
Historiography

in

Motion

Historiography in Motion

Slovak Contributions to the 21st International Congress of Historical Sciences

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Foreword

Slovak historians have participated in the activities of *International Committee of Historical Sciences/Comité international des sciences historiques* (ICHS/CISH) at the very outset of “that global community of historians”, that is, since 1926. Until 1993, Slovak historians were represented in ICHS/CISH by joint Czechoslovak National Committee of Historians; since 1993, by Slovak National Committee of Historians. Size of the Slovak participation was diverse in different periods. During the First Czechoslovak Republic, Slovak professional historiography was only at its starting stage, so it was not visible on the international forum. After 1948, there were good conditions for a professional progress of the Slovak historical science, but it was politics that entered that process. Violent interferences into the spontaneous development of historiography deformed the historical knowledge, but restrained the greater participation of Slovak historians on international activities as well. In the period of 1950-1954, the Czechoslovak National Committee of Historians, as well as other national committees in the Soviet bloc, did not exercise its membership in ICHS/CISH.

The contacts between the Slovak historians and global historical community branched out intensively after 1989. A choice of a represent to The World Congresses was not dependant on political institutions, but solely on historians. Till 1989, the representation was determined by totalitarian regime that favoured historians mostly without any scientific background. Starting from Madrid congress in 1990, Slovak historians, who were able to communicate with the global historical forum, successively participated in international activities. However, it was not a rapid but a consecutive process, because Slovak historiography needed some time for reaching the standards of international historical science and its dominant trends.

The World Congresses of ICHS/CISH reflect trends, tendencies and thematic shifting in international historiography. It is manifested at the individual associations, commission sessions and round table programmes. Participation of the Slovak historians in The World Congresses was not numerous even after 1989. At present, there exists any substantial difference in the thematic area more, which we have felt yet at the Montreal congress in 1995, but problem of the Slovak participation is of another nature now: Slovak academic institutions are not able to send more historians to congress, because their budgets are sill very short. Meanwhile, there are competent historians either of the elder, but mainly of the younger generation, who could react and contributed to the challenges of the world historiography. We have realised this before the 19th congress at Oslo in 2000. Slovak National Committee of Historians arranged a publication for Oslo Congress: *Slovak contributions to the 19th congress of historical sciences, Bratislava 2000* (ed. Dušan Kováč), 243 pp. Slovak historians, in eighteen studies, contributed to the twelve thematic sessions chosen for the congress.

The 21st World Congress of ICHS/CISH in Amsterdam is a breakthrough event for the Slovak historiography. There are six contributions by Slovak historians to the programme, one of them is in major theme One, and a Slovak historian is an organiser of one of the sessions. However, Slovak historiography, who the congress programme

regards as a challenge and as a demonstration of the running trends in the world historiography as well, has already branched that far that it is able to deal with the chosen themes in much more extent than the active participation at the congress allows. It is a reason why the Slovak National Committee of Historians decided to publish a special volume in which we offer some congress themes to the world community in Amsterdam. Electronic form of the volume is not only economical and time-saving, but handy as well. We are ready to present this e-publication to the participants of the congress.

Dušan Kováč

President of the Slovak National Committee of Historians

Le pouvoir et le sacré : Aspects de la christianisation des Avars et des Slaves sur le Danube moyen*

RASTISLAV KOŽIAK

Avant 1989, la recherche historique sur la christianisation des Slaves se voit handicapée par les exigences de l'idéologie imposées aux sciences historiques, d'où l'absence d'une recherche plus approfondie orientée vers l'aspect religieux de l'évolution des sociétés du haut Moyen Age. Les chercheurs manquaient de confrontation naturelle avec les études faites au-delà du « rideau de fer » où la recherche historico-ecclésiastique avançait toujours en élargissant non seulement sa base factuelle et événementielle, mais aussi en subissant des transformations importantes dans le domaine de l'approche méthodologique, allant de l'histoire de l'Eglise traditionnelle, conçue de façon institutionnelle, vers l'histoire religieuse, et touchant également le processus compliqué de la réception du christianisme.¹ Avec le recul du temps, les conséquences de ces limitations se sont faites sentir sous forme d'interprétations schématiques bien enracinées qui expliquaient comme une coupure le déroulement de la transition du paganisme au christianisme, et envisageaient ce processus comme émanant d'une réforme administrative où le contenu comme le résultat devait être un fait accompli.² L'idée de la réception du christianisme par les *gentes* slaves, vue uniquement comme dépendance ou soumission aux ambitions hégémoniques de l'empire franc ou byzantin, semble, elle aussi, simpliste et incomplète ; les historiens y attribuant aux Slaves un rôle des récipiens passifs.

Dans ces cas-là, il est nécessaire d'appliquer plusieurs clés pour saisir la vraie signification des sources écrites ou matérielles. En faisant des recherches sur le christianisme, on emprunte facilement la perspective des auteurs ecclésiastiques qui ont produit les sources, des auteurs qui, en adoptant la vision du „parti vainqueur“, décri-

* Cette étude on a été élaborée pour l'aide financier VEGA no. 1/0628/08.

¹ Dans le premier cas, il s'agit d'un domaine de recherche plus ancien, caractéristique surtout pour la fin du XIX^e et la première moitié du XX^e siècle, désigné autrement aussi comme *histoire institutionnelle*. L'objet de son intérêt c'est l'histoire de l'Eglise en tant qu'institution, y compris donc les questions de son organisation, de sa hiérarchie et de ses rapports avec les souverains. Le second cas constitue un domaine de recherche récent, appelé *histoire religieuse*. Sa contribution principale consiste en l'orientation de l'attention vers l'univers spirituel des gens, la pratique religieuse et les mentalités religieuses. Ces derniers temps on constate la tendance à l'abandon de l'approche isolée appuyée sur l'un ou l'autre aspect de l'historiographie du christianisme médiéval, et la recherche historique se dirige vers le mélange des deux domaines. D. ALIBERT et al., *Chrétientés médiévales : VII-XI siècle*. s. l. : Atlande, 1997, pp. 23-27 ; M. MOSTERT, « Perspectives for the Study of East Central European Christianization? », *Early Christianity in Central and East Europe*, Ed. P. Urbańczyk, Warszawa : Semper, 1997, p. 175 sq.

² Le plus souvent, on observe ce schématisme dans l'interprétation de la transformation subie par le rituel funéraire ou bien l'interprétation de la diminution de l'inventaire dans les tombes aux ossements, expliqués, automatiquement, comme les manifestations du christianisme. Ouvrages critiques à ce sujet : M. HANULIAK, « Ku vzťahu pohanstva a kresťanstva na podklade archeologických prameňov », *Slavica Slovaca*, 28, 1993, 1-2, pp. 15-20 ; H. CHORVÁTOVÁ, « K interpretáciám a metodologickým riešeniam problematiky prijímania kresťanstva vo včasnóm stredoveku z pohľadu archeológie », *Pohanstvo a kresťanstvo*, Bratislava : Chronos, 2004, pp. 163-169.

vent la conversion en tant qu'une victoire subite du christianisme sur les dieux païens comme une nécessité historique, ou bien dissimulent la contribution apportée à la christianisation par d'autres Etats, d'autres institutions ecclésiastiques ou missionnaires.³ Les sources écrites et matérielles, à leur tour, en commun accord, insinuent le rattachement de tout le processus aux élites slaves qui commencent depuis le VIII^e siècle à se former dans le milieu égalitaire slave et qui vont devenir, au cours des siècles à venir, les premiers implémentateurs des transformations ethniques, politiques et idéologiques sur le vaste territoire de l'Europe du Centre-Est.⁴ Ainsi, le chemin vers un Etat haut-médiéval à travers la „conversion“ est lié, dans les sources de l'époque, à un cercle formé autour d'un prince fort et, souvent, à l'imposition de la volonté dudit prince. Mais la résistance qui s'ensuit contre le christianisme, liée dans certains cas aux révoltes païennes, pourrait nous signaler la participation nécessaire de l'ensemble de la tribu à cette décision, un certain consensus de toute la population, ce qui va se projeter ensuite sur le plan religieux sous forme de l'interpénétration du nouveau avec l'ancien.⁵

L'esquisse précédante de l'évolution et de l'état actuel de la recherche sur les débuts du christianisme chez les Slaves en Europe du Centre-Est renvoie à la complexité de la recherche sur cette question. Pour le chercheur, est importante non seulement l'approche critique des sources de caractère écrit ou matériel, mais aussi la même approche critique de l'analyse historiographique des ouvrages des historiens et des archéologues ; ceux-ci doivent être toujours lus dans le contexte des conflits et des idéologies de l'époque. La science, elle aussi, fait partie de la culture, de sorte qu'elle subit et reflète le diktat des paradigmes de l'époque.

Dans le texte qui s'ensuit nous voulons donc examiner de plus près les phases initiales de la pénétration et de l'établissement du christianisme en Europe du Centre-Est. L'intensité de la pression politique et culturelle faite par l'Empire franc, la décomposition du khaganat avar ainsi que la transformation qui s'ensuit des rapports de pouvoir dans la Danubie centrale et ses environs – tout cela influence le développement social et culturel de cette région. Ce qui nous intéresse ici, c'est la façon dont ces rapports directs avec l'Empire franc déterminaient le commencement même et le déroulement de la christianisation, ainsi que la façon dont les institutions religieuses et les centres missionnaires francs y entraînent, cela du point de vue des ambitions et des possibilités réelles. Et l'enjambement de l'abîme mental séparant les chercheurs mo-

³ J. KŁOCZOWSKI, *Młodsza Europa*, Warszawa : PIW, 1998, p. 35 ; P. URBAŃCZYK, *Władza i polityka we wczesnym średniowieczu*, Poznań : FUNNA, 2000, pp. 158-159.

⁴ D. TŘEŠTÍK, « České kmeny : Historie a skutečnost jedné koncepce », *Studia mediaevalia Pragensia*, I, 1988, pp. 138-140 ; H. BRACHMANN, « Tribal Organizations in Central Europe in the 6th-10th Centuries A.D. : Reflections on the Ethnic and Political Development in the Second Half of the First Millennium », *Origins of Central Europe*, Ed. P. Urbańczyk, Warszawa : Polish Academy of Sciences, 1997, pp. 29-32 ; J. GAŚSOWSKI, « Cult and Authority in Central Europe », *Origins of Central Europe*, pp. 60-64.

⁵ P. BOROŃ, « Wiece słowiańskie a decyzja o przyjęciu chrześcijaństwa - możliwości poznawcze », *Pohanstvo a kresťanstvo*, pp. 95-102. Piotr Boroń prend surtout les exemples de Carantanie et de Bohême où l'introduction du christianisme, effectuée par le pouvoir princier, est accompagnée d'une résistance païenne ; ou bien celui de Bulgarie, plus éloignée, où peu de temps après la conversion, de nombreux convertis renoncent à la nouvelle religion.

dernes de la perspective de la christianisation adoptée par les témoins de celle-ci, demeure le Charybde et Scylla de cette problématique.

*

Après la conquête de la Saxe qui a duré longtemps et, au contraire, après une guerre étonnamment courte contre la Bavière qui, selon Einhard, avait commencé aussi subitement qu'elle a terminé par son rattachement en 788, la frontière orientale de l'Empire franc se rapproche dramatiquement des Avars. Le biographe fidèle de Charlemagne rattache la colère du roi envers Tassilon à la coalition inhabituelle conclue par le duc de Bavière, chrétien édifiant, qui s'était appuyé sur les bonnes relations avec le clergé local comme avec la papauté, avec les Avars païens contre les Francs. Au moins, c'est la façon de voir cette alliance, voulue et présentée extérieurement par la rhétorique officielle de l'Empire - alors que cette alliance perfide était une des raisons principales pour déposséder Tassilon de sa charge de duc et pour l'enfermer entre les murs d'un monastère.⁶ C'est encore la même année que les Avars envahissent la Bavière et la Friaule en tant qu'alliés du duc de Bavière, et quoique vaincus, leur expédition ne représente que le début d'une guerre de huit ans (788-796) contre les Francs, qui ne se terminera qu'à la fin du siècle avec la décomposition du khaganat et la christianisation.⁷

Cela devait être la plus grande guerre parmi toutes les expéditions des Francs et légitime à cause de toutes les injustices et de tous les pillages commis, prétendument, par les Avars sur les peuples habitant la Pannonie.⁸ Le passage de l'armée par la frontière païenne durant la première grande campagne en 791 est même accompagné par les cérémonies liturgiques de trois jours, par les prières publiques et par les jeûnes pour obtenir l'aide de Dieu pour un résultat favorable et heureux.⁹ Ainsi la lutte contre les Avars prend dès le début le caractère de la guerre sainte ou missionnaire, les

⁶ EINHARDUS: *Vita Caroli Magni*, 11. Ed. P. Daniš, Praha : SET OUT, 1999, p. 85 ; J. CHÉLINI, *L'aube du Moyen Age : Naissance de la chrétienté occidentale*, Paris : Picard, 1991, pp. 62-66, 71-72. Sur la présentation propagandiste dans l'annalistique franque du renversement et de l'internation de Tassilon dans le monastère, voir l'analyse de D. HÄGERMANN, *Karel Veliký : Vládce Západu*, trad. par A. Valenta, Praha : Prostor, 2002, pp. 216-235.

⁷ Les opinions des historiens divergent quant à la durée de la guerre franco-avare. Nous penchons pour celles qui font terminer la guerre en 796 où, les campagnes de 795 et de 796 finies par la conquête du *ring* avar, la cour carolingienne passe à la nouvelle division administrative ecclésiastique des territoires du khaganat avar conquis. L'évolution qui suit des rapports franco-avars est marquée, il est vrai, des conflits militaires mutuels, d'intensité variée ; mais ceux-ci revêtent plutôt un caractère des collisions individuelles avec les résidus des forces avars. W. POHL, *Die Awaren : Ein Steppenvolk in Mitteleuropa 567-822 n. Chr.* München : C. H. Beck, 1988, p. 312-323; S. SZÁDECKY-KARDOSS, « Histoire des Avars et leur héritage en Europe », *Les Hongois et l'Europe : Conquête et intégration*, Ed. S. Csernus et K. Korompay, Paris et Szeged, 1999, pp. 163-169; K. POLEK, « Wojna awarska Karola Wielkiego i jej wpływ na stosunki polityczne, etniczne i kulturowe w strefie środkowego Dunaju w końcu VIII i na początku IX wieku », *Acta Universitatis Wratislaviensis, Historia*, 152, 2001, pp. 131-141; D. TŘEŠTÍK, *Vznik Velké Moravy*, Praha : Lidové noviny, 2001, pp. 53-70; J. STEINHÜBEL, « Kaganát a tudunát », *Studia historica Tyrnaviensia*, III, 2003, pp. 15-30.

⁸ *Vita Caroli Magni*, 13, p. 86.

⁹ L'événement a eu lieu avant la traversée de l'Enns, rivière-frontière bavaro-avare traditionnelle. *Annales regni Francorum*, a. 791, *Magnae Moraviae fontes historici* (plus loin : MMFH), Tome I, Ed. D. Bartoňková et al., Praha : SPN, 1966, p. 38. Pour une analyse plus détaillée de l'événement, pris dans le contexte liturgique de la guerre, voir M. McCORMICK, « The liturgy of war in the early Middle Ages: crisis, litanies and the carolingian monarchy », *Viator*, 15, 1984, pp. 8-10.

textes de source carolingiens sont d'accord sur cela. L'image des Avars païens, qui sont en contact avec le diable,¹⁰ ou bien qui commettent une violence insupportable sur la Sainte Eglise et sur le peuple chrétien¹¹, y est confrontée avec l'image du souverain franc, monarque chrétien qui, aidé par son Dieu, remportera la victoire sur les peuples païens.¹² L'idéal immortalisé du souverain chrétien qui libère les peuples païens de leurs erreurs d'athéisme et les fait prendre le chemin vers la „vérité“, en „royaume chrétien“, a dû, aux yeux du public, légitimer la politique expansionniste du souverain des Francs. En effet, dans l'idéologie de l'époque carolingienne, les préparatifs de la soumission militaire et de l'incorporation postérieure des Avars à l'empire franc signifiaient en même temps la christianisation des territoires conquis.

Quel était le rôle joué par la conversion dans la vision franque de l'avenir politique et de l'organisation des rapports sur le territoire du khaganat avar soumis, la visite du tudun avar rendue à Charlemagne en 795, le reflète de la meilleure façon. L'arrivée du dignitaire avar à Aix-la-Chapelle peut avoir un rapport avec la guerre civile qui a éclaté au khaganat et dont les victimes sont le khagan et le jugur. Selon le témoignage des annales franques, le tudun aurait dû „se soumettre avec ses gens et tout le pays au roi et accepter la foi chrétienne suite à l'ordonnance royale“. A son départ chez lui, il est encore honoré de dons.¹³ Le déroulement de l'événement est similaire, paraît-il, dans le cas de Widikund, chef des Saxons, qui, quelques années auparavant et dans le même palais d'Aix-la-Chapelle, a également reçu le baptême. Celui-ci est tiré des fonts baptismaux par le roi qui devient son parrain, et le nouveau baptisé est enfin honoré de nombreux dons.¹⁴ L'importance politique du baptême de Widikund ainsi que celle du tudun est évidente, le rituel religieux se mélangeant avec le rituel politique dans les deux cas. La soumission au roi est scellée par le baptême, par lequel le nouveau baptisé conclut l'union politique, spirituelle et parentale avec celui qui est à la fois son parrain et suzerain.¹⁵

¹⁰ Carmen de Pippini regis victoria Avarica a. 796 (plus loin : Carmen de Pippini), 2-3, *MMFH*, Tome II : Textus biographici, hagiographici, liturgici, Ed. D. Bartoňková et al., Brno : Nakladatelství UJEP, 1967, p. 13.

¹¹ Annales regni Francorum, a. 791, *Pramene k dejinám Velké Moravy*, Ed. P. Ratkoš, Bratislava : SAV, 1968, p. 66.

¹² Carmen de Pippini, 4, 5, 13, 15, pp. 14-15.

¹³ Annales regni Francorum, a. 795, 796, *MMFH*, I, pp. 40-41. La résonance de l'événement est conservée aussi dans *Conversio Bagoariorum et Carantanorum* (plus loin : *Conversio*), 6, *MMFH*, Tome III : Diplomata, epistolae, textus historii varii, Ed. D. Bartoňková et al., Brno : Nakladatelství UJEP, 1969, pp. 303-304. D. TRÉŠTÍK, *Vznik Velké Moravy*, p. 66.

¹⁴ A. ANGENENDT, « Le parrainage dans le haut Moyen Âge : Du rituel liturgique au cérémonial politique », *Clovis – histoire et mémoire I. : Le baptême de Clovis, l'événement*, Ed. M. Rouche, Paris : Université de Paris-Sorbonne, 1997, p. 250.

¹⁵ Dans la pratique politique tant de l'Occident que de l'Orient en haut Moyen Âge, on trouve l'utilisation de l'institution du parrainage où le souverain chrétien devient le patron du baptême d'un souverain païen, ce qui fait naître entre eux comme si une relation de parenté. Évidente, la coulisse politique de cet acte sert à renforcer les alliances entre les anciens ennemis. La consécration de l'alliance par un rituel religieux est souvent accompagnée d'autres procédés : mariage avec la fille du souverain chrétien, investiture par les symboles du pouvoir politique, octroi des titres politiques honorifiques, etc. Le parrainage appartient à l'équipement politique tant des rois mérovingiens, anglosaxons et carolingiens que des empereurs de Byzance, mais son utilisation, que ce soit aussi dans une forme transformée, pourrait être appliquée même plus généralement. A. ANGENENDT, « La parrainage dans ... », pp. 247-252. Au sujet de l'institution du parrainage dans la pratique diplomatique byzantine, voir : I. ŠEVČENKO, « Misje religijne z perspektivy Bizan-

Dans la situation désordonnée du khaganat bouleversé par la crise, qui, semble-t-il, n'est pas même résolue par l'avènement du nouveau khagan, le tudun voit son avenir politique brûlant et la conservation de son status de pouvoir sous la forme de sa soumission au roi des Francs.¹⁶ Face à la situation politique et au rapport de force changeants en Pannonie, la même manière d'agir est adoptée aussi par d'autres dignitaires avars ; dans les sources, on trouve deux cas.¹⁷ Le premier, le kapkhan Théodore, qui en 805 demande à l'empereur de l'aider contre les Slaves qui „tourmentent son peuple“ et occupent successivement leurs demeures d'origine. Devant l'empereur, il se présente déjà comme chrétien, ce dont témoigne aussi son nom chrétien.¹⁸ C'est pourquoi il a dû recevoir le baptême plus tôt; sans doute, les raisons de cet acte, lié à la reconnaissance de la souveraineté franque, sont plusieurs autant pendant le conflit militaire comme immédiatement après lui. Le second, c'est le khagan qui a reçu le baptême, et avec cela aussi le nom chrétien d'Abraham seulement en 805 sur le fleuve de Fischa. Mais avant de le faire, il envoie à l'empereur un message qui demande „pour lui, le respect perdu qu'il avait eu autrefois entre les Huns“. Charlemagne donne suite à sa demande „en ordonnant que le khagan ait, selon leur usage ancien, le règne souverain sur tout le royaume“.¹⁹ Dans ce cas également, le contexte politique de la conversion du khagan est de premier plan, d'autant plus que la conversion a lieu au temps où la Pannonie est déjà, depuis plusieurs années, sous domination des Francs, au moins formellement.

Les destins similaires des trois souverains avars, qui ont lieu durant les dix ans de l'engagement des Francs en Pannonie, laissent supposer les principes sur lesquels les Francs prévoyaient d'organiser les rapports politiques et sociaux sur le territoire conquis. La soumission des Avars et leur conversion voulaient dire, dans le langage politique franc, la même chose, éventuellement les deux aspects inséparables du „nouvel ordre“ qui a dû dominer dans toute la région orientale. Le critère du succès franc a deux versants : politique et spirituel, et l'élite avare, pour conserver son statut

cjum », *Chrześcijaństwo Rusi Kijowskiej, Białorusi, Ukrainy i Rosji (X-XVII wiek)*, Ed. J. Kłoczowski, Kraków : PAU, 1997, pp. 42-43. Par l'intermédiaire du baptême, le nouveau baptisé devient membre d'une nouvelle famille des souverains chrétiens, ayant l'empereur de Byzance à sa tête. Ces „sentiments familiaux“, avec les engagements qui en sont conséquence, doivent concerner non seulement la relation du souverain chrétien à l'égard de l'empereur mais aussi à l'égard des autres souverains chrétiens, membres de cette grande famille spirituelle.

¹⁶ *Annales regni Francorum*, a. 796, p. 41; S. SZÁDECKY-KARDOSS, « Histoire des Avars ... », p. 166; K. POLEK, « Wojna awarska ... », p. 136.

¹⁷ Les annales franques signalent encore un tudun (nommé Zodan dans les sources), souverain de Pannonie, qui se soumet, en 803, avec ses Slaves et Avars à Charlemagne, dans sa siège de Ratisbonne. Il ne s'agit probablement pas du même tudun de 795 mais de son successeur éventuel qui, après la prise du pouvoir, démontre par cet acte la continuité quant à la reconnaissance de la suprématie franque. Les sources sont muettes sur son baptême éventuel, il est vrai, mais dans le contexte de la pratique carolingienne usuelle – comme c'était aussi le cas du tudun de 795 et de deux autres dignitaires avars dont nous parlons plus loin – l'hypothèse est justifiée. *Annales regni Francorum*, a. 803, p. 42; *Annales Mettenses priores*, a. 803, p. 55.

Selon l'éditeur de la source, „Zodan“ n'est pas un nom mais la forme déformée du titre „tudun“ (*MMFH*, I, p. 42, note 2 à la date 803). Au sujet de l'identification du tudun et son cortège slave, cf.: D. TŘEŠTÍK, *Vznik Velké Moravy*, pp. 67-68 et J. STEINHÜBEL, « Kaganát a tudunát », p. 26.

¹⁸ *Annales regni Francorum*, a. 805, pp. 42-43; *Annales Mettenses priores*, a. 805, p. 55; *Annales Maximiniani*, a. 805, p. 63.

¹⁹ *Annales regni Francorum*, a. 805, p. 43; *Annales Mettenses priores*, a. 805, p. 55; *Annales Maximiniani*, a. 805, p. 64.

social, a dû déclarer le loyalisme autant envers le nouveau suzerain profane qu'envers le Dieu chrétien.²⁰

L'image – qu'on trouve dans les sources – des dignitaires avars qui envoient des délégations à la cour de Charlemagne, négocient avec lui, reçoivent le baptême et les confirmations de leurs titres de pouvoir (tous traditionnellement avars) ou bien celles de leurs territoires d'implantation laisse supposer que les Francs avaient l'intention de conserver les structures du pouvoir avar, et par ces structures d'en dominer la totalité.²¹ Même aux temps des conflits avaro-slaves, qui deviennent plus intenses au début du IX^e siècle, en tant que conséquence logique de la défaite des Avars et de la décomposition de leur hégémonie en Pannonie, Charlemagne envisage l'organisation de la situation de pouvoir en comptant avec la participation et le profit de l'élite avar qu'il soutient pleinement. La preuve pourrait être son accord avec la revendication du khagan Abraham qui en 805 sollicite le rétablissement du titre ancien de khagan et l'unification des Avars sous son gouvernement.²² On peut voir, de la même façon, l'expédition envoyée en 811 en Pannonie, sur la demande des Avars eux-mêmes, paraît-il, ayant pour but de faire cesser les attaques menées par les Slaves contre les Avars.²³ Mais c'est l'arrivée d'un *canizauci*, probablement le khagan Isaac, accompagné du tudun et des princes slaves, à la cour d'Aix-la-Chapelle en 811 où ont dû avoir lieu les négociations sur le renouvellement de la paix dans la région de la Pannonie, qui mérite notre attention. Le nom chrétien du khagan confirmerait la continuité de la conversion des élites avars, d'orientation pro-franque, conversion à laquelle s'associe, d'une façon inséparable, leur nouveau statut social et politique.²⁴

²⁰ H. REIMITZ, « Conversion and control : The establishment of liturgical frontiers in Carolingian Pannonia », *The transformation of frontiers: from late antiquity to the Carolingians*, Ed. W. Pohl, Leiden; Köln : Brill, 2001, pp. 189-191.

