it was not capable of passing resolutions, which meant that less than a third of the members came, another meeting had to be called within 14 days. Such an assembly could decide without regard for the number of votes. Every member could allow another member to represent him, but this had to be confirmed by a written authorization. Voting was directed by the same rules as at meetings of the board. The number of votes depended on the number of employees for whom a company paid the membership fee. There was one vote for every 100 workers. The subject of the discussions of a general assembly was the report of the board on the activities of the union, report on spending, the budget and setting of the membership fee, matters submitted by the board, election of the board and two auditors to check accounts, appeal against exclusion or rejection of a membership application, changes to the statutes of dissolution of the union.

The union finance office secured the financing of the whole organization. Membership fees were set according to the number of workers of the member business. A sum for one employee was multiplied by the total number of employees.

An arbitration court decided any disputes within the union. There were also provisions for the possible dissolution of the union.¹⁴

The first board had the already mentioned chairman Ing. R. Bíró, with Ing. O. Goldstein as first deputy chairman and G. Görög as second deputy. The other members of the committee were Ing. Arpád Hönsch from the Rudňany mines of the Vítkovice Mining Association, the chief mining adviser Ing. Josef Lodl from the state mines. Their deputies were the mine director Ing. Oskar Rösner from the Coburg Works, mining adviser Ing. Richard Hoffman from the Handlová mines, Ing. W. Schuhmacher and Ing. A.

14 ŠÚBA, f. SBHZ, inv. no. 509, Stanovy Svazu báňických a hutnických závodů na Slovensku, (Statutes of the Union of Mining and Foundry Enterprises in Slovakia), c. 46.

Lehotzký. We can state that in comparison with the committee of the Mining and Foundry Section of the Regional Group for Slovakia, the composition of the people holding the leading positions had not changed.

The members of the union included the Rima Murán company (central director Rudolf Bíró, deputy mining director in Rožňava Alexander Müller), which controlled the Pohornádska Iron Works joint stock company (director in Krompachy Dr. Ludwig Förster) and Union – Iron and Sheet Metal Works (director in Zvolen Béla Clement). Other independent members were the Mining and Foundry Works of Filip Coburg (central director Oskar Goldstein in Tnava, director in Dobšiná Oskar Rösner), Handlová Coal Mines joint stock company (chief director Gabriel Görög, director Dezider Szephegyi, mining adviser Richard Hoffmann), Upper Silesian Joint Stock Company for Railway Products (mine director Walter Schuhmacher), Mining and Foundry Company (mining adviser Dr. Hugo Drolz, mine directors K. Koláci, E. Piovarczy, L. Eckert), Hornosliezská Iron joint stock company (it left the union in 1925), Vítkovice Mining and Foundry Mining Association (directors Arpád Hönsch, Augustín Böhm), Pyrite Company (mine director Július Wick, procurist Edmund Schönhauser), Prakovce Steel and Iron Works joint stock company (director Vondřej) and the company Dobšiná Asbestos (director Schindler).¹⁵ In 1922, the General Magnesite joint stock company (President Bartolomeus Gunszt, directors Alexander Székely, Louis K. Gunszt, Heinrich Bodó), which owned the works in Chyžná Voda, left the union. In 1928, Krompachy Copper Works joint stock company joined the union.

One of the first reforms affecting the mining and foundry industry in the territory of Slovakia was liquidation and merging of fraternal insurance companies. These were self-help organizations, which took care of the social security of miners and their families. They paid support during sickness, benefits and pensions, secured medical care and other connected activities. According to the General Mining Act from 1854, every mining entrepreneur was obliged to establish a fraternal insurance company at his mining business. Membership was obligatory for mine and foundry workers.¹⁶ In the course of the First World War and as a result of the political and economic changes around 1918, the fragmented fraternal insurance companies were placed in a critical financial situation. The currency reform and especially their property in the form of state bonds significantly influenced the unfavourable position of the insurance companies, which had to be solved after 1918.

The representatives of the mines already concerned themselves with the question of the fraternal insurance companies at their first meeting. At the session of the Mining and Foundry Section on 3 November 1920 in Starý Smokovec, Walter Schuhmacher director of the Upper Silesian joint stock company for Railway products informed the

15 ŠÚBA, f. SBHZ, inv. no. 31, Firmenverzeichnis des Verbandes der Berg- und Hüttenwerksunternehmungen in der Slowakei, c. 2.

16 See also the study by ZAHRADNÍK, Stanislav. Úloha bratrských pokladen v československém hutnictví železa do roku 1948. (The role of fraternal insurance companies in the Czechoslovak iron industry up to 1948.). In *Hospodářské dějiny*, 1980, year 5, p. 181-271. Jaroslav Mazúrek gave marginal attention to fraternal insurance companies in Slovakia. However, his monograph on mining in Slovakia in the period 1854 – 1938 only uncritically repeated data from older literature.

participants about the unavoidability of liquidating the former Hungarian securities or war loans and receivables of the fraternal insurance companies towards the Post Office Savings Bank, as well as the interest and receivables from these securities. Information about the merging of the fraternal insurance companies still had to be obtained. At the next meeting of the section, on 6 December 1920 in Bratislava, the Ministry of Finance informed the participants that the question of the old receivables of the insurance companies would be solved in cooperation with Hungary, but only after the conclusion of an inter-state treaty with Austria. The Czechoslovak Republic promised that the interest on the securities would be paid in this case, although the peace treaty did not commit it to doing this. Payment of Hungarian war loans could not be realized because the state offered only a further state loan, which would be to the advantage of the fraternal insurance companies. The members of the section or their representatives present at the meeting finally agreed that their fraternal insurance companies would not participate in a new state loan or would do so only to a very limited extent. Oskar Goldstein from the Coburg works pointed to the fact that the majority of securities of the Slovak fraternal insurance companies were located outside the Czechoslovak Republic. Therefore, he proposed that they should ask for a later subscription deadline, but the members of the section did not reach a unified view. Information from the Union of Mine Owners in Prague regarding increased benefits also affected the fraternal insurance companies. The government was considering increasing the provisions determined by the act of the Ministry of Public Works from 29 October 1919 by 100%. The increase had to be covered without collecting further contributions. The workers demanded that the benefits be raised to the pre-war level, taking into account the changes in the value of money since then. The representatives of the members of the section stated that they considered it impossible to increase the provisions by 100% in the framework of their fraternal insurance companies.¹⁷ The planned reform and merging of the fraternal insurance companies was already mentioned at the December session of the section.

In spite of this, the raising of benefits was actually implemented, specifically on the basis of government decree no. 474 from 29 December 1921, which applied retrospectively from 1 October 1921. The increase was supposed to be covered by resources from the Central Support Fund of the fraternal insurance companies. However, the reform of the insurance companies involved not only the minimum level of benefits, but also a significant limitation of the influence of the employers on the running of the fraternal insurance companies, so the development of the reform was carefully watched. The Union of Mining and Foundry Enterprises was also appropriately represented at the Central Support Fund, which was established in 1921.¹⁸

At the plenary session on 25 September 1922, the secretary of the union Otto Kapp informed the representatives of the member enterprises on the continuing reform of the fraternal insurance companies. During 1922, insurance was divided into accident, pension and medical sections. All mine workers were insured against accidents with the

17 ŠÚBA, f. SBHZ, inv. no. 471, Protokoll aufgenommen am 3-ten November 1920 in Starý Smokovec anlässlich der monatlichen Plenarsitzung, ref. 12, Protokoll aufgenommen am 6. Dezember 1920, ref. 13.

18 ŠÚBA, f. SBHZ, inv. no. 31, no. sp. 1-338 from 12 May 1922

General Accident Insurance Company, but this increased the cost for the mining companies. The charges for accident insurance were gradually increased from 1920. The companies represented by the Union of Mining and Foundry Enterprises also had reservations against the assignment of works to risk classes, on which the cost of insurance was based. According to Otto Kapp, a large number of people worked in the Slovak timber industry, but the timber companies were not able to cover the cost of accident insurance for their workers. This failure had to be balanced by the assignment of the extractive industry to the highest risk classes with the highest possible levels of payments. The Regional Office for the Insurance of Workers applied this assignment. Kapp recommended that the companies should strive to gain assignment to the lower risk, less financially demanding classes. He proposed obtaining confirmation from mining offices, which would state that the safety measures in mines were modern and in a good state. At the same time, the mining companies had to point to the favourable accident statistics wherever possible. The union clearly wanted to appeal to a higher authority against the decision of the Regional Office for the Insurance of Workers.

Where pension insurance is concerned, the insurance previously provided by the independent fraternal insurance companies was unified by legislation into the Central Fraternal Insurance Company with its headquarters in Prague. All the rights and obligations of the pension sections of the fraternal insurance companies were transferred to the one central organization. The medical insurance sections of the Slovak fraternal insurance companies were also dissolved and their role transferred to the unified Regional Fraternal Insurance Company in Bratislava. In this context, Ing. Hugo Brief from the Handlová Coal Mines joint stock company suggested to the plenary session of the union in September 1922 that the union should establish contacts with the commission carrying out the liquidation of the insurance companies and cooperate with it in working out the statutes of the Regional Fraternal Insurance Company, which had to include only the legally unavoidable obligations.¹⁹ However, the Regional Fraternal Insurance Company only began its activity in 1924.

Soon, on 9 November 1922, the secretary of the union Otto Kapp informed the representatives of the member companies about the economic problems of the Central Support Fund. Under the influence of the post-war economic crisis, unemployment had grown and the number of active members of the fraternal insurance companies had declined, while the number of benefit claimants had increased. At the same time, the reduction of wages in the functioning enterprises had an effect on the state of the funds. As a result of this, the funds could not pay pensions in their full amount. Therefore, according to Kapp, the government had to release part of the resources from the loan to a value of 100 million crowns to support the unemployed and the Central Support Fund. At the November session, they again discussed the assignment of mines to risk classes in the framework of accident insurance, as well as the payments for pension insurance.²⁰

Ing. Otto Kapp the secretary of the union, Dr. Egon Gerstel from the Rima Murán – Salgótarján Iron company and the ministry adviser Lodl represented the mining

19 ŠÚBA, f. SBHZ, inv. no. 31, no. sp. 1-502 from 4 October 1922.

20 ŠÚBA, f. SBHZ, inv. no. 31, no. sp. 1-531 from 16 December 1922.

companies in the already mentioned commission on liquidation of the fraternal insurance companies. The commission operated in Bratislava, where it had its office, although its original location was supposed to be Ružomberok. The union also participated in solving the question of bailing out the Central Support Fund. In the end, it reached agreement with the Ministry of Public Works that the group of state and private fraternal insurance companies had to share in covering the losses in the framework of the fund. The union also demanded that contributions for accident insurance should be reduced by 20%.²¹ It was eventually shown in May 1923 that the rates for accident insurance had to be reduced by up to 35%, although the proposal was still not approved by the appropriate ministry. According to a decree of the Ministry for Social Care, mining was included in general accident insurance from 1 January 1922. A further implementation decree from the Ministry of Public Works included the statement that the extractive industry would be assigned to general accident insurance by a special decree.

At the session on 12 May 1923 in Bratislava, the representatives of member enterprises of the union (director Ing. Alexander Müller and Dr. Egon Gerstel from the Rima Murán company, chief director Gabriel Görög, director Ing. Karol Hupka and Ing. Hugo Brief from the Handlová Coal Mines company, director of the works of the Mining and Foundry Company at Máriaľhuta Ing. Leopold Ecker, director Ing. Otto Rochata and director Matejka from the Vítkovice Mining and Foundry Mining Association in Rudňany, the secretary of the North Moravian and Silesian Union of Industrialists in Moravská Ostrava Ing. Heinrich Kresta, director Walter Schuhmacher from the Upper Silesian joint stock company for Railway products in Markušovce and the secretary of the Union of Mining and Foundry Enterprises in Slovakia Ing. Otto Kapp) agreed that for tactical reasons, they would not use the gap in the implementation decrees, but would accept the assignment of this branch to general accident insurance. However, they intended to use this fact to gain concessions during talks with the Regional Office.

Then Dr. Egon Gerstel proposed that they should produce a unified directive for the assignment of mines to individual risk classes of accident insurance. The participants rejected his proposal, because every works had its own specific conditions, and so working out unified directives did not bring any advantages. The deficit of the Central Support Fund of the fraternal insurance companies, which reached 2.3 million Kč on 1 January 1923, represented a more serious problem. The post war economic crisis caused lower wages, a smaller number of employed workers and as a result of mass lay-offs, also an increased number of new benefit claimants. According to the union, the state had to cover the deficit of the fund, but talks with state representatives failed to achieve this, and so the mining companies finally satisfied themselves with a smaller subsidy.

The government commission for mining and foundry affairs in cooperation with the commission for the liquidation of the fraternal insurance companies wanted to progress to further measures. First of all, they had to unify the statutes of the fraternal insurance companies, as well as to raise all the contributions to the same level. These costs would be partially borne by the workers. All the workers employed in the mines, including married men, had to enter the benefit section and deductions on the same percentage

21 ŠÚBA, f. SBHZ, inv. no. 46, no. sp. 1- 70 from 6 March 1923.

level would be prescribed for both workers and employers. The central fund and commission carrying out the liquidation had to avoid any unjustified expenses. During discussions of the second implementation decree, a dispute emerged between the mining companies, which paid higher wages and those, which paid lower wages. In the case of higher wages, it was more advantageous for the company to pay a fixed amount for each worker, while in the case of lower wages, a percentage was more advantageous. The second group included the mining enterprises in the territory of Slovakia. According to the secretary Otto Kapp, the union inclined to a combined solution, applying both methods of calculating the deductions. The members of the union decided that any other solution would only harm the Slovak mining enterprises.²²

The financial situation of the Central Support Fund continued to worsen, as was stated by the secretary of the union Ing. Otto Kapp at the plenary session on 5 January 1924 in Starý Smokovec. The total deficit for 1923 had still not been calculated, but Kapp estimated that it could reach 6 million Kč. He attributed the catastrophic situation in the fund to the post war economic crisis, which caused the three already mentioned phenomena, namely reduced wages, more benefit claimants and a decline in the number of active members of the fraternal insurance companies. Since the size of benefits was determined by law, Kapp did not expect a change in the situation. The Czech and Moravian regions were not affected by the crisis to the same extent as businesses in the territory of Slovakia, so they could solve the problem by raising contribution rates from 2% to 5 or 6%. However, in Slovakia such an increase would not improve the economic position of the fund. While in the first half of 1921 wages in mining amounted to 96 million Kč, in the first half of 1922 they were 79 million Kč and the first half of 1923 only 37.8 million Kč. On the other hand, claims on the funds of the fraternal insurance companies in the same period increased from 0.93 million Kč in the first half of 1921 to 3.28 million Kč in the first half of 1923. Since the situation was also clear to the representatives of the fund, they had talks with the government to gain a bailout. According to the view of Kapp in January 1924, the relevant ministry did not refuse to take over the deficit, but only under the condition that the fund would achieve a balance in its finances under any conditions in 1924. The situation was discussed at the already mentioned January session, so that they could pass a resolution to direct the representatives of the union in the fund. Chief inspector Krešta from the North Moravian and Silesian Union of Industrialists blamed the fund itself for the catastrophic financial situation. The director of the Handlová coal mines Gabriel Görög stated that the extractive industry could not bear all the costs connected with bailing out the fund at a time, when more mining enterprises were threatened with closure. Some of those present attributed a share in the state of the fund to the state fraternal insurance companies, but this was contradicted by Otto Kapp, who observed that the ministry had taken over the deficit of the state fraternal insurance companies. Finally, after a substantial change in the statutes in 1923, the claims of the state insurance companies on the fund would be balanced with the private claims. The director Walter Schuhmacher proposed that the representatives of the union in the fund should vote exclusively for contributions at a percentage that would not substantially exceed the rates in

22 ŠÚBA, f. SBHZ, inv. no. 46, no. sp. 1-128 from 29 May 1923.

other similar funds. Kresta also saw the solution in dissolution of the committee of the central fund and in its official enforcement, but director Mücke from the Handlová coal mines rejected this, because, in his view, such a radical solution would not bring any advantages. In the end, the participants inclined to the view of W. Schuhmacher. Director Karol Koláci from the Mining and Foundry Company added to this, that the union must demand from the government the bailing out of the fund involving the deficit created up to 1 January 1924.

The commission for the liquidation of the fraternal insurance companies was still working in this period. Up to January 1924, it had directly taken over the private fraternal insurance companies in Krompachy, Zvolen, Markušovce, Nálepkovo (Vondřišel), the insurance company of the Pyrite company and the state insurance company at Gbely. Although the liquidation did not progress as fast as the mining companies wished, its acceleration would have caused even greater chaos and damage in the system. The individual fraternal insurance companies were not in a state to be able carry on balanced business. At the January session of the union, Otto Kapp also pointed to the fact that the fraternal insurance companies remained without state support, while the state partially financed the general social insurance. Therefore, according to Kapp, the mining industry had to ask for state support for the fraternal insurance companies. This demand had to be gained through the Prague Union of Mine Owners.²³

The representatives of the union in the committee of the central fund of the fraternal insurance companies supported the view that the contribution rate should not be higher than 6% as they had originally agreed. The level of the contribution was set at 9.6%, but they sent to the ministry the proposal that only 6% should be changed, with the rest in later years as a bailout charge, which would not exceed 1% of total wages. The Ministry of Public Works rejected this proposal. Therefore, in April 1924, the union advised all its member companies that if they received assessments for contributions of 9.6%, they should demand a reduction and state that they were not able to pay more than 6%. At a meeting of the union on 11 April 1924, the participants agreed to work out this demand directed towards the fund.

At the April 1924 session, the director Oskar Rösner from the Vítkovice Mining and Foundry Mining Association directed attention to the doctors of medicine in connection with the fraternal insurance companies. The committee of the fund had concluded with the doctors new agreements, which stated significantly lower wages. Rösner feared that this might lead to companies being forced to make substantial payments to doctors, thanks to which mine doctors would make useless journeys, which would be expensive for the enterprises. The secretary Otto Kapp justified the lower payments for doctors by the need to economize at a time of a critical financial situation for the fund. The agreements with doctors were concluded individually and change in their geographical area was also expected. The agreements could be terminated after 3 months, when changes could be made. Kapp recalled that economy measures were in the interests of the mining enterprises, which paid 50% of the costs of the fraternal insurance companies. Chief inspector Kresta from the Moravian – Silesian Union of Industrialists pointed to the

23 ŠÚBA, f. SBHZ, inv. no. 46, no. sp. 1-282 from 16 January 1924.

advantage of companies contributing to the financing of doctors, since if they were exclusively subordinate to the fraternal insurance companies, they could not be expected to maintain objectivity in relation to the workers. Therefore, secretary Kapp proposed that the member companies should work out a list of all the doctors including their districts and then rearrange their territorial activity. Then the union had to recommend this to the administrative committee of the fund.²⁴

In June 1924, termination of the activity of the Central Support Fund of the fraternal insurance companies was already prepared and was set for 1 September or 1 October 1924. The Regional Fraternal Insurance Company would have to pay pensions from that date, but it did not have any financial resources. Therefore, the fund planned to collect in addition to the contributions for the first half of 1924 also an advance payment for the second half of the year on the level of the regular payments. The fund would give the advance payment to the Regional Fraternal Insurance Company. The mining companies represented by the union rejected this proposal, but they were willing to discuss monthly advance payments.²⁵

The Act on Reform of the Fraternal Insurance Companies no. 242 from 1922 came into force on 1 October 1924 with the dissolution of the Central Support Fund and the establishment of the Regional Fraternal Insurance Company. Percentage rates of deductions were replaced by the payment of a fixed sum for each person, to which the employer contributed 50.70 Kč and the worker 29.40 Kč. The mining companies did not entirely identify with the new system. Director Ing. Alexander Müller and director Bernhard Geröfi, both from the Rima Murán company, expressed their fears at the plenary session of the union on 16 September 1924, that the fixed payment for each person would be collected without regard for the pay of workers. They even considered that the act could not be implemented as a result of the changes in state holidays. Director Kolací from the Mining and Foundry Company said that the Slovak representatives in Prague strongly opposed the system of fixed deductions. However, he considered that the act itself was a mistake. It only recognized one pension class and so the opposition could argue with the same rights and the same duties. At the September meeting, representatives of the union were delegated to the general meeting of the Regional Fraternal Insurance Company. They were Bender, Böhm (Vítkovice Mining and Foundry Mining Association), Brief (Handlová Coal Mines), Ertl (Mining and Foundry Company), Galanta, Kupka, Kapp, Piovarcsy (Mining and Foundry Company) with Beráts, Watzke a Kocik as their deputies. The union delegated Dr. Neurad and Dr. Jachýmek to the Mining Arbitration Court, and Dr. Gerstl, Ing. Müller and Matejka to the Central Fraternal Insurance Company in Prague.

The secretary of the union Otto Kapp observed that they must be in contact with the state mining enterprises because of the candidates and elections for the leadership of the Regional Fraternal Insurance Company. They formed more than 50% of all the members of the fraternal insurance company and the legislation mentioned only the representatives of the employers as one integrated group. Therefore, the Union of Mining and

24 ŠÚBA, f. SBHZ, inv. no. 60, no. sp. 1-107 from 11 April 1924.

25 ŠÚBA, f. SBHZ, inv. no. 60, no. sp. 1-259 from 28 June 1924.

Foundry Enterprises could not by itself represent all the owners of mines in Slovakia. Director Kolací from the Mining and Foundry Company also pointed to the need for cooperation and communication with the state mining enterprises. He did not have a concrete idea about the organizational form of this cooperation, but he held the view that it also had to be extended into other areas. Therefore, at the session of the union in September 1924, they appointed a three member commission composed of the secretary Otto Kapp, the chairman Gabriel Görög (Handlová Coal Mines) and Kolací. This commission had to negotiate with the state enterprises, which was also relevant to working out the statutes of the new Regional Fraternal Insurance Company.²⁶

The Union of Mining and Foundry Enterprises continued to discuss the fraternal insurance company in later years. In January 1925, secretary Otto Kapp informed the representatives of the member companies that from 1 February 1925, the monthly payment to the insurance company was set at 87 Kč, with 54 Kč from the employer and 33 Kč from the worker. From 1 March 1925, the insurance company began to pay increased benefits according to act no. 242. Precisely their level blocked attempts at reduced deductions, as was seen during the preparation of an amendment to act no. 242 on fraternal insurance companies, which enacted the introduction of wage classes according to the example of social insurance. Deductions also derived from individual classes. The union planned to persist with its position in this direction.²⁷ By March 1925 agreement was reached with the state mining enterprises on the division of functions in the Regional Fraternal Insurance Company.²⁸

At the session of the union in Bratislava on 12 May 1925, Otto Kapp drew the attention of those present among other things, to the unfavourable financial situation of the Regional Fraternal Insurance Company, which was carrying on its business with a 10% deficit, since its monthly expenditure exceeded its income by 1 million Kč. At the time, the union criticized the considerable cost of liquidating the 33 small fraternal insurance companies. The percentage levels of deductions were among the highest in the Central European mining regions. The Union of Mining and Foundry Enterprises was not satisfied with the results of the reform. At the same time, an early reduction of payments did not come into account, because the Regional Fraternal Insurance Company still did not have the reserve fund required by the act.²⁹

The elections to the Regional Fraternal Insurance Company did not produce satisfactory results for the mining companies. On the basis of the results, they represented the workers' delegates, who comprised 17 communists, 10 social democrats and 3 Christian socialists. Thus the communists gained the greatest influence on the composition of the management of the insurance company, but according to the union, they feared the responsibility so they decided to leave the position of chairman to the social democrats. However, the latter refused the offer. According to the union, there were serious irregularities in the elections, as a result of which the elections at Handlová and in two state

26 ŠÚBA, f. SBHZ, inv. no. 60, no. sp. 1- 198 from 16 September 1924.

27 ŠÚBA, f. SBHZ, inv. no. 73, no. sp. 1- 11 from 23 January 1925.

28 ŠÚBA, f. SBHZ, inv. no. 73, no. sp. 1-54 from 4 April 1925.

29 ŠÚBA, f. SBHZ, inv. no. 73, no. sp. 1-102 from 12 May 1925.

mines had to be annulled. From the total number of 11,268 members entitled to vote, 5,845 worked for private companies and 5,423 for state mining companies. Therefore, the private companies had to delegate 8 representatives and the state only 7. In August 1925, the Prague Union of Mine Owners sent information about the deficit in the finances of the Central Fraternal Insurance Company in Prague, which had a monthly deficit of 3-4 million Kč at the time. Mass redundancies especially in the Ostrava region significantly worsened the financial situation of the Central Fraternal Insurance Company. The levels of deducted payments by employers and workers had to be raised as a result. The Union of Mining and Foundry Enterprises in Slovakia considered it essential to amend the above mentioned Act no. 242 from 1922. Director Karol Kolací from the Mining and Foundry Company considered it most important to grade deductions according to wage classes and financial support from the state. Until the time of amendment, he did not oppose credit, which would secure the necessary capital for the insurance company. He considered the matter confidential and at the session of the union on 31 August 1925 in Bratislava he emphasized that the workers should not learn about it. The union also planned to promote its views by intervention with the government commissioners.³⁰

The need to amend Act no. 242, which anchored the reform of the fraternal insurance companies, was again discussed at the plenary session of the union on 18 December 1925. However, the workers strongly resisted amendment. Ing. Smékal from the Prague Union of Mine Owners observed that for every two employees insured with the Central Fraternal Insurance Company there was one pensioner. According to Smékal there were three possible ways to bailout the growing deficit: firstly, the state could pay the deficit, secondly, the enterprises could pay the losses, or thirdly, pensions could be reduced. However, the workers' unions vigorously rejected the third possibility.³¹ The representatives of the member companies considered it impossible to bailout the insurance company without state subsidies.

The problem of amending Act no. 242 continued to resound in 1926. The workers' unions proposed their own amendments to the act, according to which old debts had to be covered by the companies and the state. The union already discussed the amendments on 20 February 1926, and then Dr. Hardtel (Vítkovice Mining and Foundry Mining Association), director Kolací (Mining and Foundry Company) and director Mücke (Handlová Coal Mines) presented the Slovak proposals. They considered the division of insurance into two classes to be unsatisfactory. They proposed four classes following the example of social insurance. They stated that the employers were not able to pay more to cover the deficit. According to these representatives of the mining industry, the level of deductions had to derive from the proportion to the number of insured people in individual classes. This would be a just solution for all the mining enterprises and entrepreneurs. The division of the pensioners before 1 October 1924 into classes according to the proposed amendment appeared impractical and even illegal to them, because pensioners with a shorter period of insurance payments would gain more resources, while those with a longer period of payments would gain less. However, this fact would arouse consi-

30 ŠÚBA, f. SBHZ, inv. no. 73, no. sp. 1-170 from 20 August 1925.

31 ŠÚBA, f. SBHZ, inv. no. 73, no. sp. 1-231 from 18 August 1925.

derable dissatisfaction, so the union recommended maintenance of the division according to Act no. 242 with only a simple adjustment of the percentage level of pensions. The mining companies demanded the re-incorporation of accident insurance into the fraternal insurance companies, which would save them further resources. Pension insurance had to cover its expenditure by itself. The union considered that the setting of the payment of the administrative costs by the medical insurance section was outdated. Precisely the medical insurance section achieved a surplus in 1925.³²

As we stated, from the time Act no. 242 on the reform of the fraternal insurance companies became valid, the pension section of the Regional Fraternal Insurance Company collected fixed payments. On the other hand, from 1 October 1924, medical insurance had a rate of 7.5%. At the end of 1925, this rate was reduced to 7% in Slovakia.³³ By 1926, the liquidation commission succeeded in liquidating almost all the old fraternal insurance companies and taking over their property or financial claims. At the plenary session of the union on 29 March 1926 in Bratislava, the secretary Otto Kapp expressed satisfaction with the proposed amendment of Act no. 242 presented by the Prague Union of Mine Owners. According to Kapp, this proposal fulfilled all the demands of the mining enterprises in Slovakia, especially where wage classes or equal representation were concerned. However, the Prague offices rejected the unification of accident insurance with the fraternal insurance companies. The Bratislava Office for Medical Insurance wanted to reduce the level of payments from 6% to 5% in 1926. The union welcomed this, although the central authorities in Prague rejected this reduction, since elsewhere in the republic the rate varied around 6-7%. The Czech offices feared that a lower rate in the territory of Slovakia would have a negative impact.

Where the 7% rate for medical insurance in the Regional Fraternal Insurance Company was concerned, the union issued instructions at its March session that its representatives in the management of the insurance company should strive to maintain it.³⁴ In connection with the fraternal insurance company, the union also concerned itself with the question of promoting better hygiene among the workers in the mining and foundry industries. The representatives of the member companies held the view that only influence on young people at school and support for sports activities could bring success in this area.

Since the appropriate ministry decided that when ensured employees were ill for more than 30 days, benefits also had to be paid for the first 30 days, the union advised the companies to appeal to the administrative court in May 1926. According to the Union of Mining and Foundry Enterprises, this decision had no basis in legislation. The chairman of the union Gabriel Görög (general director of the Handlová Coal Mines) assured the representatives of the companies that the appeal could be done at the expense of the union. They could also appeal to the arbitration court of the fraternal insurance companies.

The question of the procedure when paying invalidity pensions was shifted from Bratislava to the Union of Mine Owners in Prague. In 1926, there was still no unified

32 ŠÚBA, f. SBHZ, inv. no. 104, no. sp. 199 from 20 February 1926.

33 ŠÚBA, f. SBHZ, inv. no. 104, Protokoll der Jahres-Plenarversammlung, 18 January 1926, Tätigkeitsbericht für das Jahr 1925

34 ŠÚBA, f. SBHZ, inv. no. 104, no. sp. 304 from 29 March 1926.

directive for assessing inability to work, and so the doctors proceeded differently in individual cases. The mining enterprises associated in the Slovak union feared the lack of clarity in the text of the act, which inclined to the side of the employees. According to the act, every insured person who was no longer capable of his work in the extractive industry had a right to an invalidity pension. The union rejected the narrow interpretation of the act with its emphasis on previous employment, because insurance would burden them with costs of catastrophic size. It was considered more advantageous to divide the insured workers not according to their previous employment, but according to the demandingness of work into classes with regard to the necessary qualifications.³⁵

In the course of 1926, the deficit of the Central Fraternal Insurance Company in Prague increased, but Slovakia did not participate in this deficit, since, according to Kapp, the situation in Slovakia was improving in comparison with other mining regions in the state, and the income of the insurance company was moderately increasing.³⁶

The mining companies did not secure an amendment of Act no. 242 in 1926. In January 1927, they were disturbed by a government proposal, which did not consider the main Slovak demand, namely for equal representation in the Regional Fraternal Insurance Company. The government proposal accepted division into three wage classes. The rejection of the main demand – equal representation – was attributed by secretary Otto Kapp to inadequate representation in the management of the Central Fraternal Insurance Company in Prague. Director Karol Kolačí from the Mining and Foundry Company added that the demand for parity was not accepted because of the basic tendency of the amendment to Act no. 242, which lay in the adaptation of the fraternal insurance company to social insurance. Social insurance also had no representation of the business sphere in its most important bodies. The union continued to strive for equal representation in the auditing committee. Slovak interests could be defended only in a committee with a number of delegates of either 16 or 32.

Since the level of contributions to the Regional Fraternal Insurance Company was reduced to 6.5% from 1 July 1926, and from then the medical insurance section operated with less profit, Otto Kapp did not expect a further lowering of the rate in 1927. The Bratislava Regional Fraternal Insurance Company had the lowest rate in comparison with the other insurance companies in the whole state. In connection with the fraternal insurance company, the question of employment of assistants for the auditing committee of the insurance company, stricter enforcement of debts, refunding of travelling expenses of delegates and additional bailouts for losses from past years, continued to concern sessions of the union. The representatives of the extractive industry also positively evaluated the satisfactory financial state of the fraternal insurance company at the session of the union on 8 March 1927.³⁷

However, in the course of 1927, the medical insurance section of the insurance company started to suffer losses, caused mainly by a flu epidemic. As a result, the insurance company released 350,000 Kč from its reserve fund, and introduced economy measures

35 ŠÚBA, f. SBHZ, inv. no. 104, no. sp. 518 from 7 June 1926.

36 ŠÚBA, f. SBHZ, inv. no. 104, no. sp. 767 from 5 October 1926.

37 ŠÚBA, f. SBHZ, inv. no. 137, no. sp. 92 from 3 February 1927; no. sp. 180 from 8 March 1927.

such as stopping treatment in sanatoria or radically limiting dental care. According to Otto Kapp, it also intended to raise the level of contributions, but the member companies rejected this at the meeting of the union on 16 September 1927.³⁸

In the end, a document from the anniversary session of the union on 12 March 1928 states that after a time, the Regional Fraternal Insurance Company had again achieved a balance in its operations and the auditing committee had gained sufficient influence on its running.³⁹ In March 1929, Otto Kapp stated that the medical insurance section of the insurance company was operating at a profit and was the only one in Czechoslovakia to have a reserve fund of the size required by legislation. The deficit of the pension section was smaller than in 1927.⁴⁰

Up to 1929, no serious questions connected with the Regional Fraternal Insurance Company remained unsolved at sessions of the union. The representatives of the member mining companies participated in the reform of the fraternal insurance companies during the 1920s and by means of this interest organization they formulated their views on this economic policy problem. This problem gives us an idea of the strategic decision making in the framework of the Union of Mining and Foundry Enterprises.

Where the persons holding the leading positions in the union during the 1920s are concerned, we already mentioned its first functionaries, who participated in establishing the organization. The position of chairman was held by Ing. Rudolf Bíró, chief director of the Rima Murán company. He gave up his position in May 1923 and Gabriel Görög, general director of the Handlová Coal Mines, was elected chairman in April 1924. Görög was chairman of the union until his death on 21 September 1928.

From 1921 to April 1924, the first deputy chairman was Ing. Oskar Goldstein director of the Coburg works. He was followed by Ing. Alexander Müller (Rima Murán company), who served until March 1929. Ing. Gustáv Mücke of the Handlová Coal Mines held the position from March 1929. Karol Kolací of the Mining and Foundry Company became second deputy chairman in 1929.⁴¹ In March 1929 after Görög's death, the already mentioned director Alexander Müller from the Rima Murán company became chairman of the union.

38 ŠÚBA, f. SBHZ, inv. no. 137, no. sp. 700 from 16 September 1927.

39 ŠÚBA, f. SBHZ, inv. no. 164, Protokoll der Jahresplenarversammlung, 12 March 1928, Jahresbericht pro 1927.

40 ŠÚBA, f. SBHZ, inv. no. 192, Protokoll der Jahresplenarversammlung, 26 March 1929.

41 The director of the Mining and Foundry Company Karol Kolací was born in 1873 at Uhorské Hradiště in Moravia, where he also completed his secondary school education. He studied at the universities in Prague, Graz and Kraków. After his studies he undertook judicial practice in various Moravian and Silesian towns. He soon became secretary to the Supreme Court in Vienna. Here he reached the function of court adviser and in 1916 he was assigned to the Supreme Military Court. After 1918 he worked at the Czechoslovak Supreme Court in Prague and Brno. In 1922, he became the commercial director of the Mining and Foundry Company, one of the three largest mining and foundry businesses in Czechoslovakia. He also worked in the committee of the Union of Mining and Foundry Enterprises from 1924. He held leading positions in the mining interest organizations in Slovakia, as will be mentioned further. Apart from this, he was a member of the Coal Council, the Supreme Mining Arbitration Court in Prague, the Directors' Conference of the Ostrava-Karvina Coalfield, the Union of Mine Owners in Prague, the Central Fraternal Insurance company and other institutions. Kolací died on 2 January 1932. ŠÚBA, f. Slovenský banský revír (hereinafter SBR), inv. no. 151, c. 6

The undoubtedly remarkable personalities of the mining interest organizations in Slovakia included the secretary of the union Ing. Otto Kapp, who became one of the important national economic figures of the inter-war period. He was born on 3 November 1889 in Napajedla and attended the gymnasium in Holešov. From 1906 to 1911 he studied at the Vienna technical school and later in Brno. From 1921 to 1932 he was first secretary of the Central Association of Slovak Industry. Later, in the period 1941 – 1945, he held the position of chief administrator of mines in the State Mining and Foundry Enterprises. He also held leading posts after 1945 in the framework of the Commission for Industry and Commerce in Bratislava and the Czechoslovak Mines National Enterprise. He was a pensioner from 1958. He concerned himself with economic policy, but also with other themes, including numismatics and anthropology. He wrote and published numerous articles on the economic policy problems of Slovakia. In 1940 he published a larger work with the title: *On inventions and their social importance*. He died in Prague on 18 August 1982.⁴²

At the beginning of the 1920s, mining in Czechoslovakia was significantly burdened by the coal tax, which limited private companies and caused a high price level for their output. In 1921, the state collected 1,507 million Kč in this tax, in 1922, a little less: 1,132 million Kč, in 1923 only 535 million Kč, and in later years the revenue from coal tax was reduced further.⁴³ The mining enterprises in Slovakia also devoted attention to the problem of the coal tax. All the mining interest organizations in the republic strove to get this tax reduced. A reduction of the coal tax from 42% of the purchasing price to 30% was already reported at the session of the union on 4 February 1922. There were calls for its further reduction.⁴⁴ The coal tax was again reduced by a decree from 11 November 1922, which set the so-called official prices for individual coalfields, in the framework of which the percentage rates varied and these could not be exceeded. The level of the coal tax was set at 15 – 24% of the actual price of the coal. The union also lobbied for a reduced rate for the Handlová mines and the rate was adjusted to 18%.⁴⁵ The trend to reduce this tax continued until a rate of 8% for the Handlová mines was reached in 1924.

A problem with explosives and especially with their high prices resounded in the mining industry throughout the inter-war period. The Dynamite Nobel enterprise with its centre in Bratislava remained in the territory of Czechoslovakia after 1918, but it was controlled by foreign – Hungarian and Austrian capital. After the change of circumstances, this enterprise succumbed to pressure from the financial group of the Živnostenská (trade) Bank, one of the most influential in the first republic. Through the Ministry of National Defence, this bank succeeded in securing the introduction of a state monopoly in the production of explosives. As a result, the production licence of the Bratislava

42 *Slovenský biografický slovník 3. (Slovak Biographical Dictionary, 3)*. Martin : Matica slovenská, 1989, p. 34; KAPP, Otto. *O vynálezoch a ich sociálnom význame. (On Inventions and their Social Importance)*. Bratislava : Univerzum, 1940, 333 pages. We are planning to devote a separate study to Otto Kapp.

43 DOLEŽALOVÁ, Antonie. Fiškální politika. In *Mýtus a realita hospodářské vyspělosti Československa mezi světovými válkami. (The Myth and Reality of the Economic Maturity of Czechoslovakia between the World Wars.)*. Praha : Karolinum, 2000, p. 32-33.

44 ŠÚBA, f. SBHZ, inv. no. 31, no. sp. 1-338 from 12 May 1922.

45 ŠÚBA, f. SBHZ, inv. no. 46, no. 1-70 from 6 March 1923.

enterprise Dynamite Nobel ended on 1 July 1923, and production of explosives was continued by a newly established enterprise with 45% participation of British and French capital: the Czechoslovak Joint Stock Company for the Production of explosives (Explosia) at Semtín near Pardubice.⁴⁶ This development led to an increase in the cost of the explosives used by the mining enterprises in Slovakia, so the mining interest organizations, especially the Union of Mining and Foundry Enterprises, reacted intensively to this problem.

Director Dezider Szephegyi from the Handlová Coal Mines mentioned the problem of over-priced explosives at the session of the union on 4 February 1922. The chairman of the union replied that they had already undertaken steps on this matter, but without results, so the secretary Otto Kapp had to intervene again at the relevant ministries.⁴⁷ The union planned further action in February 1923, when Ing. Karol Hupka from the Handlová Coal Mines pointed to the fact that the coal mines also used a considerable quantity of explosives. Otto Kapp proposed that the mining enterprises should guarantee a certain quota of explosives, but this would only have represented only minimal consumption. When they exceeded this quota, the companies would demand a discount. The union approved this policy.⁴⁸ In 1923, the Prague Union of Mine Owners negotiated with the representative of the Ministry of Finance and the general director of Explosia Ing. Otakar Husák. The ministry promised to reduce the monopoly payment, which was not supposed to affect coal mines. The director of the Handlová mines Gabriel Görög opposed the monopoly payment at the session of the Slovak union on 12 May 1923. However, director Husák was more cautious in his statements and did not allow any discount, leaving the representatives of the mining companies dissatisfied.⁴⁹

Otto Kapp presented the Ministry of Finance with the argument that the price of dynamite represented up to 30% of production costs in some ore mines. The Union of Quarry Owners, which called a meeting to consider this problem on 22 January 1922, joined the union's initiative by the end of 1923. In January 1924, Gabriel Görög from the Handlová Coal Mines drew the attention of a meeting of the union to the fact that since the new Explosia factory had taken over the production of explosives, their quality had declined. He also informed the ministry of this.⁵⁰ In April 1924, Görög proposed a general reduction in the price of explosives, not only discounts on some types, and the Union of Mine Owners in Prague also had to support this. Some degree of relief finally became effective on 1 June 1924, but the mining companies did not intend to be satisfied with

46 For more details on this see KOHÁROVÁ, Marta. *Monopolní výroba výbušných látek v Československé republice, Česko-Slovensku a Protektorátu Čechy a Morava 1918 – 1945. (Monopoly production of explosive substances in the Czechoslovak Republic, Czecho-Slovakia and the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia 1918 – 1945)*. Pardubice; Semtín: Aliachem, a. s., 2000, p. 5-29; LACKO, Miroslav. Obnovenie výroby trhavín v podniku Dynamit Nobel roku 1940 vo vzťahu k slovenskému baníctvu. (The revival of production of explosives in the Dynamite Nobel enterprise in 1940 in relation to Slovak mining.). In *Štúdié z dejín chémie a zdravotníctva na Slovensku*. Banská Bystrica: Ústav vedy a výskumu UMB, 2008, p. 16-31

47 ŠÚBA, f. SBHZ, inv. no. 31, no. sp. 1-338 from 12 May 1922.

48 ŠÚBA, f. SBHZ, inv. no. 46, no. 1-70 from 6 March 1923.

49 ŠÚBA, f. SBHZ, inv. no. 46, no. sp. 1-128 from 29 May 1923.

50 ŠÚBA, f. SBHZ, inv. no. 46, no. sp. 1-282 from 16 January 1924.

it. Ing. Walter Schuhmacher stated at a session of the union that careless manipulation during transportation of explosives significantly increased costs. At the same time, Otto Kapp stated that this adjustment of prices only removed 50% of the cost of transporting dynamite, paid according to the reduced rate from 1 March to 1 June 1924. Schuhmacher commented that in Germany 1 kg of dynamite was only half the price. Therefore, the union intended to continue its interventions.⁵¹

The situation with the price of explosives continued in spite of support from the union and other interest organizations. In March 1925, Otto Kapp was entrusted with writing an article on this problem to be published in the press. By the time of the May session of the union, Kapp had written a memorandum on the price of explosives. The member enterprises decided to print 500 copies in Czech and 200 in German. The memorandum was prepared by 31 August and then published. In November 1925, the union distributed it to all relevant institutions.⁵² At the beginning of 1926, Otto Kapp informed the representatives of the member companies about various promises from the state institutions, which had received the memorandum. According to the union, the price of explosives formed up to 22.2% of the total production costs of the iron ore mines in the Czechoslovak Republic. In 1923, the cost of explosives represented 9.4% of the cost of the ore extracted in the whole state and 13.4% in Slovakia. The figures for 1924 were 11.4% for the whole state and 14.8% for Slovakia. According to these calculations, the price of dynamite was 17.2 times higher than before the First World War as a result of monopoly tax, and the monopolized production and sale of these materials. At the session of the union on 20 February 1926, they agreed to send a smaller deputation, composed of Karol Kolací and Otto Kapp to meet the minister of finance with regard for this problem. As it turned out, the minister did not meet the representatives of the union, allegedly because of political discussions. Otto Kapp already presented new complaints about the quality of explosives to the session of the union at the end of May 1926. The companies, producer and the Prague Union of Mine owners had to be informed about the deficiencies. This action did not bring the desired results either, and a meeting between the minister of finance and the representatives of the mining industry did not happen in October 1926, allegedly because of his health problems and lack of time.⁵³

In June 1927, the union began to intensively discuss experiments with new types of dynamite, which Explosia had begun to produce. The results of these experiments were inconclusive for the company directors and they considered that their demands for cheaper explosives were still unsolved. Experiments with the new dynamite IR continued in 1928. At a meeting of the union on 17 December 1928, Otto Kapp presented the results of the tests with the new dynamite. However, the tests were still inconclusive. Although the mine operators praised the low cost of the IR dynamite, the gases from explosions had an unpleasant smell and caused headaches. The detonators were of low

51 ŠÚBA, f. SBHZ, inv. no. 60, no. sp. 1-107 from 11 April 1924; no. sp. 1-259 from 28 June 1924.

52 ŠÚBA, f. SBHZ, inv. no. 73, no. sp. 1-54 from 4 April 1925; no. sp. 1-102 from 12 May 1925; no. sp. 1-170 from 31 August 1925; no. sp. 1-231 from 18 December 1925.

53 ŠÚBA, f. SBHZ, inv. no. 104, Protokoll der Jahres-Plenarversammlung, 18 January 1926; no. sp. 199 from 20 February 1926; no. sp. 304 from 29 March 1926; no. sp. 518 from 1 June 1926; no. sp. 767 from 5 October 1926.

quality. It appeared that IR dynamite could be used in well ventilated mine workings. Therefore, the companies continued their tests. The new explosives made by Explosia were 10% cheaper according to the union.⁵⁴ There were no further significant changes in the explosives field up to 1929. New activities in this area came only during the great economic crisis.

The Union of Mining and Foundry Enterprises in Slovakia did not engage only in the “great” economic policy questions. It also defended the interests of its member companies in the most varied cases and scandals that appeared. For example, on 23 August 1925 the *Robotnicke noviny* (*Worker’s News*) published an article with the title: *African conditions in the Coburg works at Pohorelá*, in which the newspaper accused the company of employing seven children aged 6 – 10 at Pohorelá. The union demanded a correction because the information was untrue. As the board of the works found, they employed girls, but they were aged 16 – 20. On arrival, they gave incorrect data to the works record keeper, who wrote it down.⁵⁵ At the session of the union on 12 March 1928 in Bratislava, the mining adviser to the Mária huta works of the Mining and Foundry Company Ing. Eugen Piovarczy, who died in the same year in a railway accident near Nuremberg, pointed to an effort to recruit miners to work in Saxony. Since the recruited workers were not only unemployed, but also workers regularly working in the mines, Piovarczy demanded intervention against such practices. Therefore the representatives of the member companies entrusted the secretariat of the union with introducing counter-measures.⁵⁶

Precisely the reform of the fraternal insurance companies brought the demand for cooperation between the private mining companies associated in the union and the state enterprises, so that the employers could more effectively defend their interests in the framework of the Regional Fraternal Insurance Company. The demand for cooperation with the state enterprises had to be achieved mainly by means of a new interest organization, which would include the state as well as the private mines and foundries. The first talks with the representatives of the state mines were held in the first quarter of 1925, under the leadership of the above mentioned Karol Kolací. The union already proposed the statutes of the new interest organization, but it was necessary to make many changes to the proposal. To avoid further expenses, the new corporation and the Union of Mining and Foundry Enterprises concluded an agreement that both organizations would use a joint secretariat to fulfil their administrative needs.⁵⁷ The initial proposal for the statutes derived from the statutes of the Mining Association of the Most – Litvínov – Duchcov Region, but changes were already made in the first phase of preparations, which were noted by the Ministry of Public Works at the beginning of April 1925. At that time, the general directorate of state mines expressed agreement in principle with the establishment of a mining region for Slovakia as a new interest organization.⁵⁸ The Slovak union justified the changes in the statutes with the specific local conditions, especially the vast

54 ŠÚBA, f. SBHZ, inv. no. 137, no. sp. 491 from 24 June 1927; inv. no. 164, Protokoll der Plenarversammlung, 17 December 1928.

55 ŠÚBA, f. SBHZ, inv. no. 77, no. sp. 5-158 from 5 September 1925.

56 ŠÚBA, f. SBHZ, inv. no. 164, Protokoll der Jahresplenarversammlung, 12 March 1928.

57 ŠÚBA, f. SBHZ, inv. no. 73, no. sp. 1-54 from 4 April 1925.

58 ŠÚBA, f. SBHZ, inv. no. 73, no. sp. 1-87 from 8 April 1925.

territorial extent of the Slovak region, which led to less “concurrence” of interests and so less possibility to reach a unified position on all questions. At first they planned to hold the founding assembly of the regional organization in mid May 1925,⁵⁹ but in the end, this date was not realistic.

On 12 May 1925, the union delegated Karol Kolací, Félix Matejka from the Vítkovice Mining and Foundry Mining Association, chief inspector Ing. Heinrich Kresta from the Moravian and Silesian Union of Industrialists and secretary Otto Kapp to negotiate with the state mines.⁶⁰ The establishment of a mining region by the representatives of the extractive industry appeared to be the most advantageous legal form for cooperation according to §11 of the general mining act, which was intended to secure simpler solution of the tasks required from mine employers as a group. For this reason, the union proposed on 23 June 1925 to establish the region and obtain approval from the Government Commissariat for Mining and Foundry Affairs.⁶¹

In November 1925, the Central Slovakia Mining Region was discussed and a general assembly planned for 18 December 1925, but Karol Kolací apologized in advance for his absence because of the sessions of the Coal Council and Supreme Mining Arbitration Court in Prague.⁶² In the end, the founding general meeting was not held in December 1925. At the end of 1925 the union expected the new organization to include only ore mines, as it stated in a letter to the government commissariat.⁶³ A meeting on forming a mining region in Slovakia called by the Government Commissariat for Mining and Foundry Affairs was held at Starý Smokovec on 18 January 1926. The state mines were represented by Ing. Karol Štauch and the private companies by Karol Kolací. They talked mainly about the proposed statutes of the new interest corporation. However, the talks were to continue in February 1926.⁶⁴

The founding general assembly of the new organization – the Slovak Mining Region – happened on 29 March 1929 after the completion of talks and approval by the government commissariat. In the morning, Karol Kolací was proposed as chairman of the region at a session of the Union of Mining and Foundry Enterprises.⁶⁵ In the afternoon, he was actually elected as the first chairman at the general assembly of the Slovak Mining Region or regional committee. Ministerial adviser Karol Štauch became the first deputy chairman, Gabriel Görög the second deputy chairman and Otto Kapp the secretary.⁶⁶

According to the approved statutes, the region included all the existing mining enterprises in Slovakia and those to be established in the future. Membership of the region was obligatory for owners of mines and the Union of Mining and Foundry Enterprises joined the region as an organization, which meant that its members automatically became members of the region. The Slovak Mining Region was directed by a 12 member

59 ŠÚBA, f. SBHZ, inv. no. 73, no. sp. 1-87 from 18 April 1925.

60 ŠÚBA, f. SBHZ, inv. no. 73, no. sp. 1-102 from 12 May 1925.

61 ŠÚBA, f. SBHZ, inv. no. 73, no. sp. 1-87 from 23 June 1925.

62 ŠÚBA, f. SBHZ, inv. no. 73, no. sp. 1-87 from 25 November 1925.

63 ŠÚBA, f. SBHZ, inv. no. 73, no. sp. 1-87 from 18 December 1925.

64 ŠÚBA, f. SBHZ, inv. no. 104, no. sp. 107 from 18 February 1926.

65 ŠÚBA, f. SBHZ, inv. no. 104, no. sp. 304 from 29 March 1926.

66 ŠÚBA, f. SBR, inv. no. 31, c. 1.

committee and a chairman elected by it. A deputy was elected for each full member. As well as the chairman there were two deputy chairmen elected by the committee, and together they formed the board. Bratislava was the seat of the region. Every ordinary member of the region had a representative or several representatives, but only one with voting rights. Only persons with leading positions in member enterprises could be representatives. The regional committee was elected for three years, but the board every year. Meetings of the committee were capable of passing resolutions if at least half the members were present. Functions on the committee were honorary. Only regular members had the right to vote at general assemblies of the region.

The number of votes of one member depended on the number of employees belonging to the medical insurance of the Regional Fraternal Insurance Company on 1 January of the given year. There was one vote for ten employees, and fewer than 5 workers were not counted. In the regional committee, each member had one vote. If there were equal numbers of votes, the chairman had the casting vote. The size of the membership fee also derived from the number of employees. Apart from this, every member of the region paid a onetime contribution. The administrative agenda was carried on simultaneously for the region and the Union of Mining and Foundry Enterprises. The authorities of the mining administration had the right to audit the organization of the Slovak Mining Region.⁶⁷

It is important to note that after 1929, the Slovak Mining Region with its substantially wider membership base and influence became the leading mining interest organization. The existence of the Union of Mining and Foundry Enterprises was only formal in the 1930s, since the sessions of the two organizations were held jointly.⁶⁸

The study presented here maps the activities of the mining interest organizations in Slovakia up to 1929. The first of them, the Union of Mining and Foundry Enterprises in Slovakia associated only private companies and membership of it was voluntary. The union fully developed its activity after 1921. It engaged in many economic policy and social questions, and its sessions provided an expert forum for the managers of the mining and foundry industry of the time. Using the example of the reform of the fraternal insurance company, we demonstrated the process of decision making in the union, on the basis of which, we can also get an idea of the interests and aims of the member companies.

It was precisely the process of reforming the fraternal insurance companies that created the need for closer cooperation with the state mines, which led to the establishment of a new interest organization in 1926: the Slovak Mining Region. Since membership of this corporation was already obligatory, it had greater influence on the development of economic policy especially after 1929. The agenda of the mining interest organizations clearly reflected all the problems with which the extractive industry had to struggle in the period of the First Czechoslovak Republic. The activity of various personalities is closely connected with these organizations. We especially pointed to the national economist Otto Kapp.

67 ŠŮBA, f. SBR, inv. no. 26, c. 1.