²¹ Les exemples sont liés aux négociations des dignitaires avars de 795 (envoi de délégation, d'abord ; puis, serment vassalique et baptême du tudun), de 796 (serment vassalique du khagan, des tarkans et de la femme du khagan, après la conquête du *ring* avar), de 803 (serment vassalique du tudun de Pannonie et de son cortège avar et slave), de 805 (assignation de nouveaux territoires pour habiter au peuple du kapkhan Théodore, entre Carnuntum et Savaria; envoi de délégation, reconnaissance du titre du khagan, serment vassalique et baptême du khagan Abraham) et de 811 (négociations des dignitaires avars à Aix-la-Chapelle), soit directement ou par intermédiaire des délégués, avec Charlemagne. Ouvrages au sujet des années 795, 803, 805, voir les notes 13, 17-19; au sujet de 796 Carmen de Pippini, p. 14, 15; au sujet de 811, notes 23-24. TŘEŠTÍK, D.: *Vznik Velké Moravy*, pp. 68-70, 86.

²² Comme la note 19.

²³ *Annales regni Francorum*, a. 811, p. 44; *Annales Maximiniani*, a. 811, p. 64.

²⁴ „[...] fuerunt etiam Aquis adventum eius expectantes, qui de Pannonia venerunt, *canizauci* princeps Avarum et tudun et alii primores ac duces Sclavorum circa Danubium habitantium [...]” *Annales regni Francorum*, a. 811, p. 44; „[...] venerunt et de Pannonia *Canizauci* princeps Avarorum et Tudun et alii priores ac duces Sclavorum circa Danubium habitantium.” *Annales Maximiniani*, a. 811, p. 64. *Canizauci* est le plus souvent interprété par les historiens comme l'accouplement du titre du khagan *can* avec la déformation du prénom *Izau*, *Jezau*, *Izaka*, *Izák*. Voir les notes d'éditeurs dans *MMFH*, I, p. 44, note 8; *Pramene k dejinám ...*, p. 70, note 10a ; J. STEINHÜBEL, « Kaganát a tudunát », p. 29. D. Třeštík refuse ces interprétations, en proposant l'explication de *canizauci* comme *kam* – *chaman* et *savčy* – *messager, médiateur*, ce qui voudrait dire qu'il s'agissait d'un envoyé avar ayant aussi l'autorité sacrale de chaman. D. Třeštík, *Vznik Velké Moravy*, p. 86. Selon W. Pohl, la dénomination a servi seulement de *honor antiquus* pour le khagan de 895. C'est le khan bulgare, puissant et triomphal, qui a utilisé un titre similaire: son imitation par le khagan avar devait aider à rétablir son prestige et suprématie sur tous les Avars, et, par cela, aussi à le distinguer des autres *primores* et *duces*, avars et slaves. POHL, W.: *Die Awaren*, pp. 304-305.

En connexion avec l'image triomphale de la campagne franque contre les Avars donnée par les diverses sources carolingiennes, surgit la question de savoir dans quelle mesure les visions de la cour carolingienne concernant l'établissement de la domination franque dans l'empire des Avars correspond à la réalité politique de la Pannonie. Le territoire qui a dû échoir aux Francs après la guerre était très vaste: limité par la frontière longobarde d'un côté, par le Danube central de l'autre. En plus, le khaganat avar est un Etat multiethnique avec une ethnie dominante à sa tête, à savoir avar, et toute une série d'ethnies slaves qui se distinguent l'une de l'autre par le degré de dépendance des Avars ; une chose était de rigueur: plus l'ethnie se trouve proche de la périphérie, plus elle est indépendante. A part eux, il ne faut pas oublier d'autres groupes ethniques: les Bulgares, les Gépides et les résidus du substrat germanique très varié et ceux de la population romanisée. Ce caractère multiethnique de toute la région pouvait donc devenir un obstacle important pour son annexion sans problèmes à l'empire des Francs,²⁵ sur laquelle on compte à la cour carolingienne au moins aux temps de l'euphorie des grands triomphes de 795 et 796.²⁶ C'est la convocation rapide du synode épiscopal dès 796, chargé des préparatifs du programme de la christianisation à effectuer directement dans le coeur du territoire des Avars vaincus, quelque part „sur les rives de Danube“ qui porte à croire cela.

Le fait que c'est le synode épiscopal qui est une des premières, sinon la première, assemblées de l'élite carolingienne sur le territoire conquis, prend une valeur vraiment symbolique qui doit décider sur l'établissement du pouvoir franc, c'est-à-dire sur la mise en place du „nouvel ordre“. Il paraît que c'est l'unité des frontières liturgiques qui est le principe primaire sur lequel doit se réaliser l'unification de tout le territoire. Ainsi, la convocation prompte de la réunion ecclésiastique qui devait traiter des questions ayant rapport aux missions prévues en Avarie laisse supposer encore une fois une certaine coopération pour l'établissement de la discipline politique et religieuse sur les territoires conquis.²⁷ On ne connaît le contenu de la négociation du synode que grâce au protocole qui était rédigé dans le siège de Paulin, patriarche d'Aquilée, probablement dès son retour de Pannonie, parce que le manuscrit porte le sous-titre *dictatus Paulini patriarchae*.²⁸ C'est le patriarcat d'Aquilée avec l'évêché de

²⁵ La station des Avars et celle des Slaves dans les territoires de Pannonie aux temps des guerres franco-avares est distinguée aussi dans *Conversio*, 6, p. 304. BRATOŽ, R.: « La cristianizzazione degli Slavi negli Atti del Convegno „Ad ripas Danubii“ e del Concilio di Cividale », *XII Centenario del Concilio di Cividale (796-1996)*, Udine, 1998, p. 155. L'évolution de la structure ethnique du khaganat avar est traitée exhaustivement par W. POHL, *Die Awaren*, pp. 225-236.

²⁶ *Annales regni Francorum* (*Annales qui dicuntur Einhard*), a. 796, p. 39; *Annales regni Francorum* (*Annales Laurissenses maiores*), a. 796, p. 41; *Conversio*, 6, pp. 303-304. Einhard raconte la richesse féérique pris par les Francs et emporté du *ring* détruit en 795, ce qui ne faisait que souligner la singularité de la défaite des Avars. *Vita Caroli Magni*, 13, p. 86. La rhétorique vainquer similaire se laisse entendre aussi dans les *Annales franques*, citées plus haut.

²⁷ H. REIMITZ, « Conversion and control », p. 190.

²⁸ En raison de la forme spécifique du document conservé, Rajko Bratož, chercheur slovène, exprime le doute de savoir s'il s'agissait d'un synode ecclésiastique officiel proprement dit, et non plutôt d'une rencontre non-formelle ou d'une séance des élites ecclésiastiques et laïques. R. BRATOŽ, « La cristianizzazione degli Slavi ... », p. 160. La notation des négociations établie par le patriarche est publiée dans *Conventus episcoporum ad ripas Danubii* (plus loin : *Conventus*), a. 796, *Concilia aevi Karolini*, II./1., Ed. A. Werminghoff, Hannover; Leipzig, 1906, pp. 172-176, n. 20; sous-titre *Dictatus Paulini patriarchae*, p. 173 (lemma in

Salzbourg qui devaient prendre la principale initiative pour l'intégration des territoires orientaux dans le cadre politique de l'empire carolingien. C'est l'échange épistolaire riche d'Alcuin, le théologien général de la cour carolingienne,²⁹ qu'il mène au cours des préparatifs et de la réalisation de la mission avar avec les deux métropolitains de ces diocèses, Paulin³⁰, patriarche d'Aquilée, et Arn³¹, évêque de Salzbourg, qui l'indique. Le choix d'Aquilée et de Salzbourg est dû à leur voisinage immédiat avec le monde avaro-slave.

Le synode épiscopal se tient en été 796, probablement après l'auto-soumission du khagan,³² mais encore avant la conquête du *ring* avar par l'armée de Pépin, fils de Charlemagne, âgé alors de 19 ans.³³ Le protocole du synode danubien contient, en effet, dès l'introduction, des indices signalant que la soumission du khagan a eu lieu dans le camp de Pépin durant le synode.³⁴ La pénurie des sources ne nous permet pas cependant d'identifier précisément le lieu de son déroulement, désigné d'une manière trop générale comme *ad ripas Danubii*. L'historiographie moins récente le cherchait dans un des centres bavarois, à savoir Ratisbonne ou Passau.³⁵ Actuellement, c'est plutôt l'opinion mettant en doute la possibilité d'une localisation plus précise qui prédomine, sur la base des sources accessibles, il n'est possible que l'identification générale du lieu de son déroulement avec le camp champêtre installé par Pépin quelque part en Pannonie „sur le Danube blanchâtre“.³⁶

Cod. Salisb.); édition latine et tchèque des extraits du protocole synodal dans *MMFH*, Tome IV, Ed. D. Barťorňková et al., Brno : Nakladatelství UJEP, 1971, pp. 18-20.

²⁹ Au sujet d'Alcuin (730-804), voir W. HEIL, « Alcuin : Leben und Wirken », *Lexikon des Mittelalters* (plus loin : *LexMa*), 1. CD-ROM Ausgabe, Verlag J. B. Metzler, 2000, p. 417-419. La correspondance d'Alcuin ayant rapport à la mission en Pannonie est partiellement recueillie sous forme des registres dans *MMFH*, III, pp. 137-140; édition latin fait partie de *Patrologiae cursus completus, Series latina*, Tomus 100 (plus loin : *ALCULINUS*, Ep.), surtout les lettres adressées au patriarche Paulin, à l'évêque de Salzbourg Arn, au chambrier du roi Meginfrid, à Pépin et à Charlemagne.

³⁰ Au sujet de Paulin (750-802; en tant que patriarche d'Aquilée Paulinus II, depuis 750), voir R. HÄRTEL, « Paulinus II », *LexMa*, 6, pp. 1814-1815.

³¹ Sur Arn (probablement 740-821; en tant qu'évêque de Salzbourg depuis 785, en tant qu'archevêque de Salzbourg depuis 798), voir S. KRÄMER, « Arn », *LexMa*, 1, pp. 993-994.

³² Pépin relate la soumission du khagan, sans lutte, paraît-il, dans le premier message envoyé à Charlemagne. *Annales regni Francorum*, a. 796, p. 41. On en trouve la description aussi dans Carmen de Pippini, 8-12, pp. 14-15.

³³ Ce n'est que dans le deuxième message, envoyé à Charlemagne, que Pépin renseigne sur la conquête du *ring*. *Annales regni Francorum*, a. 796, p. 41.

³⁴ „[...] *ferocium gentium mentes ad lenitatis mansuetudinem.*“ *Conventus*, p. 172. H. WOLFRAM, *Salzburg, Bayern, Österreich : Die Conversio Bagoariorum et Carantanorum und die Quellen ihrer Zeit*, Wien; München : R. Oldenbourg Verlag, 1995, p. 286.

³⁵ J. CIBULKA, *Velkomoravský Kostel v Modré u Velehradu a začátky křesťanství na Moravě*, Praha : Nakladatelství ČSAV, 1958, p. 175.

³⁶ „*Rex accintus Dei virtute Pippinus, rex catholicus, castra figit super flumen albidum Danubium, hostibus accingens totum undique praesidia.*“ *Carmen de Pippini*, 5, p. 14. „[...] *quatenus Christianas exercituum legiones per dilectissimum Pippinum suum [...] supra ripas Histri Danubii adgregandas non retardaret, castra calcitius metatus in eodem loco isdem venerabilis Pippinus rex [...].*“ *Conventus*, p. 173. H. WOLFRAM, *Salzburg, Bayern, ...*, p. 286; H. KRAHWINKLER, *Friaul im Frühmittelalter*, Wien-Köln-Weimar, 1992, p. 162, note 254. Pépin conduit l'armée bavaro-longobardes, ce qui indique certaines possibilités de l'itinéraire de la marche militaire. Avant de piller un *hringus* avar, il repousse une partie des Avars jusqu'au-delà de la Tisa, ce qui nous permet de localiser le lieu du *ring* ainsi que celui du camp de Pépin dans la région plus large de la Tisa, c'est-à-dire en

Le protocole des négociations du synode ne contient pas non plus aucunes indications sur la présence des dignitaires ecclésiastiques ou, éventuellement, laïques. Avec certitude on peut confirmer seulement la participation des chefs, mentionnés plus haut, des Eglises de Salzbourg et d'Aquilée, la présence d'Arn n'étant confirmée que par la lettre d'Alcuin, selon laquelle Arn devait accompagner la campagne de Pépin contre les Avars.³⁷ La mention faite par Paulin des participants invités, *accersito quin etiam quorundam episcoporum reverendo collegio*,³⁸ si superflue qu'elle soit, fait supposer aussi la participation d'autres évêques venus de Bavière ou du patriarcat d'Aquilée, mais surtout celle de Waltrich, évêque de Passau, dont la diocèse voisine, elle aussi, avec l'empire des Avars.³⁹

Parmi les dignitaires laïques, on ne peut pas omettre Pépin, jeune roi d'Italie, qui par délégation de Charlemagne a convoqué l'assemblée synodale et, paraît-il, l'a présidée formellement.⁴⁰ Le synode danubien reste la dernière preuve de l'accord missionnaire des représentants des Eglises de Salzbourg et d'Aquilée sur les territoires orientaux, peuplés de *ferocium gentes*, parce que dans les années à venir, leurs disputes communes sur l'évangélisation seront remplacées par les querelles sur l'autorité judiciaire et sur les frontières des missions. Ce n'est qu'en 811 que Charlemagne arrive à régler ces querelles, en ordonnant que la frontière „mouillée“ entre les deux provinces soit la rivière de la Drave.⁴¹

Paradoxalement par rapport au développement suivant que prennent les relations aquilo-salzbourgeoises, le protocole ne parle pas du tout des questions pratiques de la délimitation juridictionnelle pour les territoires orientaux. Le centre d'attention, et selon le témoignage du scribe aussi en première place dans les négociations⁴², est occupé exclusivement par les questions concernant le sacrement de baptême. Ce qui est surprenant, c'est la minutie avec laquelle les participants de l'assemblée synodale examinent la justesse des termes, de la forme ou de la formulation verbale du rituel du baptême ou bien celle avec laquelle ils cherchent la justification des exceptions éventuelles dans les textes canoniques et dans la tradition apostolique. Conformément aux Saintes Ecritures et aux décisions des conciles précédents, le baptême ne pouvait être effectué que deux fois par an, à savoir à Pâques (*Pascha*) et à la Pentecôte (*Pentecosten*), selon l'observance de la forme correcte du baptême. La forme correcte veut dire sur-

Hongrie centrale. R. BRATOŽ, « La cristianizzazione degli Slavi ... », p. 164.

³⁷ ALCUINUS, Ep. 34, a. 796, Col. 0190Cn.

³⁸ Conventus, p. 173.

³⁹ J. CIBULKA, *Velkomoravský kostel ...*, p. 174; B. WAWRA, *Salzburg und Hamburg : Erzbistumsgründung und Missionspolitik in karolingischer Zeit*. Berlin : Duncker & Humblot, 1991, p. 183. Sur la participation de Passau à la christianisation du khaganat avar, voir aussi: J. STEINHÜBEL, *Velkomoravské územie v severovýchodnom Zadunajsku*, Bratislava : Veda, 1995, pp. 15-18.

⁴⁰ Conventus, p. 173. C'est, peut-être, à cause de la jeunesse du roi que, au synode, le mot décisif appartient au patriarche d'Aquilée, Paulin. R. BRATOŽ, « La cristianizzazione degli Slavi... », p. 165. Hiérarchiquement, le patriarche est, également, le plus haut dignitaire parmi les participants ecclésiastiques du synode.

⁴¹ Diplomata, 4, MMFH, III, p. 19. R. KRAHWINKLER, *Friaul im Frühmittelalter*, pp. 166-168; D. HÄGERMANN, *Karel Veliký*, pp. 309-310; H. DOPSCH, « Salzburg als Missions- und Kirchenzentrum », *Slowenien und die Nachbarländer zwischen Antike und Karolingischer Epoche*, Tome II, Ed. R. Bratož, Ljubljana : Narodni muzej Slovenije, 2000, pp. 683-685.

⁴² „[...] *requisitum est primum de sacro regenerationis lavacro* [...]“ Conventus, p. 173.

tout la triple immersion dans l'eau, justifiée par les participants du synode d'une manière suivante: „[...] *tertia elevatio ab unda tertiae diei gaudium dominicae resurrectionis demonstrat.*“.⁴³ Conformément aux traditions apostolique et canonique, des exceptions sont acceptables, mais uniquement dans les cas de la mort proche où le rituel du baptême pouvait être effectué n'importe quand. Les exceptions similaires étaient applicables dans les cas de guerre, de naufrage menaçant ou de captivité.⁴⁴

Une attention relativement grande est prêtée à l'importance de l'instruction des païens au sujet de la foi encore avant la réception du baptême parce que *non qui baptizatus fuerit et crederit, sed qui crediderit et baptizatus fuerit, hic salvus erit*. La nécessité de la réalisation de la catéchèse avant le baptême est justifiée par Paulin à cause de la grossièreté, de l'irrationalité et de l'inculture du peuple à christianiser (*gens bruta et irrationabilis vel certe idiotae et sine litteris, tardior atque laboriosa ad cognoscenda sacra mysteria*), il s'agit donc de qualités incomparables aux païens juifs ou romains.⁴⁵ L'instruction doit être aimable, soigneuse et modérée, elle doit convaincre plus par la promesse de la vie éternelle et par la crainte de la damnation éternelle que par la peur de la violence. Le baptême ne doit pas être reçu sous contrainte, point du tout contre son gré, c'est la grâce du Saint Esprit et le désir émané de l'âme d'atteindre son salut qui doivent décider.⁴⁶ L'attention soutenue prêtée au caractère même de l'action missionnaire en Pannonie reflète, selon certains chercheurs, le débat des cercles cléricaux sur le déroulement violent et sur les résultats insatisfaisants des missions réalisées parmi les Saxons au cours des deux décennies précédentes.⁴⁷ Cela résulte aussi de la lettre d'Alcuin adressée à Charlemagne, datant d'août 796, c'est-à-dire de l'époque des débuts des missions prévues en Pannonie, lettre où il appelle à éviter la répétition des erreurs commises pendant la christianisation des Saxons, parce que ce ne sont pas les dîmes des Avars mais leurs âmes qu'il faut acquérir.⁴⁸

⁴³ Conventus, p. 173.

⁴⁴ Conventus, p. 173.

⁴⁵ Conventus, p. 174

⁴⁶ „*Ipsa vero praedicantium doctrina non debet esse violenta humanoque pavenda timore, sed benigna, suadibilis et cum dulcedini inrorata, suadibilis nempe de praemio vitae aeternae, terribilis de inferni supplicio, non de gladii cruento mucrone, nec coacti aut inniti trahantur ad baptismi lavacrum, sed quos Spiritus sancti gratia perfuderit et ex desiderio animae suae expetierint salutem.*“ Conventus, p. 175.

⁴⁷ R. E. SULLIVAN, « Carolingian missionary theories », *The Catholic Historical Review*, 42, 1956, 3, pp. 280-281; J. CHÉLINI, *L'aube du Moyen Age ...*, pp. 65-66; H. REIMITZ, « Grenzen und Grenzüberschreitungen im Karolingischen Mitteleuropa », *Grenze und Differenz im Frühen Mittelalter*, Ed. W. Pohl, H. Reimitz, Wien, 2000, pp. 158-159; I. WOOD, *The missionary life : Saints and the evangelisation of Europe, 400-1050*, Harlow : Longman, 2001, pp. 85-89. Ce sont, probablement, les décrets *Capitulatio de partibus Saxoniae* de 782, légalisant la christianisation violente des Saxons, qui résonnent le plus dans les milieux ecclésiastiques. Selon *Capitulatio*, toute violence contre les missionnaires et contre l'Église, ainsi que la réalisation des pratiques païennes (sacrifice, non-respect des jours de jeûne chrétiens, brûlement des morts, adoration des divinités païennes dans les temples traditionnelles ou sur les sites sacrés, toutes les sortes de d'augures) pouvaient être punis de mort, de peine lourde ou d'amende. Pendant la christianisation, on a pas mis d'accent sur une préparation prébaptismale, c'est par la réception même du baptême que les Saxons devaient manifester le fait qu'ils sont devenus chrétiens. La législation dure, accompagnée de l'introduction immédiate de la dîme, n'apporte pas cependant le changement attendu de l'attitude de la population saxonne ; bien au contraire, elle suscite une autre révolte de 785, menée par Widukind, chef saxon. R. E. SULLIVAN, « The Carolingian Missionary and the Pagan », *Speculum*, 18, 1953, p. 732; I. WOOD, *The missionary life*, p. 86.

⁴⁸ ALCUINUS, Ep. 33, a. 796, Col. 0188A, 0188D, 0189A. Dans la lettre adressée à Meginfrid, chambrier du

L'échange épistolaire abondant d'Alcuin avec d'autres hommes qui se sont engagés aux préparatifs et à l'organisation de l'activité missionnaire,⁴⁹ avec le contenu du débat du synode danubien, montrent la conception d'une nouvelle méthode missionnaire, plus modérée. Dans la lettre adressée à Charlemagne, citée plus haut, le théologien et le conseiller royal même accentue que le rôle du souverain ne finit pas avec la soumission du peuple sauvage et horrible des „Huns“, mais ce rôle lui impose de nouvelles tâches, à savoir de lui envoyer des prédicateurs pieux, prêts à suivre les exemples des saints apôtres. Et c'est *praedicationis officium*, précédant le sacrement du baptême, qui mérite le plus d'attention parce que le baptême ne sert à rien si seulement le corps est lavé par le saint baptême, mais l'âme qui utilise la raison ne connaît pas la foi chrétienne.⁵⁰ En présentant son programme missionnaire, Alcuin se rapporte souvent à l'autorité de saint Augustin et à ses pensées sur l'importance et le déroulement de la préparation catéchétique des païens encore avant la réception du baptême. Il trouve le bouclier surtout dans *De catechizandis rudibus* de saint Augustin: c'est, paraît-il, en s'y inspirant qu'il divise le processus de conversion en quatre phases. Les trois premières sont le contenu même de la catéchèse: prédication et exhortation à la foi, instruction sur les commandements moraux et instruction sur les symboles de la foi; l'acte de baptême ne présente que la dernière phase où se reflète déjà la foi acquise.⁵¹

roi, il prend, également, une position critique sur le déroulement conquérant de la mission saxonne. Et quant à la vocation missionnaire des prêtres, il souligne: „*Sint praedicatores, non praedatores.*“. Ep. 42, a. 796, Col. 0205D-0206A.

⁴⁹ Dans plusieurs de ses lettres, adressés surtout à Arn, à Charlemagne et à Meginfrid, Alcuin accentue pour que, pendant la mission, la foi ne subisse un préjudice, pour que la mission ne se transforme en prélèvement de la dîme et pour que ses acteurs utilisent les moyens cléments et la parole raisonnable en instruisant les païens au sujet de la foi. Voir la récapitulation dans les registres MMFH, III, Ep. 3-5, 7, 8, 10, p. 139-140.

⁵⁰ ALCUINUS, Ep. 33, a. 796, Col. 0188B, 0190A, 0190B. Dans les lettres adressées à Meginfrid, de même: „*Primo fides docenda est, et sic baptismi percipienda sunt sacramenta.*“ Ep. 42, a. 796, Col. 0205A-0206A et à Arn: „*Ideo Dominus noster Jesus Christus discipulis suis mandavit, dicens: Ite, docete omnes gentes, baptizantes eos in nomine Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus sancti: docentes eos servare omnia quaecunque mandavi vobis. In istis paucissimis verbis totius sanctae praedicationis ordinem exposuit. Bis docere dixit, et semel baptizare. Primo omnium fidem catholicam docere praecepit, et post fidem acceptam in nomine sanctae Trinitatis baptizare jussit. Deinde fide imbutum, et sacro baptismate ablutum evangelicis instruere praeceptis mandavit.*“ Ep. 36, a. 796, Col. 0193D-0194B.