68 Minutes from the joint sessions in the 1930s in ŠŮBA, f. SBHZ and SBR.

The extent of the problem researched here really deserves presentation in a comprehensive monograph. A new synthesis of the history of the mining and foundry industry in the inter-war period, taking into account the latest research by economic historians, would be especially useful.⁶⁹

WIRTSCHAFTSPOLITIK UND DIE BERGBAUINTERESSENORGANISATIONEN IN DER SLOWAKEI BIS 1929

MIROSLAV LACKO

Die vorliegende Studie erforscht die Aktivitäten der Bergbauinteressenorganisationen in der Slowakei bis 1929. Die erste – Verband der Bergbau- und Hüttenbetriebe in der Slowakei – vereinte nur die privaten Betriebe und die Mitgliedschaft war auf freiwilliger Basis. Die Tätigkeit des Verbands entfaltete sich voll nach dem Jahr 1921, der Verband engagierte sich in manchen wirtschaftspolitischen und sozialen Fragen und seine Tagungen wurden zum Fachforum für die Manager damaliger Bergbau- und Hüttenindustrie. Auf dem Beispiel der Reform der Bruderschaftskassen demonstrierten wir den Entscheidungsprozess im Verband, aufgrund dessen sich man die Vorstellung über die Interessen und Ziele der Mitgliedsbetriebe bilden kann. Gerade im Prozess der Reform der Bruderschaftskassen tauchte die Bedürfnis engerer Zusammenarbeit mit den staatlichen Bergwerken auf, was zur Entstehung einer neuen Interessenorganisation im Jahr 1926 führte – Slowakischen Bergbaurevier. Da die Mitgliedschaft in dieser Korporation bereits pflichtig war, stieg auch ihr Einfluss auf die Gestaltung damaliger Wirtschaftspolitik, vor allem nach 1929, an. Die Agenda der Bergbauinteressenorganisationen widerspiegelt deutlich alle Probleme, mit denen die Förderindustrie in der Slowakei während der ersten Tschechoslowakischen Republik zu kämpfen hatte. Mit diesen Organisationen ist auch die Tätigkeit mehreren Persönlichkeiten eng verbunden, besonders aufmerksam machten wir auf den Volkswirtschaftler Otto Kappa, oder anderen.

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69 The first comprehensive monograph: NĚMEC, Zdeněk. *Rudné baníctvo na Slovensku v rokoch 1918 – 1938. (Ore Mining in Slovakia in the period 1918 – 1938.)*. Bratislava; Košice : Smena, 1967, 339 pages. is already out of date. The monograph by Jaroslav Mazúrek on mining in Slovakia in the period 1854 – 1938, published in 2000, is based mainly on published literature and does not consider the wider economic context of the complex inter-war period as covered, for example, by the latest research by Czech economic historians. The inter-war period is also covered by the “synthesis”: ZÁMORA, Peter et al. *Dejiny baníctva na Slovensku. 1. diel. (History of Mining in Slovakia. Part 1.)*. Košice : Banská agentúra, 2003, 327 pages. This publication also includes many older texts, originally published as a supplement to the periodical *Rudy (Ore)* in the 1980s, without correcting various deficiencies in them.

Zahraničná politika Slovenskej republiky 1939 – 1945



Pavol Petruf

THE BRATISLAVA COMMODITY EXCHANGE (1922 – 1952). THE VARIED FUNCTIONING OF AN INSTITUTION

MIROSLAV FABRICIUS

FABRICIUS, Miroslav. The Bratislava Commodity Exchange (1922 – 1952). The Varied Functioning of an Institution. *Historický časopis*, 2013, 61, Supplement, pp. 107-128, Bratislava.

The Bratislava Commodity Exchange (Bratislavská plodinová burza) was established in 1922. It had two sections, one for trade in agricultural crops and the other for trade in timber. Its organizational structure, administration and the activity of the exchange court were regulated by a statute. In an attempt to contribute to the development of grain production, it established exhibition markets for Slovak barley in the framework of the Danubian Trade Fair (Dunajský veľtrh), and strove to facilitate the international exchange of goods through the port of Bratislava. After the establishment of a grain monopoly and the resulting purchase of grain, animal feed and milled products only at official prices, the exchange lost its function in the field of fixing prices. After the formation of the Slovak Republic in 1939, it was transformed into the Bratislava Exchange (Bratislavská burza), and its activity was widened to include a financial section. It traded in securities and foreign currencies, but in shares only sporadically. The introduction of a planned economy and centrally planned direction of the economy narrowed its activity to an arbitration function and expert activity. It was dissolved in 1952.

History, Bratislava Commodity Exchange. Danubian Trade Fair. Exchange rules. Arbitration court. Expert activity. Grain monopoly. Planned economy.

Exchanges – specially organized markets for highly interchangeable goods – developed from markets held one to three times a year, on the occasion of important feastdays. The difference between a market and an exchange lay in the nature of the goods in which they traded. At a market, goods were exhibited and sold in their total quantity in the presence of the seller and buyer. At an exchange, only samples of the goods are sold under the conditions established for trade at the exchange, that is in the framework of the established rules and customs. Supply and demand from a certain area were concentrated here and a large number of deals were concluded.

The exchange had a decisive influence on setting the price of goods. Since reports on the situation in both production and consumption were collected here, it became an important information centre for individuals and institutions. With regard to the state of supply and demand, it enabled the adoption of various measures, for example, in relation to imports and exports. According to the sort of goods traded in an exchange, we distinguish financial, commodity and transport exchanges. The last is concerned mainly with shipping.¹

1 Trading in securities and foreign currencies happened at financial exchanges. Commodity exchanges are divided into special exchanges, where the supply and demand for one type of commodity was concentra-

The word “bourse”,² variants of which are used to mean “exchange” in many languages including Slovak, began to be used for commercial accumulation in the city of Bruges. After its decline, the role was transferred to Antwerp. Concentrations of exchange activity also developed later in France, England, Holland and Germany.

The first financial exchange in the territory of the Habsburg Monarchy appeared in Vienna in 1771. Its position was amended by Act no. 200 from 11 July 1854. Commodity exchanges began to be formed on the basis of Act no. 58 from 26 February 1860, in all the important cities with chambers of commerce. The economic crisis from the beginning of the 1870s contributed to the issuing of Act no. 67 from 1 April 1875, which regulated the organization of exchanges in Cis-Leithania and Act no. 68 from 4 April 1875 on exchange mediators.

The dispute about futures contracts with grain at the turn of the century became the immediate impulse for work on an amendment to the exchange legislation (Act no. 10 from 4 January 1903), which led to reorganization of the commodity exchanges. Futures contracts with grain and milled products were banned and the autonomy of agricultural exchanges was limited. Further measures followed. Among them, decree no. 78 from 3 April 1903, which abolished some of the exchange customs regulating futures contracts with grain and milled products. The decree also prohibited the conclusion of such deals outside exchanges.³

In contrast, the Kingdom of Hungary did not have a special act on exchanges. To establish the Budapest exchange, it was enough for the government to approve its statute. It was an exchange of the universal type supervised by the Ministry of Commerce. Legislation regulated only the operation of the arbitration court of the exchange. In 1912, the Hungarian government promised to pass an exchange act and prohibit futures contracts, but in the end, this did not happen.⁴

In the period before the First World War, trade in agricultural commodities and products made from them was relatively lively in Trans-Leithania, and in Slovakia it was concentrated mainly in Bratislava, Nitra, Nové Mesto nad Váhom, Nové Zámky, Topoľčany and Trnava. Business was also done at exchanges. Wheat and flour were traded especially at the Budapest commodities and financial exchange, while barley and oats were traded mainly at the agricultural exchange in Vienna.⁵

ted, and agricultural exchanges, which traded in commodities of agricultural origin.

- 2 The word “*bourse*” is usually derived from the house of the van de Burse family in Bruges. According to others, the word derives from the Greek word *bursa* – purse or from Latin *bursa* – meeting. However, these words were connected with the house in Bruges, because three purses appeared on the family shield, and meetings of traders were held in front of it.
- 3 Decrees no. 79 and no. 80 from 3 April 1903 also influenced the activity of agricultural exchanges.
- 4 The text shows that the proposed act on the Bratislava Commodity Exchange and prohibition of futures contracts was a compilation of the exchange act from 1875, its amendment from 1903 and decrees no. 78 and 79 from this act.
- 5 In 1910 – 1914, the territory of Slovakia produced an average of 137,305 wagons of grain each year. The share of Slovakia in the agricultural output of the whole Kingdom of Hungary varied around 12% (winter wheat 8.2%, winter rye 19.3%, oats 17.6%, maize 3%). Barley (30.6%) had a special position. It was exported to Austria, Switzerland and Germany, but also to Belgium and the Netherlands. FUNDÁREK, Jozef. Vznik bratislavskej burzy a prehľad jej činnosti v prvom desaťročí jej trvania. (The origin of the

The war and the extraordinary conditions resulting from it, had a negative effect on the life of the exchanges. State controls suppressed free trade. In an effort to prevent excessively high interest rates, which increased in parallel to the increasing imbalance between supply and demand for commodities, the government introduced various measures to regulate trade.

The Commodity Exchange in Bratislava 1922 – 1939

After the war ended and the new state was formed, trade in agricultural products gradually became freer. In parallel with this, ever greater attention was devoted to the exchange. It was expected that by concentrating business in one place, the “black market” would be eliminated, and legitimate trade in agricultural produce would begin to increase.

The view prevailed in this period that because of its position away from the centre of the state, the Prague exchange could not organize and direct the supply of agricultural products in the whole republic. Establishment of a second commodity exchange began to be considered, but disputes arose over its location.

Two groups were formed in Moravia. One supported the view that the exchange should be established in Brno, while the other preferred Olomouc. Business circles in Bratislava supported the idea of two exchanges in the republic and rejected the existence of a third exchange. They considered it superfluous because of the small territory and the disadvantages of fragmenting business by creating a third exchange. They considered Bratislava to be the most appropriate location for the second exchange.

In their view, an exchange in Bratislava would profit especially from its position. Not only would it be established in the centre of one of the most fertile regions, but also in a city, which could become the most important port in the republic. As well as trade in cereals, trade in crops such as maize, hemp and wool, which were not typical of the Czech Lands, would be concentrated here. Thanks to its position, it would capture all the imports from the Danubian states and secure exports on the Danube. By concentrating trade in Bratislava, it would ensure that Slovakia would not fall under the influence of the Budapest and Vienna exchanges, which relied on their long-term commercial tradition. In this way, its agricultural market would be more organically connected with the market of the Czech Lands.⁶ They proposed to the representatives of the Moravian group that it should support the project of an exchange in Bratislava, and the Branch Office (*Expozitúra*) of the Ministry of Agriculture (BMA) even offered them “*decisive representation in the management of this exchange*”.⁷

Bratislava Exchange and a review of its activity in the first decade of its existence.). In *Desať rokov Bratislavskej burzy*. Bratislava : Slovenská knihtlačiareň, 1932, p. 5.

6 However, declarations often appeared in which wishes replaced reality. They stated that Bratislava would soon become one of most important railway junctions and river ports, that the Bratislava exchange would become one of the most important not only in republic, but in the whole of Central Europe. The following example illustrates this: “... *the exchange in Bratislava will be the most important in the whole of Central Europe, because it will push the exchanges of Vienna and Budapest into the background*”. ZADINA, Jozef. *Plodínová burza v Bratislave*. (The Commodity Exchange in Bratislava.). In *Robotnícke noviny*, 1919, year 16, no. 66, p. 4.

7 Slovenský národný archív (Slovak National Archives, hereinafter SNA), fund (hereinafter f.) Expozitúry

The Agrarian Council in Brno preferred the establishment of an exchange in its own city. However, since it held the position that more commodity exchanges could exist in Czechoslovakia, it expressed willingness to talk about an exchange in Bratislava. The situation changed substantially after the rather surprising establishment of an exchange in Olomouc.⁸ The Brno Chamber of Commerce and Trade (CCT) strove to become a participant in the Bratislava exchange. In accordance with the offer from 30 June 1919, it demanded that Moravian business also had to be represented in the future exchange council and arbitration court.⁹ On the other hand, Bratislava already had no interest in contacts understood like this after the abandonment of the conception of two exchanges.

As we already stated, the first initiatives for the establishment of an exchange in Bratislava came from the circles of the individual departments of the Ministry with Full Power to Administer Slovakia (MPS). Already on 4 June 1919, the department for agriculture asked the Ministry of Agriculture to support the establishment of an commodity exchange in Bratislava. Another letter (30 June 1919) appealed to the ministry to establish the exchange by its direct decision, if it had the power to do so. The Slovak Department of the Ministry of Industry and Commerce (SDMIC) proposed to the Ministry of Commerce on 8 July 1919¹⁰ that the planned commodity exchange should also include a financial exchange. On the next day, the Club of Slovak Members of Parliament also turned to the Ministry of Agriculture with a request to establish an exchange in Bratislava. The minister agreed and asked the agriculture department to call a preparatory meeting on this matter.

The Union of Traders in Grain and Economic Products also took the initiative in promoting their demands in this direction. At its founding assembly on 8 September 1919 in Piešťany, it supported the idea of establishing an exchange in Bratislava.¹¹ A joint conference of representatives of various economic institutions was held on 24 November 1919 on the initiative of the union. The participants adopted a resolution supporting the establishment of an exchange in Bratislava, and described its formation as essential both from the point of view of the economic development of Slovakia and of the whole republic. To achieve its early establishment, they turned to the ministry with a memorandum and to the city of Bratislava with a request for premises.¹²

ministerstva zemedelstva (Branch of the Ministry of Agriculture – BMA), inventory number (inv. no.) 177, carton (c.) 73. Letter from the BMA to the Ministry of Agriculture in Prague from 30 June 1919.

- 8 Výnos Ministerstva poľnohospodárstva (Decree of the Ministry of Agriculture) no. 9 513 from 8 August 1919.
- 9 A letter from 18 February 1920 proposed that the exchange council or arbitration court should include: J. Petr, president of the administrative commission of CCT Brno and director of the company Dittler and co.; V. Foit, dealer in colonial goods, member of the directing commission of CCT Brno; F. Henych, director of the Central Union of Economic Companies in Moravia and Silesia; J. Máša, advisor to the Agricultural Council in Brno. SNA, f. EMZ - BMA, inv. no. 174, c. 73
- 10 This letter is preserved in the SNA, f. EMZ - BMA, inv. no. 177, c. 73.
- 11 *“Der Verband wünscht die ehe möglichste Errichtung über Produktenbörse für die Slowakei in Bratislava, da diese zur Entwicklung der Landwirtschaft und des Handels in der Slowakei viel beitragen würde, unsomehr da sämtliche Vorbedingungen zur Errichtung dieser Börse in Bratislava gegeben sind.”* SNA, f. EMZ - BMA, inv. no. 177, c. 73.
- 12 Z. Fischer, representative of the Spolok obchodníkov s liehom (Association of Traders in Alcohol), pointing to the possibly long duration of the legislative process, proposed that in Bratislava, they should

The question of the character of the Bratislava exchange became a further focus for disputes. While the view prevailed in Bratislava that it had to be a complete exchange, Prague circles took the opposite view.¹³ They justified their position with the view that the market for “state securities” had to be concentrated in one place as long as the situation on the Prague exchange was not sufficiently consolidated and the disorganization of the credit system in Slovakia was not overcome. They admitted that illegal trade in securities could cause problems, but they saw the solution in the listing of securities at the Prague exchange. With regard for the technology of the time, they regarded distance as a secondary problem. At the founding meeting of the Bratislava Agricultural Exchange on 20 December 1919, the government official SDMIC K. Kadrman returned to the problem and presented a compromise solution. He proposed that an agricultural and commodities exchange should be established first. Later, it would be supplemented with a financial exchange,¹⁴ when it became possible to trade freely in securities.

The assembly accepted this proposal. The participants assumed that the exchange would start its activities on 1 February 1920. For this reason, they established three commissions: for statutes, for usages or customs, and for local matters.¹⁵ The commissions began to work, but their activity did not proceed at the necessary speed. Instead, they became slower and finally stopped. Work on establishing the exchange was interrupted.

Various circumstances caused this development. Parliament was solving other serious problems, such as the constitution, elections were held and three governments followed each other. However, lack of confidence in the initiatives of the Union of Traders in Grain and Economic Products, doubts about the composition of the commissions and fears that the exchange would come under the influence of circles that were not very favourable inclined towards the republic, probably also played an important role here.

A substantial turn came only in October 1920, when the MPS appointed a preparatory committee and entrusted it with all the work connected with establishing the exchange in Bratislava,¹⁶ especially preparation of the statutes.

follow the example of Innsbruck, by establishing a trading centre under the supervision of the government, where people interested in doing business would meet. He proposed using the premises of Volkswirtschaftsklub for this purpose. The participants rejected the proposal. A report on the course of the conference and a list of its participants is preserved in the SNA, f. EZM - BMA, inv. no. 177, c. 73.

13 Reply of the Ministry of Finance from 30 August 1919 to an initiative of the SDMIC from 8 July 1919 on establishing a financial exchange in connection with the planned commodity exchange in Bratislava. SNA, f. inv. no. 177, c. 73.

14 *“In principle, we want a complete exchange, and so we propose that ... the assembly should support the establishment of a complete exchange, with the agricultural produce and commodities exchange now and the securities exchange later.”* Report from the founding meeting of the Commodity Exchange in Bratislava. SNA, f. EMZ - BMA, inv. no. 177, c. 73.

15 The Commission for the statutes comprised: J. Zadina, BMA; B. Steiner, director of Ludwigmühle; A. Reiss, Union of Traders; V. Weil, advocate; Dr. Wolf, CCI Bratislava; J. Rumler, Obchodná jednota (Commercial Union); J. Slavík, Ústredné družstvo (Central Cooperative); O. Pfeffer, Dioseog sugar works. Commission for Usages: J. Kadrman, SDMIC; J. Plammer, Banking Office at the Ministry of Finance; S. Fischer, factory owner; J. Slezák; J. Herzog; K. Popper; A. Gestettner; Nekvasil; J. Pařízek; Stein. Commission for local questions: J. Maděrič, SDMIC; E. Dobis; Pytlík; Erdelyi; Feigler; Kemeny; Libanský; Müsler.

16 Declaration no. 14 674 from 3 October 1920. The MPS also appointed the chairman of the committee.

The preparatory work progressed relatively quickly. In mid January 1921, a deputation led by K. Stodola submitted proposed statutes and legislation to the Ministry of Agriculture. The committee completed other preparatory work. It obtained an adequate number of applications, as well as permission to locate the exchange in the Reduta. The final form of the usages was in harmony with the generally valid statutes of the exchanges for which the exchange council was responsible.

Article 1 of the proposed legislation prepared by the committee proposed the establishment of an exchange for agricultural produce and commodities in Bratislava. According to § 2, the arbitration court of the exchange would have the character of a state court. Its resolutions had to possess the nature of executable public documents. Article 3 regulated the activity of the arbitration court. Article 4 empowered the Ministry of Agriculture in agreement with the Ministry of Finance to add a financial section to the exchange “at a later time”. The act would come into effect on the day it was issued (§ 5). Its implementation had to be approved by the Ministry of Agriculture and the Ministry with Full Power to Administer Slovakia.

Since Hungarian legislation remained valid in Slovakia and the unification process was only beginning, the Bratislava exchange also had to rely on Hungarian law in its initial stage. However, as already stated, the Hungarian government had not passed an act on exchanges. As a result, a special legal norm had to be created for the Bratislava exchange.

In an effort to solve this problem, a meeting was held on 4 February 1921 between representatives of the preparatory committee of the exchange (J. Slávik, V. Weil), a representative of the BMA and representatives of the ministries of trade, finance, justice and unification. The principle was accepted that the Bratislava Exchange must have the same organizational basis as the exchanges in Prague and Olomouc. Three methods could be applied to implement these principles:

- An act by which the appropriate ministries were empowered to issue decrees making the relevant Austrian legislation applicable to the Bratislava Exchange;
- An act by which the statutes of the Bratislava Exchange would be recognized as a legal norm;
- A special act for the Bratislava Commodity Exchange, which would adapt the relevant Austrian legislation to the Slovak situation.

The participants in the meeting agreed that they preferred the first variant, especially because a short law had the best chance of being quickly passed by parliament. However, it was soon found that to apply this approach, it was not only necessary to amend the Austrian legislation on exchanges, but also to take into account the different form of

K. Stodola was given this position. The 36 members of the committee were appointed on the basis of proposals from individual economic organizations. At the founding meeting on 19 October 1920, the members present elected a presidium of 3 deputy chairmen (J. Slávik, J. Slezák, A. Reiss), treasurer (J. Rosenkranc), auditors (J. Herzog, J. Pařízek), and three commissions – for working out statutes, usages and organizational matters.

Hungarian commercial and procedural law, and especially the provisions for the arbitration court.

Therefore, after agreement with the interested ministries, the Ministry of Agriculture proposed to work out a special act for the Bratislava Commodity Exchange. It had to include all the legal norms necessary from the point of view of the exchange, including those, which differed from the legal norms valid in the Czech Lands.

The proposal was discussed in Bratislava on 24 March 1921 at a meeting between representatives of the preparatory committee of the exchange (K. Stodola, V. Weil), the Ministry of Agriculture (J. Kotrč, SDMIC (Prouza) and BMA (P. Stránský). The representatives of the interested parties agreed with the proposal¹⁷ and entrusted J. Kotrč with preparing it. The wish was expressed that a complete proposed act would soon be submitted for consideration by the legal committee of the exchange (V. Weil, J. Slávik, J. Maděrič).

The preparatory committee borrowed money, rented premises and strove to find a secretary for the exchange. In spite of general optimism, fears appeared that the exchange could not be established before the beginning of the season, and as a result some firms would prefer to base themselves in Vienna.

The report of P. Stránský from the session on 5 April 1921 states that if the exchange was not established, it would have very unfavourable consequences. The Ministry of Agriculture and the government would lose all their authority. *“Therefore, the commodity exchange must be established in time for the next season at any cost.”*¹⁸

The legal committee of the preparatory committee discussed “Kotrč’s” proposed act on 27 April 1921 and suggested some adjustments.¹⁹ In particular, it strove to achieve the widest possible range for the act, to ensure that the exchange would also trade in commodities other than agricultural produce. However, it did not support the establishment of two exchanges, one for agricultural produce and a second for other commodities. Against the objections that this would create a new type of exchange, it claimed that the exchange needed to adapt to the situation and needs of the time, and to write the legislation according to these considerations. It was not right to put a brake on economic development and its needs for reasons of legislative lethargy, because *“economic relations are always stronger than the formal legal aspects”*.²⁰ The actual definitions in the act were really superfluous in this direction. The subjects of trading at the exchange were defined by the statute of the exchange, and this had to be approved by the ministry.

17 The following questions remained unsolved: how to legally regulate the formation of the first exchange council; to whom would the exchange be subordinate in administrative matters; regulation of the position of the exchange brokers and prohibition of futures contracts.

18 SNA, f. EMZ - BMA, inv. no. 177, c. 73. The archive has a draft of a statement by K. Stodola to this session according to handwritten notes by P. Stránský: *“free trade: a mistake, because the exchange has still not been established here, trade in Vienna is increasing at our expense; decentralization of the Slovak economy; ignorance of the Slovak situation; a financial exchange is also necessary; devaluation of Slovak paper assets; there is no exchange or market here.”*

19 J. Maděrič, J. Slávik and V. Weil were present for the preparatory committee, Hyška for the SDMIC and P. Stránský for the BMA.

20 He was alluding to the existence of an illicit exchange at the Carlton in Bratislava, where deals were concluded. Its records are reported in various newspapers. SNA, f. EMZ - BMA, inv. no. 157, c. 55.

In relation to the fact that the exchange did not have to be limited to trade in agricultural produce,²¹ the representative of the SDMIC demanded that the Ministry of Commerce and commercial organizations should have the same responsibilities under the act as the Ministry of Agriculture and the Council for Agriculture. In practice this meant that the Ministry of Commerce should also have the right to appoint some of the members of the exchange board. Views on their proportion varied. The representatives of the preparatory committee demanded that it should not exceed one third of the total number of members of the exchange board. In their view, a larger number of appointed members would limit the autonomy of the exchange.

The representative of the SDMIC demanded that the number of appointed members should exceed one third for the reason that *“it is necessary to consider the political, nationality and economic situation in Bratislava, to ensure that the exchange board and so the exchange itself is not controlled by elements hostile to us in political, economic and national terms. To achieve this, it is necessary to secure a larger number of appointed members.”*²²

According to the view of the commission, the exchange had to be administered by the Ministry with Full Power to Administer Slovakia, and if this ministry was dissolved then by its successor organization. In contrast to this, the representative of the BMA (P. Stránský) supported the view that the Bratislava Exchange should be administered in harmony with the situation in the Czech Lands, by the Ministry of Agriculture or by its branch the BMA, if it continued to exist in Slovakia. If administration of the exchange was taken over by the MPS, he thought there would be disputes over responsibilities.²³

The representatives of the preparatory committee expressed the wish that the new act would not omit the possibility of establishing more exchanges in Slovakia, and that the new act would make allowances for them in the already worked out statutes of the exchanges, which reflected the situation in Slovakia.

The fact that there was a struggle over the exchange is confirmed by the events around the election of the secretary. The competition declared by the preparatory committee attracted 48 applications. On 2 June 1921, the narrower committee selected Dr. Földy from a shortlist of four.²⁴ The BMA immediately proposed to the minister of agriculture that the choice should not be approved, even as the choice of the temporary secretary, as long as the suspicion remained that the representatives of the Farmers' Union (A. Šte-

21 However, since trade in agricultural produce was going to predominate, the commission recommended the name “Plodinová burza (Commodity Exchange) in Bratislava”.

22 ŠÚA SR, f. EMZ - BMA, inv. no. 157, c. 55. In the event that the act retained the principle of 1/3 appointed, he demanded that the Ministry of Agriculture should appoint 2/9 of the members of the exchange board on the proposal of the Agricultural Council for Slovakia and 1/9 by the Ministry of Commerce on the proposal of the chambers of commerce and industry in Slovakia.

23 P. Stránský did not recommend the eventuality that the Bratislava exchange should be directed by the regional authority for Slovakia (zemský župný zbor) or its chairman according to § 63 Act no. 126 Col. from 29 February 1920 because it would not be subordinate to the Ministry of Agriculture and according to him there would be another “confusion of responsibilities”.

24 Dr. Földy, Dr. Liška, Dr. Flíedner and Dr. Kuba (?) were on the shortlist.

fánek) and Domovina (V. Makovický) were not invited and so could not participate in the election.

A letter of 7 October 1921 from the Ministry of Agriculture stated that “*failure to observe the formal requirements of the appointment procedure is not decisive by itself*”,²⁵ but it still did not confirm the election with the justification that it was not possible to elect the secretary of an exchange, which still did not exist. Only the exchange board could elect the secretary. Several days later and after discussions, the government submitted the proposed act on the Bratislava exchange and on prohibiting futures contracts on grain and milled products in Slovakia and Sub-Carpathian Ruthenia to the Senate.²⁶ After discussion in a plenary session of the Senate on 29 November 1921, individual committees of the Chamber of Deputies began to discuss it.

Nervousness prevailed in the preparatory committee of the exchange during this period. It was expressed in rumours “*that some political figures or parties are against the establishment of an exchange in Bratislava*”.²⁷ P. Stránský observed that if the exchange was not established, dealing at the illicit exchange would substantially increase, or traders would re-orient their activities to Vienna. They would have nowhere to set the prices of raw materials and industrial products such as timber, iron and building materials. It might reduce building activity in Slovakia. The absence of an exchange could lead to monopoly setting of prices in the region. The authority of the state in the eyes of the interested circles would suffer, because it could be seen that “*the state could not secure the establishment of an exchange in Bratislava even in two years*”.²⁸

The dispute over the proportions of elected and appointed members provoked the greatest disturbance. The original proposal of the legal commission of the preparatory committee that 1/3 should be appointed was changed. The Senate supported exactly the opposite proportion. On the eve of the sessions of the parliamentary committees, this development provoked disagreement and protests also from members of the preparatory committee of the exchange. For this reason, the Ministry of Agriculture turned to the BMA with the request for an immediate answer on what position its spokesman in the committee should adopt.²⁹

25 From a letter from the Ministry of Agriculture BMA. SNA, f. EMZ - BMA, inv. no. 177, c. 73.

26 Print no. 789. Draft of the act without changes to the level of fines, discussed on 26 October 1921 by the national economic committee and on 3 November 1921 by the constitutional law committee. The latter limited itself to some stylistic changes

27 From a confidential letter of 11 December 1921 from P. Stránský to the Ministry of Agriculture. ŠÚA SR, f. EMZ - BMA, inv. no. 177, c. 73.

28 In a reply to P. Stránský, K. Kotrč relatively sharply rejected similar considerations: “*I do not know of even the slightest animosity against the Bratislava exchange from either the Social Democrats or National Democrats, and I think you were listening to the grass growing [this probably cannot be said of the preceding period – M. F.]. I would say that not even a dog barked about it here, and I am still in two senate committees convinced by my own eyes and ears about the participants. The other circumstance, that the act came onto the agenda before Christmas, proves that the matter has to be dealt with and not delayed or stopped. It must have been considered by the gang of five and if nothing was said, then no party has anything against it.*” From a letter from K. Kotrč to P. Stránský from 12 December 1921. SNA, f. EMZ - BMA, inv. no. 177, c. 73.

29 “*it is about the proportions in the composition of the exchange board. Bratislava must first clarify what*

Opponents of the appointment of 2/3 of the exchange board regarded the change in the proportions of appointed and elected members of the board as very doubtful for various reasons. In particular, they feared that in Slovakia and especially in Bratislava, this undemocratic step could provoke unpleasant reactions, especially when it related to the Bratislava exchange. They emphasized that if the Hungarian press developed the issue, such a measure could not be defended before the international community with objective arguments. It could be regarded as a weakness of the “*Czechoslovak economic positions*”.³⁰ However, they also pointed to the fact that exchanges are never organs or institutions of the state administration, but institutions of “*autonomous economic interests*” (to use the terminology of the time – M. F.). The state administration is not able to run such an institution. It would only paralyse the blunders and eccentricities of the exchange.³¹

Appointment of the majority of the members of the exchange board did not guarantee the successful operation of the exchange. With such an approach, the political parties demanded a key for appointments, but political qualifications reduced expert qualifications. An appointed member could not have as much interest or show as much initiative in the running of the exchange as an elected expert. Apart from this, if the exchange board was mostly composed of appointed members, the state administration would be responsible to the public for the activity of the exchange, which was not always advantageous for it.

Apart from the general arguments, they also strove to point to specific problems, which resulted from this approach, especially to the fact that there were very few Slovaks, who were able or willing to serve as experts at the exchange. For this reason, some people against whom the measure was directed had to be appointed to the exchange board. Fears that the activity of the exchange could be misused on the political and economic levels were not considered justified, because the state administration had the resources to solve such problems.³²

The deputies and senators of the National and Democratic Party took the opposite position on the proportions of appointed and elected members of the exchange board.³³

it really wants”. Ref. 28.

- 30 According to P. Stránský, the proportions of appointed and elected members were not discussed by the preparatory committee of the exchange and if such a discussion happened, it expressed support for 1/3 appointed. “*There should be 21 elected members, and 14 appointed. That means 4 votes less than an overall majority. Cooperatives have 3 votes, which will be Slovak, and one further vote always reached.*” From a letter from P. Stránský to the Ministry of Agriculture from 20 December 1921. SNA, f. EMZ - BMA, ref. 28.
- 31 As evidence, they mentioned the economic behaviour of various centres and commissions during and immediately after the war.
- 32 According to K. Kotrč, there were no reasons to fear 3/5 appointed members, because the secretary was elected by the exchange board, but appointed by the Ministry of Agriculture, “*which has in its hands the approval of every more important step*”. In this context, he also opposed the formulation of special legal powers for the government commissioner, “*because the whole joke is precisely the lack of definition. It will depend on how it is arranged and introduced, and what will be considered disorderly*”. SNA, f. EMZ - BMA, ref. 28.
- 33 Telegram from the Club of Republican Party Deputies of the Czechoslovak Countryside (Klub poslancov Republikánskej strany čsl. venkova) to the BMA from 17 December 1921. SNA, f. EMZ - BMA, inv. no. 177, c. 73.

They made only a partial concession, when they proposed at a session of the agricultural committee of parliament that instead of 2/3 (66.7%) of the members of the exchange board, the minister of agriculture should appoint 3/5 (60%) after agreement with the minister of commerce and the minister of finance.³⁴

On the eve of discussions in parliament, the BMA found some inaccuracies in the proposed act on the commodity exchange (government proposal print no. 789, resolution of the Senate, print no. 222). In particular, § 14 on court decisions had not been discussed with the preparatory committee, and as a result it contained provisions that were completely inconsistent with the laws valid in Slovakia.³⁵

While the legislative process was proceeding in the Senate and Parliament in Prague, the BMA, in harmony with the proposal act, asked the Agricultural Council and the Chamber of Commerce and Industry (CCI) in Slovakia to express their views on the commercial usages that should apply at the Bratislava Commodity Exchange.

In a letter from 7 December 1921, the Agricultural Council in Slovakia agreed that in the framework of the unification process, the usages applied in the exchange should correspond to those applied in the Prague Commodity Exchange. The views of the CCI of Košice were divided. One group supported the taking over of usages, if only because it would speed up the establishment of the exchange, while another pointed to the complete difference of the situation in Slovakia from that in Prague. This group insisted that the Bratislava exchange should follow the usages of the Vienna and Budapest exchanges, especially concerning the determination of quality, which in their view corresponded better to the commercial usages valid in Slovakia. In the end, however, they agreed to the introduction of the usages of the Prague Commodity Exchange, in the interest of achieving early establishment of the exchange.³⁶

The Chamber of Deputies discussed the proposed act during the 122nd meeting of its first electoral period. Kornel Stodola, Ferdiš Juriga and Karol Medvecký gave short speeches. All three welcomed the establishment of an exchange in Bratislava. However, they differed in their views on the immediate causes of its origin.

F. Juriga stated that the government could not take the credit for the origin of the institution. The proposal to establish it was forced by the circumstances.³⁷ He described

34 K. Stodola, K. Medvecký, P. Stránský and K. Kotrč were still discussing this question on 11 – 13 January 1922 at the Ministry of Agriculture. K. Stodola and K. Medvecký persisted with the view that 3/5 of the members of the exchange board should be appointed. Report on a meeting in Prague, SNA, f. EMZ - BMA, inv. no. 177, c. 73.

35 According to K. Kotrč, the blame for not discussing the proposal lay with the preparatory committee to a significant degree, because its representative was not present at the discussion. However, Dr. Weil claimed the exact opposite. Various complications derived from the fact that the Ministry of Justice regarded the act article on court decisions as a prescription especially concerning only the Budapest exchange. However, the view prevailed that at the given stage, it was not appropriate to change the text of the proposed act. They took the view that the problem would have to be solved by an amendment.

36 From a letter from CCI Košice of 20 December 1921, SNA, f. EMZ - BMA, inv. no. 177, c. 73; the expressions of other CCIs are not found in the archive. However, it is not probable they had a negative character.

37 *"Life has simply proved that Slovakia... is a reality and simply that an exchange has arisen unofficially and needs to be covered by means of a proposed act."* From a speech by F. Juriga to the Chamber of

the existing proposed act as imperfect, especially because it lacked a proposal for the establishment of a securities exchange, “*which shows that they are not giving us the whole loaf, but only a slice*”. On behalf of the Slovak People’s Party, he declared that the party’s deputies would vote for the act, because they were not in opposition just for the sake of being in opposition, “*but so that... they would obtain from the Czech centralists various rights and freedoms against the greed of centralism in Prague*”.

Karol Medvecký occupied an opposite position. In his view, the Slovak nation did not want to establish an exchange in Bratislava because it wanted “*something special, something necessary for its separate national life*”. It was a matter of “*economic necessity and economic need, which serves the whole republic and does not have the aim of supporting autonomous efforts*”. He regarded the fact that a securities exchange was not established as proof that “*establishment of the exchange was motivated only by economic considerations...*”.³⁸

Kornel Stodola’s pragmatically inclined speech described the exchange as one of the organizations, which the economic life of Slovakia urgently needed. This was the only way Slovakia could move forward towards its economic emancipation “*from the former charmed economic circle of Vienna and Budapest*”.³⁹ However, it would be possible to develop only thanks to the incorporation of the republic into the world economy. He saw its international importance in the fact that the exchange would catch all the imports from the Danubian states, whether direct or in transit, while also striving to ensure that Czechoslovakia would export along the Danube.

According to K. Stodola, a securities exchange would inevitably be established in Bratislava under pressure from the “*irresistible idea of the decentralization of economic life*”. It would only help the Prague exchange, because it was not in a state to absorb all the wealth, “*which the Czechoslovakization of enterprises will bring us*”. He also supposed that after a time, a transport exchange (*Frachtenbörse*), similar to the exchange at Duisburg on the Rhine, would be formed at the Bratislava commodities exchange. However, the final aim would be to create a labour exchange similar to the *Bourse de travail* in Paris. This could be done on the basis of private initiative and government support, to mediate the movement of workers between east and west, to solve the problem of emigration to America “*with the whole socio-political complex of viewpoints connected with these questions*”.

The Act on the Commodity Exchange in Bratislava and the prohibition of futures contracts⁴⁰ for grain and milled products in Slovakia and Sub-Carpathian Ruthenia was

Deputies. Shorthand record of the proceedings of the Chamber of Deputies of the National Assembly (First electoral period, 4th session, 122nd meeting), p. 2190.

38 From the speech of K. Medvecký to Parliament. Ref. 37, p. 2192.

39 “*We would like to make it the heart and brain of the economic organism in Slovakia, since this exchange as an organized market will be a barometer of our economic life, since it will indicate the various highs and lows of our national economic level.*” From the speech of K. Stodola in parliament. Ref. 37, p. 2186.

40 Futures contracts were concluded with the condition of delivery of the goods on a later date, sometimes several months later. Agricultural circles considered that such deals unfavourably affected the setting of prices for immediately delivered goods, and succeeded in getting them prohibited in Cis-Leithania

passed after its second reading and vote in the Chamber of Deputies on 25 January 1922. However, since parliament approved the proposed act with some amendments, it had to be discussed again in the Senate. The proposal became an act of parliament only on 15 February 1922. It was published in the Collection of Acts as Act no. 69 from 11 March 1922.

After the act was passed, the minister of agriculture appointed a temporary board for the exchange on 3 May 1922 on the proposal of the preparatory committee. This board directed the final phase of preparations to open the exchange. The ceremonial opening happened on 27 May 1922 in the government building in the presence of the minister of agriculture F. Staněk, the minister of education and national information V. Šrobár and the minister for the administration of Slovakia M. Mičura. The first exchange assembly was held on 26 June in the Bratislava Reduta.

The deals concluded at the Commodity Exchange in Bratislava reached a considerable size. It strove for unified regulation of the grain trade in the Danubian region and for international exchange of goods through the Bratislava river port. In an effort to contribute to the development of grain production, it organized impressive markets for Slovak barley in the framework of the Danubian trade fair. In 1923 and 1929, it organized timber conferences with the aim of increasing the interest of foreigners in Slovak timber and solving problems in the international timber trade.

From 1923, it also strove to co-ordinate the activities of the commodity exchanges in Central and South-Eastern Europe. The individual exchanges guaranteed the implementation of their findings by taking disciplinary action against any member, who ignored the legally valid finding of another exchange. The first international conference of exchanges was held in 1926 in Vienna and a year later the *Delegation of the Central and South-East European Treaties* was formed as a permanent organization of exchanges.

The arbitration court of the exchange decided on disputes, within its sphere of responsibility. It considered disputes between traders over the quality of goods and disputes requiring the expertise of the members of the court. In 1925, a change in the statutes widened the jurisdiction of the arbitration court to include disputes about goods with which the exchange was not concerned.

The expert committee decided on extra-judicial disputes about the quality of goods by means of obtaining evidence. This activity was the most extensive because the exchange was the only institution doing it.

The secretariat of the exchange did office work for all the exchange institutions and it produced expert reports about commercial usages and on the development of commodity prices. It also published the official commodities price data for the individual departments.

After establishing a grain monopoly in 1932 and the resulting purchase of grain, feed and milled products by the Czechoslovak Grain Company of Prague only at the official price, the exchange lost its function of setting prices in this field. Trading at the exchange was substantially reduced especially in 1938 as a result of the unfavourable political

already in 1903. After passing of the act on the Bratislava Commodity Exchange, this prohibition was extended to the territories of Slovakia and Sub-Carpathian Ruthenia.

situation. At the beginning of 1938 it had 433 members and it gained 25 new ones, but it lost 169 members by 31 December 1938. This reduced the membership base by 33.3%. Exchange assemblies were already held only once a week, on Mondays. For this reason, the presidium of the exchange requested a reduction in the payment for state supervision from 11 000 Kč to 8 000 Kč and the Ministry for the Economy of the Slovak Region granted this request.⁴¹

The Bratislava Exchange 1939 – 1945

Already on the second day after the origin of the Slovak state, the governor of the Slovak National Bank asked the Ministry of Finance to call a meeting to discuss the establishment of an auditing department for banks, savings banks and other financial institutions, and of a securities exchange.⁴² The ministry granted the request and on 21 April 1939, representatives of the Ministry of the Economy, Ministry of the Interior, Slovak National Bank and the Slovak financial community met at the Ministry of Finance. They emphasized the importance of a financial exchange for the economy and stated that it was essential for Slovakia as an independent state to have such an institution. They were only seeking the way to establish it. The following alternatives were considered:

- establish a financial exchange as an independent institution;
- add a financial exchange to the existing Bratislava Commodity Exchange;
- an association of financial institutions would fulfil the role of a financial exchange;
- the Slovak National Bank would be entrusted with the function of the financial exchange.

The participants in an opinion survey agreed that the Slovak National Bank would solve other problems and the establishment of a separate exchange would be a luxury in the given situation. At the same time, they proposed that the preparatory work should be entrusted to the Vice-Governor of the Slovak National Bank and university Professor Jozef Fundárek in cooperation with the Union of Small Farmers' Mutual Savings Banks and Union of Slovak Savings Banks.

The Ministry of Finance took over the accepted resolution and proposed to the government that it should establish a financial exchange by adding a financial section to the existing Bratislava Commodity Exchange.

The following arguments were also formulated to support the proposal derived from the opinion survey:

- The establishment of a separate financial exchange for Slovakia was already considered in 1929, but without trade in foreign currency. It was not established as a result of the economic crisis.⁴³ Therefore, if the need for a financial exchange was already recog-

41 Decree of the Ministry of the Agriculture no. 88241/29 was replaced by Decree of the Ministry of Economy of the Slovak Region no. 2305/VI-1939. SNA, f. PF, inv. no. 732, c. 662.

42 SNA, f. PF, inv. no. 732, c. 662 – Memorandum of the Governor of the Slovak National Bank, doc. no. 6/1939 from 14 April 1939.

43 Consideration of trading in securities at the Bratislava exchange already appeared in 1919.

nized when Slovakia was not independent, its absence was felt even more now after the creation of an independent state.

- The financial institutions and companies had a large number of state bonds in their portfolios, but they were excluded from trade, especially from Lombard credit, because their exchange value was not known.

- The sale of shares in Slovak industrial companies also depended on their value on the financial exchange. The general public would invest their savings in shares only when they could find out their price at the exchange. In this way, establishment of a financial exchange could also influence the further industrialization of Slovakia.⁴⁴

The government discussed the recommendations at its session on 8 May 1939 and decided to establish a financial exchange in Bratislava.⁴⁵

The proposed legislation worked out by J. Fundárek was amended on the basis of the results of an inter-ministerial meeting held at the Ministry of Finance on 29 August 1939, and in agreement with the Ministry of Justice. However, the conflict with Poland in September also provoked doubts about whether it was correct and rational to implement the idea of establishing a financial exchange at such a time. However, the participants in another survey of expert opinion considered that it was necessary to continue the legislative process, so that it would be possible to pass an act as soon as possible.

Trade in export “portfolios” (skladačky) began at this time in Slovakia. It was done by the banks, which organized a private market in this new type of security in the premises of the Bratislava exchange. As a result, the question of establishing a financial exchange again became acute.

From the formal point of view, the exchange could be established either by amendment of Act no. 69/ 1922 Col. or by passing a new act. Since the exchange already existed and only a reorganization was proposed, the first alternative was possible. In the end, the second solution was preferred with the justification that amendment made a new act confusing. At the same time, it was a matter of prestige for the new state to replace the received law with its own law.

However, the old legal norms had to lose validity and be replaced by the new only when the Bratislava exchange began to trade in securities. In this way, interruption of legal continuity would be limited.

The details of trading were regulated by regulations, which could be changed more easily than acts of parliament. Although according to the existing regulations the exchange was administered by the exchange board with 40 members, 3/5 of whom were appointed by the minister of agriculture, while 2/5 were elected by the members of the exchange, according to the new legal norms, the exchange would be headed by a chairman and board, which usually had an advisory function, appointed by the minister of finance after agreement with the Ministry of the Economy. According to the German model, the chair-

44 SNA, f. Ministry of Finance, inv. no. 732, c. 662, Establishment of a financial exchange, doc. no. 4927/VI/16 from 29 April 1939.

45 SNA, f. Ministry of Finance, inv. no. 732, c. 662, Letter from the prime minister from 20 May 1939 signed by Dr. Koso and addressed to the Ministry of Finance.

man had to listen to the views of the exchange board before every important decision, but the board did not vote. While the agricultural exchange was subordinate to the Ministry of the Economy, the new act transferred responsibility to the Ministry of Finance.

In contrast to the previous period, when the statutes covered all types of goods and commodities traded at the exchange,⁴⁶ the new statutes did not contain such a specification, but gave the chairman of the exchange the right to prohibit trade in some commodities and exclude them from the official exchange price list, if economic interests required this.

The constitutional law and national economic committees of parliament discussed the proposed act at the beginning of December 1939. The Exchange Act no. 339/1939 was published on 31 December 1939 and became valid on 1 June 1940 according to government decree no. 124/1940.

Apart from Act no. 339/1939, the organization and administration of the exchange was regulated by statutes set by decree no. 6454/II-16/40 from 20 May 1940 from the Ministry of Finance, after agreement with the Ministry of Justice and the Ministry of the Economy, as well as by the appropriate usages for individual exchange commissions.

The Jewish question was also solved in the framework of the reorganization of the exchange. The Ministry of the Economy turned to the Ministry of the Interior with a request that the Jewish functionaries of the Bratislava exchange should be left until 15 February 1940, *“that is until the Bratislava exchange is transformed in accordance with the Exchange Act no. 339/39 Col. of Slovak legislation”*.⁴⁷ It observed that if this did not happen, activity at the exchange would stop, because the Aryan members did not show enough interest in its activity. The Ministry of the Interior submitted the request to the Ministry of Finance and the secretariat of the exchange to ascertain their views. In a letter from 13 February 1940 addressed to the Ministry of the Economy, the exchange asked for exceptions in accordance with government decree 74/1939 on the dismissal of Jews from the state and public services according to the attached list.

Less than two months after the exchange act became valid, the Office of the President of the Republic asked the Ministry of Finance as the supervisory office, to inform the President about *“why Jews are represented in disproportionately large numbers in the exchange bodies, and whether this could be corrected. The same applied to the employees of the exchange, many of whom were foreign citizens from the Protectorate”*.⁴⁸ The reply from the exchange stated that *“the exchange bodies include not even one Jew... but there are three foreign citizens”*.⁴⁹ They would be dismissed after agreement on redundancy payments.

The Presidium of the Exchange Board submitted a list of members of the expert body of the Bratislava Exchange to the Ministry of Finance, and requested its approval

46 The statutes mention 70 items, but in reality 15 were actively traded. They were mentioned more or less to widen the area of authority of the exchange court in relation to the text of the statutes.

47 SNA, f. Ministry of Finance, inv. no. 732, c. 662, Memorandum from the Ministry of the Economy.

48 SNA, f. Ministry of Finance, inv. no. 732, c. 662, doc. no. 13137/40, Memorandum from the Office of the President of the Republic from 29 July 1940.

49 SNA, f. Ministry of Finance, inv. no. 732, c. 662, doc A I 708, Memorandum from the exchange from 21 August 1940.

after agreement with the Ministry of the Economy. As was stated, the list included Jews – experienced experts, who fulfilled their duties conscientiously, and it was “*in the eminent interest of the exchange that these experienced experts train new members of the expert body*”.⁵⁰ The Ministry of Finance found no reason to grant exceptions, and the list was not approved where the Jews were concerned. Appointment of the others was taken into account. According to the writer of the reply, economic reasons required “*that the Slovak economy should be freed from Jewish influence. This tendency will be entirely appropriate at the exchange as the highest economic institution. The exclusion of the Jews from the proposal will create the greatest possibility to train the largest possible number of new Slovak personnel for work at the exchange*”.⁵¹

In mid August 1940, the secretary of the exchange Ľudovít Végh⁵² informed the Ministry of Finance that there were already no Jews among the officials and staff of the Bratislava Exchange. They were present only among the members (45 %) of the commodities and timber section of the exchange. A few days later, the chairman of the exchange Anton Mederly sent a letter to the Presidium of the government stating that the exchange would soon exclude “*the Jewish element from membership of the exchange*”. However, he pointed out that their exclusion would reduce the annual income from membership fees by 80,000 Slovak crowns, and this could lead to a situation in which the exchange would have to request support from public resources. Therefore, he called on the presidium of the government “*to intervene in an appropriate way with the relevant chambers of commerce and associations, so that Slovak, Christian firms and enterprises apply for membership of the Bratislava Exchange, participate in exchange assemblies in sufficient numbers and so replace the Jewish element, which has been a dominant element in exchange life up to now*”.

The last day of August 1940 was the deadline for submitting “*applications for the admission of securities at the Bratislava Exchange*”. The leadership of the exchange pointed out to the Ministry of Finance that Slovak finance had a strong interest in ensuring that “*as many securities as possible, especially shares are listed at the Slovak exchange, and that companies participate in trade at the financial exchange*”.⁵³ This appeal and other similar efforts did not achieve much success. The presidium of the exchange was forced to state that it usually encountered complete lack of interest or excuses that it was not desirable for this or that company to be discussed in public and for its business to become the subject of public criticism. The result was catastrophic – “*from 350 joint stock companies with share capital of 1,500 million Slovak crowns, share capital of 250 million Ks from 12 companies is listed on the exchange at present. [19 May 1942 – M. F.] That is only 3% of the companies and 17% of their share capital*”.⁵⁴

The situation did not change in the following period, and so it is not surprising that a proposal appeared that the representatives of the exchange should skilfully and flexibly

50 SNA, f. Ministry of Finance, inv. no. 732, c. 662, doc A I 807 from 4 July 1940.

51 SNA, f. Ministry of Finance, inv. no. 732, c. 662, Stanovisko koncipienta (View of the writer).

52 Ľudovít Végh changed his surname to Brhlovič in 1941.

53 SNA, f. Ministry of Finance, inv. no. 732, c. 662, Official letter from the exchange from 9 July 1940.

54 SNA, f. Ministry of Finance, inv. no. 732, c. 663, doc A II 585/42 from 19 May 1942.

arrange things so that exchange dealing would be at least formally staged by means “of the patronage of companies, which would sometimes sell or buy some pieces of paper; so that the exchange listing would not be empty”.⁵⁵

The financial department did not become a typical centre of the capital market. It gradually declined and by the end of 1944 and beginning of 1945 it was only the official place for recording the prices of securities and for dealing in permitted shares and foreign currency.

After the establishment of the Supreme Supply Office (Najvyšší úrad pre zásobovanie), the commodities department lost its function as a market centre and only recorded the official prices set by the SSO. For the commodities that were not officially managed, the exchange recorded market prices, which provided orientation for further business. The timber department assembled timber dealers and balanced supply with demand for timber. It recorded the results of this balancing, namely prices.

Before Christmas 1944, in connection with the approach of the front, the Ministry of Finance began to consider the evacuation of the exchange to Ľubochňa. Later, Martin, Štubnianske (now Turčianske – M. F.) Teplice and Nové Mesto nad Váhom were mentioned. In the end, evacuation was abandoned and the exchange remained in Bratislava.

In mid February 1945, the exchange asked the Ministry of Finance for authorization, on the basis of which the chairman of the exchange with the agreement of the exchange commissioner could suspend the holding of exchange assemblies in the financial, commodity and timber departments, and the publication of commodities price data, as a result of extraordinary circumstances. The arbitration court, secretariat and other parts of the exchange would continue their activity depending on the development of events.⁵⁶

The Ministry of Finance did not agree with such a solution, explaining that: “*Today does not provide the conditions for closure of the exchange, although it is impossible to conceal that the present extraordinary situation (bombing of some enterprises and so on) partially influences the technical situation of some shares. However, if the exchange were to close today, it would evoke an undesirable psychological effect, leading to lack of confidence.*”⁵⁷ For this reason, the ministry reserved the right to definitively decide on this step and decided that it had to be done in agreement with the Ministry of the Economy. In the end, the ministry did not or could not issue a decree. The exchange limited its activity without prior authorization as a result of the real situation.

The Bratislava Exchange 1945 – 1952

Several weeks after the liberation of Bratislava, a meeting was held at the Commission for Finance, at which representatives of the exchange informed representatives of the commission about the activities of their institution in the preceding period and about the people employed in its structures. The Commission for Finance subsequently

55 SNA, f. Ministry of Finance, inv. no. 732, c. 663, doc Ro-82/1942-III from 2 March 1942, Official letter from the auditing department of the Slovak National Bank addressed to the Ministry of Finance.

56 SNA Bratislava, f. Povereníctvo financií (Commission for Finance, hereinafter PF), inv. no. 732, c. 664, doc. no. A I 141/45 from 14 February 1945.

57 SNA, f. PF, inv. no. 732, c. 664, doc. no. 3 366/1945-VI/16 from 29 March 1945.

made Štefan Menkyna⁵⁸ temporary head of the exchange, and the deputy chairman of the exchange submitted a proposal for the appointment of its functionaries on 6 July 1945 on the basis of proposals from interest organizations.

The Commission for Finance prepared a proposal for the appointment of the chairman of the exchange and sent it to the Office of the Chairman of the Slovak National Council in an official letter of 20 July 1945. At the same time, it asked the Commission for Industry and Commerce to express its view on the proposed appointment of the exchange board and two deputy chairmen.

The representatives of the exchange reacted to the new constitutional situation and established contacts not only with the leading figures in the Ministry of Internal Commerce and the Ministry of Foreign Commerce, but also with the representatives of exchange circles in the western part of the revived republic. From 16 to 18 August 1945, a meeting of representatives of Czechoslovak exchanges was held in Bratislava. The meeting passed a resolution on reviving the Standing Committee of Czechoslovak Exchanges with the aim of incorporating the exchanges into the economic life of the new republic and unifying the legislation on exchanges in its territory.⁵⁹

The participants adopted discussion rules according to which the commodity exchanges in Prague, Brno and Bratislava would act as equal partners in discussing important problems concerning their activities, and agree on joint approaches to solving all important tasks, especially when negotiating with officials and other institutions. Although emphasis was placed on a joint approach, it could not be at the expense of one or another exchange, if their interests differed.

Each exchange had one vote and decisions had to be taken unanimously. If the result of voting was not unanimous or if some of the exchange boards did not approve the conditionally approved resolutions of the standing committee, a member exchange could choose an independent approach.