⁵¹ J.-P. BOUHOT, « Alcuin et le „De catechizandis rudibus“ de saint Augustin », *Recherches Augustiniennes*, 15, 1980, pp. 192-193. Mais le *De catechizandis rudibus* d'Augustin n'est pas un manuel général traitant du contenu de la catéchèse pendant toute la préparation du catéchumène, qui devait aboutir en baptême. Le traité se focalise sur la première phase, à savoir sur la détermination d'un certain minimum de connaissance religieuses à maîtriser par un converti en puissance avant d'être admis dans la communauté chrétienne. Après l'assimilation de ce savoir, moyenné par son lecteur, il est supposé être prêt à expliquer les raisons pour lesquelles il a décidé de devenir chrétien, et à faire preuve de la connaissance des éléments essentiels de la foi; ce n'est qu'après cela, selon Augustin, qu'il peut commencer une formation approfondie au sujet de la foi. Ce n'est donc pas le contenu de la préparation catéchétique – qui doit précéder la réception du baptême – qui est l'objet du traité, voilà pourquoi il est impossible d'identifier complètement le contenu du traité d'Augustin avec la stratégie missionnaire d'Alcuin. Après le débâcle saxon, Alcuin cherche les moyens d'influencer les païens avars pour qu'ils trouvent la compréhension pour l'acceptation de la foi chrétienne, pour qu'il ne se révoltent pas contre elle et n'y renoncent pas comme les Saxons. L'influence, partielle, d'Augustin se reflète, indirectement, dans la solution finale d'Alcuin, introduisant la préparation catéchétique encore avant la réception du baptême; et puis dans la détermination du contenu en le réduisant en les parties les plus élémentaires de la doctrine chrétienne. SULLIVAN, R.: *Carolingian missionary theories*, pp. 282-284. Aussi J.-P. BOUHOT, « Alcuin et ... », pp. 237-238.

On peut donc considérer le contexte saxon et l'influence d'Alcuin comme les facteurs principaux qui ont influencé l'imposition de la subséquence du baptême après la réalisation du catéchuménat dans les décisions du synode danubien. Probablement grâce à Arn, le programme missionnaire d'Alcuin est même intégré dans les manuels catéchétiques et missionnaires bavarois *Ratio de catechizandis rudibus* et *Ordo de catechizandis rudibus*, nés au tournant du VIII^e et du IX^e siècle, destinés aux clercs pour les aider avec la conversion des païens et la formation des catéchumènes.⁵² L'application pratique de la conception d'Alcuin se projette dans les passages du protocole qui décrivent déjà directement le déroulement de la catéchèse. Les prêtres eux-mêmes étaient autorisés, plus ou moins, à décider la durée de la catéchèse, certainement selon les capacités des catéchumènes comme le synode le recommande, deux, trois ou bien même plus de semaines. Durant sept journées, le candidat au baptême doit se préparer, par le jeûne, à la réception de ce sacrement. Samedi avant le jour du baptême, le prêtre doit bénir l'eau des fonts baptismaux ou d'un autre récipient similaire où il était

⁵² A la demande d'Arn, demandant les conseils et les instructions pour savoir comment prêcher aux païens sur les territoires missionnaires, Alcuin répond d'une ample lettre sur le besoin et sur les façons de la catéchèse des adultes avant le baptême. ALCUINUS, Ep. 36, a. 796, Col. 0192D-0196D. C'est cette lettre qui devient base pour les rédacteurs des deux traités, appartenant au milieu bavarois de l'archevêque Arn. Dans le cas de *Ratio*, on considère Ratisbonne ou Salzbourg; et dans le cas de *Ordo* – Frisingue. *Ratio* servait probablement aux clercs qui devaient être envoyés pour baptiser les Avars: mais le traité se rapporte à la situation où les missionnaires négocient avec les païens déjà décidés d'accepter le christianisme, ce qui fait penser qu'il y a eu d'abord d'autres facteurs, néanmoins, qui influençaient leur décision. Selon *Ratio*, les missionnaires sont chargés de vérifier les motivations qui ont mené les païens à devenir chrétiens; et, en même temps, de veiller que ce ne soit pas le désir de récompense de ce monde mais celui de la vie éternelle. En ce qui concerne le contenu de la pratique missionnaire, les motifs traditionnels, comparant le Dieu chrétien aux dieux des païens, se répètent, le but en étant de convaincre les païens du pouvoir illimité de la nouvelle divinité, soit au profit de ceux qui se soumettent à elle et l'adorent, soit au désavantage de ceux qui la refusent. *Ratio de catechizandis rudibus*, *MMFH*, IV, pp. 26-27. R. SULLIVAN, « Carolingian missionary theories », pp. 277, 284-285. (En connexion avec cette pratique missionnaire habituelle, rappelons au moins la lettre notoire de l'évêque Daniel de Winchester, de 723-724, où il conseille à saint Boniface comment convaincre les païens d'une manière efficace à accepter le nouveau Dieu, chrétien. Au débat avec les païens, il faut faire comparaison des succès des chrétiens du monde environnant de sorte que les païens rougissent de honte. Les arguments décisifs à employer : les régions habitées par les chrétiens sont plus chaudes, plus fécondes, plus peuplées, plus puissantes et particulièrement bénies d'autres trésors divers. S. Bonifatii Epistolae, 23, *Briefe des Bonifatius, Willibalds Leben des Bonifatius*, Ed. R. Rau, Darmstadt : Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1968, p. 82.). *Ordo*, à son tour, traite en détail du déroulement de l'initiation chrétienne, du début jusqu'à l'intégration du néophyte à la communauté ecclésiastique. L'écrit est divisé en quatre parties où on analyse en détail les raisons de la préparation nécessaires des catéchumènes, le programme de la catéchèse, l'explication des rituels qui précèdent le rituel baptismal lui-même, et l'importance du baptême. La réception du baptême doit s'effectuer conformément au rituel suivant: répudiation du diable (effectuée, symboliquement, aussi par l'expiration), dégustation du sel en signe du don de la sagesse divine, puis toucher au nez et aux oreilles qui symbolise l'état où le catéchumène est déjà prêt à recevoir la grâce divine, puis on continue par la confession de foi publique, par les rituels baptismaux et on finit par l'habillage de la robe blanche. Le document précise la conception du catéchumène comme celui qui, en se préparant au baptême, abandonne ses erreurs d'idolâtrie pour prendre connaissance du Christ comme le seul Dieu. Le plus vieux *Ordo* conservé, de provenance de Frisingue, est conçu comme la réponse à la lettre circulaire de Charlemagne *De baptismi sacramento*, envoyée en 811/812 à tous les archevêchés francs, mais J.-P. Bouhot suppose l'existence d'un modèle salzbourgeois plus ancien de l'écrit, rédigé par encore par Arn, directement à la base de la lettre d'Alcuin, à l'usage missionnaire en Pannonie. J.-P. BOUHOT, « Alcuin et ... », pp. 193-200, 230-236.

possible d'accorder le baptême par immersion. Avant l'acte même du baptême, le catéchumène doit confesser sa foi en Dieu tri-unique, répudier le diable, et après le prêtre prononce la formule cérémoniale, le plonge à trois reprises dans les fonts baptismaux et le lègue au parrain.⁵³

Selon Helmut Reimitz, l'orientation missionnaire préconisée au cours du synode, ainsi que les soins d'Alcuin visant le caractère pacifique de l'engagement missionnaire des Francs en Avarie, soins répétés à plusieurs reprises dans sa correspondance avec les dignitaires laïques et ecclésiastiques, pourraient refléter le rapport tendu de l'époque entre la dimension politique et le contenu spirituel et religieux du baptême. C'est aussi l'attitude du patriarche Paulin avertissant, en 794, Charlemagne de ne pas confondre le conflit armé avec la lutte pour la foi, qui est éloquente. H. Reimitz trouve certaines manifestations de cette tension aussi dans la polémique supposée autour des dates du baptême. Alors que le rapport du synode fixe d'abord Pâques et la Pentecôte comme les termes exclusifs pour le baptême, ce qui est aussi l'avis d'autres concils du VIII^e et du IX^e siècles, plus tard il admet la possibilité des baptêmes le dimanche. L'exception a dû être motivée par le fait qu'il était nécessaire de baptiser tout le peuple, mais il y avait peu de prêtres.⁵⁴ Mais les sources n'apportent point d'informations sur les baptêmes plus intenses des Avars – c'est cela que l'exception devait aider – dans le cas des dignitaires avars, aucune instruction plus longue, paraît-il, ne précède les baptêmes. Rappelons les circonstances du baptême du khagan Abraham en 805 ou bien l'exemple antérieur du tudun qui en 795 visite Aix-la-Chapelle où il reçoit le baptême et, selon le témoignage des annales, il en emporterait des dons divers. Dans aucun des deux cas, il n'y a pas de mention de la mise en disposition des missionnaires francs. Une question rhétorique émerge donc à la suite des réflexions pareilles, question de savoir s'il y avait quelqu'un qui faisait pression pour précipiter la baptême des Avars vaincus sans l'instruction préalable sur la foi.⁵⁵

La dernière partie du protocole apporte de précieuses informations sur la présence de la population chrétienne sur les territoires de l'ancien empire des Avars avant sa conquête en 796. Les participants du synode prêtent, en effet, une attention particulière à l'examen de divers cas où l'accord du baptême ne correspond pas entière-

⁵³ „Denique si visum fuerit sacerdoti, et non aliter res exigat, per duas vel tres aut amplius minusur ebdomadas iuxta definitio numero vel non protrahere caticuminum, faciat, qualiter illi recte paruerit. Per septem tamen illos dies, in quibus vespere sabbati, quae in prima lucescit sabbati, baptizandus est, indicto ieiunio catacizetur cotidie audiens unguaturque oleo sancto et in vespere, sicut diximus, sabbati sanctificetur aqua in fonte vel in tali vase, ubi in nomine sanctae trinitatis trina mersio fieri possit. Et postquam se professus fuerit credere in Deum patrum omnipotentem et in Iesum Christum filium eius unicum, dominum nostrum, et in Spiritum sanctum et abrenuntiare se confiteatur diabolum et pompis eius, mundum et pompis eius, tunc semel dicatur a sacerdote: 'Ego te baptizo in nomine patris et filii et Spiritus sancti'. Mox levatus tertia de unda suscipiatur ab eo, qui ei spiritalis pater electus est." *Conventus*, p. 175.

⁵⁴ L'exception ne concerne pas seulement les bébés nourrissons, les deux termes possibles du baptême: Pâques et Pentecôte, étant toujours valides pour eux. *Conventus*, p. 175.

⁵⁵ H. REIMITZ, « Grenzen und Grenzüberschreitungen ... », pp. 160-161. Pareillement, Dieter Hägermann fait remarquer dans l'annalistique de l'époque un grand contraste entre la représentation du triomphe colossal sur les Avars et d'un énorme trésor que les Francs ont pris en butin d'un côté ; et, de l'autre, l'absence de mentions quelconques des activités missionnaires franques parmi les Avars. D. HÄGERMANN, *Karel Veliký*, p. 309.

ment aux normes ou bien diffère partiellement des normes prescrites. Le premier groupe est présenté par ceux qui peuvent prouver qu'ils ont reçu le baptême de la part de *sacerdotes terrae istius* au nom de la Sainte Trinité et c'est la raison pour laquelle il ne faut pas les rebaptiser.⁵⁶ Le deuxième groupe, ce sont ceux qui ont été baptisés par le prêtre avec de l'eau bénie au nom de la Sainte Trinité, ce que peuvent confesser les baptiseurs eux-mêmes ou les baptisés, et il ne faut donc pas les rebaptiser; seulement, par l'insertion des mains, on doit leur donner les dons spirituels qu'ils devaient recevoir plus tard, *ante baptismum et post baptismum*.⁵⁷ Dans le troisième groupe, on trouve ceux *qui ab inlitteratis clericis baptizati existunt*, et c'est la raison pour laquelle il faut les considérer comme non-baptisés. L'inculture des prêtres baptisants qui ne connaissaient pas ou déformaient la formule baptismale, ou éventuellement baptisaient avec de l'eau non-bénie, était l'obstacle principal empêchant la reconnaissance de leur baptême et il était nécessaire de répéter tout le baptême.⁵⁸

Les informations sur les trois groupes divers de la population chrétienne peuplant les territoires du khaganat avar, classe le protocole du synode du Danube parmi les sources singulières ayant rapport à l'évolution précoce du christianisme en Pannonie. Hélas, ces données sont trop générales pour pouvoir en faire des conclusions concrètes quelconques, mais, de l'autre côté, il ne faut pas non plus les minimiser. Il ne faut pas oublier que l'assemblée épiscopale qui s'est occupée d'elles, les a considérées comme un problème en se rapportant à l'action des *sacerdotes terrae istius*. En connexion avec le caractère multiethnique et multiculturel du khaganat, nous l'avons signalé plus haut, les questions sur la quantité, l'étendue et l'espace occupé de la population chrétienne, ainsi que sur son ethnicité et son statut social, se proposent à nous.

Dans le passé, ce sont surtout les découvertes archéologiques des croix chrétiennes, de différents objets décorés de croix ou d'autres symboles chrétiens, ainsi que les découvertes des accessoires liturgiques, trouvés dans les tombes avars, qui sont devenus un bon prétexte pour les débats sur le christianisme parmi les Avars. Les chercheurs se servaient aussi des mentions trouvées dans les légendes hagiographiques sur l'intérêt de saint Ruppert et saint Emmeram de propager le christianisme parmi les Avars, ce que ces deux saints n'ont pas quand même réussi finalement, et leurs destins sont restés liés au développement du christianisme en Bavière. Les renseignements francs sur les Avars païens, quoique propagandistes, avec le déroulement de la chris-

⁵⁶ Conventus, p. 175.

⁵⁷ Conventus, p. 176.

⁵⁸ „[...] *eum intinguerentur in aqua, nec illi fidem, quia nesciebant, professi sunt, nec ille, qui baptizabat, dixit: 'Baptizate in nomine patris et filii et Spiritus sancti' nec 'in nomine Iesu Christi', sicut cuiusdam horum idioaturum professione conperimus, sed sola aqua solum corpus abluat, hi profecto pro non baptizatis habendi sunt. Sola enim aqua sine sancti Spiritus ammixtione nihil valet aliud nisi sordes carnum aut quarumcumque rerum abluere.*” Conventus, p. 176. Peter Ratkoš trouve que dans le cas des *clerici illiterati* il pourrait s'agir de missionnaires „iro-écossais”. P. RATKOŠ, « Kristianizácia Veľkej Moravy pred misiou Cyrila a Metoda », *Historický časopis*, 19, 1971, 1, pp. 74-75. Le texte ne renvoie cependant pas à une pratique ecclésiastique spécifique mais sans ambiguïté aux prêtres incultes et incompetents. Jadis, saint Boniface s'est plaint au pape Zacharias (741-752) des prêtres pareils: il y avait un parmi eux qui baptisait selon la formule „*Baptizo te in nomine Patria et Filia et Spiritu sancto*” et un autre, quant à lui, qui affirmait que l'homme peut devenir chrétien même sans baptême, il suffit pour cela l'imposition des mains par l'évêque. S. Bonifatii Epistolae, 80, p. 264.

tianisation au tournant du VIII^e et du IX^e siècle, confirment plutôt l'opinion des chercheurs qui attribuent la présence précoce des objets chrétiens au caractère ouvert en général des barbares vis-à-vis de l'emprunt des symboles et des modèles culturels divers. Selon Walter Pohl, les découvertes pareilles ne prouvent point le christianisme avar, leur propriétaire pouvait mais aussi ne devait pas être conscient de la signification religieuse des symboles en question, éventuellement il pouvait sans problèmes les intégrer dans sa vision du monde polytémiste.⁵⁹

C'est seulement parmi les descendants de la population romanisée qui survit dans certaines régions pannoniennes depuis les temps romains qu'on peut chercher les chrétiens de l'époque avec plus de certitude. Mais leur vie religieuse se déroule dans un certain isolement et sans contact avec les centres ecclésiastiques occidentaux ou orientaux. Aussi, dans ces conditions, le déclin de la vie religieuse peut arriver plus facilement, il y a même une occasion beaucoup plus grande pour la naissance et la diffusion des hérésies.⁶⁰ Dans une mesure minime, on peut compter aussi avec les descendants des prisonniers chrétiens qui, après redevenir libres, restent vivre dans le khaganat.⁶¹ Parmi les Slaves, quant à eux, entrent en ligne de compte uniquement des élites slaves sporadiques, le plus probablement dans les régions frontalières longobardes et plus tard franques.⁶²

Depuis longtemps, le problème spécifique du synode du Danube, c'est la question de savoir si les évêques assemblés ont discuté au sujet de la délimitation des régions missionnaires sur les territoires récemment conquis. En effet, on n'en trouve point de mention dans le protocole. La seule preuve qui y renvoie, indirectement, c'est *Conversio Bagoariorum et Carantanorum*, écrit de provenance salzbourgeoise de 870: son chapitre 6

apporte l'information sur le roi Pépin qui « *attribua une partie de la Pannonie inférieure, autour du lac Balaton, au-delà de la rivière qui porte le nom de la Raaba, à savoir jusqu'à la rivière de la Drave et jusqu'à l'endroit où la Drave se jette dans le Danube, jusqu'où s'étendit son pouvoir, à l'évêque Arn, jusqu'à l'arrivée de son père, l'empereur Charles, afin que, par l'enseignement et par les services ecclésiastiques, il prenne soin du peuple, qui restait des Avars et des Slaves, dans lesdites contrées.* »⁶³ La validité de la donation de Pépin

⁵⁹ W. POHL, *Die Awaren*, pp. 203-204, 309-310. La collection des objets à la symbolique chrétienne trouvés dans les nécropoles avares (avaro-slaves) est complétée de la ferrure-ruban à motif d'aigle et de croix, trouvée en Slovaquie, site de Komárno-Iodence. Sur son iconographie a écrit le plus récemment: P. CHARVÁT, *Dálková obchod v raně středověké Evropě*, Brno : Masarykova univerzita, 1998, p. 30. Sur les projets d'évangélisation des missionnaires occidentaux parmi les Avars, voir: R. KOŽIAK, « Írski misionári a počiatky kresťanstva u Slovanov v stredovýchodnej Európe », *Pohanstvo a kresťanstvo*, Bratislava : Chronos, 2004, pp. 113-114.

⁶⁰ Datant du VII^e à VIII^e siècles, de précieuses preuves proviennent du territoire de la Hongrie, surtout de la région du lac Balaton et (Fenekpuszta près de Keszthely, Savaria/Szombathely, Sopianae/Pécs). W. POHL, *Die Awaren*, p. 204; R. BRATOŽ, « La cristianizzazione degli Slavi ... », p. 178.

⁶¹ S. SZÁDECKY-KARDOSS, « Histoire des Avars ... », p. 160.

⁶² Cela peut être, par exemple, le cas de Vonomír, prince slave, qui se meurt dans un milieu de la noblesse franque et il se voit désigné, en 795 par le margrave de Friaule, commandant d'une campagne très importante contre les Avars. R. BRATOŽ, « La cristianizzazione degli Slavi ... », pp. 153, 179.

⁶³ „*Qui inde revertens partem Pannoniae circa lacum Pelissa inferioris, ultra fluvium qui dicitur Hrapa, et sic usque ad Draoum fluvium et eo usque ubi Dravus fluit in Danubium, prout potestatem habuit, praenominavit cum doctrina et ecclesiastico officio procurare populum qui remansit de Hunis et Sclavis in illis partibus, Arnoni Lucauensium epis-*

pour la diocèse de Salzbourg devait être confirmée plus tard par l'empereur Charlemagne, pendant sa visite à Salzbourg, pour qu'„elle devienne inannulable à jamais“.⁶⁴ Mais ni le lieu ni les circonstances de la rencontre de Pépin avec l'évêque salzbourgeois ne découlent du texte. L'événement pouvait avoir lieu après le retour de Pépin de la campagne pendant laquelle il a détruit un *ring* avar, c'est-à-dire en 796. Mais l'auteur de *Conversio* abrège le déroulement de l'événement et l'auto-soumission de la nobilité avare à Pépin ne tient qu'à la conquête du ring. C'est donc la présence d'Arn dans le camp champêtre de Pépin à la session du synode du Danube qui pourrait être la corrélation cherchée.⁶⁵ C'est en s'appuyant sur ces preuves que l'historiographie rattache le synode aussi au partage de l'administration ecclésiastique entre trois provinces voisines: Salzbourg, Aquilée et Passau, les frontières diocésales des deux dernières étant dérivées par les historiens des frontières salzbourgeoises. Dans le cas du patriarcat aquiléen, il pourrait s'agir seulement des territoires s'étendant au sud de Drave, fleuve reconnu aussi en 811 par Charlemagne comme la frontière salzbourgeo-aquiléenne.⁶⁶ En connexion avec la séparation de la Pannonie inférieure faisant partie du diocèse de Salzbourg, les frontières de la diocèse de Passau, elles aussi, se tracent d'une façon un peu plus distincte, frontières qui pouvaient s'élargir des territoires de la Pannonie supérieure.⁶⁷

copo usque ad praesentiam genitoris sui, Caroli imperatoris.“ *Conversio*, 6, p. 304. Les nouvelles frontières du diocèse de Salzbourg sont plus concrètement décrites aussi dans les chapitres suivants ayant rapport, d'abord, aux activités de l'évêque Arn et, puis, à celles de l'évêque Theodericus qui devait, après la promotion de Salzbourg au rang de l'archevêché, assumer l'organisation des missions salzbourgeoises: „L'évêque Arn, lui aussi, sacre les prêtres partout et les envoie sur les territoires des Slaves (*in Sclaviniam*), à savoir dans les pays de Carantanie et en Pannonie inférieure (*in partes videlicet Quarantanas atque inferioris Pannoniae*), à ces ducs et comtes, comme l'avait fait Virgilius.“ *Conversio*, 7, p. 304-305; „Alors Arn ordonna Theodericus en évêque (*Deodericus episcopus*) et Arn lui-même et le comte Gerold l'accompagnèrent *in Sclaviniam*, le remirent aux mains des princes, en confiant audit évêque le pays des Carantaniens et leur frontière sur la rive occidentale de la Drave, jusqu'ou la Drave se jette dans le Danube (*regionem Carantanorum et confines eorum occidentali parte Dravi fluminis, usque dum Dravus fluit in amnem Danubii*).“ *Conversio*, 8, pp. 306-307.

⁶⁴ *Conversio*, 6, p. 304. Editeurs renvoient (note 19, p. 304) à la conformité à *Ann. Iuvav. mai., a. 803* et *Ann. p. Emmerammi Ratisp. mai., a. 803*.

⁶⁵ *Conversio*, 6, p. 304. H. WOLFRAM, *Salzburg, Bayern ...*, pp. 286-287.

⁶⁶ Comme la note 41.

⁶⁷ Il y a une polémique de longue date dans l'historiographie, cherchant la réponse à la question si le fleuve de Raabe était une vraie frontière entre Passau et Salzbourg, comme le signale *Conversio*, et à celle si Passau a fait dès le début l'acquisition de tous les territoires de la Pannonie supérieure. L'acte écrite de Louis le Germanique, „roi de Bavière“, du 18 novembre 829, considéré comme falsification, signale un litige entre Reginharius, évêque de Passau, et Adalram, archevêque de Salzbourg, au sujet de la juridiction sur les territoires entre la Bois de Vienne et la Raabe. D'après l'interprétation d'Adalram, ces territoires devaient tomber sous la juridiction de Salzbourg, et cela depuis les temps de l'évêque Arn. Selon l'acte écrit, le roi a décidé au profit du maintien de la frontière telle qu'elle existait entre Passau et Salzbourg, menant à l'Est du Bois de Vienne, et longeant les rivières de *Spraza* et de *alia Spraza* qui se jette dans la Raabe. Ce sont donc seulement les territoires s'étendant à l'est et au sud de ces rivières qui devaient échoir à Salzbourg. Même si cet acte écrit est une falsification, le cours de la frontière décrit correspond à la réalité de la seconde moitié du IX^e siècle, d'où la tendance à lui attribuer une certaine crédibilité. *Diplomata*, 107, *MMFH*, III, pp. 119-121 ; sur l'identification des rivières de *Spraza* (*Spratzbach*) et de *alia Spraza* (*Rábnica*) voir notes 2, 3 de la p. 120. Sur les détails de la polémique, voir B. WAWRA, *Salzburg und Hamburg*, pp. 186-189; J. STEINHÜBEL, « *Velkomoravské územie ...* », pp. 15-17. Cf. avec J. CIBULKA, « *Velkomoravský kostel ...* », pp. 262-265, qui soutient les revendications territoriales de la part de Salzbourg sur la Pannonie supérieure. Selon son interprétation, sans preuves à l'appui, les territoires de la Pannonie supérieure, conquis par Charlemagne déjà en 791, deva-

La délimitation des frontières liturgiques et territoriales, faite par le synode du Danube, établit bien les conditions pour la christianisation des territoires pannoniens, mais, quand même, une certaine prudence quant à sa réalisation et ses résultats en général est justifiée. Sans doutes, les prévisions quant à l'établissement réussi du „nouvel ordre“ dans le khaganat avar par la christianisation étaient très grandes chez l'élite franque tant laïque qu'ecclésiastique. Les cercles politiques autour de la cour carolingienne jugeaient, certainement, comme très important le baptême le plus précoce possible des Avars; c'est peut-être la raison pour laquelle Alcuin investit tellement d'énergie dans la persuasion des personnes compétentes pour éviter les erreurs saxonnes. En 798, Charlemagne a même promu le diocèse de Salzbourg à l'archévêché et „ordonne au archévêque Arn de se rendre dans les régions slaves (*in partes Sclavorum*), de s'en occuper (*providere omnem illam regionem*), d'administrer l'office ecclésiastique selon la coutume épiscopale et de consolider la foi et le christianisme du peuple“.⁶⁸ Le rapport de la naissance de la métropole bavaroise avec les intentions politiques dans les régions orientales est manifeste.