The members of the standing committee also committed themselves to inform each other about:

- changes or proposed changes in statutes, usages and all other valid resolutions and regulations at individual exchanges, and provide mutual assistance in legal matters;
- exchange fees, annual reports, yearbooks, commodities price data and other publications;
- members or visitors, who were temporarily excluded, or permanently deprived of the right to attend exchange assemblies.⁶⁰

Exchange assemblies at the Prague Exchange were revived on 9 June 1945, and in Brno a month later on 12 July 1945. It was expected that trading in individual commodities would pick up after the end of the harvest as a result of their freeing from the regulated economy. The Bratislava Exchange was being reorganized at this time. The commodities department issued commodities price data on 26 September 1945, and the timber department two months later on 13 November 1945. Since both publications of

58 SNA, f. PF, inv. no. 908, c. 1 015, doc. no. 155/45-VI/18.

59 SNA, f. PF, inv. no. 908, c. 1 015, Memorandum of the Czechoslovak exchanges.

60 SNA, f. PF, inv. no. 732, c. 664, Joint meeting of representatives of the Czechoslovak exchanges.

price data only included officially set prices with a reference to the relevant official decree for each item, the commodities price data had only informative value for traders and members of the exchange.

On 4 October 1945, the Board of Commissions concerned itself with the question of establishing the structures of the exchange and starting its activities or allowing exchange assemblies in the departments of commodities and timber.

However, it did not take a definitive decision. Therefore, the Commission for Finance organized a survey of the views of all the commissions. Their reports from 9 October 1945 agreed with starting the activity of the Bratislava Exchange or they had no comments with the explanation that the matter did not concern them. An exception was the Commission for Industry and Commerce, which did not adopt a definitive position on the matter, but its representative Ján Púll promised that he would present the question of the Bratislava Exchange at the next meeting of the Board of Commissioners.

Other institutions, including the Presidium of the Ministry of Internal Commerce, the Ministry of Finance, Ministry of Foreign Commerce and the other exchanges in Czechoslovakia, also expressed positive views.

The memorandum of the Bratislava Exchange from 5 November 1945 asked the Board of Commissioners:

- to adopt a positive position on the further existence of the Bratislava Exchange;
- approve the proposal of the Commission for Finance on the replacement of the exchange board of the Bratislava Exchange, as well as its chairman and deputy chairmen;
- give permission to start exchange assemblies for the commodities and timber departments.

At the beginning of 1946, the Commission for Agriculture and Land Reform again confirmed in reply to a request from the Commission for Finance⁶¹ that it was “*considered desirable that the Bratislava Exchange should soon start its activity, especially in the departments of commodities and timber*”.⁶² The Commission for the Interior expressed the same view. As in previous inter-departmental actions, the other commissions did not have comments, but the Commission for Industry and Commerce passed on the question to the Ministry of Industry and the Ministry of Internal Commerce in Prague. The Ministry of Industry opposed the starting of activity of the Bratislava Exchange, while the Ministry of Internal Commerce replied that it had still not definitively decided on this question. On this basis, the Commission for Industry and Commerce inclined to the same conclusion.⁶³

61 On 22 January 1946, the Commission of the Slovak National Council for Finance submitted a proposal for the organization of Slovak finance to the Board of Commissioners. The proposal stated that the question of the Bratislava Exchange would have to be solved soon because trade, especially international trade “*cannot be carried on without the expert commissions and arbitration court organized in the framework of the Bratislava Exchange*”. SNA, f. PF, inv. no. 908, c. 1015, Report and proposal of the Commission for Finance from 5 August 1946.

62 SNA, f. PF, inv. no. 908, c. 1 015, doc. no. A/V-614/3/1946 from 14 February 1946.

63 SNA, f. PF, inv. no. 908, c. 1 015, doc. no. I – 2373/2-46 from 13 April 1946.

Some change came only when the Commodity Exchange in Brno, acting in the name of the Standing Committee of Czechoslovak Exchanges, produced a memorandum on 25 June 1946. The memorandum stated that it was essential that as in Prague and Brno, exchange assemblies should also be permitted in Bratislava in the agricultural and timber departments. The commissioner J. Púll received the representatives of the Bratislava Exchange on 3 July 1946. He stated that he had not personally decided on the matter, but he promised to present the issue to the next session of the Board of Commissioners.⁶⁴

A decision from 1 October 1946 gave the Bratislava Exchange permission to hold exchange assemblies in the commodities and timber departments. It also made the chairman of the Grain Company for Slovakia Michal Pálka chairman of the exchange. The Board of Commissioners informed him that after agreement with the interested organizations, he should submit a proposal for appointment of the members of the exchange board and other exchange officials. This happened on 26 April 1947.

Exchange circles held the conviction that although it was impossible to expect more lively business in the immediate future, the exchange as a “barometer of economic life” would still gradually gain the same weight in commercial life as it had before, although its mission and activity “*would be substantially different to that in the system of economic liberalism*”.⁶⁵

However, the development was diametrically different. At a meeting of representatives of the action committees formed in connection with the February events of 1948, it was stated that the exchanges in their existing form had no reason to exist. Their structure and orientation to the function of setting prices and distributing goods would disappear in a planned economy.

The action committees proposed that the exchanges would be liquidated and their remaining assets transferred to the Arbitration Institute (Rozhodčí ústav) with its headquarters in Prague and regional branches in Brno and Bratislava. The statute of the institute would be worked out by the Ministry of Agriculture after agreement with the Ministry of Food and the Ministry of Justice. The Arbitration Institute would be subject to the Ministry of Agriculture with the exception of the arbitration courts, which would be subordinate to the Ministry of Justice.

In June 1952, the Ministry of Agriculture submitted the draft of a government decree on the dissolution of the commodity exchanges and the transfer of some of their tasks to the Central Agricultural Control and Testing Institute. The explanatory text stated that with the introduction of a planned economy and new system for setting prices, the agricultural exchanges had lost their price-setting function. However, with the passing of Act no. 99/1950 Col. on economic contracts and state arbitration, the exchange arbitration courts had also lost their function.

As a result, the activity of the exchanges was limited to:

64 In a footnote to the record of the meeting, G. Duplinský mentions a confidential telephone conversation of G. Pađušický chief co-ordinator of the commission, who stated that Púll would present the memorandum and propose a positive response.

65 BRHLOVIČ, Ľudovít. Obnovené burzové zhromaždenia. (The revival of exchange assemblies.). In *Budovateľ*, 1946, year 8, no. 48, p. 3.

- creation of detailed delivery and quality conditions for trade in agricultural commodities and products made from them;
- production of expert assessments and certificates required by offices and reports on the quality of agricultural produce and products.

This activity was important, but it could be transferred to another already existing office on the basis of agreement between ministries. *“The continued existence of exchanges, a remnant of the capitalist order, is not necessary. The exchanges were also dissolved in the USSR.”*⁶⁶

And so the Bratislava Agricultural Exchange was dissolved in 1952. The buildings of the exchange on Štúrova and Fučíkova streets in Bratislava passed to the communal housing enterprise of Bratislava City Council (Ústredný národný výbor) after some delay. The published Oráč acquired the printing facility, while the agenda of the agricultural exchange was transferred to the Central Control and Testing Institute in Bratislava in accordance with government decree no. 32/52 Col.

BRATISLAVAER BÖRSE FÜR LANDWIRTSCHAFTLICHE PRODUKTE (1922 – 1952) WENDEPUNKTE IN DER TÄTIGKEIT EINER INSTITUTION

MIROSLAV FABRICIUS

Bratislavaer Börse für landwirtschaftliche Produkte entstand im Jahr 1922. Sie bestand aus zwei Sektionen – Produktensektion für den Handel mit landwirtschaftlichen Produkten und Holzsektion für den Holzhandel. Die Organisationsstruktur, ihre Verwaltung, sowie das Verfahren des Börsengerichts wurden durch die Satzung geregelt. Um die Entwicklung der Getreideproduktion zu unterstützen, organisierte sie im Rahmen der Donau-Messe Ausstellungsmärkte für die slowakische Gerste und bemühte sich, den internationalen Warenaustausch durch den Bratislavaer Hafen zu erleichtern. Nach der Errichtung des Getreidemonopols und darauf folgender Erfassung von Getreide, Futtermitteln und Mühlenerzeugnisse nur zu Amtspreisen verlor sie auf diesem Gebiet ihre preisbildende Rolle. Nach der Entstehung der Slowakischen Republik im Jahr 1939 wurde sie in die Bratislavaer Börse umbenannt und erweiterte ihr Tätigkeitsbereich um Finanzsektion. Es wurden hier die Wertpapiere und Devisen gehandelt, die Aktien jedoch nur selten. Durch das Einführen einer gesteuerten Wirtschaft und einer zentralen Plansteuerung der Wirtschaft wurde ihre Rolle auf die Schiedsfunktion und sachkundige Tätigkeit eingeschränkt. Im Jahr 1952 beendete sie ihre Existenz.

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66 SNA, Commission for Agriculture, inv. no. 486, c. no. 284, Proposed government decree on the dissolution of commodity exchanges.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE LEADERSHIP OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF SLOVAKIA FROM AUGUST 1968 TO APRIL 1969

STANISLAV SIKORA

SIKORA, Stanislav. The Development of the Leadership of the Communist Party of Slovakia from August 1968 to April 1969. *Historický časopis*, 2013, 61, Supplement, pp. 129-152, Bratislava.

The study considers the development in the leadership of the Communist Party of Slovakia, a regional organization of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia from the occupation of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic by the armies of the Warsaw pact and the extraordinary congress of the CPS at the end of August 1968 until the appointment of its leading representative G. Husák to the function of First Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPC in mid April 1969. In this period, the leadership of the CPS underwent a turbulent political development from an exemplary reformist communist body with the potential to continue the reforms at least to a limited degree, into a united bloc of Husák's realists, who had the ambition to extend the Normalization process to the whole CPC. Apart from the objective international and internal political situation, this change was also strongly influenced by the high political ambitions of G. Husák, who showed his true face in this period, as a pragmatic political utilitarian, although, paradoxically, he had stood at the head of the reformist communists in the CPS from January to August 1968.

The Czechoslovak Socialist Republic in 1968-1969. Communist Party of Slovakia. Invasion of Czechoslovakia by the armies of the Warsaw Pact. The coming of Gustáv Husák to power in mid April 1969.

After the occupation of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic (CSSR) by the armies of the Warsaw Pact, the space in which the reformist leadership of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia (CPC) could apply its power and manoeuvre to confront external pressure was dramatically narrowed. In spite of this, it attempted a sort of "fighting retreat" with the aim of saving as much as possible of the democratic gains achieved after January 1968. According to the leader of the Czechoslovak reformist communists Alexander Dubček "*our situation was not hopeless. There were many ways we could continue our resistance. However, everything depended on unity in our ranks – at the top among the functionaries and below among the Czech and Slovak nations.*"¹

Such unity existed in the Communist Party of Slovakia (CPS) after August 1968. The social structure of this part of the CPC confirmed the excellent pro-reform preconditions. Its leading bodies were composed of an overwhelming majority of reformist communists after the extraordinary congress of the CPS on 26 – 28 August 1968. They were headed by Gustáv Husák, from January to August 1968 their informal leader and then the first

1 DUBČEK, Alexander. *Nádej zomiera posledná. (Hope dies last.)*. Bratislava : Nová Práca, 1998, p. 220.

secretary of the Central Committee of the CPS. However, in the period from August 1968 to April 1969,² complex differentiation processes in the CPS and its leadership completely broke up the former unity.

The state of the social structure of a mass political party of communist type can tell us much about its character, and, for example, about its ability to be a broad base for a reformist communist movement, which was still highly topical in the period researched here.³ This is because, the social development with its contradictions occurred in the part of the population organized in the party in approximately the same direction as in the whole population, and social relations within the mass CPC and CPS⁴ were to a large extent a projection of the situation in the whole of society. All the social tensions maturing in society were also maturing in the CPC and the reverse.

The CPC was formed from the beginning as a proletarian party, a party of the working class. For this reason, it was always very unpleasant and surprising for the leadership, that in spite of all the measures, the proportion of members, who were working class according to current profession, began to moderately but continually decline from the beginning of the 1960s.⁵ There was also a so-called scissors effect, since the proportion of working class people in the total population of the whole state and of Slovakia was still growing. As a result of the completion of socialist industrialization, the proportion of workers in Slovakia was actually growing faster than in the whole state.⁶

This trend had various causes. Many working class members of the CPC entered the social group of the “working intelligentsia” after gaining higher education. Many party documents deposited in the Slovak National Archives in the Central Committee of the CPS collection also speak of inadequate care for the political education of workers from the side of the basic organizations of the CPS and so on.

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- 2 This problem already received deeper attention at the beginning of the 1990s from Michal ŠTEFANSKÝ in his essay *Invázia, okupácia a jej dôsledky. (The invasion, occupation and its results.)*. It was one of the results of the activity of the Commission of the Government of the Slovak Republic for Analysis of the Events of the Period 1967 – 1970 in Slovakia and it appeared in the internal publication *Slovenská spoločnosť v krízových rokoch 1967 – 1970, III. diel. (Slovak society in the crisis years 1967 – 1970, Part III.)*. Bratislava 1992, p. 100-206. However, the period researched here was part of the wider period from August 1968 to May 1971, and so the author, entirely naturally, gave limited attention to some important sources and connections.
 - 3 The statistical data concentrated in the following tables derives from archive materials deposited in the Slovak National Archives (hereinafter SNA). The materials for each year include documents of the type *Správa o vývoji rastu a zloženia členstva KSCĽ na Slovensku. (Report on the development, growth and composition of the membership of the CPC in Slovakia)*.
 - 4 In this study we regard the CPS as the regional organization of the CPC in Slovakia.
 - 5 For example, the *Správa o vývoji rastu a zloženia členstva v KSCĽ v Slovenskej socialistickej republike (Report on the development, growth and composition of the membership of the CPC in the Slovak Socialist Republic)* submitted to the session of the Central Committee of the CPC on 18 April 1969 states: “An inadequacy is that the declining proportion of workers in the composition has still not been stopped.” SNA, f. ÚV KSS, carton no. 1 885.
 - 6 The share of the working class in the total population of Czechoslovakia grew from 56.3% in 1961 to 58.2% in 1969. The proportions in Slovakia were 55.9% to 59.1%. *Sociální struktura ČSSR a její vývoj v 60. letech. (The social structure of the CSSR and its development in the 1960s.)*. Praha : Academia, 1972, p. 30-31.

However, the most accurate view appears to be that the young and qualified workers, who already acquired predominance in their professional group in the second half of the 1960s, were increasingly dissatisfied with working conditions and the technical equipment of workplaces, but especially with their jobs, which were on lower levels than their qualifications. This also affected their incomes. Conscious of their powerlessness in relation to their less qualified but “more conscious” masters and other superiors, as well as other possibilities to change this situation, they gave up and stopped taking an interest in public affairs, including membership of the CPC.⁷ In Slovakia, a further contribution came from the specific reality that in the course of socialist industrialization, people from small and middle-sized farms became “newly qualified” industrial workers to a much larger extent than in the Czech Lands. In accordance with Slovak traditions, many were “religiously” or otherwise “burdened” and they did not show much interest in becoming members of the CPC.⁸

The closest strategic ally of the industrial working class – the workers on cooperative farms, showed a similar declining trend. During the 1950s and the first half of the 1960s, many young people, especially men, found work in the industries, newly established in the framework of the socialist industrialization of Slovakia, so that by the end of the 1960s the Slovak agricultural cooperatives were rather a sad sight. The majority of people were aged over 50 and most of them were women. It was not a favourable environment for recruiting new members of the CPC, although the village organizations of the party made a lot of effort.⁹ In the mid 1960s, Slovakia still had 128,888 small farmers operating individually. The leadership of the CPC attempted to build up a position among them, but with minimal results. In April 1969, the party authorities registered only 1,414 members of the CPS from the ranks of the private small farmers, which was only 0.5% of the total.¹⁰ It is difficult to suppose that these people, most of whom had resisted forcible collectivization in the 1950s, would join the political party responsible for this unfortunate phenomenon.

The final element in the social structure of a socialist society of Soviet type was the already mentioned “working intelligentsia”, in the framework of which the technical-economic intelligentsia, known at the time as the engineering, technical and economic workers, acquired the greatest importance. Their share in the membership of the CPS constantly increased in the researched period, to about the same extent as the share of the working class declined.¹¹ The cause of their rising importance was objective social

7 KAPLAN, Karel. *Československo v letech 1953–1966, 3. část. (Czechoslovakia in the period 1953 – 1966, Part 3.)*. Praha : Státní pedagogické nakladatelství, 1992, p. 94-95.

8 The proportion of the so-called petit bourgeois element in the category of industrial workers was 26.9% in the Czech Lands and 43.9% in Slovakia according to the 1967 micro-census. ROŠKO, Róbert. *Premeny v sociálnej štruktúre Slovenska (1945 až 1970)*. (Changes in the social structure of Slovakia.). In *Sociológia*, 1970, no. 4, p. 353.

9 *The Správa o vývoji rastu a zloženia členstva v KSČS...*, submitted to the session of the Central Committee of the CPS on 18 April 1969 also says that “aging of the membership and organizations with a small number of members in villages remain serious problems”. SNA, f. ÚV KSS, carton no. 1 885.

10 Ref. 9.

11 This document states: “In the recent period, the non-party members among the technical intelligentsia

needs, especially the pressure for economic and scientific-technical development. In the end, one of the main causes of the democratization process of 1968 was the need to move to the trajectory of the scientific – technical revolution as a pre-condition for the further successful building of socialism of the Soviet type. This fact was immensely important from the point of view of the reform potential of the CPS.

Table 1

Year	1962	1963	1964	1965	1966	1969
Workers	105 349	104 784	106 238	104 711	100 894	99 336
%	37,80	35,40	35,40	34,40	33,00	31,90
Cooperative farm workers	24 972	25 995	25 520	23 462	24 765	25 104
%	8,80	8,80*	8,50	7,70	8,10*	8,00
Private farmers	2 301		1 836	1 772		1 414
%	0,90		0,60	0,60		0,5
Technical economic intelligentsia	40 033	56 237	57 595	63 870	66 040	69 147
%	14,20	19,10	19,10	20,9	21,60	22,20
Other intelligentsia	109 263	108 802	109 399	111 456	114 042	116 655
%	38,30	36,70	36,40	36,40	37,30	37,40
Total	281 918	295 818	300 588	305 221	305 741	311 656
%	100	100	100	100	100	100

* In these years, the cooperative and private farmers were combined

In comparison with the technical-economic intelligentsia, the other groups in the intelligentsia had relatively little representation in the party. Up to 1 January 1969, administrative workers with 7.4% and teachers with 6.2% were quite numerous, but scientific workers (0.2%), doctors of medicine and pharmacists (0.8%), artists and cultural workers (0.7%) and students (0.4%) had only insignificant representation. The low numbers of scientists, artists and cultural workers was evidently a result of mutual aversion derived from the recent past, between those, who limited, distrusted and punished on one side, and those, who regarded party, ideological and administrative pressure as restriction of

have shown relatively greater interest in joining the party than other social groups including the industrial workers." Ref. 9.

freedom of thought. It was similar among the students, who did not want to subject their youth and freedom of thought to the restrictions of party discipline.

From the point of view of the problem researched here, the data on time of joining the CPC are also important. Perhaps the most important point is that almost half the members joined the party in the period 1958 – 1968. They were mostly young people aged up to 35, who already from the point of view of their natural psychic disposition had a much greater sense for new things – in this case for reform of socialism – than the older people. They were also mostly people, who no longer compared the “present” with the “capitalist past”, but more with the developed Western “capitalist present”, which was achieving ever greater propagandist and other influence on the young of the 1960s through various channels. The serious crimes of the leadership of the CPC in the first half of the 1950s, namely the staged political trials, made known in 1963 after the publication of the materials of the so-called Kolder and Barnabite rehabilitation commission, also had great influence on their thinking.¹²

Table 2

Date of joining the CPC	Number	%
1921 – 1944	3 244	1,0
1945 – 1947	51 329	16,7
1948	48 528	15,8
1949 – 1957	72 337	23,5
1958 – 1968	132 130	43
Total	307 568	100,0

A further important statistical indicator with significant influence on the reform potential of the members of the CPC in Slovakia is their level of education, which showed progressive movement. The number with complete secondary school or university education increased, while the number with only elementary education declined. It is generally recognized that not only the creation of reformist intensions, but also understanding of them requires a certain intellectual level. Although the educational level of the members of the CPS according to table 3 does not appear to be high, it was significantly higher than the educational level of the whole population of Slovakia at the time.¹³

The development of the membership base of the CPS in the period from 1 January to 30 September 1968 was unusually symptomatic. While in the Czech Lands, the number

12 For more details see LONDÁK, Miroslav – SIKORA, Stanislav – LONDÁKOVÁ, Elena. *Predjarie. Politický, ekonomický a kultúrny vývoj na Slovensku v rokoch 1960 – 1967. (Before spring, political, economic and cultural development in Slovakia, 1960 – 1967.)*. Bratislava : Veda, 2002, p. 37-57.

13 LALUHA, Ivan. *Alexander Dubček, politik a jeho doba. (Alexander Dubček, a politician and his time.)*. Bratislava : Nová Praca, 2000, p. 33.

of members of the CPC fell by 14,593 or more than 1%, in Slovakia there was growth of 2,946 or 0.9%.¹⁴ There is real growth here, which arose after the deduction of former members. In this context, the most interesting thing is that 6,511 new members joined the CPS in this period, from whom 2,214 (34.01%) were workers, 611 (9.38%) were cooperative or private farmers, 3,227 (49.56%) were members of the “working intelligentsia”, and 459 (7.05%) belonged to other groups. The last are assigned to the intelligentsia in other similar party documents. Thus, 56.61% of the total, a clear majority, were not either industrial workers or small farmers. The pro-reform potential of the new members of the CPS was even greater, if we realize that 77.8% of them were young people aged up to 35.¹⁵

Table 3

Education / %	1960	1966	1968	1969
Elementary	72,60	63,00	61,10	59,40
Lower secondary	10,20	10,00	10,30	10,60
Complete secondary	12,20	18,70	19,60	20,30
University	5,00	8,30	9,00	9,70

Finally, we will briefly mention the apparatus of the Central Committee of the CPS, since one of the characteristic features of socialism of Soviet type was the concentration of power in the hands of the party bureaucracy. From the point of view of the possible variants of political development, this fact was always important. The apparatus of the Communist Party was not subject even to formal elections as an elected structure, and many of its members could keep their positions and substantially influence social development for several decades.

Where the apparatus of the CC CPS is concerned, according to data from 1968, industrial worker was the original profession of 66.9% of the political workers, and 78.2% of them came from working class families.¹⁶ From the point of view of length of activity of political workers in the apparatus of the CC CPS, it is possible to confirm the already stated view that the group of pre-war communists was still significantly represented in 1968 with 12%, although they made up only 1% of the whole CPS. People, who joined the apparatus in the period 1950 – 1953, the period when the political show-trials culminated, were still the most numerous among the political workers of the CC CPS, with 38.4% of the total. A further 38.3% of the political workers joined the apparatus of the CC CPS in the period 1954 – 1964, and so before the coming of the so-called pre-spring

14 SNA, f. ÚV KSS, session of the Presidium of the ÚV KSS (CC CPS) on 4 Nov 1968. Informatívna správa o vývoji členskej základne Komunistickej strany Slovenska za obdobie od 1. 1. do 30. 9. 1968, (Information on the development of the membership base of the Communist Part of Slovakia in the period from 1 January to 30 September 1968.). carton no. 1 215.

15 Ref. 14.

16 MAŇÁK, Jiří. *Proměny moci III. Početnost a složení pracovníků stranického aparátu KSČ 1948–1968. (Changes of power III. The number and composition of the staff of the party apparatus of the CPC 1948–1968.)*. Praha : Ústav pro soudobé dějiny AV ČR, 1999, p. 44.

period of 1963 – 1967 with its moderate liberalization of the regime in Slovakia. Only 18% of them came after 1965.¹⁷

Similar trends to those in the apparatus of the CC CPS were also found in the apparatus of the regional and district committees of the CPS. In the end, this had the result that the reform potential of the apparatus of the CPS was very limited. In 1968, when it felt the threat to its interests from the de-bureaucratizing force of the democratization process, extraordinarily critical journalism and personal attacks from citizens harmed by the repression of the 1950s, it became a firm opponent of any reform movement, and a bastion of conservatism and dogmatism.¹⁸

The statistics given above and their various connections clearly show that with the exception of its apparatus, the CPS could be regarded from the point of view of its social structure as a regional organization of the CPC, which was prepared and able to act as an important factor in further pro-reform political development, although in significantly changed conditions. This situation was considerably strengthened by the results of the extraordinary congress of the CPS of 26-28 August 1968. In spite of the fact that it was held after the occupation of Czechoslovakia and after the Moscow talks, the new CC CPS elected at it, represented a radical change in the old political cadres. From the 69 members of the CC CPS elected in 1966 only 12 members and 5 candidates were elected to the new 107 member central committee. This meant that 84% of its members were replaced. From the members of the Control and Revision Commission of the CPS elected in 1966 only one remained. From the highest functionaries of the CPS, who were suspected of collaboration, or were members of the conservative wing (Vasil Biľak, Miloslav Hruškovič, Herbert Ďurkovič, Michal Pecho, Viliam Šalgovič, Michal Chudík, Michal Sabolčík and others) none were elected to the new central committee. Among the 187 candidates for the CC CPS and Control and Revision Commission (CRC) of the CPS there were only 25 workers (13.4%), and they made up only 12.2% of the participants in the congress.¹⁹ The intelligentsia entirely prevailed, and as a result, they constructed these bodies as classic reform bodies, which could solve the complex questions of the modernization of socialism of the Soviet type. In addition, the following were elected to the presidium of the CC CPS: Gustáv Husák, Ladislav Novomeský, Viktor Pavlenda, Anton Ťažký, Ondrej Klokoč, Samuel Falťan, Jozef Zrak, Stanislav Lupták, Štefan Sádovský, Mária Sedláková, Koloman Boďa and Robert Harenčár. They all belonged to the reformist wing of the CPS before 21 August 1968.²⁰

17 MAŇÁK, ref. 16.

18 For more details see SIKORA, Stanislav. *Rok 1968 a politický vývoj na Slovensku. (The year 1968 and political development in Slovakia.)*. Bratislava : Pro Historia, 2008, p. 52, 82 etc.

19 PAUER, Jan. *Praha 1968. Vpád Varšavské smlouvy. Pozadí – plánování – provedení. (Prague 1968. The Warsaw Pact invasion. Background – planning – implementation.)*. Praha: Argo, 2004, p. 301-302.

20 Evidence of how our allies in the Warsaw Pact viewed the new CC CPS and its presidium can be found in the Report of the General Consulate of the Hungarian People's Republic on the internal political situation in Slovakia from 13 September 1968: "The right has placed there almost all its representatives, and has succeeded in preventing the election of communists it describes as 'dogmatists and conservatives'." ŠTEFANSKÝ, Michal. *Slovensko v rokoch 1967 – 1970. Výber dokumentov. (Slovakia in the period 1967 – 1970. A selection of documents.)*. Bratislava : Komisia vlády SR pre analýzu historických udalostí z rokov 1967 – 1970, 1992, p. 365.

After the occupation of Czechoslovakia, the reformist leadership of the CPC had only a few days or perhaps only hours to work out a new political line. All considerations finally led to a basic decision: to use the possibilities given by the Moscow Protocol and favourable situation in the membership base to continue the reformist policy followed since January, although naturally to a limited extent and more slowly. The emotional speech on radio by A. Dubček only a few hours after his return from Moscow, made a decisive contribution to changing the view of the Czechoslovak public on the Moscow talks of 23-26 August 1968, which were mostly rejected until then. Finally, this was reflected in the public opinion poll results, according to which the people had extraordinary confidence in Ludvík Svoboda (98 %), Alexander Dubček (96 %), Josef Smrkovský (92 %) a Oldřich Černík (79 %) – the so-called men of January. On the other hand, the public had least confidence in V. Biřák, Alois Indra, Drahomír Kolder and G. Husák.²¹

Then the reformists attempted to regroup and consolidate their ranks so that they would be able to carry on a “fighting retreat” with the aim of saving some of the basic postulates of the democratization process. Alexander Dubček and his supporters used the agreement with Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev, concluded already during the Moscow talks and apart from the Protocol. According to this agreement, some delegates to the XIVth (Vysočany) Congress of the CPC could be co-opted as members of the central committee in addition to the members elected at the congress. However, the reformist leadership of the party deliberately understood and applied this “concession” in a very generous way. Eighty delegates from the “Vysočany” congress were co-opted onto the old CC CPC elected in 1966. Forty-six of them were also members of the “Vysočany” central Committee. Thus, a new CC CPC was formed with 265 members and a strong predominance of reformists.²²

However, in spite of this positive starting point, the August session of the CC CPC also contained the basic contradiction of the new stage of the reform movement, which lasted until 17 April 1969. The reformist forces still had the political initiative in their hands, and their representatives succeeded in convincing both nations that there was a real way forward from the tragic situation, as well as a possibility to avoid a split in the party. However, the conservative forces made it very clear that they would soon use the situation created after the occupation of the state to make a general attack on the reform movement.

At first, the situation also looked hopeful in Slovakia. A Resolution of the Congress of the Communist Party of Slovakia on the present situation in Slovakia states in a militant spirit: “*We declare our support for the Action Program of our party. We will apply our creativity to its fulfilment... We will not retreat from the program of democratic socialism.*”²³ However, a little later, immediately after the first concessions by the party leadership in the spirit of the Moscow Protocol, sobering up occurred among

21 BÁRTA, Miloš. *Pokus o záchranu reformního programu. (The attempt to save the reform program.)* In *Československo roku 1968, 2. díl: počátky normalizace*. Praha : Parta, 1993, p. 7, 34.

22 *Rok šedesátý osmý v uzneseních a dokumentech ÚV KSČ. (The year 1968 in the resolutions and documents of the CC CPC.)* Praha : Svoboda, 1969, p. 307.

23 ŠTEFANSKÝ, ref. 20, p. 295-296.

the membership base and lower functionaries. This led to a wait and see attitude and finally passivity. This eventually spread to the higher state and party functionaries, as stated in the Declaration of the Communist Students, who met at Borinka near Stupava at the end of September 1968: *“We have a new party leadership, which should indicate that everything is in order. However, we are disturbed by the passivity of some members of the presidium of the Slovak National Council, commissioners and other leading functionaries. We do not know their political positions, and we do not hear the voices of the members of the new CC CPS, in which our party and the public place great hope.”*²⁴ This testifies to the growing disorientation of the members and functionaries of the CPS in the first months after the occupation of Czechoslovakia by the Warsaw Pact forces.

A considerable part of the uninformed and disoriented membership of the CPS began to express fear over the coming development. They reacted to the constant emphasizing of the need for normalization of social life in the spirit of the Moscow Protocol, which they heard especially from the mouth of the first secretary G. Husák, with declarations that often had a prophetic aspect. For example, members of the basic organization of the CPS at Czechoslovak Bus Transport in Spišská Nová Ves feared that *“the situation in our country will not be considered normalized until we return to the system of Novotný’s time”*.²⁵ In the basic organization of the CPS in the glassworks at Lednické Rovne, they even said that *“the statements of comrade Husák suggest that he is soon going to take over the position of comrade Dubček”*. Similar reports also spread in the districts of Lučenec, Banská Bystrica and Žilina. Views that *“comrades Dubček and Smrkovský will not keep their positions for long”* appeared in the district of Veľký Krtíš.²⁶ In spite of the hectic and anti-Soviet situation immediately after the occupation of Czechoslovakia, the conservatives and dogmatists began to express very extravagant views in support of the coming of the Warsaw Pact troops to Czechoslovakia. Such views were expressed by members of the basic organization of the CPS at the Regional Headquarters of State Security in Banská Bystrica, but also in the local organizations of the CPS in Klenovec, Lehota nad Rimavicou, Ratkovská Lehota, Rimavská Sobota and elsewhere.²⁷

In this situation, it was essential to adopt a political line, which would secure the unity of the party, continue the development pursued since January as expected by the majority of members of the party and the citizens outside the party, while also satisfying the Soviet representatives, who were carefully observing the political development of Czechoslovakia. It was an immensely demanding task and the reformist leadership of the CPC made the greatest possible effort to achieve it.

This political line had to be adopted at the session of the CC CPC on 14-17 November 1968. The reformist leadership of the party strove to continue the results of the

24 SNA, f. ÚV KSS, zas. P ÚV KSS 14 October 1968. Informatívna správa o priebehu stretnutia študentov – komunistov vysokých škôl na Slovensku v dňoch 25. – 26. 9. 1968, (Report on the meeting of communist students from Slovak universities of 25-26 September 1968), carton no. 1 214.

25 *O politickej situácii vo Východoslovenskom kraji, Košice, september 1968. (On the political situation in the East Slovakia Region, Košice, September 1968.)*. ŠTEFANSKÝ, ref. 20, p. 306.

26 *Správa o politickej situácii v Stredoslovenskom kraji k 26. 9. 1968. (Report on the political situation in the Central Slovakia Region on 26 September 1968.)*. Ref. 20, p. 313.

27 Ref. 20, p. 312.

session of the CC CPC on 29 May – 1 June of the same year, at which it adopted the line of struggle “on two fronts” – against the conservative-dogmatists and the rightist threat.²⁸ To secure the support of the Soviet representatives and take the wind out of the sails of the conservatives, A. Dubček, O. Černík and G. Husák even visited L.I. Brezhnev in Warsaw, where he was attending the Congress of the Polish United Workers’ Party. The proposed resolution they submitted to the CC CPC was essentially approved by Brezhnev, but he insisted on its amendment so that there would be constant struggle against the rightist threat. This made struggle against the conservatives and dogmatists only secondary.²⁹ From the point of view of Husák’s struggle for the position of first secretary of the CC CPC, which had already started, it is symptomatic that it was precisely Husák, who pointed out to Brezhnev the lack of a statement on the need for constant struggle against the rightist threat in the proposed resolution. He did this without prior agreement with the other members of the Czechoslovak party delegation.³⁰

Thus the resolution adopted by the CC CPC at its session in November 1968 contained an internal contradiction. It contained the majority of elements of the reform program from before August 1968, but also placed extraordinary emphasis on everything that later helped the dogmatic-sectarian wing of the CPC to assert its interests.³¹

Organizational changes in the leading structures of the CPC had much greater influence on the further political development in Czechoslovakia. The session of the CC CPC of 14-17 November 1968 established an 8 member executive committee of the presidium of the CC CPC, which took over most of the agenda of the presidium. From the real reformist communists already only A. Dubček and J. Smrkovský remained in it. The Bureau for Directing Party Work in the Czech Lands was also established. It had legal powers equal to those of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Slovakia. It was headed by the former moderate reformist Lubomír Štrougal, who had already added to the ranks of the so-called realists, who were willing to make concessions to Soviet demands. On the basis of these changes, A. Dubček lost a large part of his legal powers and from the point of view of real power, he became a political figure of secondary importance. The troika of “realists” – O. Černík, G. Husák and L. Štrougal – gained the dominant power.

However, many of these realists remained hidden from the ordinary members of the CPS, who learned from official sources only about the need for struggle “on two fronts”, which they welcomed with enthusiasm. At meetings of functionaries of the CPS, about 50 of which were held only on to 28 November 1968, participants appreciated that *“the resolution of the CC CPC opens the space for the development of the positive features of the post-January policy, that it distances the party from extreme forces and tendencies, whether of rightist or leftist character. They [the members of the CPS – S.S.] regard*

28 For further details see SIKORA, ref. 18, p. 122-125.

29 DOSKOČIL, Zdeněk. *Duben 1969. Anatomie jednoho mocenského zvratu. (April 1969. Anatomy of a transfer of power.)* Brno : Doplněk, 2006, p. 35.

30 DUBČEK, ref. 1, p. 234-235.

31 See VONDROVÁ, Jitka – NAVRÁTIL, Jaromír. *Komunistická strana Československa. Prameny k dějinám československé krize v letech 1967–1970, (The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. Sources on the history of the Czechoslovak crisis of 1967-1970), vol. 9/3.* Brno : Doplněk, 2001, p. 585-602.

these documents as a real starting point from the present political situation."³² Such a view from the ordinary party members in Slovakia was entirely understandable at this time. They were still only communists, who had no understanding for the radical demands of the various "bourgeois democrats", mostly from the Czech part of the republic. The democratic demands of many of them were already satisfied by the passing of the Act on the Czechoslovak Federation and guarantees for the continuation of the democratization process without rightist and leftist excesses was precisely what they wanted. In addition, not only the members of the party, but also the majority of the citizens were already beginning to be tired of the relatively long-lasting intensive social tension. They already wanted to relax, having in front of them the instructions for the "right way forward" in the form of the resolution of the November session of the CC CPC.

However, the political situation in Czechoslovakia and in Slovakia did not freeze at this stage of development. Pressure from the "allies" headed by the Soviet Union, together with their domestic assistants, as well as the unbalanced and "flexible" provisions of the above mentioned resolution, caused a wide differentiation process in the leadership of the party and among its members. As we will see, this significantly changed the political situation in the CPC and CPS, as we know it from before August 1968.³³ Naturally, the differentiation between the individual currents in the CPS was not chemically pure, it had only a statistical character and the boundaries between them were often unclear. Various members of one current maintained close working and private relations with members of other currents. It was only later after the coming of sharp normalization that the boundaries between them deepened and became clearer.

G. Husák was undoubtedly the personality, who contributed most to the direction, form and speed of political differentiation in the CPS after August 1968. It occurred not only according to his ideas, but mainly in the direction of his political interests.

Already during the Moscow talks of 23-26 August 1968, it was G. Husák together with the President of Czechoslovakia L. Svoboda, who founded the *Realist* wing, a group willing to support some key demands of the Soviet leadership, especially annulment of the Extraordinary XIV (Vysočany) Congress of the CPC. They also "torpedoed" various important political activities of the reformists led by A. Dubček, and apart from recognition of the existing Czechoslovak party and state institutions, they were not willing to formulate any minimal demands of the Czechoslovak side. Gustáv Husák not only overcame distrust of his person, which derived from his position as the leading personality in the democratization process in Slovakia, but already attracted the attention of the Soviet representatives as one of the potential replacements for Alexander Dubček in the leadership of the CPC.³⁴

32 SNA, f. ÚV KSS, zas. P ÚV KSS 2. 12. 1968. *Informácia o ohlasoch na novembrové zasadnutie ÚV KSČ a ÚV KSS, (Information on responses to the November session of the CC CPC and CC CPS)*, carton no. 1 216. In 1968 – 1969 the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia was designated with the abbreviation KSČS (in English: CPCPS) in Slovakia.

33 For more details see SIKORA, ref. 18, p. 68-91.

34 During the Moscow talks, A. Kosygin allegedly said to Z. Mlynář: "Comrade Husák is an able comrade and excellent communist. We did not know him, but he has made a very good impression on us here." MLYNÁŘ, Zdeněk. *Mráz přichází z Kremlu. (Frost comes from the Kremlin.)*. Praha : Mladá fronta,

He also pursued this line at the extraordinary congress of the CPS of 26-28 August 1968. With his extraordinarily developed political instinct, he sensed that the Soviet representatives already had enough unfulfilled promises from the last eight months, whether from the side of a. Dubček or from the representatives of the conservative wing in the leadership of the CPC, namely A. Indra, D. Kolder, V. Biřák and others. They were hungry for concrete and substantial political acts. Husák succeeded in providing these substantial political acts at the congress! He succeeded in convincing the delegates to distance themselves from the extraordinary XIV Vysočany congress of the CPC, which was a strong interest of the Soviet leadership, and he gained them for his intension: legalization of the results of the Moscow talks and their anchoring in the power-political structures of Czechoslovakia.

Rigorous maintenance of the principles of the Moscow Protocol then became Husák's political creed. He did not tolerate any political manoeuvring with the aim of preserving at least some of the basic postulates of democratic reform. At the session of the CC CPS on 5 September 1968, he declared that fulfilment of the obligations flowing from the Moscow Protocol "*cannot be done with any tricks or deceit*".³⁵ With the passage of time, A. Dubček also said that the main obstacle in efforts to preserve the reform process at least to a limited degree, was not V. Biřák, "*that bigoted idiot*", as he literally put it, but G. Husák, who deliberately "*torpedoed*" all Dubček's efforts from the position of first secretary of the CC CPS.³⁶

However, this did not mean that G. Husák did not at least outwardly engage in the above mentioned "war on two fronts" to preserve the continuity of the democratization process from before August.³⁷ However, his concrete actions, and he worked very hard at this, were always in harmony with the Moscow Protocol and the interests of the leading representatives of the Soviet Union. In the end, even former apologists for G. Husák noticed that from autumn 1968 "*a deepening contradiction*" began to appear "*between what he said and what he did*".³⁸

From the important members of the highest bodies of the CPC, L. Štrougal, Jan Piller, O. Černík, Evžen Erban, Čestmír Císař and others gradually joined the group of realists. Among the Slovak politicians, Štefan Sádovský, Jozef Lenárt, Peter Colotka and others also joined. By uniting the Slovak part of the CC CPC around him and around the idea of political "realism", G. Husák created a strong bloc, without which hardly anything could be done in high Czechoslovak politics.³⁹

1990, p. 240

35 SNA, f. ÚV KSS, zasadanie ÚV KSS 5. 9. 1968. (Session of the CC CPS on 5 Sept. 1968.). *Referát prvého tajomníka ÚV KSS G. Husáka*, (Speech by First Secretary of the CC CPS G. Husák.), carton no. 1 881.

36 REIMAN, Michal. Setkání s Alexandrem Dubčekem ve Vídni v listopadu 1988. (A meeting with Alexander Dubček in Vienna in November 1988.). In *Soudobé dějiny*, 2002/1, p. 142.

37 For more details see his contributions to discussions at sessions of the CC CPC on 31 August and 16 November 1968. VONDROVÁ – NAVRÁTIL, ref. 31, p. 248-252, 576-580.

38 PLEVZA, Viliam. *Vzostupy a pády. Gustáv Husák prehovoril. (Rises and fall. Gustav Husák spoke.)*. Bratislava : Tatrapress, 1991, p. 117.

39 DOSKOČIL, ref. 29, p. 65.

Much has already been written in Slovak and Czech historiography about Husák's perfidious political act, as a result of which J. Smrkovský had to give up his candidacy for chairman of the Federal Assembly of Czechoslovakia. Both A. Dubček and the Czech historian M. Bárta agree in stating that use of the national principle that a Slovak should be chairman of the Federal Assembly, when the president and prime minister were both Czechs, was entirely legitimate. In the words of A. Dubček, "*Husák's exemplary cunning*" lay in this.⁴⁰ However, in the middle of this controversy, at the session of the CC CPS on 21-22 December 1968, G. Husák openly admitted in his final words, that the struggle against J. Smrkovský was not only a national but mainly a political struggle: "*I will say openly and I also said this in Prague, we should not make this a question of prestige, if it is about a comrade, such as Comrade Svoboda or any other... However, now it is not only a question of justice for the nation, but also a political question... Will this republic again get into further convulsions, or will it take a more peaceful route. And I don't know why we should make any compromises precisely here.*"⁴¹ However, the main thing was that these "political convulsions" would not be acceptable to the representatives of the Soviet Union and G. Husák removed their possible originator from the political scene.

From the point of view of political differentiation in the leadership of the CPS, but mainly from the point of view of the shift of the Slovak realist wing in the overall political spectrum of the CPC, it is symptomatic that the whole of the conservative part of the members of the CC CPC led by D. Kolder, A. Indra, V. Biľak, Otakar Rytíř, Antonín Kapek and others, supported P. Colotka as chairman of the Federal Assembly of Czechoslovakia. All the Slovak representatives in this highest party body voted with this wing of the party, although with different political motives.⁴² Thus, the Slovak realists increasingly distanced themselves from the original reformist aims of the leadership of the CPC, and this caused important movements in other political groupings in the CPS. The beginnings of political cooperation between the realists and the conservatives lay somewhere around here. It fully developed later and gave its stamp to the sharp normalization of 1969 – 1970.

As a result of his outstanding speaking abilities and charismatic personality, G. Husák succeeded in arousing the impression that all his political acts were the optimal solution in relation to the harsh reality of occupation, and he was the only guarantee that the worst would not happen and everything would occur in the framework of Central European decency. He did this so convincingly that even such a politically experienced and educated man as Milan Šimečka stated in 1984: "*He still claims this today, and sometimes I am inclined to understand his conviction.*"⁴³

Therefore, it is not surprising that G. Husák soon gained the support of the majority of the 107 members of the CC CPS for his realistic platform. They were mainly members

40 DUBČEK, ref. 1, p. 238-239; BÁRTA, ref. 21, p. 41-42.

41 SNA, f. ÚV KSS, zasadanie ÚV KSS 21. – 22. 12. 1968. (Session of the CC CPS of 21-22 Dec 1968.). *Závěrečné slovo G. Husáka, (Final words of G. Husák).* carton no. 1 883.

42 ŠTEFANSKÝ, *Invázia, okupácia a jej dôsledky*, ref. 2, p. 144-145.

43 ŠIMEČKA, Milan. *Obnovení pořádku. (Restored order).* London 1984, p. 31.

of the new generation of people in their forties, former workers in science, education, the mass media and so on. They had nothing to do with the 1950s, they were morally blameless, but lacked the political experience that might have enabled them to resist the argumentation of such an experienced and extraordinarily able politician. Among the politicians active on the Slovak political scene for longer, Ondrej Pavlík, O. Klokoč, František Barbírek, Vojtech Daubner and Ján Janík were important supporters of G. Husák – the first two perhaps from long-term acquaintance, the others because they became members of the CC CPS with Husák's help.⁴⁴

Husák's political realism also had its support base in the circles of Slovak artists, especially writers. There was already a dispute between the "democrats" and the "federalists" on the editorial board of *Kultúrny život* (*Cultural Life*) in April and May 1968. L. Novomeský, Miroslav Válek and Vojtech Mihálik left the board as a result. In spite of various mystifications of their act, it is clear today that these writers could not tolerate strong support for the democratization of public life in Slovakia from the side of the editorial board of this magazine. They belonged to the group, which reduced the democratization process in Slovakia almost exclusively to the completion of the federalization of the Czechoslovak state.⁴⁵ At the end of May 1968, this group of writers founded *Nové slovo* (*New Word*) for the third time. It was originally established by G. Husák during the Slovak National Uprising. At the extraordinary congress of the CPS in August 1968, L. Novomeský was elected as a member of the CC CPS, and V. Mihálik as a candidate member. Both were important supporters of G. Husák. M. Válek became a member of this supreme Slovak party body only a year later. The supporters of Husák's realism from the field of culture concentrated around them.

Where the membership base of the CPS was concerned, the realist political platform was best received in the basic organizations of the CPS in the productive sphere, especially in large enterprises. The resolution of the CC CPS from its November 1968 session with its emphasis on the rightist threat was received with great enthusiasm here. "Realistic" elements were already appearing here, for example, "*identification of justified criticism of the preceding period with anti-socialist forces, some expressions of aversion to the intelligentsia, expressions of the old understanding of the leading role of the party and so on*".⁴⁶

The moderate reformist communists stood to the right of the realists in the political spectrum of the CPC. Naturally, they recognized the inevitability of reforms, but most of them did not consider fundamental modification of the system. They wanted to introduce change gradually. They also supported the leading role of the party, but wanted to implement it in a better and more democratic way. They certainly did not want to give it up, and they tenaciously resisted any attempt to attack it. Another important factor

44 ŠTEFANSKÝ, ref. 20, p. 364.

45 For more details see SIKORA, ref. 18, p. 104-106.

46 SNA, f. ÚV KSS, zasadanie P ÚV KSS 3 February 1969. *Rozpracovanie záverov novembrového a decembrového pléna ÚV KSCS a ÚV KSS v podmienkach bratislavskej mestskej stranicej organizácie*, (*Discussion of the conclusions of the November and December plenary sessions of the CC CPCS and CC CPS in the conditions of the Bratislava city party organization*), carton no. 1 221.

influencing their activity was that this wing comprised mainly professional politicians with political ambitions, which played a significant role in their political behaviour. Within the leadership of the CPC, J. Smrkovský and partly also Č. Čisár were among the most radical members of this group. A. Dubček, O. Černík, Bohumil Šimon, Josef Špaček, Zdeněk Mlynář, Š. Sádovský and others were more restrained. After August 1968, this faction gradually disintegrated and lost importance. Some of its members including J. Smrkovský and Z. Mlynář joined the radical reformist communists, while others, such as O. Černík, Č. Čisár and Š. Sádovský, moved towards the realists.⁴⁷

In the leadership of the CPS, the moderate reformist communist group included those, who understood the “struggle on two fronts” as a balanced struggle against the conservative – dogmatists and against the rightist, anti-socialist threat. They pointed to the danger of under-estimating the activities of the conservative current in the CPC and CPS. One of the important representatives of this group: the economist V. Pavlenda stated at the session of the CC CPS on 19-20 November 1968: *“Emphasizing renewal, I aim above all at the field of interest of yesterday’s deformers, or more widely at the field of interest of people, who apply their labour in places inappropriate to their abilities. Such people were and internally still are convulsively against the renewal process. Emphasizing on the other side this process in socialism, I touch above all the interests of people, who cannot reconcile themselves with socialism as a social system.”*⁴⁸ For them, the basic political platform was still the action program of the CPC from April 1968, but they did not understand it dogmatically, especially in the sense that they were not expecting to fulfil it in the existing internal and international political situation. At the same session of the CC CPS, another important member of this group, Jozef Zrak said: *“The Central Committee does not regard the Action Program as a dogma or closed document, but as an open document... It would be a mistake to regard every check or correction, every change in it as a betrayal of the action program or the post-January course of the party.”*⁴⁹

Other members of this political platform in the leadership of the CPS included Bohumil Graca, A. Ťažký, Július Turček, Milan Strhan, S. Falt'an, R. Harenčár, K. Boďa, M. Sedláková, Štefan Šebesta and S. Lupták. However, these members of the CC CPS certainly did not have light political prospects, because the network of informers working tirelessly for the Soviet Union and recruited mainly from the former adherents of A. Novotný, constantly collected information about their activities and views. They also watched G. Husák, including the fact that he tolerated rightist opportunists in his surroundings. These allegedly included all the above mentioned Slovak moderate reformist communists. This was very difficult for him, mainly because as a serious candidate for the highest political function in Czechoslovakia, he wanted to have a clean record, especially with the Soviets.⁵⁰

47 DOSKOČIL ref. 29, p. 62-63.

48 SNA, f. ÚV KSS, zasadanie ÚV KSS 19. – 20. novembra 1968. *Diskusný príspevok V. Pavlendu*, (*Discussion contribution of V. Pavlenda*), carton no. 1 882.

49 Ref. 48.

50 ŠTEFANSKÝ, *Invázia, okupácia...*, ref. 2, p. 132.

As a result of the extraordinarily favourable pro-reform situation in the CPS after its extraordinary congress at the end of August 1968, moderate reformist communists also penetrated into the apparatus of the CC CPS. They were concentrated in the Department of the CC CPS for the Political System headed by Ivan Laluha.

The *radical reformist communists* were entirely on the right of the political spectrum in the leading bodies of the CPC. They remained mostly Marxist, but they gradually abandoned the concepts and policies of the Leninist or Soviet form of socialism. In particular, they rejected force, the power-political form of the party and the absolutization of force as a political method in the struggle against the opposition in society and within the party. Thus, they rejected the official interpretation of Marxism-Leninism and demanded the humanization of the system and its significant democratization. They also emphasized the specific Czechoslovak conditions for building socialism in comparison with the Soviet Union, appealing to the domestic democratic traditions and developed character of the socialist movement. They also supported the widest possible participation of the citizens in public life and proclaimed freedom of expression. They stated that the CPC could claim a leading role only if it gained the natural, unforced support of the people. In the economic field, they supported Šik's economic reform from 1965, enriched with the results of political development after January 1968, concentrated mainly in the Action Program of the CPC.⁵¹

From the point of view of political differentiation in the CPS, it is very important and characteristic that the members of this platform in the leadership of the CPC did not include even one Slovak. As we already mentioned, they all went over to Husák's realist "faith" and they formed a strong power grouping of this type in the CC CPC. The most important representatives of the group of radical reformist communists were all Czech, namely František Kriegel, Karel Kosík, Ota Šik, František Vodsoň, Jiří Hájek, Václav Slavík, Oldřich Starý, Marie Miková, Vladimír Kabrna, Vladimír Kadlec, Josef Borůvka, Josef Macek, Martin Vaculík and others.⁵²

The leading representative of the CPS G. Husák gradually succeeded in eliminating the radical reformers in the Slovak regional organization of the CPC and pacifying the information media. We deliberately place the radical reformist communists of Slovakia in close connection with the mass media, because this was precisely the environment in which this part of the Slovak communist reformers traditionally moved. Therefore, pacification of the Slovak information media also meant the almost complete elimination of the Slovak radical reformist communists.⁵³ In reality, it took a relatively long time and the radical reformist communists resisted relatively strongly.

The concentrated attack of G. Husák and his supporters on the Slovak mass media started from the fact that the activity of the Czechoslovak information media before August 1968 was the key problem contained in the Moscow Protocol. It is also well known that in no other area had the reformist leadership of the CPC moved so far from the Leninist conception of the socialist society as in that of the mass media. Already on

51 DOSKOČIL, ref. 29, p. 60-61.

52 DOSKOČIL, ref. 29.

53 For more details see SIKORA, ref. 18, p. 71.

30 August 1968, the government of Czechoslovakia established the Office for the Press and Information with an additional Slovak Office for the Press and Information in Slovakia, which began to issue the first instructions to guide censorship in the press, radio and television. The Czechoslovak information media could not publish criticism of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. Articles and commentaries could not criticize the occupation units and the word “occupation” itself was banned. Data about material damage and loss of life as a result of the occupation could not be published.

At first sight, however, the list of forbidden themes suggests that there was still enough space for the Slovak journalists to apply their “sharp” pens. Therefore, G. Husák and the secretary of the CC CPS for ideology B. Graca applied the first important consolidation measure in the editorial offices of Slovak newspapers and magazines already at the beginning of September 1968, namely the election of censors by the journalists. It was an extraordinarily cunning or even Jesuitically effective measure, behind which Husák’s political handwriting can be clearly seen. As the journalist H. Dzvoničková states, the newly elected censor usually said to his colleagues: “*As chief I would accept it..., and immediately. As censor, I must say no!*” She continued: “*The election of censors was our first collective mistake, the beginning of the path to moral disintegration.*”⁵⁴

G. Husák further increased the political pressure on Slovak journalists. At the session of the CC CPS on 5 September 1968, he urged that they should keep agreements with the leadership of the party patiently, willingly and with discipline, but immediately he began to threaten: “*If they do not show such willingness, we will be forced to apply administrative measures.*”⁵⁵ He continued in similar style at the session of the CC CPS on 19-20 November of the same year, but here he already spoke of “*cadre measures*”.⁵⁶

A further phase in the process of achieving complete control of the Slovak mass media began immediately after the session of the CC CPS of 19-20 November 1968. Its main content was the building up of the Slovak Office for the Press and Information (SOPI) and its application to the process of influencing and controlling newspapers, magazines, radio and television. A network of representatives began to be built up in the editorial offices of the Slovak mass media with the aim of “*taking care of protecting the interests of the party and government, and, in cooperation with the chief editors, organizing the preliminary editorial office checking of the content of materials prepared for publication*”.⁵⁷ If Slovak journalists continued to resist, the SOPI had “*to combine positive approaches... with repressive methods*”,⁵⁸ in other words, to use the well-known “*carrot and stick*” method. In the interest of further increasing the political influence on

54 ČOMAJ, Ján – VEREŠ, Július. *Čo nebolo v novinách. August 1968. “What was not in the newspapers, August 1968.* Bratislava : Mladé letá, 1990, p. 185.