Les cercles ecclésiastiques, quant à eux, s'attachent à la nouvelle stratégie qui tient à la préparation catéchétique avant le baptême et à la décision délibérée du catéchumène pour le baptême. Au moins, les conclusions adoptées par les participants du synode du Danube le suggèrent. Mais les concessions quant à l'élargissement des termes du baptême d'un côté, et l'accentuation de la préparation catéchétique avant le baptême de l'autre, peuvent aussi refléter une certaine tension entre la politique carolingienne de persuasion et la stratégie missionnaire adoptée par l'Eglise.⁶⁹ Bientôt, le caractère réaliste des deux attentes va être vérifié par l'évolution politique dans le khaganat en voie de fractionnement.

Comment se sont donc débrouillés les trois centres ecclésiastiques impliqués dans les missions en Pannonie avaro-slave avec les nouvelles tâches posées devant eux par le synode du Danube? La promotion de Salzbourg à l'archévêché impose à Arn, son métropolitain, des tâches importantes. Selon le témoignage de *Conversio*, Arn obéit aux ordonnances impériales et part pour les *partes Sclavorum* où „il consacra des églises, sacra les prêtres et instruisit le peuple en prêchant“. A son retour, il annonce à l'empereur qu'„il y est possible de faire beaucoup de choses utiles, s'il y avait quelqu'un ici qui voudrait s'y efforcer“.⁷⁰ Herwig Wolfram admet la possibilité de l'action missionnaire d'Arn, de courte durée, *in partes Sclavorum*, n'entendant pas la Carantanie sous cette dénomination, mais les nouvelles régions missionnaires où le diocèse de Salzbourg n'avait pas encore exercé d'activité auparavant. C'est le mandat impérial d'y examiner la volonté du peuple et d'y prêcher la Parole de Dieu (*exquirere voluntatem populi illius et praedicare ibi verbum dei*) qui insinuerait cette hypothèse.⁷¹ L'expérience

ient être assignés à Arn et seulement en 829, à la base de l'acte écrit de Louis, à l'évêque de Passau.

⁶⁸ *Conversio*, 8, p. 306.

⁶⁹ H. REIMITZ, « Conversion and control », p. 202.

⁷⁰ *Conversio*, 8, p. 306.

⁷¹ *Conversio*, 8, p. 306. Dans ce cas, la dénomination *in partes Sclavorum* pourrait se reporter à une région slavo-avare à côté du Danube. H. WOLFRAM, *Salzburg, Bayern, ...*, pp. 292-293. Egalement selon B. Wawra, il ne s'agit pas de territoire de la Carantanie mais d'une partie de l'empire avar, récemment soumise. Par la dénomination *in partes Sclavorum*, l'auteur du *Conversio* a exprimé une relation directe avec la la réalité cis-

d'Arn tirée de la mission et l'intérêt impérial de la continuer devaient décider de l'envoi d'une nouvelle mission *in Sclaviniam*, cette fois menée par Theodericus, chorevêque récemment sacré, accompagné par Arn et le comte Gerold. H. Wolfram encore admet que les deux accompagnateurs de Theodericus l'ont d'abord amené chez les princes slavo-avares, mais la reprise des conflits avec les Avars où est mort même Gerold, fait changer le centre de son action, ainsi que celui de ses successeurs, au profit de Carantanie.⁷² *Conversio* ou d'autres sources écrites garde le silence absolu sur l'engagement postérieur éventuel de Salzbourg sur les ex-territoires du khaganat. On peut en voir les raisons dans les révoltes avars après 799 ou bien, quelques années plus tard, dans les guerres slavo-avares qui empêchent les activités de ce genre.⁷³ Le renouvellement des missions salzbourgeoises sur les ex-territoires avars, qui attire de nouveau l'attention de l'auteur de *Conversio*, ne se rattache qu'au sacrement de l'église dans le siège de Pribina, prince de Nitra⁷⁴ et après à l'époque qui suit après son expulsion de la principauté de Nitra dans les années 30 du IX^e siècle, lorsqu'il trouve dans les régions cis-danubiennes non seulement son asile mais aussi le lieu pour la démonstration de sa nouvelle foi, prenant la forme de la construction d'un grand nombre d'églises.⁷⁵

Encore plus tacites sont les sources écrites quant à l'activité missionnaire de Passau ou d'Aquilée après 796. Se basant sur les sources archéologiques accessibles, on peut supposer l'action missionnaire des clercs de Passau après 800 où on construit les premières églises en Moravie du sud, probablement à la demande de l'élite slave locale. Ce qui témoignerait des contacts plus précoces ou d'une sorte de dépendance modérée de l'élite moravienne à l'égard de l'empire des Francs.⁷⁶ L'effort déployé par les prêtres de Passau devait aboutir finalement au baptême des Moraviens en 831, ce

danubienne de 870 où les Avars n'ont plus joué de rôle politique. B. WAWRA, *Salzburg und Hamburg*, p. 189.

⁷² „[...] quem ipse Arno et Geroldus comes perducentes in Sclaviniam, dederunt in manus principum, commendantes illi episcopo regionem Carantanorum et confines eorum occidentali parte Dravi fluminis, usque dum Dravus fluit in amnem Danubii [...]“ *Conversio*, 8, p. 306-307, voir aussi la note 7 de la p. 307. L'envoi de Theodericus et son action courte éventuelle dans la région slavo-avare, H. Wolfram les encadre des dates 798 (fondation de l'archevêché) et 799 (assassinat de Gerold par les Avars en Pannonie, selon *Ann. Einhard.*, a. 799). A l'action du chorevêque Theodericus et ses successeurs en Carantanie se rapporte *Conversio*, 9, p. 307. H. WOLFRAM, *Salzburg, Bayern, ...*, pp. 293-294. D. Třeštík pense que Theodericus pouvait baptiser le kapkhan avar, portant le nom chrétien Théodore, et, en même temps, être son parrain, ce kapkhan qui demande l'empereur en 805, l'attribution des nouvelles stations entre Carnuntum et Sabaria. C'est son nom inhabituel, qu'il pouvait tenir de son baptême, qui pourrait appuyer cette hypothèse. TŘEŠTÍK, D.: *Vznik Velké Moravy*, p. 69.

⁷³ S. SZÁDECKY-KARDOSS, « Histoire des Avars ... », pp. 166-167; K. POLEK, « Wojna awarska ... », pp. 137-139; D. TŘEŠTÍK, *Vznik Velké Moravy*, pp. 67-69; J. STEINHÜBEL, « Kaganát a tudunát », pp. 25-29.

⁷⁴ *Conversio*, 11, p. 312.

⁷⁵ *Conversio*, 11, pp. 312-316. B. WAWRA, *Salzburg und Hamburg*, p. 193; T. von BOGYAY, « Die Salzburger Mission in Pannonien aus der Sicht der Archäologie und der Namenkunde », *Salzburg und die Slawenmission*, Ed. H. Dopsch, Salzburg : Gesellschaft für Salzburger Landeskunde, 1986, pp. 281-290; B. M. SZÓKE, « Zalavár a Karoling-korban », *Paradisum plantavit : Bencés monostorok a középkori Magyarországon*, Ed. I. Takács, Pannonhalma : a Pannonhalmi Bencés Főapátság, 2001, pp. 21-34.

⁷⁶ Eglises principales au presbytère rectangulaire de Modrá près de Velehrad et de Mikulčice (église no. 2). Z. KLANICA, « Náboženství a kult, jejich odraz v archeologických pramenech », *Velká Morava a počátky československé státnosti*, Ed. J. Poulík, B. Chropovský, Praha; Bratislava : Academia; Obzor, 1985, pp. 123-124; M. BLÁHOVÁ- J. FROLÍK – N. PROFANTOVÁ, *Velké dějiny země Koruny české I*, Praha : Paseka, 1999, pp. 193-194, 211.

que soulignent les sources écrites, nées plus tard, de provenance de Passau.⁷⁷ Les traces de la mission de Passau entre les Slaves, se basant sur une certaine ressemblance de la culture matérielle chrétienne (les petites croix en plomb, typologiquement proches), outre Moravie, on peut les observer aussi dans l'espace slave plus vaste de Waldviertel et au nord du Danube, au piémont de Šumava, mais aussi exclusivement durant le IX^e siècle.⁷⁸

Ni le rôle important joué au synode par le patriarche Paulin, n'a influencé, paraît-il, immédiatement après sa fin, les activités missionnaires d'Aquilée dans les nouvelles régions. Parfois, on l'explique par l'avis pessimiste qu'a présenté Paulin dans le protocole du synode quant à l'évangélisation des Avars,⁷⁹ mais c'est plutôt ailleurs qu'il faut en voir les raisons. Le patriarche a investi une grande part de son énergie dans l'engagement théologique contre l'hérésie adoptienne et aussi dans l'organisation de l'Eglise d'Aquilée. A son retour de Pannonie, il a immédiatement organisé à Cividale un concile qui n'était pas cependant dédié à la missionnarisation des Slaves. Son sujet exclusif était la réforme de l'Eglise et l'introduction des décisions du synode de Francfort de l'empire de 794 sur le territoire de la province d'Aquilée.⁸⁰ L'Eglise d'Aquilée, quant à elle, se concentre plutôt sur la côte d'Istrie avec les sièges épiscopaux anciens, côte devenue la partie de l'empire des Francs depuis 787. C'est bien compréhensible, il s'agissait néanmoins d'une région plus importante d'un point de vue économique comme politique, surtout en connexion avec les querelles, de longue date, livrées par elle contre le patriarcat voisin de Grado.⁸¹

Ce n'est qu'au temps des successeurs de Paulin que le changement devait se produire, mais le motif principal était la promotion de Salzbourg en archevêché et l'intensification des missions salzbourgeoises parmi les Slaves de Carantanie. Le nouveau patriarche Ursus (802-811) s'inquiète pour le rang de sa métropole, c'est pourquoi il commence à revendiquer le droit ancien de l'Aquilée pour le territoire de Carantanie, territoire qui encore à l'époque romaine incombait à la province ecclésiastique d'Aquilée. En s'efforçant de confirmer ses droits anciens, il organise des missions pour les régions slaves, situées au nord de la Drave où il installe des bases missionnaires. Dans la querelle au sujet des régions du sud-est, qui éclate entre les métropolitains Ursus et Arn, l'archevêque de Salzbourg se rapporte aux décisions de trois papes: Zacharie, Etienne II et Paul I, qui auraient adjugé à ses prédécesseurs les territoires de Carantanie. Toute la querelle est enfin en 811 résolue par Charlemagne qui ordonne la décision

⁷⁷ Notae de episcopis Pataviensibus, *MMFH*, IV, p. 407. J. STEINHÜBEL, « Štyri veľkomoravské biskupstvá », *Slovanské štúdie*, 1994, 1, pp. 21-24.

⁷⁸ D. TŘEŠTÍK, « Grossmährens, Passau und die Ungarn um das Jahr 900 », *Byzantinoslavica*, 59, 1998, pp. 144-147.

⁷⁹ „Haec autem gens bruta et inrationabilis ve certe idiotae et sine litteris tardior atque laboriosa ad cognoscenda sacra mysteria invenitur.“ *Conventus*, p. 174.

⁸⁰ R. BRATOŽ, « La cristianizzazione degli Slavi ... », pp. 180-188.

⁸¹ H. DOPSCH, « Salzburg als Missions ... », pp. 681-683. Sur les querelles entre le patriarcat d'Aquilée et celui de Grado, voir H. KRAHWINKLER, *Friaul im Frühmittelalter*, p. 79 sq., 172-179 ; W. SWOBODA, « Akwileja czy Grado? : Przyczynek do interpretacji Vita Methodi, cap. V », *Kraje słowiańskie w wiekach średnich : Profanum i sacrum*, Poznań, 1998, pp. 488-489; H. SCHMIDINGER, « Aquileia : Patriarchat », *LexMa*, 1, pp. 827-828; R. SCHMIDINGER, « Grado », *LexMa*, 4, pp. 1632-1633; J. SPEIGL, « Dreikapitelstreit », *LexMa*, 3, pp. 1381-1382.

sur la frontière de la Drave, à partir de laquelle les compétences d'Aquilée ne s'appliquent qu'aux régions du sud de la Pannonie inférieure.⁸² Selon certains historiens, la preuve que la Drave devait être une frontière aussi hermétique que cela, c'est la mention, dans *La vie de Méthode*, des précepteurs venus d'Italie (Vlachy) qui devaient exercer leur activité en Grande Moravie, encore avant l'arrivée de Constantin et de Méthode.⁸³

L'extension des activités de tous les trois centres ecclésiastiques immédiatement après la fin du synode du Danube contredit les grandes paroles et les grands projets avec lesquels les dignitaires francs, autant laïques qu'ecclésiastiques, commencent, au début, la christianisation des territoires avars. Les attentes concernant la christianisation dépassent les possibilités réelles de tous les trois centres ecclésiastiques, même leur vision réelle de l'étendue des territoires missionnaires acquis et de la situation qui y règne est discutable. Les sources décrivant le déroulement des guerres franco-avars ne disposent pourtant pas de vision assez concrète de l'intérieur du khaganat, points de référence auxquels ils se rapportent étant très peu nombreux.⁸⁴ Les centres ecclésiastiques rencontrent leurs propres problèmes économiques et d'organisation. Comme le montrent les recherches de Heinrich Koller, c'est le manque sensible de prêtres qui présente un grave problème pour l'archevêché de Salzbourg à la fin du VIII^e et dans la première moitié du IX^e siècle.⁸⁵ Les participants du synode du Danube s'en plaignaient déjà, il s'agit donc d'un problème touchant également les autres provinces ecclésiastiques. Au début du IX^e siècle, l'Église d'Aquilée est aux prises avec des difficultés économiques: elle ne peut même finir la reconstruction de sa basilique centrale qu'avec la subvention accordée par la cour impériale.⁸⁶ La mission avare prévue s'est donc réduite seulement aux conversions, motivées politiquement, des membres de la noblesse avare, éventuellement de l'élite slave, d'orientation franco-franque.⁸⁷

Le non-accomplissement des intentions missionnaires en Avarie reflète l'échec général de la politique carolingienne qui n'a finalement pas réussi à stabiliser le „nouvel ordre“. Les Francs ont surestimé la position du pouvoir de la noblesse avare, qui

⁸² Comme la note 41.

⁸³ V. VAVŘÍNEK, « Předcyrilometodějské misie na Velké Moravě », *Slavia*, 32, 1963, pp. 468-471.

⁸⁴ H. REIMITZ, « Conversion and control », pp. 191-192.

⁸⁵ Dans leur politique ecclésiastique, les Carolingiens transfèrent la charge complète de l'administration des églises et de la formation des prêtres dans la diocèse, donc aussi à la campagne, aux évêques, ce qui ne prend pas toujours en considération les possibilités concrètes et les spécificités de différentes provinces ecclésiastiques. Salzbourg, en plus, acquiert de vastes territoires missionnaires à l'est, c'est pourquoi assurer des biens et un prêtre instruit pour chaque église, conformément aux prescriptions de la cour, est hors de ses possibilités. La stratégie missionnaire de Salzbourg semble donc se limiter à soutenir la construction des soi-disant églises de propriété, pour lesquelles la diocèse fournit ses propres experts en bâtiment. Selon H. Koller, de nombreux édifices sacraux, cependant sans assurance de *cura animarum* continuuel, devaient rester pour longtemps le symbole principal de la nouvelle foi sur les territoires christianisés. H. KOLLER, « Zur Salzburger Missionmethode der Karolingerzeit », *Österreich in Geschichte und Literatur*, 14, 1970, 6, pp. 274-278, 281-283.

⁸⁶ M. VANČO, « Počiatky kresťanskej architektúry : Veľkomoravská sakrálna architektúra na Slovensku », *Problém dejín výtvarného umenia Slovenska*, Ed. J. Bakoš. Bratislava : Veda, 2002, p. 45.

⁸⁷ Sinon, comment peut-on expliquer, en effet, les débuts aussi précoces que cela des édifices sacraux de Moravie? Voir le texte de la note 76.

joue le rôle du facteur le plus important dans la région dans leurs projets. En effet, la défaite des Avars n'a pas pour conséquence la stabilisation intérieure du khaganat, bien au contraire, elle fait éclater une série de guerres slavo-avares. Le résultat des guerres documente d'une manière caractéristique la disparition des Avars de l'attention des annales: la dernière fois ils sont enregistrés en tant que groupe politique pendant le concile de Francfort de 822.⁸⁸ L'avenir des régions orientales de l'Europe centrale tombe ainsi entre les mains des vainqueurs des guerres „d'extermination“ contre les Avars – *duces Sclavorum*, similaires à ceux qui en 811 ont participé aux négociations sur la paix en Pannonie, à Aix-la-Chapelle.⁸⁹ La carte politique des territoires avars, dominés par l'administration franque par l'intermédiaire de la noblesse avar, a évolué beaucoup pendant ces guerres en se remplissant de nombreux nouveaux *gentes* slaves que les Francs jusqu'alors non seulement ne distinguaient pas mais ne comptaient même pas sur eux dans leurs projets de domination.⁹⁰

Cette apparition des *gentes* slaves sur la carte politique des intérêts francs ne mène pas, cependant, au relancement de la politique de leur intégration éventuelle dans la monarchie. Les Carolingiens au cours du IX^e siècle préfèrent la diplomatie de l'influence, du soutien et de la protection, ou bien de l'intervention occasionnelle, à leur égard, la partie constituante en est l'expansion culturelle et religieuse. La vocation du prince chrétien était pourtant de diffuser le christianisme (comme l'accentue aussi Alcuin, théologien carolingien, dans sa conception de *imperium Christianum*); et le christianisme, dans la conception des souverains carolingiens, leur assure également la domination, seulement d'une autre manière. Les structures de l'Eglise, établies pour les régions orientales par les Francs encore à la fin du VIII^e siècle, devaient, dans les conditions non-changées, assumer la responsabilité de la christianisation et, surtout, de l'organisation de la vie ecclésiastique dans les Etats slaves naissants. En élargissant les frontières liturgiques et la nouvelle discipline religieuse, ils élargissent en même temps (indirectement, cette fois) les frontières de l'influence politique franque.⁹¹

Mais les Slaves ne sont pas seulement des récepteurs passifs. C'est une transformation sociale plus profonde provoquée, à la fin du VIII^e siècle, par la décomposition du khaganat avar et par la collision postérieure avec la culture plus élevée ainsi qu'avec la politique hégémoniste de l'empire franc qui a l'importance décisive pour leur conversion. Cette collision, on peut la désigner, en utilisant les mots de Dušan Třeštík, comme le choc culturel connu par l'élite slave au contact avec le monde franc dont aussi le christianisme fait partie de façon quotidienne, pénétrant toutes les

⁸⁸ „In quo conventu omnium orientalium Sclavorum, id est Abodritorum, Soraborum, Wilzorum, Beheimorum, Marvanorum, Praedenecentorum, et in Pannonia residentium Abarum legationes cum muneribus ad se directas audiuit.“ Annales regni Francorum, a. 822, p. 50.

⁸⁹ Les participats slaves aux négociations sont à l'unisson dénommés dans les sources comme „*primores ac duces Sclavorum circa Danubium habitantium*“ Annales regni Francorum, a. 811, p. 44; „*priores ac duces Sclavorum circa Danubium habitantium*.“ Annales Maximiniani, a. 811, p. 64.

⁹⁰ K. POLEK, « Wojna awarska ... », p. 138-140; D. TŘEŠTÍK, *Počátky Přemyslovců*, Praha : Lidové noviny, 1997, p. 267-269; J. STEINHÜBEL, « Kaganát a tudunát », p. 26-30.

⁹¹ P. HEATHER, « Frankish imperialism and slavic society », *Origins of Central Europe*, Ed. P. Urbańczyk, Warszawa : Polish Academy of Sciences, 1997, pp. 180-182; M. INNES, « Franks and Slavs c. 700-1000 : the problem of European expansion before the millenium », *Early Medieval Europe*, 6, 1997, 2, pp. 204-205, 210-212.

sphères de la vie de la société franque. Ce sont exclusivement les sièges centraux de force de l'élite gouvernante qui deviennent les premiers centres de la nouvelle religion, ce qui est symbolisé extérieurement par les églises chrétiennes qui y sont construites. La tâche des missionnaires ne se montre donc pas comme celle des initiateurs de la christianisation, ce que souvent tente de nous faire croire la tradition hagiographique, mais comme celle de fondateurs et d'organiseurs de la vie ecclésiastique sur les territoires christianisés. Par contre, c'est l'élite dominante, paraît-il, qui tient l'initiative entre ses mains, acceptant l'idéologie chrétienne comme une nouvelle façon de vie, d'organisation du „monde“ et d'organisation du pouvoir. C'est pourquoi l'acceptation du christianisme dans le milieu de l'élite slave est accompagnée de la naissance du modèle de l'Etat haut-médiéval, organisé de façon centraliste.⁹²

Ainsi, au cours du IX^e siècle, dans les périphéries de l'empire franc, se constitue un nouvel espace européen composé de sujets politiques slaves dont les représentants les plus visibles dans les sources tant écrites que matérielles sont les princes slaves et les couches d'élite, loyalistes à eux. D'abord, le christianisme pénètre dans ces régions périphériques en tant que résultat de l'influence franque d'acculturation sur les élites locales qui ont emprunté au milieu franc le style de vie de l'élite carolingienne. L'acceptation du christianisme devient pour eux le moyen de reconnaissance de leur statut social extérieurement, elle est un certain facteur de nobilisation, et facilite, en même temps, leur intégration avec un monde chrétien plus développé au niveau culturel. C'est aussi au caractère universel du christianisme que se rattache l'intérêt des élites accordé à la nouvelle religion: son acceptation offre la possibilité de dépasser les frontières des anciennes structures tribales locales, liées à leurs propres cultes, et d'aider par là leur unification et la formation de nouveaux Etats plus étendus. Mais l'acceptation du christianisme dans la société de l'époque exige un acte juridique, la décision commune prise par l'élite au pouvoir, éventuellement celle des résidus des assemblées tribales traditionnelles qui, dans le sens corporatif, pourrait être applicable à tout le *gens*. Ainsi, au cours de la transformation des structures politiques et sociales d'une société tribale en société étatique, le christianisme a joué le rôle d'agglutinant idéologique.⁹³

Le processus culturel qui débute dans la région du Danube central à la charnière du VIII^e et du IX^e siècle, n'est pas vu par la majorité des contemporains comme un tournant, sans considération de l'élite spirituelle ou laïque contemporaine. Malgré le fait que les bases sur lesquelles ils construisent leur nouvelle présence (Etat centralisé et culture chrétienne) devaient, dans la perspective de la longue durée, influencer

⁹² D. TŘEŠTÍK, *Počátky Přemyslovců*, pp. 269-271; D. TŘEŠTÍK, « Místo Velké Moravy v dějinách », *Český časopis historický*, 97, 1999, 4, pp. 703-705; D. TŘEŠTÍK, *Vznik Velké Moravy*, pp. 127-128.

⁹³ Analysent, de plus près, le processus de la réception du christianisme dans les sociétés païennes, tant germaniques que slaves, en haut Moyen âge, de point de vue des transformations politiques, sociales et économiques : L. E. von PADBERG, « Odin oder Christus? : Loyalitäts- und Orientierungskonflikte in der frühmittelalterlichen Christianisierungsepoche », *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte*, 77, 1995, pp. 249-278; A. ANGENENDT, *Das Frühmittelalter : Die abendländische Christenheit von 400 bis 900*, Stuttgart; Berlin; Köln : Kohlhammer, 1995, pp. 420-430; D. TŘEŠTÍK, « Křesť českých knížat roku 845 a christianizace Slovanů », *Český časopis historický*, 92, 1994, 3, pp. 443-452; P. BORONÍ, « Wiece słowiańskie a decyzja ... », pp. 95-102; K. MO-DZELEWSKI, *Barbarzyńska Europa*, Warszawa : Iskry, 2004, pp. 454-463.

vraiment d'une manière de longue portée l'évolution de la région de l'Europe centrale.

Si l'empire franc a joué un rôle de médiateur du christianisme, éventuellement, pris dans un sens plus large, celui de la culture chrétienne, dans la région du Danube central, depuis les dernières décennies du VIII^e siècle, plus tard ce sera la Grande Moravie, Etat dominant de cette région durant IX^e siècle, qui va assumer le rôle du médiateur de ces transformations civilisationnelles pour les *gentes* vivant à sa proximité.

(Article traduit du slovaque par Martin Brtko)

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Power of rituals and rituals of power: Religious and secular rituals in the political culture of medieval Kingdom of Hungary

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The study of rituals and the symbolic forms of public communication is one of the main directions in contemporary Medieval Studies. The aim of this article is to point out the role and significance of ritualised behaviour for medieval society - that means the so-called power of rituals. For this purpose we shall observe in detail category of rituals of power, which belong to the most widespread and most studied ways of symbolic communication. Strong interconnection between profane and the sacred in Middle Ages is also evident in the sphere of ritualised behaviour. Religious and secular rituals acted synchronically next to each other and therefore, they shall be equally represented in our study.