55 SNA, f. ÚV KSS, zasadanie ÚV KSS 5. 9. 1968. *Referát G. Husáka, (Speech by G. Husák).* carton no. 1 881.

56 *Ibid.*, zasadanie ÚV KSS 19. – 20. 11. 1968. *Referát G. Husáka, (Speech by G. Husák).* carton no. 1 882.

57 SNA, f. ÚV KSS, zasadanie P ÚV KSS 25. 11. 1968. *Správa o budovaní a činnosti Slovenského úradu pre tlač a informácie, (Report on the building and activity of the Slovak Office for the Press and Information),* carton no. 1 216.

58 Ref. 57.

the means of mass communication, they also had to hold monthly press conferences with numerous participating journalists. They would be devoted to “*controversial political questions*” and members of the presidium of the CC CPS would speak at them. The director of the SOPI, Ondrej Grieš had to be regularly invited to sessions of the presidium of the CC CPS, if the activities of the Slovak mass media were going to be discussed. He also had to produce a daily evaluation of the output of the newspapers, magazines, radio and television, and to take immediate action if shortcomings were identified.⁵⁹

However, in spite of this, the opposition of Slovak journalists to the normalization measures of Husák’s leadership of the CPS did not stop. Therefore, at its session on 13 January 1969, the presidium of the CC CPS adopted a further set of measures, according to which the prime minister of the Slovak Socialist Republic Š. Sádovský had to secure the holding of regular weekly information sessions for chief editors of the Slovak mass media with the participation of secretaries and heads of departments of the CC CPS. Ministers and secretaries of the CC CPS also had to call meetings of editors concerned with specific subjects. The secretary of the CC CPS for ideology B. Graca had to inform the communists in the Union of Slovak Journalists and the chief editors of the party publications about resolutions of the CC CPC and CC CPS, to secure the publication of reactions and views on these resolutions, to demand and discuss the short-term plans for reporting on radio and television or in *Pravda*, *Új szó*, *Smena* and other problematic newspapers, and ensure that the publications of the Slovak National Front inform the public in the spirit of the November and December sessions of the CC CPC. If this was not enough, the director of the SOPI, O. Grieš had to supply to the first secretary of the CC CPS, prime minister of Slovakia, minister of culture and secretaries of the CC CPS, daily information about the press from the point of view of observance of the measures of the presidium of the CC CPS concerning the activities of the Slovak mass media, especially the output of *Smena*, *Roháč*, *Výber* and *Slovenské pohľady*.⁶⁰

In spite of all these measures, which were certainly conscientiously implemented, G. Husák said to the session of the CC CPS on 12 March 1969: “*We still cannot be satisfied with the fact that some people are misusing press freedom for misleading ideas, disinformation, spreading of views and positions, which are in conflict with the line of the party, which harm us, ... which disturb the consolidation process.*”⁶¹ However, the truth was that in comparison with the activity of the mass media in the Czech part of the republic, the Slovak media were already largely pacified, censorship here was much stricter and the approach of the offices much firmer. Slovak journalists strove to replace the missing information with the magazine *Výber* (Selection), which published many articles from the Czech press. Czech colleagues offered a helping hand to Slovak writers such as Miroslav Kusý, M. Šimečka and Zora Jesenská, by giving them space in Czech magazines.⁶²

59 Ref. 57.

60 SNA, f. ÚV KSS, zasadanie P ÚV KSS 13. 1. 1969. *Návrh okamžitých opatrení v tlači, rozhlas a televízií*, (Proposal for immediate measures in the press, radio and television), carton no. 1 220.

61 SNA, f. ÚV KSS, zasadanie ÚV KSS 12. 3. 1969. *Správa o činnosti predsedníctva ÚV KSS a o hlavných otázkach súčasnej politickej situácie*, (Report on the activities of the presidium of the CC CPS and on the main questions of the present political situation), carton no. 1 885.

62 DOSKOČIL, ref. 29, p. 51-52.

However, this could not have much influence on the already established situation. Therefore, we can state here that the current of radical reformist communists, which emerged in Slovakia already during the so-called “pre-spring” period of 1963 – 1967⁶³ and was associated almost exclusively with the mass media, ceased to exist.

Some excellent radical reformist communists “survived” during this period even in the CC CPS and in its apparatus, but it is symptomatic that they came mainly from the fields of science and culture. The most important figure from this wing in the CC CPS was the literary critic Pavol Števček, who came into the sharpest conflict with G. Husák in this period. He subjected Husák’s realist policy to devastating criticism at the session of the CC CPS on 12 March 1969. Among other things, he stated that the leadership of the CPS “by maintaining the principle of political realism, is anxious to intolerant. The post-August narrowing of our possibilities to two – submit or choose the catastrophic alternative – represented a non-dialectic reduction of the developmental perspective. We already feel the results of this: the general decline of civil engagement, the strangulation of political activity, in the party again the transfer of the function of action to the apparatus”.⁶⁴ Such a strictly understood political reality led in his view, with evaluation of the party spectrum, to a dogmatic scheme, that “we, the leaders, are the infallible centre, those to the left are potential allies, since the fate of socialism lies in their hearts, but a despotic socialism. Those to the right are worse than the devil ... In reality, such a scheme of division of communists is extremely simple and seductive. I’m not surprised that labourers and parrots are already working zealously with it”.⁶⁵ He also opposed Husák’s general condemnation of the Slovak mass media: “However, the generalizing and condemning criticism has the most pernicious results. Since it does not belong to anybody in particular, but to everybody, it suppresses the activity of all, it puts everybody under a shadow of suspicion, it creates an atmosphere of fear or perfect intellectual oppression.”⁶⁶ G. Husák’s reply was also vigorous and it clearly indicated a return to the political practice of the period before January 1968. In discussion contributions, he had to substantially agree with the main statement: “The speech by comrade Števček is an opposition statement from the first word to the last. He expresses opposition to the basic documents of our party from our congress... He should think about what he wants. The congress elected him and gave him a line. Does he want to follow it or not? He is a member of a body that adopts resolutions. Will they apply to everybody else with him as the only exception?” He concluded with a sigh: “This matter worries me because it is not only a matter of his speech, it is a question of the position of one part of the intelligentsia.”⁶⁷ Unfortunately, the content of discussion contributions show that the members of the CC CPS at this time already included only three radical reformist communists: Ján Uher, Ladislav Košť’a and Jozef Rozboril.

63 For more details see LONDÁK – SIKORA – LONDÁKOVÁ, ref. 12, p. 129-131, 278-291.

64 SNA, f. ÚV KSS, zasadanie ÚV KSS 12. 3. 1969. *Diskusný príspevok P. Števčeka*, (*Discussion contribution from P. Števček*), carton no. 1 885.

65 Ref. 64.

66 Ref. 64.

67 Ref. 64, *Záverečné slovo G. Husáka*. (*Concluding words by G. Husák*).

As a result of the extraordinarily favourable political situation in the CPS after August 1968, the radical reformist communists also penetrated into the apparatus of the CC CPS, a former bastion of the conservatives in the CPS. Their leading personality was the head of the Ideology Department of the CC CPS M. Kusý. In the words of G. Husák to a session of the CC CPS on 12 March 1969: Kusý “*in conflict with the November resolution of the CC CPS, ... in conflict with the practical, daily line of the presidium of the CC CPS, had literally flooded the Slovak and Czech press, radio and television with articles and statements, in which he essentially took a rightist-opportunist position on a whole series of the important policy questions of our party and publicly argued with the basic documents of the Central Committee of our party.*”⁶⁸ However, G. Husák became most angry about an interview in the youth daily *Smena*, in which Kusý stated that the most important role of the mass media is control of power.⁶⁹ Such ideas of M. Kusý, which were in absolute conflict with the principles of the structure and activities of socialism of the Soviet type and with the teachings of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin (21 conditions for membership of the Communist Internationale) and were also an important attribute of the political and ideological ideas of the radical reformist communists, must have been especially outrageous for G. Husák. Especially when we remember his “realistic” ambition to do the most in concessions to the interests of the Soviet Union – including his own. Therefore, M. Kusý was dismissed from his function on 17 February 1969, but this resolution was soon amended, and “after mutual agreement”, he left on 1 March of the same year.⁷⁰ G. Husák then kept this very important part of the apparatus of the CC CPS under his own control for a time. Vasil Bejda was approved as the new head of the Ideology Department of the CC CPS only on 31 May 1969.⁷¹

The whole Ideology Department of the CC CPS naturally operated in this spirit. The ideas that the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia could not derive its leading position in society from constitutional law (article 4 of the Constitution of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic from 1960), but only from the ability to correctly grasp the needs of society and organize their optimal securing, or that ideology could not be understood as “*the servant of politics*”, but had to be constantly confronted with science and used as an inspiration “*when seeking new approaches or shaping and enriching the program of the party*”,⁷² were the classic views of the radical reformist communists of the time.

Another current in the political spectrum of the CPS was the *conservatives*. They were not a homogeneous group, but were divided into “paleoconservatives” from before January 1968 and “neoconservatives”, who had been moderate reformist communists or

68 SNA, f. ÚV KSS, zasadanie ÚV KSS 12. 3. 1969. *Správa o činnosti predsedníctva ÚV KSS a o hlavných otázkach súčasnej politickej situácie, (Report on the activity of the presidium of the CC CPS and on the main questions of the current political situation.)*. carton no. 1 885.

69 Ref. 68.

70 SNA, f. ÚV KSS, zasadanie P ÚV KSS 10. 3. 1969. *Uznesenie 28. schôdze predsedníctva ÚV KSS, (Resolution of the 28th session of the presidium of the CC CPS)*, carton no. 1 224.

71 ŠTEFANSKÝ, ref. 2, p. 152.

72 SNA, f. ÚV KSS, zasadanie P ÚV KSS 25. 11. 1968. *Stručný návrh koncepcie práce Ideologického oddelenia ÚV KSS, (Brief proposal of the conception of the work of the Ideology Department of the CC CPS)*, carton no. 1 216.

merely opponents of Novotný. They came together after the meeting of the representatives of the six states of the Soviet Bloc on 23 March 1968 in Dresden. In expert literature and documents they are called “dogmatists” and “sectarians”. They were united by rejection of any reforms and adherence to the traditional methods of directive solution of political and economic questions, which were criticized after January 1968. Some of them had participated in the crimes of the 1950s. They often lacked sufficient qualifications, education and cultural level. V. Biľak was the only Slovak member of this group to have importance on the level of the whole state or whole party. A. Indra, D. Kolder, Karel Hoffmann, O. Rytíř, Oldřich Švestka, A. Kapek, Miloš Jakeš and others cooperated with him on this level.⁷³

The situation in Slovakia was entirely different in this area. No conservative got into the CC CPS or into its presidium, with the exception of the above mentioned J. Janík, but he immediately became a “realist” in gratitude to G. Husák. Therefore, they had to develop their activities outside the central bodies of the Communist Party of Slovakia. Apart from the above mentioned V. Biľak, who belonged to the neoconservatives, this group included the “paleoconservatives”: Michal Chudík, František Dvorský, Michal Sabolčík, Rudolf Cvik, Matej Lúčan, Július Lörincz and others, and the “neoconservatives” Miloslav Hruškovič, H. Ďurkovič, Michal Pecho, V. Šalgovič, V. Bejda, František Hagara and others. The realist G. Husák sometimes pointed to the existence of this current, which he described as a group that evaluated the developments in the CPC and Czechoslovakia since January 1968 from a “critico-nihilist” point of view. At the session of the CC CPS on 19-20 November 1968, he said of them that “*personal factors, feelings of being offended, humiliation, loss of office*” played a significant role among them, “*but conservative views from the past years certainly existed... However, the party leadership rejected this nihilistic view of the developments since January*”.⁷⁴ However, as a realist he held a moderate position towards the conservatives, as a current that was “already dying out”. He clearly assumed that sometime in the future he would have to unite with them.

However, in the CC CPS, it was mainly the radical reformist communists, who sharply reacted to the unwanted revitalization of this compromised political current. J. Uher, reacting directly to the moderate words of G. Husák, warned: “*If we were against the sectarians after difficult experiences from the past... we must be even more today after all that has happened. What perspective, what program do they actually offer? They offer nothing other than some variations of what already existed and was thoroughly discredited*.”⁷⁵ At the session of the CC CPS on 12 March 1969, Štefan Mikulčík observed: “*None of us can attempt to pretend, that there is not a leftist threat, that it is insignificant. We think this threat is significant because it has its consequences and its perspective*.”⁷⁶

73 DOSKOČIL, ref. 29, p. 66-67.

74 SNA, f. ÚV KSS, zasadanie ÚV KSS 19. – 20. 11. 1968. *Referát G. Husáka, (Statement by G. Husák)*, carton no. 1 882.

75 Ref. 74, *discussion contribution of J. Uher*.

76 SNA, f. ÚV KSS, zasadanie ÚV KSS 12. 3. 1969. *Diskusný príspevok Š. Mikulčíka, (Discussion contribution of Š. Mikulčík)*, carton no. 1 885.

The leading personality of the Slovak conservatives – V. Biľak initially operated only in the Czech part of the state. He started by significantly contributing to the above mentioned campaign against J. Smrkovský with the help of the brochures *A politician with two faces* and *Smrkovský's metamorphoses*. Later, his speech to the meeting of the People's Militia in Ostrava in November 1968 was published and illegally distributed. Among other things, it blackened the proceedings of the extraordinary congress of the CPS at the end of August 1968.⁷⁷ It is paradoxical that V. Biľak did not have much success in Slovakia, not even among the workers of eastern Slovakia from where he came. At the session of the CC CPS on 12 March 1969, the member J. Rozboril said that “*the workers at the shoe factory in Bardejov refused to admit him to the premises under threat of strike action. He had to leave other meetings by the back door*”.⁷⁸ Perhaps this was also why the session of the presidium of the CC CPS on 3 March 1969 passed only a very brief resolution that “*it took into account oral information from discussion*” concerning “*Information on the meetings of comrade V. Biľak in Slovakia*”.⁷⁹

However, there is the greatest probability that the forward looking G. Husák was already thinking of the future, and so later, in mid April 1969, evidently during the talks on taking over power, V. Biľak and his supporters extorted from him the important concession that the politicians from the conservative current in the CPC were publicly freed from their designation as “traitors and collaborators” from August 1968. On 16 April 1969, the day before the election of G. Husák as first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, the executive committee of the presidium of the CC CPC passed a resolution “*On the unjustified accusations against some functionaries of the party*”. However, with this political act, the leading representatives of the realist wing – G. Husák and L. Štrougal – took onto their shoulders an immense burden for the future. After the April 1969 session of the CC CPC, the conservatives were still the “fifth column” in Czechoslovakia, forcing the realist group to cross limits they had originally not wanted to cross.⁸⁰

However, the conservatives were not alone on the left side of the political spectrum in the CPC. There was also a wing of *leftist radicals* or *ultra-leftist sectarians*. In the Czech part of the CPC, they formed the so-called left front – “rock-solid” dogmatists, orthodox Stalinists, supporters of permanent class war, whose mental horizon was fixed somewhere in the 1950s. Like some of the conservatives, many of them had participated in the fabricated political trials of the first half of the 1950s. They were relatively few in number, but very dangerous, because in turbulent situations, powerfully supported by the commanding cadres of the occupying Soviet army, they threatened the positions of all the other political groups in the CPC – including the realists and potentially even the conservatives. Vilém Nový, Karel Mestek, Jaromír Hrbek, Emanuel Famíra, Jaroslav

77 ŠTEFANSKÝ, ref. 2, p. 133,140. See also the discussion contribution of J. Rozboril at the session of the CC CPS on 12 March 1969. SNA, f. ÚV KSS, carton no. 1 885.

78 SNA, f. ÚV KSS, zasadanie ÚV KSS 12. 3. 1969. *Diskusný príspevok J. Rozborila, (Discussion contribution of J. Rozboril)*, carton no. 1 885.

79 Ref. 78, zasadanie P ÚV KSS 3. 3. 1969. *Informácia o aktívoch s. Vasila Biľaka na Slovensku, (Information on the meetings of comrade V. Biľak in Slovakia)*, carton no. 1 224.

80 DOSKOČIL, ref. 29, p. 207-208.

Trojan, Soňa Penningerová, the communists from Libeň in Prague around Josef Jodas and the Ostrava circles around Jaromír Borovják can be regarded as some of the most important members of this wing.⁸¹

This wing of the party began to form in Slovakia only after the invasion of Czechoslovakia by the Warsaw Pact armies in August 1968. According to the *Reports of the General Consulate of the Hungarian People's Republic on the internal situation in Slovakia* from 13 September 1968, its members were isolated "looking out for themselves, cautious, almost semi-legal, they check their views, but are afraid to express themselves openly. They fear that the still continuing intellectual terror will sweep them away".⁸² It was characteristic of this group in the CPS that they strongly criticized even the conservative V. Biľak, because he did not participate in the extraordinary congress of the CPS at the end of August 1968, where he would, in their view, "have got so much support from the delegates, that the situation in the composition of the leading bodies of the party would have been much better".⁸³

After several months – at the end of 1968, this group organized itself as the *communist – internationalists*, but they never made much impact on political development in Slovakia. Their political profile is really only recorded in one document: *The resolution adopted at the assembly of communist – internationalists at Kovarce on 13 December 1969*, which also devoted much attention to the meeting of this group in the same place exactly a year earlier. For example, this resolution stated that the communist – internationalists fully supported the resolution of the September 1969 session of the CC CPC, which "started" the uncompromising struggle against the rightist-opportunist forces, but it had to add with regret "that the practical results in Slovakia are actually minimal". It continued: "We notice among the essential questions, the efforts at compromise by this session of the CC CPC in practice. How else can we explain that the forces, which stood at the head of the counter-revolution in Czechoslovakia after January 1968, still hold high functions today."⁸⁴ It is entirely clear to us that these forces included G. Husák, who was the leading personality of the democratization process in Slovakia in the period from January to August 1968, as well as many of his "realistic" supporters. Later, when the merging of the realists with the conservatives created the normalization political elite, the communist – internationalist group was entirely neutralized.

After the occupation of Czechoslovakia by the Warsaw Pact armies and especially after the extraordinary congress of 26–28 August 1968, the Communist Party of Slovakia, a regional organization of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, was still prepared from the point of view of its social and political composition, to continue the democratization process started at the beginning of January 1968, although in changed political conditions. However, the continuing presence of Soviet occupation forces in the territory of Czechoslovakia, the resulting extraordinary revival of the activity of pro-Soviet conservative-dogmatic forces and the personal ambitions of G. Husák to become the leading

81 DOSKOČIL, ref. 29, p. 70-71.

82 ŠTEFANSKÝ, ref. 20, p. 367-368.

83 ŠTEFANSKÝ, ref. 20, p. 367-368.

84 ŠTEFANSKÝ, ref. 20, p. 553-555.

political personality in Czechoslovakia regardless of the cost, caused intensive political differentiation, which entirely broke up the former political unity. Under the influence of these circumstances, as well as the fact that the introduction of a federal constitution substantially reduced political tension in Slovakia, the so-called realists, headed by their founder G. Husák, established themselves as the dominant current. They were willing to make concessions to the demands of the Soviet leadership, directed towards the normalization of the political situation in Czechoslovakia according to its ideas. Thus, the Communist Party of Slovakia finally created an exemplary stabilizing political group, which to a considerable degree provided the impulse for the normalization of the whole Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and Czechoslovak Socialist Republic.

ENTWICKLUNG IN DER FÜHRUNG DER KOMMUNISTISCHEN PARTEI DER SLOWAKEI SEIT DEM AUGUST 1968 BIS ZUM APRIL 1969

STANISLAV SIKORA

Im vorliegenden Aufsatz bewertet der Autor die Entwicklung in der Führung der KSS (Kommunistische Partei der Slowakei), territoriale Organisation der KSČ (Kommunistische Partei der Tschechoslowakei) in der Slowakei in dem Zeitraum vom August 1968 bis zum April 1969. Dieser Zeitabschnitt beginnt mit dem Einmarsch der Truppen des Warschauer Pakts in die Tschechoslowakei im August 1968 und endet mit dem Amtsantritt von Gustáv Husák, dem damaligen ersten Sekretär des Zentralkomitees der KSS, als erster Sekretär des Zentralkomitees der KSČ am 17. April 1969. Die Ausgangssituation in der KSS, vor allem nach der außerordentlichen Tagung zum Augustende 1968, war aus der Sicht der sozialen und politischen Zusammensetzung – besonders im Bezug auf die mögliche Fortsetzung des Reformprozesses auch bei veränderter politischer Lage, geradezu optimal. Die Dislokation der sowjetischen Besatzungstruppen auf dem Gebiet der Tschechoslowakei, folgende außerordentliche Belebung der Tätigkeiten von pro-sowjetischen konservativ-dogmatischen Kräften sowie persönliche Ambitionen von G. Husák und seiner Realisten-Gruppe verursachten in der KSS schließlich eine intensive und vor allem eine eigenartige politische Differenzierung, an deren Ende die territoriale Organisation der KSČ in der Slowakei – die KSS, zu einer musterhaften Konsolidierungsgruppierung wurde, woraus auch der entscheidende Normalisierungsimpuls für die gesamte KSČ und ČSSR (Tschechoslowakische Sozialistische Republik) kam. Ein typischer Merkmal der KSS-Führung im April 1969 war die absolute Mehrheit der erwähnten Husák-Realisten in ihrer Führung; im Vergleich mit der Führung der KSČ fehlten fast ganz sowie die gemäßigten und radikalen Reformkommunisten, sowie als auch die gemäßigten und radikalen Dogmatiker, die in der tschechischen KSČ starke politische Gruppierungen bildeten. Ähnliche Entwicklung mit der Akzeptanz der konservativen Kräfte bemühte sich die KSČ-Führung unter Husák auch der gesamten Kommunistischen Partei der Tschechoslowakei aufzuzwingen.

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REVIEWS

LENGYELOVÁ, Tünde et al. *THURZOVCI A ICH HISTORICKÝ VÝZNAM. (THE THURZOS AND THEIR HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE.)*. Bratislava : Pro Historia and the Institute of History of the Slovak Academy of Sciences, 2012, 260 pages.

Research into the history of aristocratic families has gone through a renaissance in the historiography of the former socialist states of Central Europe in recent times. Historians are striving to make up for all the years when this theme was not preferred. At the same time, they are correcting older findings from the tradition of the 19th century, when various publications about the histories of individual families appeared under the patronage of living representatives of the nobility. In the case of research on Hungarian aristocratic families, experts from the various countries in the former territory of the kingdom need to cooperate. Valuable work supplementing existing findings can only arise from their cooperation.

The Thurzo family has a very important place in the history of the Kingdom of Hungary. A family of Spiš military colonists without political and economic importance developed into a rich burgher family at Levoča. Its representatives gained a place among the elite burghers of the Central European region by the late 15th and early 16th centuries. They established a European enterprise for processing and selling copper ore in cooperation with the Fuggers of Augsburg. From the beginning of the 16th century, they gradually returned to their noble roots and left their urban phase behind. Members of the family became leading church and state dignitaries. In the first half of the 17th century, the family died out at the peak of its success in gaining properties.

In 2009, an international academic conference was held in Sered' on the theme of the Thurzo family, but the papers from this event were published only in 2012 in the form of a collective monograph under the leadership of Tünde Lengyelová, a historian, who specializes in research on the aristocratic elites of the 16th and 17th centuries. While the publication reviewed here was being published in Slovakia, two other books on the Thurzo family were published in 2012: *Juraj Turzo Veľká kniha o uhorskom palatínovi (A big book about George Thurzo, Palatine of Hungary)* and *Turzovci: Zborník z konferencie (The Thurzos: papers from a conference)*. The authors of these books brought few new findings and in many cases they have recycled facts long known from older literature. Some of the contributions had nothing in common with serious historical work. In addition, they had the fault of concentrating almost exclusively on the Orava – Bytča branch of the family.

The reviewed publication – *The Thurzos and their Historical Significance* – offers a comprehensive view of the history of the family from the beginning of their business activities to their dying out, in four chapters. The first chapter, entitled *The route to the Hungarian aristocracy* includes articles by Géza Pálffy: *The Thurzo family and its place in the aristocracy of the Kingdom of Hungary*; Marián Skladaný: *The economic rise of the Thurzos*; Gabriella Erdélyi: *“I am only a man, my King, not a stone” – Alexej Thurzo in the service of the Habsburgs* and Lajos Gecsényi: *Mysterious Thurzo. Francis*

Thurzo, chairman of the Hungarian and Court Chamber (1549 – 1563). On the basis of his research, G. Pálffy clearly points to the career advancement and international marriages of the family extending to the whole area of the Danubian Monarchy formed after the Battle of Mohács. M. Skladaný sheds light on the successful business activities of the family and points out in his text that the burial chapel at Spišský Štvrtok arose on the initiative of the Thurzos and not the Szapolyais as was thought up to now. G. Erdélyi points to the fate of the aristocrat in the turbulent period of the end of the Middle Ages, the times of the catastrophic defeat at Mohács and the subsequent civil war. L. Gecsényi examines the career of the Bishop of Nitra, who founded the Orava – Bytča branch of the family and engaged in the administration of the Kingdom of Hungary and the Habsburg Monarchy.

The second chapter: *The Thurzos and the Reformation* includes contributions by Zoltán Csepregi on *The Thurzos and the beginning of the Reformation*, Martin Rothkegel on *The relations of the Bishop of Olomouc Stanislav I Thurzo with the Kingdom of Hungary* and Tünde Katona on *The Levoča foundation of the Thurzos*. Z. Csepregi considered the humanist scholars supported by the Thurzos. Rothkegel looked at the perception of Hungarian affairs from the point of view of a leading representative of the Catholic Church in Moravia. Tünde Katona devoted her attention to the rich foundation established by Alexej Thurzo to support scholars, the poor and students at foreign schools.

The third chapter: *The Thurzo courts – centres of economic, political and social life* is composed of contributions from Tünde Lengyelovová on *Economic relations in the Thurzo lordships around 1600*; Péter Dominkovics on *Palatine George Thurzo's contacts with the counties of Sopron and Vas*; Diana Duchoňová on *Court order at the Thurzo and Esterházy courts* and Borbála Benda on *A menu of Stanislav Thurzo from 1603*. T. Lengyelová considers the situation in all the family lordships in Hungary. The Lordship of Tokaj became of key importance from the point of view of the wine trade. P. Dominkovics points to the need to research the relationships of the high state dignitaries with the counties. This supplements the existing picture of these personalities. D. Duchoňová analyses and compares the court orders of Emmerich Thurzo and Nicholas Esterházy. B. Benda provides information about the composition of the food served at the court of an aristocrat.