The term rituals of power encompasses a rich and diverse complex of symbolic actions, public demonstrations of power, and frequently spectacular festivities that accompanied these rites. The monarchical symbolic was probably most powerfully presented during so-called inauguration rites that formed the ceremonial framework of elevation of monarchs into the sacral dignity of kingship. In medieval Europe these were usually formed by rites of enthronement, anointing and coronation as recorded in ecclesiastical orders (*ordines*) and these were studied by historians for many years now.¹ For the Medieval Kingdom of Hungary in the Arpadian era (1000-1301) we paradoxically have almost no evidence about inauguration rites (especially coronations) at all. The inaugurations of Arpadians in early and high Middle Ages can be reconstructed only from partial evidences and dubious allusions in contemporary sources. Hungarian coronations can be observed only in the later Middle Ages, partially from the 14th Century, but more mainly from the 15th Century onwards. From this period there are the oldest descriptions in preserved narrative sources, as well as the first pontifical containing *ordo coronationis* dating from 1438. Historians usually presume that already from the time of Louis I. the Great (1342-1382) the widely spread *Pontificale Romanum* written by bishop Wiliam Durandus has been used.² The leading

¹ *Die Ordines für Weihe und Krönung des Kaisers und der Kaiserin*. ed. Reinhard Elze. Hannover 1960.; *Ordines Coronationis Franciae*. ed. Richard A. Jackson. Philadelphia 1995; WARD, Paul L. The Coronation Ceremony in Mediaeval England. In *Speculum*, 1939, 14/2, pp. 160-178; BAK, János M. (ed.). *Coronations. Medieval and Early Modern Monarchic Ritual*. Berkeley : University of California Press, 1990; EICHMANN, Eduard. *Die Kaiserkrönung im Abendland: Ein Beitrag zur Geistesgeschichte des Mittelalters*. Würzburg : Echter, 1942. For Central Europe see WIHODA, Martin. (ed.). *Stát, státnost a rituály přemyslovského věku*. Brno : Matice Moravská, 2006; BOBKOVÁ, Lenka – HOLÁ, Mlada (ed.). *Lesk královského majestátu ve středověku*. Praha ; Litomyšl : Paseka, 2005; BANASZKIEWICZ, Jacek. (ed.). *Imagines Potestatis. Rytuały, symbole i konteksty fabularne władzy zwierzchniej*. Polska X-XV w. Warszawa : Instytut Historii PAN, 1994; CIBULKA, Josef. *Český řád korunovační a jeho původ*. Praha 1934.

² Fundamental works have been published in past decades. See for example BARTONIEK, Ema. *A Magyar királykoronázások története*. Budapest: Magyar Történelmi Társulát, 1987, pp. 8-84; BARTONIEK, Ema. A magyar királyáavatáshoz. In *Századok*, 1923-1924, 57-58, pp. 297-303; FÜGEDI, Erik. Coronation in medieval Hungary. In *Kings, Bishops, Nobles and Burghers In Medieval Hungary*. London : Variorum, 1986, p. 164;

idea within the royal symbolism of Hungarian kings has been connected to the Holy Crown, and from this the emanating irreplaceable symbolical value of the Hungarian royal insignia.³ The chronological limits of this study do not allow us to go deeper into these questions, which were precisely studied earlier anyway. We will focus on such forms and ways of rituals of power, which can be traced in contemporary sources and interpret them in the framework of ritual communication of early and high medieval Hungarian rulers. On following pages we shall concentrate on all those other rituals of power and various forms of public symbolical communication surrounding the environment of Hungarian kings that are almost absolutely neglected by current historiography (both Slovak and Hungarian).

Three kinds of coronations

In January 1158 the emperor Frederick I. Barbarossa issued a privilege for the Czech duke Vladislav II. The central concession granted Vladislav to wear the royal crown specifically on the same festive days as the emperor himself, that means on Christmas, Easter and Pentecost. In addition to this, as a sign of reverence to the patrons of the Czechs, the same privilege was granted for the feast of St. Wenceslas and St. Adalbert.⁴ What we are facing here, is one of the three possible variations of coronation in Middle Ages. More precisely one of the occasions during which a king appeared in his full majesty and wearing the royal crown on his head in public. It is vital to distinguish between these diverse forms of presenting the royal majesty and his sacral power.

The first and most important variation for medieval kings is the coronation as we mostly know it – this means the solemn, legally binding and unrepeatable elevation to the royal dignity. Usually it appeared as a part of rites constituting the whole inauguration ritual complex. For a better orientation and better comprehensibility we shall call it first-crowning (*Erstkrönung*). The main characteristics, which distinguished it from other forms of more or less similar ritual acts was the fact that this has been the first elevation of the ruler to power, accompanied by several liturgical and secular

BAK, János M. Mittelalterliche Königskrönung in Ungarn (Quellenübersicht). In *Königtum und Stände in Ungarn im 14.-16. Jahrhundert*. Wiesbaden : Steiner Franz Verlag, 1973, pp. 165-190.

³ *Insignia Regni Hungariae. Studien zur Machtsymbolik des mittelalterlichen Ungarn*. Budapest : MNM, 1983; DEÉR, Josef. Die heilige Krone Ungarns. Wien : Böhlau, 1966; BÁRÁNY, Magda. Die Sankt Stephans Krone und die Insignien des Königreichs Ungarn. Wien : Herold, 1961; BENDA, Kalman – FÜGEDI, Erik. Tausend Jahre Stephanskrone. Budapest : Corvina, 1988; BERTÉNYI, Imre. A magyar korona története. Budapest : Akadémia, 1978; KOVÁCS, Eva – LOVAG, Zsuzsa. The Hungarian Crown and Other Regalia. Budapest : Corvina, 1988; SCHRAMM, Percy E. Herrschaftszeichen und Staatssymbolik. Beiträge zu ihren Geschichte vom 3. bis zum 16. Jahrhundert. I.-III. Stuttgart : Hiersemann Verlag, 1954-1957, pp. 730-754.

⁴ *“Decernimus itaque et inrefragabili lege statuimus, ut liceat prefato duci Boemie Wadizlao illis temporibus, quibus nos coronam et diadema glorie portamus, in nativitate domini videlicet et in pascha et in penthecosten, circulum portare, et amplius in festivitate videlicet sancti Venzelai et sancti Adelberti, eo quod illas sollempnitates propter patronos suos maiori reverentia et celebritate tota Boe[m]ia veneretur.”* Friderici I. *Constitutiones*, No. 170, MGH Const. 1, pp. 236-237; About Vladislav and his elevation to royal dignity see in detail : WIHODA, Martin. První česká království. In WIHODA, Martin. (ed.). *Stát, státnost a rituály přemyslovskeho věku*. Brno : Matice Moravská, 2006, pp. 85-89; ŽEMLIČKA, Josef. *Čechy v době knížecí*. Praha : Nakladatelství Lidové Noviny, 1997, pp. 237-239.

rites.⁵ In medieval Latin orbit its most important component was the anointing by a coronator, which was done by traditionally accepted archbishop or bishop.⁶

It was the anointing and unrepeatability, which distinguished the *Erstkrönung* substantially from its ritualistic parallels. The ecclesiastical anointing with the chrism and deposition of crown on head were the most striking attributes of sacral royal power.⁷ Middle ages was the time, when all important statements and information had to be demonstrated in public, and those already expressed had to be repeatedly confirmed. As the rulers could undergo the anointing only once in a lifetime, they have used the festive public crown-wearing to present their majesty and to stress their royal power derived from God.⁸

Regardless to time and space there are several descriptions in sources about coronations and performing of rulers in *royal way* (with insignia and in festive clothes). Usually we speak about a ritual called Crown-wearing or Unter-Krone-gehen, which means public acting of rulers with their crown on head.⁹ This, on the first sight a banal ceremonial or protocolar detail, is in fact a very important component of the complex of symbolical communication within medieval society. The close relation between secular and ecclesiastical power, overlapping of monarchical and liturgical rites and not to forget the omnipresent adhesion of kings to stressing of sacral character of their power, had to be demonstrated adequately. It was manifested by rulers when on every solemn occasion, no matter if it was an ecclesiastical celebration, visit to an important pilgrim place or a personal meeting with another king, they felt the necessity to show themselves in festive clothing and in full majesty. This process can be observed from the Carolingian times, and has spread into whole Christian Europe gradually.

Together with the sacralisation and liturgisation of royal power in 10. and 11. Century came along the sacralisation of royal insignia. It were dominantly the rulers of Ottonian and Salian dynasty who permanently worked on clothing their public performances into ritualised clothes with a strong emphasis on sacrality.¹⁰ It was insufficient to show up publicly in full splendour, but it was essential to repeatedly perform inauguration acts, respectively its repeatable element, which was the laying of crown on king's head. Here, we talk about so-called Festival Crowning (*Festkrönung*).¹¹ The

⁵ BOUMAN, Cornelius A. *Sacring and Crowning. The Developement of the Latin Ritual for the Anointing of Kings and the Coronation of an Emperor before the Eleventh Century*. Groningen ; Djakarta : J. B. Wolters, 1957, especially pp. 107-126; BAK, reference 1 (henceforth as ref.); NELSON, Janet L. *Politics and Ritual in Early Medieval Europe*. London ; Ronceverte : Hambledon Press, 1986, pp. 239-374.

⁶ See expression "Salbung" in *Lexikon des Mittelalters 1-9*. München ; Zürich : Verlag J. B. Metzler, 1977-1998, precisely Part 7, pp. 1289-1292; BERTELLI, Sergio. *The King's Body. Sacred Rituals of Power in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*. Philadelphia : The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2001, pp. 22-28.

⁷ BLOCH, Marc. *Králové divotvůrci. Studie o nadpřirozenosti přisuzované královské moci, zejména ve Francii a Anglii*. Praha : Argo, 2004, pp. 59-73.

⁸ ERKENS, Franz R. *Herrschersakralität im Mittelalter. Von den Anfängen bis zum Investiturstreit*. Stuttgart : Kohlhammer, 2006, pp. 166-167.

⁹ KANTOROWICZ, Ernst H. *Laudes Regiae. A Study in Liturgical Acclamations and Mediaeval Ruler Worship*. Berkeley : University of California Press, 1958.

¹⁰ LEYSER, Karl. Ritual, Ceremony and Gesture: Ottonian Germany. In *Communications and Power in Medieval Europe. The Carolingian and Ottonian Centuries*. London ; Rio Grande : Hambledon Press, 1994, pp. 189-213.

¹¹ JÄSCHKE, Kurt U. Frühmittelalterliche Festkrönungen? Überlegungen zu Terminologie und Methode. In *Historische Zeitschrift*, 1970, 211/3, pp. 556-588.

performance of this type of crowning was constantly and uniquely usurped by high ecclesiastical dignitaries. It was not a state-building act, as it was in the case of first-coronation, this festive crowning had been an important ritual as well: it re-enacted the sacral moment of establishing of the ruler, regenerated the social unity and adhesiveness around the person of the king. It came to word usually after resolving of conflicts, dynastic struggles, or in the case of ruler's repeated wedding and from there derived (proto)coronation of his new queen. We can observe a clear demonstration and communication of harmony of society and the stability of power.¹²

Together with the firmly defined dates for the crown wearing, as we could see it in Germany and Bohemia, the place of these ceremonies played a vital role as well. Usually it took place in important residences where rulers celebrated the most important holidays. It were mostly bishopric residences, famous monasteries, castles or other places serving as places of meeting between rulers and their magnates. This custom has been elaborated dominantly by English kings. In 1087 William the Conqueror has defined precisely, that the king of England has to show up wearing his crown on head in three places: in Gloucester at Christmas, in Winchester at Easter, and in Westminster at Pentecost.¹³ For medieval Kingdom of Hungary we do not dispose any similar reference in sources concerning using of these communication tools as the aforesaid privilege for Vladislas II. Even though we are able to prove its existence from the contemporary sources and to clarify its meaning in the political communication of Arpadian Hungary.

The first example is connected to the first Hungarian king Saint Stephen I. (1000-1038). In April 1001 he met with the Polish duke Boleslas I. the Brave in Estergom for mutual discussions and sealing of reconciliation. When they met, the monarchs had exchanged kiss of peace, and then they went hand in hand together to the church for a mass. According to the chronicler, the Hungarian king showed up in full majesty: "King Stephen, adorned with sacred raiment and crowned with the royal crown, has shined like the sun between stars, walking behind the procession, surpassed the common people from the shoulders upwards."¹⁴ What we can see is an evident example of the Crown-wearing ritual. Stephen in this way clearly represented his power and demonstrated his hierarchical superiority above the neighbour from the north.

A similar case occurred in the time of king Bela IV. (1235-1270), who performed ritual wearing of crown during his arrival to city of Split in 1256. He responded in this way to the *adventus* celebrated for him by local citizens: "He entered the city with great pomp adorned as a king by regal insignia, and he was received by the clergy and the people with great joy."¹⁵ For Bela IV., who was in this time still in

¹² ERKENS, ref. 8, p. 167.

¹³ JÄSCHKE, ref. 11, p. 558.

¹⁴ "Stephano ornato sacro vestito et dyademate regio coronato ut 'sole inter stellas perfulgenti', post sacram processionem gradienti, super omnem populum ab humero et sursum eminenti." *Chronicon Hungarico-polonicum*. Scriptores Rerum Hungaricarum tempore ducum regumque stirpis Arpadianae gestarum (henceforth cited as SRH) 2. ed. Emericus Szentpétery. Budapestini 1937, c. 7, p. 311.

¹⁵ "sicut rex regalia gerens insignia, magna cleri et populi exultatione susceptus est." *Thomae archidiaconi Spalatensis Historia Salonitanorum atque Spalatinorum Pontificum*. Archdeacon Thomas of Split: History of the Bishops of

course of reconstruction of his state as well as his royal power after the devastating Mongol raid of 1241-1242, had this public manifestation almost the same meaning as the *Erstkrönung*. It was necessary not only to rebuild the royal power in the kingdom in material way. The same care has been given to the ideological rehabilitation of the king. The next documented example of the crown wearing ritual comes as late as from the 14th Century when the Hungarian King Ladislas (V.) welcomed in this manner his father, the Czech king Wenceslas II.¹⁶

First mentions about the so-called festival or repeated coronation (*Festkrönung*) in Hungary, during which the diadem has been repeatedly bestowed on the head of already crowned ruler, are preserved from the year 1044. In this year the German king Henry III. (1039-1056) defeated in the battle of Menfö Samuel Aba (1041-1044), the usurper of Hungarian throne, and bestowed his protégé and the legitimate ruler, the exiled king Peter Orseolo (1038-1041, 1044-1046):

“Then with all his soldiers he came to Alba Regia, in German called Weissenburg, which is the capital of Hungarian kingdom. Here he was welcomed with adequate honour that belonged to him. He laid the royal crown again on Peter’s head and according to royal ordination he endowed him with insignia of king Saint Stephen. With his own hand he conducted him into the Basilica of Mother of God, always Virgin Mary and seated him on the throne. And so he reconciled the king with Hungarians and Hungarians with the king.”¹⁷

In this case the meaning of ritual is particularly important. The exiled king Peter had to demonstrate ceremonially his repeated restoration to royal dignity and the legitimacy of his power. Because his rule has been interrupted by the usurpation by Samuel Aba, it was inevitable to symbolically perform Peter’s inauguration to Hungarian throne again. And because his restoration was due to the military help of German ruler, it was Henry III. who took the role of his coronator. This act could not be performed by Hungarian bishops, because they were involved to the expulsion of Peter three years earlier. (Consequently they had their share in his definitive fall in 1046, when they stood up in favour of king Andrew I. /1046-1060/).¹⁸

Very similar situation occurred some 19 years later. After the death of king Bela I. (1060 - 1063), who expelled Salomon, the legitimate heir of the throne and co-ruler of his father Andrew I., the German king Henry IV., set to Hungary with his

Salona and Split. ed. Damir Karbic – Mirjana Matijević Sokol – James R. Sweeney. Central European Medieval Texts Volume 4. Budapest ; New York 2006, c. 48, pp. 364-366. Henceforth as *Historia Salonitana*.

¹⁶ “*Nolebat autem rex pater, sagacitate usus, regem videre filium nisi sub diademate et omnibus indumentis regalibus regni Ungarie solempniter insignitum.*” *Chronicon Aulae Regiae*. *Fontes rerum Bohemicarum* 4 (Henceforth as FRB). ed. Josef Emler. Praha 1874, p. 85.

¹⁷ “*Indeque cum omni multitudine sua Albam venit, que Teutonice Veyzmburg dicitur, que est peincipalis sedes regni Hungarie. Ibi ergo cesar imperiali honore et latissimo preparatu ab Ungaris honoratus Petrum regem regali corona plenarie restitutum et sacris insignibus sancti regis Stephani more regio decoratum in regali throno manu sua deducens, in basilica gloriose genitricis Dei semper Virginis Marie regaliter sedere fecit et ibidem regem Hungaris et Hungaros regi reconciliavit.*” *Chronici Hungarici compositio saeculi XIV*, c. 77-78, SRH 1, pp. 333-334. Henceforth as *Chron. Hung. comp. saec. XIV*.

¹⁸ *Chron. Hung. comp. saec. XIV*, SRH 1, ref. 17, pp. 328, 339; *Annales Altahenses maiores*. ad a. 1042, MGH SSrG 4, p. 31; HÖMAN, Bálint. *Geschichte des ungarischen Mittelalters. I. Band*. Berlin : Walter de Gruyter, 1940, pp. 248-254.

army in autumn 1063. Same as his father in case of king Peter, he had actively participated in restoration of Salomon to his father's throne. This time sources speak about a changed ritual, because Henry IV. only performed enthronement of (crowned) Salomon.¹⁹ The real *Festkrönung* of Salomon has been carried out only the following year, as it was usual during Easter, in Pécs in 1064. The symbolic coronator has been this time the count of Nitra, Geza, until then the arch rival of Salomon in struggle for the Hungarian throne: "There count Geza crowned honourably king Salomon by his own hands on the Easter Sunday, in presence of all nobles of the kingdom, and led him solemnly into the royal Basilica of the Prince of Apostles blessed Peter, to listen together to the mass."²⁰

The aforesaid examples allow us to claim, that solemn wearing of royal crown and festive repeated crownings were part of ritual apparatus of Arpadian kings. Neither their occurrence, execution nor function were diverted from their western or central European parallels. In those cases, which we are able to survey in detail, there is a strong tendency to accomplish these rituals in important bishopric seats (Estergom, Pécs) and in royal strongholds (Alba Regia), and during important ecclesiastical feast days (Easter). We find these in public communication in framework of domestic struggle (Salomon ↔ Geza, Bela IV. ↔ citizens of Split), as well as in contact with foreign rulers (Peter Orseolo ↔ Henry III., Salomon ↔ Henry IV.)

If we are to resume the use of these rituals of power and their function in the medieval Arpadian society, we can enunciate their frequent and variable utilisation. Firstly, it was the diversification from the mass of ordinary people, but from other members of ruling elite as well. This has been concisely described by the author of Hungarian-polish chronicle with words about king Stephen, who "shined as sun between stars."²¹ Closely related to this was the demonstration of solemn royal power, derived from episcopal anointing and from placing of the crown on ruler's head. Festive wearing of crown or repeated performance of crowning could also serve for renewal of rule, order and appropriate functioning of society. These were the cases of Peter Orseolo, Salomon and Bela IV. In the quarrel between king Salomon and count Geza it served also as a mean of mutual reconciliation and ending of conflict.

Laudes regiae

Among the most interesting rituals accompanying public acting of medieval rulers we find the solemn liturgical acclamations called *laudes regiae*. Their roots can be traced in ancient acclamations of roman imperators, as well as liturgical chants and hymns of the early church dedicated for God and his saints. From the half of 8th Century the latest, either during the reign of Pepin III. († 768) or his son Charlemagne († 814), an autonomous form of singing of acclamations designated for Frankish rulers

¹⁹ "Regem autem Salomonem in paterno solio glorie coronatum cum assensu et clamatione totius Hungarie sedere fecit." *Chron. Hung. comp. saec. XIV*, c. 97, SRH 1, ref. 17, pp. 361-362.

²⁰ "Ubi rex Salomon ipso die pasche assistentibus regni proceribus per manus Geyse ducis honorabiliter est coronatus et in regiam beati Petri principis apostolorum basilicam ad audiendam missam gloriose deductus." *Chron. Hung. comp. saec. XIV*, c. 97, SRH 1, ref. 17, pp. 362-363.

²¹ *Chronicon Hungarico-polonicum*, c. 7, SRH 2, ref. 14, p. 311.

has developed.²² Gradually the *laudes regiae* have become part of important ecclesiastical rites in which rulers took part – we find them during festive welcoming of kings into monasteries or churches (*adventus regis*). In the course of time, acclamation of rulers became a firm part of coronation ceremonies. They were performed during *Erstkrönung*s (for the first time they are documented for the imperial coronation of Charlemagne), but also during festive repeated coronations (*Festkrönung*). In form of so-called *laudes divinae* they could even acquire legitimizing character.²³

The most common part of laudes, that has been present in most of the preserved texts and coins, is the well known sentence reading: *Christus vincit, Christus regnat, Christus imperat*, pointing to the christomimetic character of medieval royal power in early and high Middle Ages.²⁴ Most of the laudes was preserved in liturgical books of important bishoprics and monasteries. Concerning the geographical expansion, they were provably part of ritual communication in Roman-German empire, in France and England, in Norman south Italy, and, thanks to Hungarian conquest of Dalmatia, in Hungary too.²⁵ Hungarian kings, who in the 12th Century became also kings of Dalmatia and Croatia, this way inherited from their predecessors the *laudes regiae* ritual.

Throughout the whole eleventh Century we can observe political and military struggle between Venice and Byzantium for the conquest of Dalmatian maritime cities. This process, together with papal interferences, is well documented in the development of liturgical acclamations. Another change effectuates in the beginning of 12th Century, after the conquest of Dalmatia by kings of Hungary.²⁶ The oldest preserved text of *laudes regiae* is connected with the personality of king Coloman I. (1095-1116). In the year 1102 Coloman was in the town Biograd na Moru crowned as the Croatian king.²⁷ From the same year we have the oldest extant text of royal *laudes* coming from the city of Zadar:

Exaudi Christe! (ter)

Christus vincit, Christus regnat, Christus imperat! (ter)

Paschali summo pontifici et universali pape salus et vita perpetua (ter)

Colomanno Ungarie, Dalmatie et Croatie almifico regi vita et victoria (ter)

Stephano clarissimo regi nostro vita et victoria.

Gregorio venerabili Jadere presuli salus et vita.

²² ELZE, Reinhard. Die Herrscherlaudes im Mittelalter. In *Päpste-Kaiser-Könige und die mittelalterliche Herrschaftssymbolik*. London : Variorum, 1982, p. 202; NELSON, Janet L. The Lord's anointed and the people's choice: Carolingian royal ritual. In CANNADINE, David – PRICE, Simon (ed.). *Rituals of Royalty: Power and Ceremony in Traditional Societies*. Cambridge : Cambridge University Press, 1992, pp. 153-154.

²³ "Laudes regiae" , *Lexikon des Mittelalters* 5, ref. 6, pp. 1753-1754.

²⁴ KANTOROWICZ, Ernst H. *The King's Two Bodies. Studies in Mediaeval Political Theology*. Princeton : Princeton University Press, 1997, pp. 47-48. See also in a detailed work by ULLMANN, Walter. *Principles of Government and Politics in the Middle Ages*. London : Methuen, 1961, pp. 117-149.

²⁵ ELZE, ref. 22, p. 206.

²⁶ KANTOROWICZ, ref. 9, pp. 147-149.

²⁷ "Anno Incarnationis Domini Nostri Iesu Christi MCII. Ego Colomannus, Dei gratia, Rex Vngariae, Croatiae, atque Dalmatiae, saluo habito consilio, postquam coronatus fui Belgradi super mare, in vrbe regia," *Codex Diplomaticus Hungariae ecclesiasticus ac civilis* (Henceforth CDH) 2. ed. Gyula Fejer. Budae 1829, p. 31.

Cledin inclyto nostro comiti vita et victoria.

*Cunctis inclytis vita!*²⁸

The *laudes* are addressed to king Coloman, to his son Stephen (the future king Stephen II. 1116 - 1132), pope Paschalis II. (1109-1118), local bishop Gregory and to the comes ruling in the city, Cledin. The pope Paschalis is mentioned in first place, just like in all similar western formularies. In this respect he displaced the Byzantine emperors from the beginning of *laudes*. The location where these *laudes regiae* were conserved is not incidental at all. Zadar has been a traditional coronation city of Dalmatian kings. It was here again that king Coloman has married the daughter of king Roger of Sicily in 1097. Therefore we cannot rule out, that the preserved text has in fact been a part of Coloman's inauguration as a royal acclamation. Presumably it has only been a festive *laudes*.²⁹ Another formulary containing Hungarian-Dalmatian *Laudes* dates to the 14th Century and is dedicated to king Louis I. The Great. It was written between 1378-1382 in a very bad Latin.³⁰

Mentions and hints about the existence of *laudes regiae* in time of Arpadians can also be found in narrative and diplomatical sources. In a charter written around the year 1200 we read, that royal acclamations were performed by clergy and citizens of Trogir during the visit of king Andrew II. (*in honore et gaudio recepti laudes hymnidicas honorabiliter recepimus*).³¹ Next mention is connected again with Andrew II., who in the year 1205 demanded heavily the performance of *laudes regiae* from the citizens of city Nin. He recalled in this case the ancient custom of his maritime (i.e. Dalmatian) subordinates, according to which the people and clergy of this town were supposed to pay tribute to king and his descendents by chanting praises and acclaming the king's name on prescribed festive days.³²

Andrew's urging of maintaining of royal praises during his stay in Dalmatia has fallen on fruitful ground. In course of his pilgrimage to Holy Land in 1217 he designated city of Split as a gathering place of his army. During his arrival to the city in the end of August, the citizens and local clergy welcomed him by performing solemn *adventus regis*, which encompassed also chanting of royal praises: "All the citizens, foreigners and great number of his soldiers walked out in a procession towards lord king, to welcome him chanting with loud voice praises on him...chanting together in a manner appropriate to royal dignity."³³

²⁸ *Codex diplomaticus regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae, et Slavoniae* (Henceforth CDRCD) 2. ed. T. Smičiklas. Zagreb 1904, pp. 392-393.