The fourth and longest chapter: *The cultural heritage of the Thurzo family* includes sections by Zuzana Ludiková and Árpád Mikó on *The burial places and grave monuments of the Thurzos*; Frederik Federmayer on *Marriage announcements of the Thurzos (A source for genealogical research on the family)*; Gergely Tóth on “*Theatrum Nobilitatis Hungaricae*” *The genealogical research of Matthias Bel with special regard for the Thurzo family*; Helena Saktorová on *The personality of George Thurzo as reflected in author's dedications*; Jana Kurucárová on *The Thurzo family and the state archives in Bytča*; Milan Thurzo and Radoslav Beňuš on *Anthropological and palaeopathological analysis of the skeletal remains of members of the family of George Thurzo* and Michal Čajka on *The reconstruction of Orava Castle in the time of the Thurzos*. Z. Ludiková and Á. Mikó give information on burial places, including the rediscovered grave stone of Francis Thurzo. F. Federmayer points to the possibility that wedding announcements need to be verified in other sources, because the wedding may not have happened for

some reason. G. Tóth reminds us that Matthias Bel's genealogical work has been unjustly forgotten. H. Saktorová has dedicated her attention to bringing us closer to the circle of humanist scholars supported by the Palatine. J. Kurucárová provides an overview of the archive collections connected with the family preserved at Bytča. M. Thurzo and R. Beňuš examine the illnesses of the Palatine's family, especially the suffering of Elizabeth Czobor. M. Čajka emphasizes the important reconstruction of the lower castle with the aim of creating a comfortable Renaissance residence also including a sacred space.

The extensive team of authors have produced a comprehensive picture of the destinies of one of the most influential families of their time. However, in spite of the widely conceived range, it is impossible to avoid noticing that personalities from the Austrian branch of the family are missing apart from Alexej I and Stanislav III Thurzo. The destinies of members of the Spiš branch also remain entirely unknown. The monograph lacks a separate study comprehensively mapping the residences of the individual branches of the family, since building activity was one of the most important expressions of their social position. It would be worth having a separate contribution on the dying out of the Thurzos as an important factor in the enrichment and social advancement especially of the Esterházy and Csáky families, which inherited a large part of their property.

A few small mistakes can be found in the text. Use of the terms "Ottoman" and "Turkish" remain unclarified in the text. Both terms are used illogically in the study by G. Erdélyi. In the study by F. Federmayer, we find the term "zámok" used for the residences at Bytča and Hájna Nová Ves. It is a Czechism. In Slovak, the term "kaštieľ" should be used. In Slovak, a "zámok" (palace, stately home) is larger and more impressive than a "kaštieľ" (manor house). The study by Zuzana Ludíková states that the wife of Nicholas Kostka was Anna Russová in the text to an illustration on page 179 and in the text on page 182. This mistake arises from copying the older genealogical literature, where Anna's name is not given and without knowledge of the sources, her surname acquires this strange form. She was Anna Hrussoy de Zablat, a member of the family, which owned Hrušov Castle in the County of Tekov.

Tomáš Janura

KUŠNIRÁKOVÁ, Ingrid et al. *VYJDEME V NOCÍ VO FAKĽOVOM SPRIEVODE A ROZSVIETIME SVET* "Integračný a mobilizačný význam slávností v živote spoločnosti. ("WE WILL GO OUT AT NIGHT IN A TORCH LIT PROCESSION AND ENLIGHTEN THE WORLD" *The integrative and mobilizing significance of celebrations in the life of society*). Bratislava : Institute of History of the Slovak Academy of Sciences, 2012, 245 pages.

Slovak historiography not only follows the latest methodological approaches in European historiography, it also successfully applies them in its own work, although with some delay. These impulses include the study of festivities, their forms and especially

their social functions and significance. Various works on this problem from the pens of Slovak ethnologists and historians have already appeared. However, the publication reviewed here is the largest and most important work on this problem produced up to now. It includes fifteen contributions by eleven authors. They include experienced and well-known historians from the older and middle generations, younger authors and a group who have only just entered the field of expert knowledge of the past.

The texts in the collective monograph have a relatively wide time range extending from the mid 17th to mid 20th centuries. Their authors have chosen various methodological approaches, generally applying the recent trends in historical science. Some contribution have an explicitly theoretical character applying anthropological methods to historical evidence, others are oriented to analysis of the phenomenon of celebrations in connections with symbols and public spaces, while others follow a chronological approach to specific phenomena, which had the character of celebrations or were connected with them.

In spite of these differences, the reviewed work forms a thematic whole, approaching various types and forms of festivities in the Slovak and partly also the Central European historical environment. This impression of completeness is strengthened by the convenient arrangement of the work, its division into three thematic units, each of them introduced by a summarizing or theoretical chapter, two of them written by I. Kušnieráková and one by D. Kodajová. The whole work also has a methodological introduction written by Elena Mannová.

The first block of texts with the title *Religious celebrations in the service of confessional, state and national unity* includes three studies. In the first Ingrid Kušnieráková observantly approaches various forms of religious celebrations in the royal boroughs during the period of re-Catholicization. She came to the conclusion that precisely these celebrations, especially processions were so attractive, that they strengthened the religious identity of the Catholics and sometimes brought Protestants back to the Catholic faith. These celebrations were often a more successful part of re-Catholicization than its violent or forcible aspects. The paper by Peter Šoltés traces the influence of the religious policy of Joseph II, who strove to strengthen “true” faith and the rational instruments of religious experience rather than its emotional forms, religious celebrations and traditions. These were often restricted or forbidden, which had various negative results. The series of public religious celebrations was revived only gradually during the first half of the 19th century. Peter Macho draws a picture of the Hus tradition and its cultivation in the form of celebrations and commemorations from its beginnings in the inter-war period to which he devotes the most space. Using selected examples, he shows the forms of its celebrations, declarations of its importance, but also the contradictory views of it and its influence on the confessional polarization of the Slovak elites and inter-war Slovak society.

The second thematic circle: *National celebrations as presentations of nationalism* opens with the study by Anna Vetráková on celebrations to commemorate anniversaries of the Memorandum of the Slovak Nation, held every year in the 1860s. The author captures how these celebrations used symbolism in a syncretic form, she presents the nature of the celebrations and their impact on the public. The celebrations ended at the

beginning of the 1870s under pressure from the changing political situation. The commemoration of the Memorandum was transferred to another event – the August celebrations, held every year in Martin. Daniela Kodajová has devoted her attention to them. She presents their content and significance, considering how they correlated with the political situation in the Kingdom of Hungary and the position of the Slovak political elite within it. She states that their main aim was to demonstrate “*the viability of the nation and its will to survive and develop*” at a time of growing pressure on the Slovaks under Dualism. Marcela Bednářová’s study is devoted to the problem of festivities supporting identities and demonstrating the self-consciousness of the elites of the Croatian national movement in the period before March 1848.

The third thematic circle: *Festivities as a form of political struggle and instrument for strengthening political or state loyalty* is the most varied. Five authors have contributed to it, the first three of them coming from the youngest generation of historians. Anna Vetráková has studied the so-called journey of reconciliation of the Emperor and King Franz Joseph to Hungary in 1852. She not only tells the story of this journey, but especially she shows how the various political camps used it to present their interests and views in the public space. They also supported their views by displaying their symbols. Alica Kurhájcová considers the contradictory position and reception of the so-called dynastic celebrations in Rimavská Sobota, Lučenec, Zvolen and Banská Bystrica in the period of Dualism. She shows clearly how the local urban elites perceived these annual celebrations connected with the monarch and his immediate family. They were not celebrated spontaneously, more accepted as a duty with efforts to insert Hungarian elements into them. Zuzana Hajachová also devoted her attention to celebrations of a statesman. With some degree of idealization, she presents the forms, methods and reasons for the celebrations of the round numbered birthdays of President T.G. Masaryk every five years. She states that “*they were organized in the spirit of the tradition of celebrations of the monarch Franz Joseph, but with added spontaneity, mass participation and respect.*” The text by Roman Holec has a comparative character. He presents and compares the various forms of celebrations of the agrarian movements and parties in various countries of Central and South-Eastern Europe, as well as manifestation of the symbols and values of the agrarians, the search for a third way, and the adaptation of national histories and their heroes to the values of “ruralism” and the programme of the “third way”. The last chapter, written by Ivan Kamenec, is a chronological review of the annual celebrations of the origin of the Slovak Republic during the Second World War. It was celebrated six times as a legally declared state holiday. The author captures not only their form and course with various examples, but also the external circumstances influencing the atmosphere of these celebrations.

I regard the writing and publication of this work as a positive cultural and scientific project. It represents the first complete book venturing into the problem of festivities in Slovak history using new approaches. This step will undoubtedly be inspiring for other authors, and not only historians, but also students and experts from related disciplines.

Dušan Škvarna

SEGEŠ, Dušan – HERTEL, Maroš – BYSTRICKÝ, Valerián. *SLOVENSKO A SLOVENSKÁ OTÁZKA V POLSKÝCH A MAĎARSKÝCH DIPLOMATICKÝCH DOKUMENTOCH V ROKOCH 1938 – 1939. (SLOVAKIA AND THE SLOVAK QUESTION IN POLISH AND HUNGARIAN DIPLOMATIC DOCUMENTS IN THE PERIOD 1938 – 1939.)*. Bratislava : Pro Historia 2012, 576 pages.

In the history of Central Europe, the years 1938 and 1939 represent a brief but extraordinarily dynamic period from the point of view of the development of political events. At the end of the 1930s, the importance, intervention and influence of international and foreign policy factors significantly increased in relation to Czechoslovakia, Slovakia and the Slovak question. These international and foreign policy factors substantially influenced developments in the whole of Czechoslovakia. From the Slovak point of view, it was interesting that apart from Nazi Germany, the neighbouring states of Poland and Hungary, important regional power factors in Central and Eastern Europe, also took an intensive interest in Slovakia and the Slovak question. Therefore, the problem of the perception of Slovakia from the point of view of Poland and Hungary is a very attractive theme for historiography, since it offers the possibility of looking not only at the internal political aspects, but also at the foreign policy aspects of the Slovak question, and the overall perception of the geopolitical position of Slovakia in the given period.

In this context, it is necessary to welcome the publication of sources *Slovakia and the Slovak Question in Polish and Hungarian diplomatic documents in the period 1938 – 1939* by the team of authors, historians Dušan Segeš, Maroš Hertel and Valerián Bystrický. In Slovak conditions, it is an extraordinarily important publication, because up to now, Slovak historiography did not have an independent and compact edition on the Slovak question in the policy of Hungary and Poland in the period 1938 – 1939. The documents on this problem published up to now appeared separately or in fragments in various Slovak and foreign periodicals or volumes. Historians, students and other people interested in Slovak history have difficulty gaining access to them. Some documents published in foreign periodicals are entirely absent from the collections of Slovak libraries. Therefore, it is welcome that this situation is a thing of the past, thanks to the publication of sources by Dušan Segeš, Maroš Hertel and Valerián Bystrický.

The authors have included 271 diplomatic documents in the volume and arranged them chronologically. The criterion for selecting the diplomatic documents was political relations. The basic precondition for completing the documents was several years of deep research in the archive collections of Poland, Hungary, Great Britain and the Czech Republic. The authors professionally selected the most effective conception for publishing each document with the original text in the original language always followed by a Slovak translation. The conception selected for publishing the documents clearly facilitates orientation for the professional historian and for the wider group of people interested in this part of Slovak history. The publication also includes source and textual criticism, which is placed in the apparatus of notes. An index of names and places is a useful aid to the reader. The documents are preceded by an introductory study, which explains the approach to the problem and gives a brief but comprehensive summary of

the historical background, connections of the international development in the inter-war period and characteristic aspects and specifics of the Slovak question in this period. The introductory study is followed by an editorial note, in which the authors summarize the present state of research and the criteria for the selection of documents, the conception applied to their publication and the individual archive sources from which the documents come.

The team of authors – Dušan Segeš, Maroš Hertel and Valerián Bystrický concentrated on various aims while compiling the volume. The first of them was an effort to clarify the ideas of the political groups in Slovakia about the constitutional organization of the country at the end of the 1930s, to analyse their typology, conditions of formation and the international context. The authors also strove to approach the wide range of possibilities for the constitutional arrangement of Slovakia and the solution of the Slovak question, which varied from autonomy or federation to independence. Another aim of the edition was to verify previous conclusions, which often started from the memories of participants without confrontation with archive materials. An important aim was to complete the existing published documents, the accessibility of which was limited and complicated for various reasons. After rereading the volume, an expert reader can state that the authors have successfully achieved all these aims.

A positive feature of the edition is that its potential is not limited only to the community of historians, but can also reach the wider range of people interested in the history of Slovakia in this period. From the professional point of view, its greatest value lies in the publication of new, previously unknown documents, thanks to which further “blank spaces” in the mosaic of this period can be filled in. Completing the documents on this problem in the framework of one volume brings rich fruit in various directions. In particular it enables a more concentrated and compact view of the development of Slovakia and the Slovak question by Poland and Hungary in the years 1938 and 1939. Thanks to the large number of new facts of interest to researchers, it opens space for revived academic interest and wider discussion in this area.

Many of the published documents enable us to not only look behind the scenes of Hungarian and Polish foreign policy in relation to Slovakia, but also behind the scenes of the Slovak autonomists in Hlinka’s Slovak People’s Party (HSPP). Various interesting facts come to the surface, which were previously unknown or little known. Various pieces of information and reports about the key politicians of HSPP – Andrej Hlinka, Jozef Tiso, Karol Sidor – and their activities attract attention by supplementing our knowledge of their political activity and development in this period. In this direction, the views of foreign Polish and Hungarian observers are more valuable because in contrast to the many memoirs of Slovak and Czech politicians, they give the view from outside the framework of the Czecho-Slovak context. Various larger or smaller observations and descriptions not only of the politicians from HSPP, but also other political personalities, such as the Prime Minister Milan Hodža, are also valuable in this context for historians concerned with the problem of the Slovak question in this period. They give us a more comprehensive picture of the activities and political development of these politicians. Apart from reflections of the views and evaluations of Slovak and Czech politicians, they also provide historically valuable testimony about the activities of Hungarian, Polish and

German politicians, not only in relation to the Slovak question and Slovakia, but also the nationality problem in Czechoslovakia as a whole.

From the point of view of perceptions of Slovakia and the Slovak question, it is interesting to follow in the documents how Poland, Hungary and obviously also Germany became ever more aware and had to accept the reality that the dynamic development of the Slovak nation and Slovak nationalism was reaching its peak in 1938 – 1939. To a significant degree this forced the correction especially of Hungarian aspirations to return to the situation before 1918. In practice, this meant that in spite of the fact that Hungary and Poland were accustomed to looking at Slovakia and the Slovak question as an object of their power-political aims, the dynamic process of the formation of the Slovak nation into a modern political nation forced them to revise their view and try to look at Slovakia and the Slovak question more as a relevant subject. Nazi Germany increasingly intervened in the situation and this culminated in the declaration of the Slovak state on 14 March 1939. The diplomatic documents of Polish and Hungarian origin published by the authors Dušan Segeš, Maroš Hertel and Valerián Bystrický also bring a large number of new findings and connections on this level. They will enable the historians of this period to gain a more comprehensive picture of the development of international relations in the Central European region.

From the point of view of analysis of the gradation of activities of the autonomist movement in the course of 1938, the documents on perceptions of the journey of American Slovaks to Slovakia and the greatest autonomist demonstration held in Bratislava on 5 June 1938 are extraordinarily useful. Comparison and confrontation of this autonomist demonstration with the agrarian demonstration held in Bratislava on the next day is even more interesting. The Polish and Hungarian sources point to the same conclusion, when they state that the participants in the autonomist demonstration came mostly from the poorest social classes and they paid for their own journeys to Bratislava, while the participants in the agrarian demonstration on 6 June 1938 were socially better situated and were provided with travelling expenses and food by their party.

Documents containing various secret and ciphered reports and communication between Hungarian and Polish diplomats with the aim of political and constitutional calculation with Slovakia and the Slovak question are also important sources of new information. The course and development of these political and constitutional calculations is opened to the readers. The central feature of these calculations was the question of the form of Slovak statehood in the event of the break up of the Czechoslovak Republic. The documents capture the development of the Hungarian efforts to convince the Slovak autonomists of the advantages of “wide autonomy” for Slovakia in the framework of the Hungarian state and the failure of these efforts because the Slovak autonomists did not trust the sincerity of the Hungarian offer. In this context, the documents point to the important role of the leader of the Hungarian minority in Slovakia János Esterházy. It is also worth mentioning the documents connected with the journey of P. Hletko and A. Mach to Budapest in summer 1938. According to these documents, the visit ended in fiasco.

In the Polish case, the documents capture the development from the conception of a Polish guarantee for the eventual autonomy of Slovakia in the framework of Hungary to

the conception of an independent Slovak state under a Polish guarantee and protection. In the documents of Polish origin, the hopes which the autonomists from HSPP placed in Poland in the event of the break up of Czechoslovakia and their survival even after experience of Polish aspirations in relation to parts of Slovak territory after the Munich agreement, come into the foreground where Slovakia is concerned. In the context of the Hungarian and Polish power games, the activities and foreign policy ideas of the HSPP autonomists come into the foreground in the documents. From the constitutional point of view, they confirm the view that the HSPP autonomists really understood the term “autonomy” as meaning federation, and that their ideas were developing from federation in the direction of independence. In this context, documents point to various unrealistic constitutional conceptions of the Ľudáks, which were changed or rejected according to the development of the international situation: autonomy in the framework of Hungary, the project of a dualist Polish – Slovak union or the trialist alternative of a Slovak – Polish – Hungarian state. From the point of view of the constitutional conception of the independence of Slovakia in the ranks of HSPP, the documents also bring much new information and widen the level of our knowledge in this area. The edition is also interesting for the publication of documents reflecting the information of Polish and Hungarian sources from discussions with German figures.

The documents concerned with the hectic period of autumn 1938 are also rich in new information and connections. In the context of the territorial claims on Slovak territory, the documents also reveal a substantial decline in the political influence of Hungary and Poland on Slovakia and the Slovak question, balanced by a substantial increase in the power political influence of Nazi Germany and the associated strengthening of the pro-German orientation in the ranks of HSPP, although the pro-Polish orientation persisted to a limited degree in the form of a backup almost to the end of the existence of autonomous Slovakia in the framework of the second Czecho-Slovak Republic. There are various stimulating documents from the period of existence of autonomous Slovakia, for example, reports from Polish and Hungarian diplomats about developments in Slovakia or Czecho-Slovakia. Professional historians and other interested people will find new information in these documents about the development of Slovak – Hungarian and Slovak – Polish relations in the final stage of the brief existence of the second Czecho-Slovak Republic. Documents reflecting Hungarian – Polish communications about Slovakia and the attitudes of Hungary and Poland to Slovak independence during the March days of 1939 are also an important contribution to our knowledge. The two concluding documents are devoted to balancing reflections of Polish diplomats active in Bratislava.

In conclusion, it is only necessary to state that the publication of 271 Polish and Hungarian diplomatic documents concerned with Slovakia and the Slovak question is a scientific work, which fulfils the most demanding criteria. The team of authors composed of Dušan Segeš, Maroš Hertel and Valerián Bystrický has provided the Slovak expert and lay public with a 576 page work, which significantly enriches Slovak historiography and historical knowledge of this brief period of modern Slovak history, which was so extraordinarily rich in political events.

Martin Vašš

PEŠEK, Jan. *KOMUNISTICKÁ STRANA SLOVENSKA. DEJINY POLITICKÉHO SUBJEKTU I. NA CESTE K MOCI (1945 – 1948), PRI MOCI – OD PREVRATU K POKUSU O REFORMU (1948 – 1968).* (*THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF SLOVAKIA. HISTORY OF A POLITICAL ORGANIZATION I. ON THE ROAD TO POWER (1945 – 1948), IN POWER – FROM THE COUP TO ATTEMPTED REFORM (1948 – 1968).*). Bratislava : Veda, vydavateľstvo SAV, 2012, 283 pages.

In the conditions of classic socialism of the Soviet type, the communist parties, whatever their exact names, were the absolute ruling political organizations, which basically determined all developmental tendencies in the given socialist society. Moreover, application of the monopoly of power of these communist parties resulted in the most consistent and deepest totalitarianism in human history. In contrast to related totalitarian doctrines – fascism, Nazism, Francoism or Argentinean Peronism – communism reached much more deeply into all spheres of human activity and existence. A Communist Party in power not only controlled the state and public life, it also strove to dominate or eliminate such autonomous spheres as the churches and religious life. However, mainly by extending state control, “communalizing” and creating pseudo-collectives, it created a country and nation of state employees, entirely dependent for their existence on the will of the communist state party.

As is generally known, such a political party ruled former Czechoslovakia from 1948 to 1989 under the name Communist Party of Czechoslovakia (CPC), while in Slovakia it applied its power through its regional organization: the Communist Party of Slovakia (CPS). From the formal point of view, this regional organization had all the attributes of the CPC – central committee, presidium, secretariat, regional, district, town and local organizations and committees – but it was absolutely subordinate to the headquarters in Prague. In spite of this, its history not only provides a picture of unusual subordination or even servility in fulfilling the tasks of communist social engineering thought of and enacted by the Prague headquarters of the party, but also an effort to achieve their relatively independent reception in Slovakia. As a result various political tensions and complications arose within the CPS and these determined or influenced the atmosphere of the period and social development in Slovakia.

Jan Pešek, a leading expert on recent Slovak history, has undertaken the extraordinarily praiseworthy task of writing the history of the CPS as a political organization on the basis of his own research and the research of other Slovak and Czech historians in the rich source collections. As he states in the introduction to his work, he concentrated mainly on its internal development, but he could not limit himself to it, because the party was operating in specific international and internal political conditions. Therefore, Pešek’s publication also contains expertly researched and absorbing descriptions of power struggles between different party factions, which were the answer to various challenges of the time, which had a significant impact on the whole of Slovak society.

As the title of the work already shows, the expert text is concentrated into two chapters, the first of which is concerned with the years 1945 – 1948, when the CPS was still striving for absolute power as the government party. Its introduction includes

subchapters on the activities of the CPS in the period of illegality and the Slovak National Uprising to enable understanding of various political developments in the next period of development. The second part deals with the CPS as part of the “party of power”, the CPC from the February coup of 1948 to the attempt to reform socialism of the Soviet type in Czechoslovakia in 1968. Apart from subchapters devoted to the most important political tendencies, both chapters include subchapters on the programme of the party, the development of its membership base and the party apparatus, relations between the CPC and CPS, the transformation of the CPS from a party struggling for power into a section of a party holding absolute power, the People’s Militia as the army of the Communist Party and on relations between the various functionaries and groups in the leadership of the CPS. This highly expert and absorbing text is supplemented by rich footnotes, which extraordinarily effectively explain the connections of the realities described in the text.

The documentary value of J. Pešek’s work is substantially increased by its third and fourth chapters. The third chapter deals with the development of the highest bodies of the CPS in the period 1945 – 1968, while the fourth chapter gives brief but accurate biographies of thirty five of the most important representatives of the CPS. The work also has an extensive bibliography of sources and literature, an index of names, a list of abbreviations and a summary. The volume ends with a documentary supplement composed of documents devoted to the approach of the leadership of the CPS to the development of the membership base and the priorities set out from this point of view.

In spite of the high expert value of J. Pešek’s work and its great contribution to the problem of research on the most recent periods of Slovak political history, I have some reservations and comments on it, although they are relatively minor and should serve only as inspiration. For example, on pages 18-21, where he writes of the apparatus of the CPS in the period 1945 – 1948, he should probably have emphasized that the party had a very small apparatus at the time because it was still a party of mainly parliamentary type, strongly determined by the situation in the first Czechoslovak Republic. Its policies were developed in the framework of the National Front, the bodies of political representatives – the central Czechoslovak parliament, Slovak National Council, local councils – and executive institutions, namely the government of Czechoslovakia and the Board of Commissioners. Without this explanation it is only a simple descriptive statement.

In the context of the need to remove various myths about G. Husák, which proliferated especially in the 1970s and 1980s, the author should have emphasized on pages 52, 53 and 57, that his illegal dismissal of the members of the Board of Commissioners from the Democratic Party on 21 February 1948, after the ministers for this party in the government of Czechoslovakia offered their resignation, was not a result of his political brilliance, but only a simple fulfilment of an order from the chairman of the CPC and prime minister of Czechoslovakia K. Gottwald from the previous day (“*do the same in Slovakia*”). Both facts are included in Pešek’s book. This order from Gottwald and Husák’s misleading statement appear in Plevzové’s *Rises and Falls. Gustáv Husák spoke*. However, they stand next to each other in parallel, arithmetically, without emphasis on the essential conclusion that G. Husák was not a political genius in this situation, but only an obedient and disciplined communist functionary.

Pages 68 and 84 bear statements about the great recruitment into the CPC and CPS immediately after the February coup of 1948, in the framework of which the CPS alone grew from 210 thousand members to 400 thousand members. There is also mention of the psychological pressure, which the CPC and CPS applied especially to citizens, who had not previously belonged to parties, in the interest of achieving the aim of maximizing the size of the membership base. Unfortunately, the basic point is missing: The reason why the leadership of the CPC and CPS acted in this way at this time, which was different from the point of view of the method of recruitment of members of the Communist Party was entirely unique. There is no statement that the elections to the National Assembly, held on 30 May 1948, were originally to be held according to the same method as the elections in May 1946, namely with every party associated in the National Front participating separately. In this situation, the greatly increased number of the members of the CPC and CPS would be a guarantee of victory in the election, because the members would be bound by party discipline. Only immediately before the elections, because they feared failure, the communists decided that they would be held on the basis of a united list of National Front candidates with 70% from the Communist Party.

Similarly, the text on page 91 does not explain the rapid decline in the number of workers in the apparatus of the CPS – from 2,947 in 1955 to 1,769 in 1960 – although the reasons are undoubtedly well known to the author. He only forgot to write that the regional administration of Czechoslovakia was reformed in 1960. The number of regions in Slovakia was reduced from 6 to 3, and so was the number of regional committees of the CPS. At the same time, the number of districts decreased from 80 to 33, and so did the number of district committees of the CPS.

The text on page 154 is very ambiguous. First J. Pešek states that apart from A. Dubček, J. Lenárt also protested against the decision applied by A. Novotný with regard to the results of the Kolder rehabilitation commission, that the so-called Slovak bourgeois nationalists could be rehabilitated according to civil law, but would not receive full party rehabilitation. However, immediately in the next line, it states that *“Lenárt was silenced and made to submit although he was chairman of the working group for reconsideration of the trial of the so-called bourgeois nationalists”*. According to my research, based on a statement by a member of the special working group in the framework of the Kolder Commission concerned with the case of the “Slovak bourgeois nationalists” J. Uher, that *“Lenárt, who should have been most active because he thoroughly knew the facts (in the end a proposal from his working group was involved) he not only did not struggle, but (as usual) ... he was silent and not for the first or last time, he submitted without resistance”*, J. Lenárt really kept to himself, which meant that he did not protest at all against the decision of his political “tutor” A. Novotný. In the opposite case it would have been a unique political act for him, entirely exceptional in his political career, and I very much doubt it happened.

In fact, as I already mentioned, these comments are only marginal and do not reduce the value of the work of J. Pešek. On the contrary, its great importance appears especially in two areas: 1. As an outstanding comprehensive work on an important political organization in our most recent national history, it makes some progress in reducing the shortage of such works in Slovak historiography. 2. As an extremely valuable factographic

handbook on the development of the communist movement, which was a determining factor in the political development of Slovakia for decades. I am looking forward to the next part of this work, which will apparently map the development of the Communist Party of Slovakia in the period of Normalization of the 1970s and 1980s.

Stanislav Sikora

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