²⁹ KANTOROWICZ, ref. 9, p. 149.

³⁰ "Exaudi Christe! (ter) Domino pape Gregorio sumo pontifice et universali pape salus, honor et vita perpetua! Cunctis incliti vita! Domino Ludouico regis Ungarie salus, honor et vita victoria. Cunctis incliti vita! Domino Michaeli episcopo Absarense et tocius insule salus, honor et vita perpetua. Domino Saraceno comite Absarense et tocius insule salus, honor et vita victoria. Cunctis incliti vita!" Cited after KANTOROWICZ, ref. 9, p. 152.

³¹ CDRCD 2, ref. 28, p. 361. Andrew was king between 1205-1235. In years 1198-1204 he exercised the duty as Croatian-Dalmatian count.

³² "Laudes regio nostro nomini, sicuti est consuetudo fidelium nostrorum de Marittimis, pro honorificentia regia consuetis diebus solemnibus per suum clerum et populum deprecabuntur." CDRCD 3, ref. 28, p. 51.

³³ "Exierunt autem processionaliter obviam domino regi uniuersi ciues, omnesque forenses totaque turba sui exercitus, laudes ei altis vocibus concrepantes.... prout regie magnificentie dignum erat pariter, concinebant." *Historia Saloni-*

How much Hungarian and Dalmatian kings have relied on the fact, that a due honour in form of *laudes regiae* has been given to them by inhabitants of Adriatic maritime towns, illustrates the importance and significance of this ritual (in same manner they were demanded by Venetians during their rule over Dalmatian coast). Simultaneously it was an expression of submission and public recognition of supremacy of Hungarian kings on one side, and it was a vow binding for clergy and people. This strong emphasis on strict observance was a consequence of always present Byzantine political and ideological influence. This was the reason why in this part of Europe the *laudes regiae* were preserved in pure authentic form and with original political meaning also in time, when in Western Europe they were gradually losing their distinctness and meaning.³⁴

Concerning the form of Hungarian-Dalmatian royal *laudes*, from the two texts that survived to our days we can claim, that between beginning of twelfth to the end of fourteenth Century no fundamental change or evolution took place. Suspiciously they resemble Byzantine synodal acclamations with numerous shouts, but with no intention for any kind of classifying into organized litanies, and also they lack the invocations of saints. Hungarian-Dalmatian *laudes* have a common place with western parallels the introductory invocation *Exaudi Christe!*. Specific is the shouting *Cunctis inclytis vita!*, which cannot be found anywhere else in the West. This means it must have been a Byzantine relic. Hungarian-Dalmatian *laudes regiae* are following primarily a Byzantine model, with elements also from Gallo-Frankish and Franco-Roman acclamations. Eminent expert of this problematic, Ernst Kantorowicz, has suggested to call them as Franco-Byzantine *laudes*.³⁵

Cingulum militiae

In the year 997, at the very beginning of his independent rule as the prince of Hungarians, Stephen I. faced one of major political crisis. After the death of Stephen's father, the grand prince Geza (970-997), the count of Somogy named Kopany, who has been member of Arpadians too, has raised his intention to sit on the princely throne. Young Stephen, who at that time has been at the doorstep of adulthood, has moved to Estergom, and later to county of Nitra, to seek help and form military power against Kopany.³⁶ Before the actual military confrontation took place, an important ritual was effectuated in Stephen's camp in Bina. Hungarian narrative sources have preserved three diverse accounts which, for a better comprehensiveness, we cite in Latin original:

1. *Chronicon pictum* c. 41: "Adierunt etiam istis diebus Hunt et Paznan, qui Sanctum

tana, c. 25, ref. 15, p. 160. In the newest edition of chronicle of Thomas of Split the form with verb *concinno* is transcribed, but the correct version is used in Gombos' edition, that means with *concono*. This variant comes from the logic of the text, because it is a description of royal *laudes*. See *Thomas Spalatensis archidiaconus: Historia Salonitanorum sive Historia pontificum Salonitanorum atque Spalatensium*. Catalogus Fontium Historiae Hungaricae 3, ed. Albinus F. Gombos. Budapestini 1938, p. 2229.

³⁴ KANTOROWICZ, ref. 9, p. 151.

³⁵ KANTOROWICZ, ref. 9, p. 153.

³⁶ GYÖRFFY, György. *König Stephan der Heilige*. Budapest : Corvina, 1988, pp. 99-104; KRISTÓ, Gyula. *Histoire de la Hongrie Médiévale. Tome 1. Le temps des Arpads*. Rennes : PUR, 2000, pp. 36-38.

Stephanum regem in flumine Goron gladio Theutonico more accinxerunt."³⁷

2. Chronicon pictum c. 64: "Postmodum vero congregato exercitu perrexit obviam hosti suo et ad amnem Goron primitus accintus est gladio ibique ad custodiam corporalis salutis sue duos principes Hunt et Paznan constituit."³⁸

3. Simonis de Keza Gesta Hungarorum c. 78: "Qui detenti per duces Geicham, tandem sanctum regem Stephanum in flumine Goron Teutonico more gladio militari accinxerunt."³⁹

The only other case of girding of Hungarian ruler with a sword in Arpadian era dates to the year 1146 and is connected to the person of king Geza II. (1141-1162). The circumstances are very similar to Stephen I.'s case. Young ruler Geza II. in autumn 1146 faced a severe threat of military confrontation with Bavarian duke Henry Jasomirgott. Just before the unavoidable battle Geza, following the example of saint Stephen, according to Hungarian chronicler decided to undergo a well known ritual: "*Rex autem accinctus est gladio et gloria Domini apparuit super eum...*"⁴⁰ A more detailed description of this ritual has been fortunately preserved in a chronicle of a contemporary of this happenings, the bishop Otto of Freising († 1158): "*Altera die rex in predicto campo ad quandam ligneam aecclesiam accedit, ibique ab episcopis – nam eo usque in puerilibus annis positus nondum militem induerat – accepta sacerdotali benedictione ad hoc instituta armis accingitur.*"⁴¹

To be able to correctly understand meaning of just mentioned rituals, we have to carefully look at the function of exchange of weapons in Middle ages, the symbolic significance of weapons and swords respectively, and also on the development of ceremony of chivalric girding by sword.⁴²

The society of early and high Middle ages was a society driven by warriors. The fundamental responsibility of nobility was the protective function of the two other orders of society. It was the possession and using of weapons that enabled rulers and their armed troops to execute power on entrusted territory, and the same can be said about local princes. It were precisely the weapons that separated them from peasants and clergy. Sociological value of weapons has been high and its symbolism omnipresent, because the medieval warrior culture has been simultaneously a culture of self-representation.⁴³

Not every giving of weapons has been automatically a knightly dubbing.⁴⁴

³⁷ *Chron. Hung. comp. saec. XIV*, c. 41, SRH 1, ref. 17, p. 297.

³⁸ *Chron. Hung. comp. saec. XIV*, c. 64, SRH 1, ref. 17, p. 313.

³⁹ *Simonis de Keza Gesta Hungarorum*, c. 78, SRH 1, pp. 188-189.

⁴⁰ *Chron. Hung. comp. saec. XIV*, c. 165, SRH 1, ref. 17, p. 455.

⁴¹ *Ottonis et Rahewini Gesta Friderici I. imperatoris*, I,33, MGH SSrG 46, p. 51.

⁴² LEYSER, Karl. Early Medieval Canon Law and the Beginnings of Knighthood. In *Communications and Power in Medieval Europe. The Carolingian and Ottonian Centuries*. London ; Rio Grande : Hambledon Press, 1994, pp. 51-71; DUBY, Georges. The Origins of Knighthood. In *The Chivalrous Society*. Berkeley ; Los Angeles : University of California Press, 1980, pp. 158- 170; KEEN, Maurice. *Chivalry*. New Haven ; London : Yale University Press, 1984, pp. 64-82.

⁴³ LE JAN, Régine. Frankish Giving of Arms and Rituals of Power. Continuity and Change in the Carolingian Period. In THEUWS, Frans. (ed.). *Rituals of Power. From Late Antiquity to the Early Middle Ages*. Leiden ; Boston ; Köln : Brill, 2000, p. 282.

⁴⁴ FLORI, Jean. *Rytíři a rytířství ve středověku*. Praha : Vyšehrad, 2008, p. 184.

This ritual formed part of festive investiture into power, royal coronation, rites of passage from childhood into adulthood, accession to public function or grade, or of a ceremonial expression of certain political claims.⁴⁵ Roots of this ritual have to be sought in barbarian Germanic societies, where it has yet not served as a rite of passage between adolescence and adulthood. This form has been presented in ritual first shaving of beard or in cutting of hair. Only from the 8th Century during the reign of Carolingians in Frankish kingdom the custom of giving of weapons as a sign of reaching adult age has been introduced. It took place usually between the thirteenth (Louis the Pious) and fifteenth (Charles the Bald) year of age.⁴⁶

From the 11th Century the girding with a sword and exchange of weapons has gained other meanings. *Cingulum militiae*⁴⁷ has become a symbol of communal superiority of the warrior order and of their right to execute power and protection. On this symbolical meaning of weapons there was nothing specifically Germanic, as many historians claim, but it pointed to an ancient late Roman tradition of wearing of ceremonial belts.⁴⁸ Before the 11th Century the giving or taking of *cingulum militiae* does not have any connection to knightly dubbing at all, because chivalry as a specific part of medieval society did not exist at this period.⁴⁹ Ceremonial acceptance of sword meant to accept a public secular function, foremost the power to rule.⁵⁰ Similarly in cases, when kings or other powerful magnates at the end of their lives or under the pressure of circumstances resigned on their secular matters and devoted themselves to life in monasterial clausure, symbolically they demonstrated this passage by unbuckling and laying of their weapons on altar. After going through this ritual it was impossible to return to exercise any kind of public secular duty anymore.⁵¹ Initially purely secular ritual of girding with sword has been gradually taken under patronage of church, which imbued it with new meanings (sword as a symbol of obligation of protecting of widows, poor, orphans and, of course, the church) and which required from its protagonists several moral qualities. Ceremonial of weapon exchange, most usually performed in form of girding by a sword, has fulfilled in early and high Middle ages three basic functions:

- 1.) it served as a rite of passage between the childhood and adulthood of a warrior;
- 2.) it inaugurated him into the community of warriors, that means into the secular elite of society and bound him with obligations connected to his status;

⁴⁵ DALEWSKI, Zbigniew. The Knighting of Polish Dukes in the Early Middle Ages. Ideological and Political Significance. In *Acta Poloniae Historica*, 1999, No.80, pp. 16-19; PARAVICINI, Werner. *Die ritterlich-höfische Kultur des Mittelalters*. München : Oldenbourg, 1994, p. 9.

⁴⁶ LE JAN, ref. 43, p. 285.

⁴⁷ This expression served in Middle ages to describe diverse things and meanings. See further in LEYSER, ref. 42, pp. 55-64; PARAVICINI, ref. 45, p. 9.

⁴⁸ LE JAN, ref. 43, pp. 286-7.

⁴⁹ FLORI, ref. 44, p. 186.

⁵⁰ DALEWSKI, ref. 45, p. 16; FLORI, ref. 44, p. 186.

⁵¹ Similar case occurred with emperor Louis the Pious in 833. Compare DE JONG, Mayke. Power and Humility in Carolingian Society: the Public Penance of Louis the Pious. In *Early Medieval Europe*, 1992/1, pp. 29-52; ALTHOFF, Gerd. *Die Macht der Rituale. Symbolik und Herrschaft im Mittelalter*. Darmstadt : Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2003, pp. 57-64.

3.) it symbolized presentation of acceptance and investiture into a certain public duty, most commonly the taking (or renewed taking) of royal or princely power.

In light of these conclusions we are able to interpret the ominous events connected to girding of Stephen I. and Geza II. Most probably we are not facing identical rituals here, at least not in their meaning regarding given circumstances. Parallel is the presumed age of both protagonists, that means the transition between adolescence and adulthood. Geza II. was in time of his girding in the 15th or 16th year of age, at the very beginning of his independent adult rule. The same can be said about Stephen I., even though his date of birth is subject to unending historiographic quarrels. But, in all likelihood, in 997 Stephen could have been 16 or 18 years old. Almost in the same age also Louis the Pious (13) and Charles the Bald (15) received weapons from their fathers. This border of passage between childhood and adulthood is documented also with the ritual of girding by sword from the middle of 11th Century. In the year 1065 the 14-years old German king Henry IV. has been girded.⁵²

Also the situations in which these girdings occurred are similar. Both protagonists have faced a major military danger, and the girding was performed in military camp just before the decisive battle was started. Simultaneously it was their first active involvement in war, and this fact had to be ritualistically demonstrated. In this respect everything happened according to well known rules.⁵³

At the same time the differences between these two events are interesting too. We find them in the actual performance of rite. In case of Stephen I. the girding took place in or near the river Hron (present Slovakia) and according to Hungarian chroniclers it has been performed by bodyguards and close magnates of non-Hungarian origin Hunt and Poznan. Two versions of descriptions are trying to persuade us, that this was a rite according to German custom (*Theutonico more*), but these were doubtless only later insertions dating to 13th Century.⁵⁴ Girding by sword (in any of its diverse semantic forms) was not an exclusively Germanic custom. Its use is documented throughout the Europe. The case of *comites* Hunt and Poznan in role of protagonists of girding is unusual, but not unique. A parallel can be seen in royal investiture of German king Henry II. (1002) by accepting a lance from the hands of Saxon count Bernard, or girding of French king Philippe I. by the Flemish count Balduin VI. in the middle of 11th Century.⁵⁵ Stephen I.'s girding had another important meaning besides the official acknowledgement of reaching adult age and introduction into community of warriors. It was the spontaneous presentation of his independent princely rule and public presentation of determination to military reaction on Kopany's challenging of his legiti-

⁵² "Et ibidem accinctus est gladio, anno regni sui 9, aetatis autem suae 14." Bertholdi Annales ad. a. 1077, MGH SS 5, p. 272.

⁵³ DALEWSKI, ref. 45, pp. 17-18.

⁵⁴ About the discussion about Slavic or German origin of Hunt and Poznan, and about the origin of by them performed girding see STEINHÜBEL, Ján. *Nitrianske kniežatstvo*. Bratislava : Veda, 2004, pp. 208-209; GYÖRFFY, ref. 36, pp. 99-104; LUKAČKA, Ján. *Formovanie vyššej šľachty na západnom Slovensku*. Bratislava : Minor, 2002, pp. 21-22, 23-32.

⁵⁵ Thietmari *Merserburgensis Chronicon*, V.17, MGH SSrG NS 9, p. 241; ALTHOFF, ref. 51, p. 88; DALEWSKI, ref. 45, p. 21.

macy. What we have here is a legitimizing and purely secular ritual.⁵⁶

In contrary to this, the girding of Geza II. in 1146 is evidently sacralised. The location of the ritual is in a sacral place set inside a wooden church near the battlefield. The protagonists of this ritual are no longer members of king's military entourage, but unspecified bishops. The whole course of girding is liturgized and accompanied by episcopal benediction created especially for this occasion (*accepta sacerdotali benedictione ad hoc instituta*). This ritual was inevitable because of the king's young age, for which he was so far unable to execute his most important royal obligation – the military service (*militia*). Girding (*armis accingitur*), together with episcopal benediction were Geza's demonstration of readiness to embrace his royal (sacral) duty and so he confirmed his leading place as the leader of Hungarian army. We can clearly see, that there is a considerable semantic shift and inclusion in the course of ritual in comparison with the "field" girding of Stephen I. At the very end let us add, that the girding with a sword has become a part of coronation rites of Hungarian kings at latest from the 14th Century.⁵⁷

Conclusion

The status of king in medieval society was specific and so were correspondent rituals. Rituals of power, as we have described these public symbolic displays of communication of rulers with their entourage, could adopt diverse forms and express themselves in various resemblances. But always they were focused on the sacral monarchical power. This power had to be stressed, publicly presented, and constantly renewed. Besides the basic inauguration rite (*Erstkrönung*), repeated rituals that re-enacted this primal elevation into power, served this purpose as well (*Festkrönung* and Crown-wearings).

Monarchic ideology can be observed on other concrete rituals too. Singing of royal praises (*laudes regiae*) for rulers during important events also points on the sacral character of their power gained during the anointing. The military function of Hungarian kings found its ritual expression in rites connected with exchange of weapons. Girding with sword or disposal of military belt (*cingulum militiae*) was, as it usually is with rituals, polysemantic. It symbolized the protagonist's transition from childhood to adulthood, opened the way into community of warriors, or was an expression of accepting of certain public duty (in our case usually the royal dignity).

Frequent occurrence of rituals of power in extant contemporary sources, their multi-spectral dissemination and universal application in society, justify our right to talk about power of rituals. This lied in its flexibility, polysemantism and in its ability to achieve desired goals by ritual behaviour in specific struggles of political life of medieval people.

⁵⁶ Geza, by introducing his son Stephen on the Hungarian princely throne, dismissed until then used order of seniorate. The seniorate has been replaced by primogeniture.

⁵⁷ *Chron. Hung. comp. saec. XIV*, c. 212, SRH 1, ref. 17, p. 504.

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Perception and reception of the Byzantine heritage in the region of eastern Slovakia and the Podkarpatska Rus, and the formation of religious and cultural identity. Looking for the border between the East and the West. (Frontiers and Boundaries)

VÁCLAV JEŽEK

Introduction

The following contribution discusses the Byzantine religious-cultural heritage in relation to the region of contemporary eastern Slovakia and Subcarpathian Rus (nowadays part of Ukraine). Formerly this region and its vicinity belonged to the Austrian-Hungarian Empire. This area offers many insights into religious history and religious sociology and it was an area where a unique religious tradition developed, which had roots in the Byzantine religious culture, brought to central Europe by saints Cyril and Methodius in the ninth century.

The area managed to preserve its religious culture over the centuries, which is remarkable because it was not officially supported by political or ecclesial structures in the region. The area witnessed remarkable political and religious interaction. But what remained constant was the local religious tradition. While the area changed hands in political terms, and was the centre of movement of peoples and nationalities, its religious culture remained more or less constant. This religious culture later formed the basis of the development of identity either national or political. However, our aim in this paper is to show some interesting elements in relation to this topic, elements, which are interesting for a wider understanding of how identity and consequently boundaries are formed.

In this paper we argue, that the local religious tradition developed into a unique independent system, which did not express itself either through political structures, or through religious or national ones. In other words, it did not develop theoretical models of self definition. The identity of this tradition was only defined by others coming into contact with it. This development is very interesting from all sorts of angles. The case illustrates the artificial nature of making boundaries, identities and frontiers on all levels be that religious, national or political. On the other hand once these boundaries are formed, these have the reverse effect than the one desired. They contribute to the destruction of the local tradition rather than preserving it. Thus the idea of this paper is to show, that self-definition, forming ones boundaries can have a negative effect on the preservation of a tradition, which was defined or the boundaries of which were formed. Cultural, religious or political autonomy and independence are formed by more complex processes than are apparent. This calls into question the positivistic notions of identity development which developed in Europe from the nineteenth century onwards. We can even state, that the moment a cultural religious system starts to define itself, and definition means establishing boundaries this is the beginning of its death.

Mission of saints Cyril and Methodius in Great Moravia and Byzantine influence

Scholars are continuing to debate the character, degree and form of the influence of the Byzantine mission of saints Cyril and Methodius in our region. This is hindered by incomplete archaeological excavations, limited research in primary sources and other issues. And last but not least, ideological wars have hindered serious study and there are not many historical issues as this one, which have attracted such a degree of polemics, propaganda and outright lies. The role of Byzantium in this region was viewed through the prism of cultural and political claims of the west or east.

In any event we may conclude, that the Byzantine legacy and work of the missionaries Cyril and Methodius exercised an important influence in this region. This is proven by the sheer fact of the survival of religious and social elements, which are related to the Byzantine tradition in this region. A unique liturgical tradition, unique hymnography, unique folk culture, which are not found in neighboring regions and which bear direct relation with Byzantine liturgical culture clearly suggest a remarkable continuation of the Byzantine legacy in this area which of course underwent a process of acculturation. One of the reasons why this culture was preserved and developed is undoubtedly the fact that the region lies in a mountainous and forestfilled area, which was difficult to access. From the period of the Hungarian ruler Saint Stephen (997-1038) this area was more or less a part of the Hungarian political orbit. This in itself proves the continuity of tradition from the period of Great Moravia, since from this period onwards, there was no possibility of other eastern influences in this region (from which we could derive this eastern religious culture) on any substantial scale even if we acknowledge the many migrations and movements of peoples in this area. The area was also witness to colonisations, movements of peoples and changing political structures, all of which were either incorporated into this existing eastern tradition, or contributed to it in their own way. Thus it is likely, that this region was a center, where the tradition was preserved from the disciples of saints Cyril and Methodius.

The region witnessed a wide-ranging cultural and national interaction, which influenced the way in which the Byzantine heritage was received. One of the most important elements for the eastern tradition was the interaction with another eastern tradition in the shape of the Valachian cultural context. There was a deep connection between this region and Romanian (Valachian) culture. The Romanian cultural milieu was also influenced by the Byzantine tradition. A remarkable synthesis came to life, when elements of Slavic, Romanian and Byzantine culture interacted. This resulted in various developments. For example, Romanian literary culture used the Slavonic script. There is much evidence of Slavic/Ruthenian place names in the region of Transylvania. Around the XIII and XIV centuries there was a widespread colonization of the area by Valachians (later the Valachians were especially present around the region of Marmarosh). There were many Romanian monasteries, which appeared in this area such as the Hrushev monastery of the archangel Michael. Later it was populated by slavic monks. In 1391 the patriarch of Constantinople granted it the status *ius stauropegiae*.¹ A. Avenarius in this context notes: "...we can consider a continuity of presence of

¹ A. Petrov, *Drevnějšija gramoty, po istorii karpatorusskoj cerkvi I ierarchiji*, Praha, 1930, pg. 109-114, 151-5.

a residue of the culture of saints Cyril and Methodius in Hungary. Perhaps it was this residue, which was theoretically that cultural substrate, which prepared the ground for the acceptance of those elements, which came most probably from southeastern Europe and its culture".²

Elements which were preserved from the Byzantine mission include the veneration of certain saints, such as saint Demetrios, Alexios, or Clement.³ In the area of contemporary Slovakia, we can discern the continuation of aristocratic families from the period of Great Moravia and a certain continuation of administrative and state features of Great Moravia.⁴ A continuity of eastern monastic traditions in the area is almost certain. For example, the monastery in Zobor could have an origin in the period of saints Cyril and Methodius. A continuity of Ecclesial architecture is also likely, which is witnessed for example by the rotunda form (these seems to be confirmed by recent discoveries).

In any event the influence of Byzantium on the early Hungarian state is well known and also could have at least in this initial historical phase helped to preserve the remnants of the mission of saints Cyril and Methodius in this area. Byzantine political influence on Hungary gradually subsided, especially after Byzantium fell to the crusaders in 1204. Still even in this period, in the year 1204 the pope Innocent III, complains to the Hungarian ruler Andrew II, that he is more interested in building "greek" monasteries and neglects latin monasteries.⁵ Later Hungarian politics orientated itself on Rome.

Many historians neglect the fact, that the expulsion of the disciples of saints Cyril and Methodius and the forthcoming problems were indicative of a clash of ideologies. The fact is, that in this period the eastern and western traditions of Christianity were diverging and both had different things to offer. The political rulers of the day did not understand religious differences and for them the situation was more related to political issues. But on the ground in terms of nascent development of culture these were very important. In the work "Life of Clement, the bishop of Bulgarians" by Theophylact, (chapters VII-XV) we clearly read, that there was a religious and doctrinal conflict between the "Franks" and the disciples of Methodius, such as Gorazd and Clement. The ruler Svatopluk (nephew of Rastislav, who invited the Byzantine mission. Svatopluk ruled over the area of the so-called Great Moravian Empire in the late ninth century, on the outskirts of which was our region) is portrayed as a brute, who decides in favor of the Franks, while not having any theological knowledge, a fact which he admits. Svatopluk leaves the franks to do whatever they like with their opposition. According to the account the Frankish people tortured and severely persecuted the disciples forcing them to admit the frankish doctrines. Upon these expe-

² Avenarius, A., *Byzantská kultúra v Slovanskom prostredí v VI.-XII. Storočí*, Veda, Bratislava, 1992, pg. 113.

³ Avenarius, A., *Byzantská kultúra v Slovanskom prostredí v VI.-XII. Storočí*, Veda, Bratislava, 1992, pg. 114.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Fejér G, *Codex diplomaticus Hungariae ecclesiasticus ac civilis*, III, Buda, 1829, pgs. 310-11. Moravcsik Gy., *Görögnyelvű monostorok szent István korában. Szent István király halálának kilencszázadik évfordulóján I*, Budapest, 1938, pg. 421 cited in: Avenarius, A., *Byzantská kultúra v Slovanskom prostredí v VI.-XII. Storočí*, Veda, Bratislava, 1992, pg. 113.

riences we read, that Clement taking with him Naum and Angelar went towards the Danube.⁶ In any event the consequences of this reality were, that the officials of the Latin church had no motivation to preserve or support this eastern influence, since they believed that Latin Christianity was on a superior footing. The memory of saints Cyril and Methodius was officially accepted in the west only in 1349, when their feast was scheduled on the 9th of march. The ideological superiority of Latin Christianity was later adopted by the Hungarian rulers and of course the Austro-Hungarian Empire. In this period references to the Byzantine mission and its reception were mostly negative or appropriated.

Post Byzantine developments

The Latin catholic domination was supported by the Hungarian rulers who politically allied themselves with the Roman ecclesial context, which first and foremost was a political force. This ideological dominance of course contributed first of all to the separation of the followers of eastern Christianity in this area from other areas where eastern Christianity existed, and most importantly it resulted in no support from the state. There were no possibilities of theological education, no possibility of a meaningful church administration. Soon, the followers of the byzantine rite, became anonymous Christians, with little intellectual self-awareness. They were referred to as those following the "Stara vira" (old faith). The peoples following this eastern culture did not find any reason or motivation to develop an intellectual framework for their faith. They simply followed a ritual and way of life, which was not reflected upon in terms of a desire to form theoretical systems in opposition to other forms and traditions. There were no polemics, which for example emerged in the period, when Methodius and Cyril was in this region. From the Latin side these were designated as schismatics—those not in communion with Rome. All the more astounding are the claims of certain authors, who identify these believers with modern religious designations. For example Halaga identifies the so called "Stara Vira" with the Greek Catholic Church.⁷ He writes: "In the old eastern Slovakian religious literature we often find the term "Stara vira", which designates the greekcatholic faith".⁸

Here we encounter the issue of Christian ideology and state secular politics. Historical research has not sufficiently studied this issue in relation to the dynamics of medieval politics. The fact is, that a more stringent line has to be drawn between authentic religious belief and the official church in mediaeval periods. The fact is that only rarely did true religious sentiment coincide with ecclesial policy or ecclesial functions. The Church was viewed by many as an institution just like any other, where the lower aristocrats devoid of property could pursue a career. It could have been misused by the landowners and ideology became a useful tool for oppression. The local aristocracy was only happy about the position of the schismatics, since this gave them no rights and the population was ready to be exploited. Some rulers such as Matthias Corvinus (1458-1490) were inclined to alleviate the plight of the local peasants. Later

⁶ See pages 211-214 in *Kronika o Velké Moravě*, L. E. Havlík, Brno, 1992.

⁷ Halaga, O, R., *Slovanské Osídlenie Potisia a východoslovenskí Gréckokatolíci*, Košice, 1947, pg. 9-11.

⁸ *Ibid.* 9.

rulers such as Joseph II or Maria Theresia desired to improve the conditions of the local peasants, but faced strong opposition from the aristocracy. Even after the freedom of movement was established for the peasants, and some other reforms accepted, the feudal system was so entrenched, that in effect little had changed. The local aristocracy using religious pretexts had a free hand to do as they liked, which contributed to a situation which was almost an anomaly in central Europe, where just before the first world war the majority of land was owned by the aristocracy. The fact that the aristocrats treated these locals as schismatics gave them an unparalleled power over their lives and property, since they did not have even the basic rights as other catholic peasants in communion with Rome.

We can speculate, that until the fifteenth century the local area still preserved some more official contacts with the Byzantine orbit. For example, in 1391 the Hrushov monastery was founded by the patriarch of Constantinople Anthony IV (13, august, 1391). Around this period there could have been support from slavic aristocrats who appeared in this area. The monastery in Mukachevo (Saint Nicholas on mount Černek) was possibly founded by the Duke Theodore Koryatovich (1396-1414). Other byzantine rite monasteries included Krásny Brod, Habra, Mstičevo, Uglja. The area of Mukachevo was given as a fief by the kings of Hungary. Other early rulers included Stephen Lazarovič (1418-1427), Stephen Brankovič (1427-40). However, a concerted opposition to the local tradition was emerging. For example, Ludwig I on July 20, 1336 ordered the expulsion of non united priests without possessions from these lands.⁹ These later settled in Moldavia with their leader Bohdan.

These sporadic official persecutions however, were not successful in stamping out the local tradition. There is enough evidence such as for example, the "Spish Cyrillic pieces", which demonstrate that in this area the Byzantine rite was functioning in the XII and XIII centuries.¹⁰ In fact, the emerging evidence suggests that the Byzantine rite was spread on a much wider scale, than was thought.

Economic hardship and political oppression

The local rulers and aristocratic families traditionally exercised great power in this region and as the centuries past this grip seems to have been more and more intolerable. While, until the 15th century the locals managed to maintain some measure of economic and social independence, at least in the highlands, this was certainly not true for the subsequent period. After the year 1514, the aristocratic families in lieu with the Habsburg Empire (in this year there was a council) attempted to limit the powers of the peasants and lower classes. We can see this especially in the decrees published in the years 1554-1574 by the Habsburgs. These embarked on a system of greater systematization and classification of property, peoples and regions. Greater control of the Empire over its subjects was an effective way of raising taxes, preventing political insurrections and rebellions, which were common in the period and of course ensured

⁹ Cziplé, J., *A márámorosi püspökség kérdése*, pg. 4. Budapest. Cited in Kubinyi J., *The History of Prjašiv Eparchy*, Rome, 1970, pg. 39.

¹⁰ Miškovič-Pogorelov, *Spišské cyrilské úlomky XII.-XIII storočia v revue Bratislava III*, 1929, pgs. 80-87, in O. R. Halaga, *Slovanské Osídlenie Potisia a Východoslovenskí Gréckokatolíci*, Košice 1947, pg. 34.

the ongoing power of the aristocrats and the ruling dynasty. For example, it is of interest, that in the XVI century we have a significant increase of new villages in the Podkarpatska Verchovina. But this is not the result of greater colonisation as it would appear at first glance, but due to this new impetus at recording, classifying and making inventories of property.¹¹ This new movement of centralization set the stage for greater control.

Economic hardship and a curtailing of rights only increased during the various rebellions that took place in the Habsburg Empire in the 17th century and later. The end result was that after the beginning of the 18th century the locals were even in a much worse position.

However, ironically the bleak situation contributed to the evolution of a unique spiritual culture, a new expression of Byzantine spirituality. The local villages formed ecclesial microcosmoses with little cultural and religious contact with the outside world. Spiritual instruction was given in monasteries and a unique way of life developed. The area did not have a systematic church hierarchy, which again only provided for a unique development. This was all positive, while the negative side was that in result of this the locals did not develop an intellectual class capable of defending their rights or contributing to systems of self definition. The local bishops were ordained by neighboring eastern churches.

The Annual Letters for 1697 of the Jesuit military mission in Hungary describe the social condition of the clergy in these terms: "On weekdays the Valachian country-priests (*popae*) do the work of peasants; they plough, sow, reap, thrash, like the rest of the peasants. In the towns and villages of the Valachians there are no schools; the country-priests receive no tenths from their flock but they earn their bread, as has been said, by labour as peasants. What is more, those *popae* or parish-priests are counted among the *jobajones* which is the name for serfs, and are liable to contributions, exaction's, servile labours, no distinction being made between them and laymen and serfs."¹² This accurate description seems at first glance negative, but from a social-religious point of view, one can argue, that the situation was an expression of a unique authentic Christianity, which preserved and enhanced tenets of early Christian ideals.

The priesthood was passed from father to son, with training limited to the monasteries. The priests were uneducated, often illiterate, and memorizing the services. Preaching was not common and if there was reading it was from an ancient codex containing some homily of the Fathers translated into slavonic.¹³ "As a Jesuit annalist noted, they added nothing, no explanation, nothing concerning faith or morals, "being afraid if they acted otherwise the people would say: "Do not be more learned than your book. Read to us what has been approved. Keep your own ideas to yourself".¹⁴

¹¹ Gabriel, F., Přehled vývoje sociálně-hospodářských poměrů na Podkarpatské Rusi v minulosti, in: Podkarpatská Rus, J. Zatloukal (ed), Klub Přátel Podkarpatské Rusi, Bratislava, 43-52, 1936, pg. 48.

¹² Lacko M., The Union of Uzhorod, Slovak institute, Rome, 1976, pg. 25 citing Nilles, Nicolaus, Symbolae ad illustrandam historiam Ecclesiae Orientalis in terris Coronae Sti Stephani, vol. I-II, Oeniponte 1885. I, pg. 145.

¹³ Ibid. pg. 171.

¹⁴ Ibid. pg. 171.

The Ecclesial Unions

In the beginning of the seventeenth century there was a new initiative from the local rulers and Roman Catholic authorities to affiliate the schismatics into the structures of the official Roman Catholic Church and Habsburg Empire. This initiative consisted of the propagation of an official ecclesial union. In fact there were a number of these unions, but for our purposes the Union of Uzhgorod is important. The Union of Uzhgorod was accepted in 1646 by sixty three priests of the Mukachevo eparchy. In terms of ecclesial tradition and procedure the acts of these priests can hardly stand as representative of the then existing faithful. No document from this union exists, apart from a protocol from 1652. Given the overall number of non unified priests and faithful of the schismatics, this number is minor. There was also a union accepted in Marmarosh, in 1721 and brought about by bishop Bizanciy. The provisions of the Unions basically guaranteed the preservation of the Byzantine/Slavic local rite, preservation of married priests.

In this regard we may enquire why did this effort for union appear at this particular historical moment and not for example earlier. Many authors agree that the reason why efforts were increased to promulgate a union with the orthodox in this period are linked to the particular historical situation, when after the reformation, the Habsburgs and the Roman Catholic church needed to consolidate their power and influence. Given the danger of Reformation the schismatics needed to be brought more closely in allegiance. Typical is the statement of the metropolitan of Ostrihom Leopold Kollonich, "First Hungaria, has to be impoverished and then totally catholicised".¹⁵

As to the motives of the people accepting the Union we can only speculate. First one must state that the initiative for union came very much from the local aristocratic family the Drugeths, notably from Anna Drugeth the sister of the Roman Catholic bishop of Eger, George Jasushitch. Undoubtedly the locals under the lordship of these aristocrats thought, that by accepting this union their plight would be alleviated. Just as we can imagine the hardship they had to experience if they did not accept. The Catholic scholar Lacko writes: "...the Ruthenians, like the other Orthodox in Hungary, had no share in the rights, exemptions and immunities of the Catholic clergy, so that their social, spiritual and cultural condition was of a much lower standard than that of the Catholics."¹⁶

Many Catholic authors concur that economical issues and persecution were reasons for the union.¹⁷ Kubinyi observes "In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, the Hungarian kings forced non-Hungarian subjects to become Catholics of the Latin Rite. The same tactics were used by the Latin Rite clergy in XVII and XVIII centuries after the union."¹⁸

However the union did not erase poverty, which remained a constant threat even in official ecclesial organisation. For example A. V. Duchnovič the local Greek

¹⁵ P. Popradov, Podkarpatoruské pravoslaví, pgs. 280-283, pg. 281 in: Podkarpatská Rus, J. Zatloukal (ed), Klub Přátel Podkarpatské Rusi, Bratislava, 1936, pgs.

¹⁶ Ibid. pg. 169.

¹⁷ Kubinyi J., The History of Prjašiv Eparchy, Rome, 1970, pg. 48.

¹⁸ Ibid.

catholic cleric and important intellectual, while working as a secretary in the office of bishop Tarkovich was living in abject poverty.¹⁹ In his works, such as for example, *O pridvornoy zhizni* and others we see his accurate description of the conditions of constant servitude,

The combination of common life with a strong relationship with nature are the themes also among the works of A. V. Duchnovič. He combines the fate of the locals with a strong conception of nature.

The important issue for our purposes is whether this union had an affect on the local traditions. Although the union guaranteed the intactness of the ritual, the fact remains, that many issues related to the ritual were not resolved. What kind of dogmatics and theology were the easterners to follow? If the catholic ones, than this would entail a significant change, since the Byzantine right was developed and related to eastern theology. Further the issue of canon law, were the believers required to follow the eastern one or the western one? It was very difficult to preserve the integrity of the rite.²⁰

The majority of the uneducated population had no idea or clue what the union entailed. The acceptance of the union was a long process fraught with political coercion, and force. For example, Pachomius Baranovič a monk from Poland and superior of Krásny Brod and Jasenov, was sent to Rome to settle issues relating to the united monks (in 1663) and among other things asked in Rome for the monastery in Mukachevo. Lacko writes: "Since that monastery was still in the hands of Orthodox he begged that His Holiness would intercede with the Princess Rákóczy to restore the monastery to the Catholics and to bring back the clergy and the people on her domains to the Union."²¹ The statement speaks for itself. Even from the catholic side itself, there was opposition. There was for example continued pressure from the Bishop of Eger on the unified faithful and their bishop. Many catholic authors following the historical evidence remark that it took a long time before the consequences and meaning of the unions were entrenched among the people.²²

There is no doubt, that the non-educated believers did not really understand that they are in union with Rome. They continued to consider themselves as „Pravoslavny“ (Orthodox) as the evidence of the liturgical books used implies. Perhaps to abolish this problem, efforts were increased to give these believes a new designation. The term „Greek-Catholic was developed“. The term „Greek Catholic“ was promulgated after the union by Marie Theresia (1740-1780), (officially from 24th april 1773). The period of the nineteenth century was witness to the increased latinisation of the Byzantine rite and byzantine believers. The local bishops were, here and there, more inclined to introduce latin elements. For example, there was a great controversy about wearing beards. Bishop Tovt ordered his clergy to shave their beards. A local intellectual Dobryanskiy wrote to Pope Leo XIII, "An Appeal to His Holiness from the Hungarian-Ukrainian Clergy of Prjašiv/Pryashiv,s Eparchy concerning the Wearing of

¹⁹ J. Jirásek, A. V. Duchovnič jako básník a dramatik, pgs. 203-207. Pg. 204.

²⁰ Lacko M., The Union of Uzhorod, Slovak institute, Rome, 1976, pg. 178.

²¹ Ibid., pg. 184.

²² Ibid., pg. 161.

Beards by the Uniate Clergy".²³

The eastern orthodox monastic tradition was subsumed in the tradition of the so-called Basilian order. This seems to have resulted in a decrease of the traditional role of the monasteries. For example, Vasiliy Pronin notes, that according to the Greek catholic schematism, there were five monasteries in 1899 in the Mukachevo eparchy, with a tiny number of around twenty monks.²⁴ Compared to the previous period before the union, the monasteries and their role among the faithful was limited. Bishops were not chosen from monks as is the case in the Byzantine tradition, and the monasteries were limited in their preservation of the liturgical rites by Jesuit administrative features. They lost their educative force, since they were no longer the centers for education. In the eastern tradition monasteries are always linked with spiritual growth and education.

When the union was accepted a policy of latinisation was adopted. Thus for example, almost nothing remains from Ecclesial architecture before the seventeenth century, since the previous existing churches were destroyed and new buildings were being built which conformed more to baroque and other western styles. A similar fate encountered the icons. None survive from the earlier periods. They were presumably destroyed and a new iconographic tradition called "local baroque" was developed.²⁵

New unknown liturgical traditions which have serious dogmatical implications were introduced such as the veneration "of the divine heart of Jesus", to which even churches were consecrated, such as for example churches in Sabinov and elsewhere. The veneration of the heart was later very much supported by the more contemporary bishop Pavel Peter Gojdič (1927-1960). Later churches were dedicated to theological traditions of the west. In Litmanova the church was dedicated to the Immaculate conception of the Mother of God. If one has a look at the photographs of the Greek-catholic/Uniate priests and bishops, one sees them dressed in latin rite attire, beardless with no resemblance to the traditions of the eastern Church.

For a long time the faithful ignored this union and continued to function as previously. This is confirmed by historical evidence, where liturgical books used after the union contained supplications and prayers clearly stating belief in the Orthodox church and which did not originate in Russia. Some intellectuals voiced their opposition to the union. Figures such as Michael Andrella Orosvigovsky (born around 1630) who became a catholic and studied in catholic theological schools became orthodox and wrote tractates against the union. Other main protagonists of the union such as Bishop Basil Tarasovič relapsed into orthodoxy.²⁶

Many authors and contemporary thinkers argue, that the union brought many possibilities to the local population. Education in theological institutions was offered

²³ "Appelaciya k papi ot imeni uhro-russkaho duhovenstva Prjaševskoy eparchiiyi po voprosu o nošenii uniatskumy svjaščennykamy borody". In: Недзелский, ~ **Очеркь карпаторусской литературы**, Ужгородь, 1932, pg. 143.

²⁴ Пронин, В, История православной церкви на закарпатье, Svyato-Nikolaevskiy Mukachevskiy monastyr, 2005, pg. 447.

²⁵ V. Sachaněv, Malba ikon na Podkarpatské Rusi, in: Podkarpatská Rus, J. Zatloukal (ed), Klub Přátel Podkarpatské Rusi, Bratislava, 1936, pgs 245-248, pg. 246.

²⁶ Lacko M., The Union of Uzhorod, Slovak institute, Rome, 1976, pgs 93-94.

and so on. However, the fact remains, that the candidates for priesthood were educated in latin seminaries and schools, with latin doctrines and especially in a period favoring scholasticism. So in the end, when they did return, the gap between them and their people only increased and further importantly, they had no motivation in preserving that which conflicted with their training.

Later many intellectual figures emerged from the Uniate/Greek Catholic context and undoubtedly played a very important role in preserving certain traditions and contributed to a national awareness (for example, bishop Julius Fircač, Augustin Vološin). But their role as leaders lied in national, literary and historical spheres not in the theological realm. They did not develop theological models, which would create a more meaningful bridge between the traditions.

In the more recent period a greater awareness of religious matters occurred, which possibly coincided with national consciousness emerging in Europe especially in the nineteenth century. That “nation” as a category emerged and with it its “religious tradition”. There were many movements away from the Union, such as the one supported by priestmonk Sofronius, who worked for the Karlovac serbian metropolitan Pavel Nenadovic. The movement was destroyed by the Austrian government.

From the Roman Catholic Church together with the state officials we see a constant effort of trying to bring the schismatics into union. This appears in official documents. For example, the reasons for the establishment of the Presov eparchy, are given in the Bula Relata Semper (1818 Pope Pius VII) „to fulfil the desires of the unified nation of the greek rite, to more closely adhere to the true faith and so that the schismatics would more easily cling to its acceptance“²⁷

Self reflection

In any event until the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century there was little reflection among the locals about their affiliation or denomination. It was during the First World War and especially after the emergence of the Czechoslovak state when conditions changed and there was a possibility for religious freedom. But an interesting fact emerged, that the local population was largely unable to define their traditions or not interested in doing so. This is seen in the accounts related to those in favour of converting to the Orthodox Church or vice versa. Affiliation to a tradition was based on experience not on theory just as it was for the past thousand years.

After the First World War there was a large movement in favour of converting to Orthodoxy and rejecting the union. In this regard the decision to convert to this denomination or that was dictated by the manipulation and leadership of the church hierarchy and local priests. The population simply followed. This again points to the existing gap between local life and official leadership. For example, an author from that period Bogatyrev writes: “In Podkarpatska Rus I was surprised, that in the movement from the uniate church to the orthodox, the villagers, either converted as a whole to orthodoxy or as a whole remained uniates. Only a small percentage did not

²⁷ Pg. 30. Petra, 2008, Schematismus Prešovskej Gréckokatolickej Metropolie, 2008.

join. It is interesting, that in larger villages and more culturally developed villages, the orthodox and uniates divided into more or less equal groups."²⁸ This statement confirms what we observed, that the issue of self-awareness was linked to individuals exercising control over the locals and of course to the intentions and motives of these individuals either noble or not. Further we can see here a sense of community, where the community is the bearer of religious experience and as such it converts, not the individual.

The so-called Marmarosh trial (1913-1914) shows (a trial against local peasants who converted from the Catholic uniate Church to join the orthodox Church), the dimensions of the religious awareness of the population. The Hungarians saw in this movement to Orthodoxy a political statement, which supported Russia and the succession of territories from the Empire. On the other hand the trial, gives us some indication about the reasons for conversion to Orthodoxy. For example, the local state representative Andor Illés (apparently a hungarianised Ruthenian, a son of a greek-catholic/uniate priest Ilyashevich from Lipcha near Chust) accused the main guilty ones, that in the years 1910-1912 they stated, that the "uniate faith is not good, since at its head stands the pope. The Uniate faith is corrupted and was corrupted by the *popi* (priests). The *Popi* live only for their pockets and for their bodies. They do not know how, and do not want to pray, they only rush to enjoy themselves to have lunch, to enjoy themselves, to dance and drink and do not care about the nation and about the soul. We cannot need them, because they are Hungarians and we are Ruthenians. We need such priests, as are the saintly Russian monks." Another person was accused of saying: "The Uniate rituals are spoiled, the *Popi* take money from the people, they never have enough, whereas the Orthodox priests do not need to be paid."²⁹ Here we see that the religious awareness centered on practical issues not intellectual or theoretical ones. Further, those converting to Orthodoxy did not offer substantial religious reasons.

The people could not care less whether they were in union with Rome or whether they were Orthodox, as long as their *way of life* was preserved. Once this was tampered with, this occasioned an endeavor at self-definition. For example, there was huge opposition to the effort of the Hungarian government to abolish the Julian calendar in favour of the civil calendar.³⁰

As a response to the increasing interest in the Orthodox Church a new alternative emerged, which offered greater "autonomy" for the Uniate/Greek Catholic Church within the Roman Catholic fold. This for example appeared in a memorandum from

²⁸ B. Bogatyrev, Úlohy etnografa na Podkarpatské Rusi a na východním Slovensku, in: Podkarpatská Rus, J. Zatloukal (ed), Klub Přátel Podkarpatské Rusi, Bratislava, 1936, pgs. 293-298, pg. 293.

²⁹ M. Hrabec, Marmarošský proces a jeho podstata in: Podkarpatská Rus, J. Zatloukal (ed), Klub Přátel Podkarpatské Rusi, Bratislava, 1936, pgs. 57-60. Pg. 58.

³⁰ On one occasion in that time a certain uniate priest in the village of Sinovir, was curious to find out whether his believers in fact adhered to the new calendar and tested them by forcing them to eat meat and fat. Not to fall into trouble they put this food into their mouths, but they did not swallow it, after the priest left they spitted the food out continuing to fast according to the Julian calendar. See M. Hrabec, Marmarošský proces a jeho podstata in: Podkarpatská Rus, J. Zatloukal (ed), Klub Přátel Podkarpatské Rusi, Bratislava, 1936, pgs. 57-60. Pg. 59.

the 9th of November 1918, adopted by a council held in Uzhorod to decide about the political future of the region.

The inter war years contributed to the emergence of a new intellectual class, which in one artistic form or another attempted to confront this local heritage. A new reflection on the past was offered often idealised. For example the poet Vasil Grendža-Donskyj, (born 1887) in his poems idealised the past. In his poem „Kněživna Huculija“ (the princess Hutsuliye) from the year 1923 (collection Zoloti Kluči) he utilises typical features for the Podkarpatska area, speaking of witchcraft, witches. Here he talks about a prince from Constantinople, who hearing about the beauty of the local princess Huculija decides to go and marry her. However on the way he is robbed and peniless he arrives at the court to work as a common shepherd. The hungarian, italian, moravian princess as well as the Tatarian chan desire to marry the princess, but the prince from Constantinople kills them all and the beautiful princess becomes his wife. The theme of Constantinople is prominent not only in the poems of this author but elsewhere. Themes of rich natural beauty, abide.

Another important development was in the period after the Second World War. In 1950 the communist state government orchestrated an action which was to bring the faithful of the Uniate Church into the Orthodox church. The communists acted in antagonism to Rome, which was accused of co-operation with fascism and co-operation with counter revolutionary groups. The archbishop of Ostrihom was quoted as owning 40000 ha of land in Slovakia. The accusation of co-operation with fascism was evidenced by a decree, which was read on the 24 october 1939 before the war, in all churches and which called for unilateral support for the Tiso regime. The Bishop Pavol Gojdič was accused of supporting fascist allies such as the Banderovci during the war and of organising unifying missionary activity in the east to enable a more slight movement of German forces.³¹ In the city of Prešov a council of union was organised by the state authorities, now usually termed the „Prešov Sobor“ (Prešov Council). The council consisted of Uniate/Greek Catholic delegates, who were supposed to accept the union with the Orthodox Church. As an ecclesial act, this Council can have now validity due to it being orchestrated by the government. Officials from the Russian Orthodox church were sent over to handle this new „union“, since the local small orthodox church could not present people who would be able to handle such a flow of believers. Various notable individuals of the Uniate clergy were persecuted by the communists such as bishop Vasil Hopko (1904-1976), and bishop Pavel Peter Gojdič (1888-1960) and died a martyrs death.

The result of this union was not at all positive, since it manufactured a curious social religious phenomenon. This council divided the Greek catholic faithful into groups. First of all there were some Greek Catholics who accepted this conversion to Orthodoxy and remained Orthodox even after the fall of communism to this day. It was only gradually through the years, when they were able to build a more deeper understanding of what is the substance of the Byzantine tradition as witnessed in the Orthodox Church. The contemporary Orthodox Church in this region is largely com-

³¹ Proces proti vlastizradným biskupom Jánovi Vojtaššákovi, Michalovi Buzalkovi, Pavlovi Gojdičovi, 1951, Tatran Bratislava.

posed of such individuals.

Secondly, it seems that the majority of Greek Catholic believers tacitly accepted this union on the surface, while remaining faithful to their Greek Catholic church. These then formed the core of the Greek Catholic Church which was renewed after 1989. Thirdly the last group did not accept the union at all, and led an underground existence. What is important to emphasise that in all these processes any theoretical awareness was limited.

Here we can note a typical example of this development by recourse to a village called Markovce in the region of Zemplin. Here statistically there were no Orthodox but only Greek Catholic believers. All of them after the Prešov Sobor became nominally Orthodox, participating in Orthodox liturgies with an Orthodox priest. After the fall of communism the believers divided themselves into two groups, one group wishing to remain Orthodox the other to renew their affiliation with the Greek Catholic Church. After returning the Church to the Greek Catholic Church the Orthodox built their own church. I personally enquired about the mechanics of conversion in this village. Among the reasons given by the Orthodox why they remained Orthodox we can list the following: they rejected the Greek Catholic tradition, since Slovak was used in the Greek Catholic liturgy, because they believed in the Pope as an infallible human being, since they had a good Orthodox priest and they did not want to leave him, since they had bitter relationships with their Greek Catholic friends or relatives. I asked the Greek Catholic faithful why did they remain in the Orthodox Church in all these years and why did they leave the church now. The reply was, that „we participated in the Orthodox liturgies, since we found out, that they are the same as ours, their was no difference. We returned to the Greek Catholic Church, since we were baptised this way, since many of our sons and daughters married Roman Catholic partners and we wanted them to be in ecclesial unity. Further our priest told us, that only in the Roman Church there is salvation.“³²

We can see that affiliation to this or that ecclesial tradition is based on minimal theoretical knowledge or contemplation. The main issue is the liturgical life and all that goes with it. This communist union created a new phenomenon when, both the Orthodox and the Greek Catholic traditions claim to be the most representative of the local traditions.

Interaction between Judaism and the Byzantine tradition

An important issue in relation to the byzantine heritage in our region under discussion is an as yet unexplored and unnoticed factor of Judaism, notably the Hasidic tradition. Jewish exegesis and spiritual lore and tradition in many ways resembles and is related to the Byzantine tradition. This is according to the opinion of the author of this article especially pronounced in the region under discussion. We will limit our exploration only to the Hasidic tradition. One may believe that the Hasidic tradition enforced the traditions of Byzantine spirituality and vice versa the Byzantine tradition undoubtedly influenced the emergence of the Hasidic tradition of spirituality.

³² These questions I asked in 2008.

The Hasidic tradition was founded by Baal Shem Tov (or abbreviated form Besht; Israel ben Eliezer), who was born in Poland in the mid 1700s (possibly 1698 and died in 1760).³³ Baal Shem Tov was a figure who although Jewish totally fitted into the environment of the Carpathian region. He was a mystic who drew his experience and religious thought from the area in which he lived and of course in combination with his Jewish tradition. His life story is very similar to the Byzantine hagiographic way of describing a wandering mystic monk. We are told that in the earlier stages of his life he wandered around with his wife and came to a village in the foothills of the Carpathian mountains. He settled his wife in the village, while he himself went to the hills for solitude. A couple of times a week his wife would come to see him, and he would dig some clay for the pottery manufacturers, that his wife would sell to gain money for food.³⁴ He spent time in contemplation having visions and being taught from the prophet Shijah the Shilonite, who was also a great mystic. Baal Shem Tov loved nature. He spent time in a cave praying often six days in a row, eating little.

The region of the Carpathian Mountains in the period of Baal Shem Tov and much of the nineteenth century was conducive to a contemplative spirituality set in beautiful natural surroundings. The context was ideal for a spirituality linked with an appreciation of nature and the simple peasant style of life devoid of intellectual speculations. Due to its situation it was not so much controlled by the Church hierarchy in the context of Christianity or official Judaic traditions in relation to the Jewish tradition.

The Jews in the region of Carpathian Ruthenia were described as poor, being usually employed in the forest industries.³⁵ One author writes: "The Cultural level of Jews in Carpathian Ruthenia, is very low, and it would be difficult to find Jews anywhere in the world on such a low level as it is here. Undoubtedly the region of the Carpathian Ruthenia is the only region of Europe, which was left untouched by the illuminatory trends of the nineteenth century. The only religious direction is offered by the so-called Hasidic movement, which made its roots here and after a while turned completely wrong. Many sects and sects in opposition emerged, and these together with the adherents of certain "miraculous" rabbis are in constant mutual antagonism. Politicising orthodoxy forces the Jews into the most conservative forms. Miraculous rabbis, were able to utilize their dominant role among both Jews and non Jews, to govern this powerless and helpless mass. By all means this stops its development and maintains it in superstitions, fanaticism and backwardness. The children of the orthodox Jew's from their nascent youth, before their school age, attend the "cheders" where they learn only religious things; these cheders were usually the only schooling available for the children, which could not gain secular education."³⁶ Another author adds: "The Jewish tavernkeeper often enjoys greater trust among the people of the

³³ On religion studies generally see: Monika Zaviš *Repetitóriium z religionistiky 1*, Bratislava, Univerzita Komenského v Bratislave, 2008.

³⁴ A. N., Lowenkopf *The Hasidim: Mystical Adventures and Ecstasies*, Sherbourne Press, Inc. Los Angeles, 1973, p. 4.

³⁵ Chaim Kugel, *Židé na podkarpatské Rusi*, in: Podkarpatská Rus, J. Zatloukal (ed) Klub přátel Podkarpatské Rusi, Bratislava, 1936, p. 150.

³⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 151.

Carpathian Ruthenia/Podkarpatska Rus than a priest or a teacher."³⁷ This account written in the thirties of the twentieth century speaks for itself, but importantly suggests a mutual influence between Jewish spirituality and Orthodox Christianity.

The Hasidic movement just as the Byzantine tradition in this area dwelt on tradition and scorned modernity as dangerous. The understanding of prayer developed by the Baal Shem Tov, was very similar to the prayer techniques of the Byzantine spiritual tradition. For example, the Baal Shem Tov rejected mechanical prayers and mechanical devotions and created a technique combining body movement with words.³⁸ He believed, that prayer was outer (comprising the words of the service and words) and inner (the thoughts and emotions of the worshipper). The outer form was especially important in achieving the inner form. Through his teaching that one could pray anywhere and that all activity could be considered as prayer was very similar to the spirituality of the eastern tradition, especially the "Jesus Prayer tradition" (which emphasised the repetition of the words "Jesus Christ have mercy upon me a sinner"- these words could have been modified in various ways). The teaching of Baal Shem Tov, that one could pray anywhere and during any activity was important especially in a period, where hard labor on the fields and hard work consumed much of the time of the ordinary people.³⁹

Baal Shem Tov taught the ordinary people, that pious life was possible everywhere, and taught them by stories and words easily understood.⁴⁰ God could be approached through anything and every aspect of creation offered the reality of Divine Countenance. In this sense he actually developed a new broader epistemology, which was in a sense much more complex than the one offered by traditional religious epistemology, which had a tendency to limit knowledge to a certain form or revealed effect. This kind of inclusive spirituality was also characteristic for the Byzantine tradition.

The Hasidic movement coincided with the renewal of Byzantine monastic spirituality in this region (which could be seen in the *starets tradition* of spirituality), which was renewed in the monastic context by such figures as Paisiy Velichkovskiy. For the Hasidic movement the Kabbalah tradition was important, while for the Byzantine renewal the Philokalia was important (the Philokalia was a compilation of important Byzantine and post Byzantine authors on spirituality). Just as the Philokalia so the Kabbalah tradition had to be interpreted and ideally one needed a guide to truly understand both traditions. Just as the tradition of the Kabbala so the Philokalia, needed to be explained. Both traditions expressed themselves in difficult terms, which were linked with direct spiritual experience. Further, interestingly the Kabbala employs a lot of sexual imagery, to describe the union of God and Israel, which influenced Hasidism. The concept of *theosis* or divinisation was also a prominent feature of Byzantine theology. The Besht believed in *Devekut*, which means a certain merging of the person with

³⁷ B. Bogatyrev, *Úlohy etnografa na Podkarpatské Rusi a na východním slovensku*, in: Podkarpatská Rus, J. Zatloukal (ed), Klub přátel Podkarpatské Rusi, Bratislava, 1936, p.296.

³⁸ A. N., Lowenkopf, *The Hasidim: Mystical Adventures and Ecstasies*, Sherbourne Press, Inc. Los Angeles, 1973, p. 7

³⁹ *Ibidem*.

⁴⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 12.

God, without the loss of ones personality. Not everyone was capable of reaching the higher levels of *Devekut*. The Besht did not give importance to rules, and had seen no value in fixed times of prayer and valued more the *devekut* than ritual.⁴¹ This kind of spontaneity of prayer is also seen in the monastic tradition of Paisiy Velichkovsky and others.

Just like a typical byzantine saint Baal Shem Tov was moving around and curing all people from diseases, curing mental and physical disorders, making barren women fruitful.⁴² Apparently he could see the angel of death and could get rid of evil. In an age and region where belief in evil spirits, demon possession was rampant, he was chasing out evil spirits easily. This kind of chasing out of spirits is present in many religious contexts of the Carpathians. A stark fight with the devil is part and parcel of Byzantine spirituality.

The primary teaching of Baal Shem Tov was that God is everywhere to be found, which can only result in joy. The *Shekhinah* shines in all things. "Sin and evil are as illusory as the absence of God. Rabbi Israel preached that even the Evil One himself was part of God,s glory and could be used by man as a means toward goodness and virtue. Do not despise sin, he urged, transform it to purity."⁴³ This kind of transformation of the passions or evil towards a passionate love of God is similar to the monastic tradition of the east.

Jacob Joseph ben Zevi ha-Kohen Katz, a Hasidic follower wrote a book about his leader, which contained stories, teachings and so on. His first book was called *Toledot Ya`akov Yosef*. Here he attacked the rabbis as devils and claimed that they are only interested in taking money from the poor and their work was only to overawe and not to inspire.⁴⁴ The message of Jacob Joseph was that nothing comes out of self-mortification and sorrow. Joy is the key. Even in evil thoughts one can find ways of changing them to the good. Even in evil thoughts the sparks of the *Shekhinah* exist.⁴⁵ These sparks can be freed and lifted to God by the believers. Spiritual forms of prayer combined with sensuous joy can transform evil inclinations to good.⁴⁶ The community was viewed as a living organism with the Zaddik at its head. The importance of the community and the spiritual father or leader as well as a naturally anti hierarchical disposition was also strongly present in the Christian tradition of this region.

⁴¹ A. N., Lowenkopf *The Hasidim: Mystical Adventures and Ecstasies*, Sherbourne Press, Inc. Los Angeles, 1973, p. 38.

⁴² The ethic of love is of course present in Judaism already in the teachings of the Talmud. We can cite the well known passage of Rabbi Akiva who declared "Love your neighbour as yourself" (Lev. 19: 18), this the greatest principle of the Torah". Further, the example of Hillel, who was challenged by a Gentile to "teach me the Torah while I stand on one leg", replied: "That which is hateful to you-do not do unto others. The rest is commentary." Further, contrary to much later Christian interpretation the halacha specifies that saving life takes precedence over the observance of the halacha itself.

⁴³ A. N., Lowenkopf, *The Hasidim: Mystical Adventures and Ecstasies*, Sherbourne Press, Inc. Los Angeles, 1973, p. 20.

⁴⁴ A. N., Lowenkopf, *The Hasidim: Mystical Adventures and Ecstasies*, Sherbourne Press, Inc. Los Angeles, 1973, p. 40.

⁴⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 42.

⁴⁶ *Ibidem*.

Conclusions

It was not the intention of this paper to identify elements, which are unique to the local religious tradition and give their summary. These are deserving of further scholarly intention. For example, ecclesial architecture, such as the wooden churches deserves further research. Most important are the unique ecclesiastical hymns, and numerous kinds of musical compositions. Some such as the so-called “kolyadky”, (types of Christmass carols) predate the Christian tradition being linked with ancient beliefs of the slavs linked to nature. But what is absolutely fascinating about this tradition is its total identification with ordinary life. The religious expression was an everyday experience, religious rites marked the entire day, entire year. There was no separation between the official church hierarchy and the people. There was an extraordinary conflation of the church and its communion. There were religious rites for every moment and event in life and churchgoing was a way of life.

From our account we can reach some conclusions with recourse to later developments.

First of all it needs to be said, that the Byzantine rite tradition was not developed for any specific ethnic or national group be it the Slovaks, Hungarians or other nationalities. It was brought from Byzantium as a response to the local needs at a certain time and certain context. In our area under discussion this rite could have been followed by any national or ethnic group. However, later on, the Byzantine tradition was claimed as a national expression of all sorts of nationalities, such as the Ruthenians, Slovaks or other groups. While it is possible that this religious tradition did in fact contribute to the development of Ruthenian culture, or any other ethnic culture, this was not its primary goal. Especially after the nineteenth century, the national movements across Europe tended to claim traditions for their self-awareness. In our topic this is reflected by a number of authors. For example, the author J. Kubinyi, calls this area “Pryashivshtchyna” and the inhabitants following the eastern traditions as “Ukrainians”.⁴⁷ Halaga, considers these people as Slovaks. He writes: “We can consider the idea of V. Pogorělov as right, that a Slovak helped Saints Cyril and Methodius in translating liturgical books, since in them we can see the word “hej” which is only among the Slovaks.”⁴⁸ Halaga further devalues the national meaning of Ruthenian and sees the term Ruthenian in line with religion and not nationality.⁴⁹ Further, he identifies Ruthenian as Greek catholic and according to him the Greek catholic faith existed already in the times of saints Cyril and Methodius. He further states that the term “Stara vira” was later changed to the more practical “Rusnak” (Ruthenian).⁵⁰ On the other hand the Ruthenian national authors believe, that the followers of this rite were Ruthenians understood not as a religious term but a national term. In any event, these developments are typical for what we have been implying. Later categories of national and political identity were projected on to a context, which developed on its own. Inte-

⁴⁷ Kubinyi J., *The History of Prjašiv Eparchy*, Rome, 1970.

⁴⁸ Bratislava I. Str. 183, in O. R. Halaga, *Slovanské Osídlenie Potisia a východoslovenskí Gréckokatolíci*, Košice, 1947. Pg. 29.

⁴⁹ O. R. Halaga, *Slovanské Osídlenie Potisia a východoslovenskí Gréckokatolíci*, Košice, 1947. 105.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.* pg. 11

restingly, national awareness was often raised by Roman Catholic clerics and intellectuals, who as educated individuals felt the need to delineate identity and culture. However, they usually did this not on the religious platform but on the national and cultural one. But it was the religious one, which created this identity in the first place.

Secondly, as we have seen, the local traditions developed with either no conscious intention of denominational expression or no desire to be changed or missionised. The locals were interested in preserving their way of life, which developed into a unique local and authentic expression of the Byzantine tradition. The population saw no reason to define itself or express itself in theoretical ways. If one wants to study this particular religious expression one asks "how are things done" and not "who is doing them". It was the official policies of the state, the manipulation and ideological intentions of the clergy, which attempted to force the population into particular molds of denominationalism. This proved negative and destructive. Again recent books on this topic testify to the continuing confusion and perhaps deliberate policy of confusion. For example, a book called „Dejiny Gréckokatolíkov Podkarpatska“ (History of the Greek Catholic Church in SubCarpathia) by Vladimirus de juxta Hornad, claims the existence of the Orthodox church only in the Twentieth century, whereas it traces the existence of the Greek Catholics to the early church.⁵¹ What is even more fascinating is that the author attacks the Latin church for all sorts of injustices. For example, pointing out that the policy of the Latin church was to create Latin eparchies on territories containing a majority of Eastern Rite churches, such as Spiš, Rožňava, B. Bystica, Satu Mare etc (591). Correctly adding that Latinisation is the predominant reason for the existence of the Orthodox church. Many other books appear claiming this tradition for this or that religious denomination. The fact is, as we can state, that the local population had little theoretical awareness of their religious affiliation. For them their way of life was important and not how it was expressed.

After the pressure of denominationalism was introduced and the policy of union was pursued, the local tradition entered a new phase of existence, which again influenced it. A policy of Latinisation, created a new tradition, the Greek Catholic tradition, which was a new development, since it created a new synthesis of Latin culture with elements of the local Eastern tradition. As such it was no longer the previous tradition, but its new interpretation. This development again was complicated by the context of freedom after the First World War, when there was an increasing interest in Orthodoxy. This interest was again largely practical than theoretical. Authors such as Hadžega V., state that before the war there were no Orthodox here, and that the Orthodox were started by migrants from Russia or elsewhere.⁵² This is certainly right on a broader perspective, but we may ask, who were these people before the Unions? A new denominational possibility emerged and some defined themselves as Orthodox, but again with little theoretical preparation.

In the contemporary period, we may conclude, that the tradition is being gradually destroyed by many factors. The fact is that young people are moving away

⁵¹ See pages, 247, 384, 243.

⁵² Hadžega, V., *Přehled církevních dějin na Podkarpatské Rusi*, in: *Podkarpatská Rus*, J. Zatloukal (ed), Klub Přátel Podkarpatské Rusi, Bratislava, 1936, pgs 270-278. Pg. 278.

from villages, which were the main carriers of the tradition, the liturgical traditions are being changed in order for them to be put in line with the liturgical traditions of the greater churches, church Slavonic is being slowly eroded away from services and amateur and incorrect translations given into modern languages. The para-liturgical traditions, hymnography extra-ecclesial religious expressions are all becoming virtually extinct. Obviously we understand that the tradition itself developed through the centuries into what it is or was, but the fact is that the tradition now has very little resemblance to what it was previously. A case in point, when the new calendar was being introduced in the period of the First world war, people were upset. Now, when the Old calendar is being introduced back again by the Orthodox church, people protest against this as destroying their tradition.

Other avenues of thought could be explored in this topic such as the interaction with the Jewish context. Here the point of contact are not identical dogmas or beliefs, but the way things were approached, the way things were done. We saw a number of parallels with the hasidic tradition.

Further, it is amazing that the official Churches provide no self critical reflection in their historical role in this region. Books are continued to be published with little objective intention and an ideological aim. This is indicative of an immature philosophy of history pertaining to this field and a history not built on life, but a history built on artificial lines of demarcation and theoretical building.

As this paper has shown, the example of the religious development and tradition in our region, is an interesting case, where we can state that definition and boundaries were not created prior to the introduction of a tradition, but subsequently, and by foreign institutions or elements. Outside delineation and theoretical systematisation did not correspond with the facts on the ground and is thus artificial. This calls into question the wider notions and mechanics of identity building, of boundary creation and demarcation. All the more important in a globalised world. Further, it points to our thought expressed in this paper, that a tradition is preserved only when it is living and not in museums, systematic intellectual accounts. The more this tradition was explored the more it was gradually dying. The more it was being defined the more it was destroyed or at best transformed into something new.

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The use of border signs in the Carpathian region: Contribution to the understanding of borders in the Middle and Early Modern Age*

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Closer attention has been paid to historical phenomenon of borders over the recent years. And yet the research does not only focus on traditional themes such as e.g. stability or mobility of borders. The research evaluates borders as manifestation of proprietary, political, ethnical, lingual, cultural and religious relationships.¹ Presence and influence of borders is associated with social and religious awareness which was in different forms related to environment and influenced men's activities in the past. Borders as well as other areas marked with crosses are related to mentioned categories. Numerous studies have concerned within individual European regions with themes of crosses and signs located in the landscape, especially on stones. We are familiar with complex elaboration of this topic e.g. from Switzerland or Sweden. Within the frame of Central and Eastern Europe, systematic researches from Czech Republic and Belarus have produced remarkable results. Particular localities in Slovenia and Poland have been evaluated according to interdisciplinary procedures mostly using the knowledge from religious studies, semiotics, ethnology and archaeology.² Here we would like to focus on extension, forms, functions and meaning of border signs, mainly crosses, in the central region of Carpathian Mountains in Slovakia. The area developed in the Middle Age and modern times' Hungarian kingdom where it belonged politically. Borders gained specific function in this multicultural environment when they could often present only formal barrier within opened civilisation area. On the contrary, real proprietary and administrative division of the area determined its continual existence. The work from Hungarian ethnographer Lajos Takács, where the author have assessed modern times evidence of cultural importance of border stones in christened folk society, has enriched the research of relationship with the studied region. In our own contribution we have been concentrating on mapping of border crosses occurrence in territorial-administrative unit of Zvolen County during broader time period from the 13th till 18th/19th century.³ We will also focus on the development of border crosses and

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¹ SCHNEIDER, R.: *Lineare Grenzen. Vom frühen bis zum späten Mittelalter.* In: *Grenzen und Grenzregionen. Frontières et régions frontalières.* hrsg. W. Haubrichs – R. Schneider, Saarbrücken 1994, p. 51-68; POHL, W.: *Soziale Grenzen und Spielräume der Macht.* In: *Grenze und Differenz im frühen Mittelalter.* hrsg. W. Pohl – H. Reimitz, Wien 2000, p. 11-18.

² SCHWEGLER, U.: *Schalen- und Zeichensteine der Schweiz.* Basel 1992; COLES, J. M.: *Patterns in a Rocky Land: Rock Carvings in South-West Upland, Sweden.* Uppsala 2000; ЛЯЎКОЎ, Э. et al.: *Культавыя камяні Беларусі.* In: *Studia mythologica Slavica.* Vol. III., 2000, p. 43-56; URFUS, V. – VÍT, J. – WIESER, S. et al.: *Kamenné kříže Čech a Moravy.* Praha 2001; PUHAR, J. – PLETERSKI, A.: *Krkavški Kamen v ustnem izročilu in v sklopu obredne prostorske strukture.* In: *Studia mythologica Slavica.* Vol. VIII., 2005, p. 57-74; MIERZWIŃSKI, A.: *Ślezańska układanka: strukturalno-semiotyczne poszukiwania kontekstu historycznego.* Wrocław 2007.

³ TAKÁCS, L.: *Idol Stones as Boundary Markers.* In: *Acta ethnographica Academiae scientiarum Hungaricae.*

symbols in Zvolen County as well as in neighbouring regions in the Middle Ages and in the early modern times. Subsequently we will interpret gained knowledge on the basis of comparative study considering the particularities of local development. On the example of selected areas, besides the characteristics of borders in formal and functional aspects, we will also point out its position within thoughts and ideas of both urban and rural inhabitants.

The oldest written property boundaries in the area of present time Slovakia contain initially just sporadic, however later regular references to border signs. First written record proving the existence of a sign at the property border present boundaries of St. Benedict over the river Hron abbey (Hronský Beňadik) in 1075.⁴ The following documents bring numerous data about signs at the borders of medieval village land areas. Besides terms *meta* or *signum* also term *crux*, generally standing for a cross, is found in different sources. Only rarely a cross located on a stone occurs amongst oldest evidence (in 1113). Usually crosses were located on trees, whereby by its closer characteristics the oaks were mostly concerned. The following tree species were also represented: beech, linden, willow tree and pear tree.⁵ Research that is using the ethnographic material links the presence of oaks in the medieval country with its versatile utilization by the nourishment of people, livestock breeding, building, handicrafts, cults and leechcraft.⁶ Except the position of trees in folk culture we can also consider its significance in religious symbolism. In biblical books the oaks are repeatedly mentioned as living monuments denoting places associated with important events. Its positive meaning has been predominating in written sources since early Christian period.⁷ According to H.-W. Nicklis, oak was identical with term border to certain degree, which could gain three meanings: border sign, border sign on trees/oaks, border.⁸

Following the oldest recorded borders' perambulations from Zvolen County the denomination *meta* gained generalized meaning when regarding directly a boundary stone (landmark). In cases when geographic object has been marked as *pro meta*, boundaries or landmarks which delimitation was based on border sign, special landmark or other orientation points are concerned. Trees with signs or landmarks repre-

Tom. XXXII., Fasc. 1-4, 1983, p. 103-122; MALINIÁK, P.: „Meta ad modum crucis sculpta.“ Križe na hraničiach majetkov vo Zvolenskej stolici. In: *Svätec a jeho funkcie v spoločnosti I.* eds. R. Kožiak – J. Nemeš, Bratislava 2006, p. 393-410 (with English summary).

⁴ in *Gran, ubi signum sancti Benedicti est in quadam arbore.* MARSINA, R. (ed.): *Codex diplomaticus et epistolaris Slovaciae I.* (other such CDSI, Vol. I.-II., Bratislava 1971 – 1987) no. 58, p. 54. Borders of monastery properties were also defined by other signs. However boundaries present later interpolation. It is questionable to what extend the older status was taken into consideration.

⁵ CDSI I., no. 69, p. 66; no. 74, p. 71; no. 143, p. 114; no. 190, p. 145-147; no. 205, p. 160; no. 339, p. 245; CDSI II., no. 130, p. 87; no. 165, p. 110; no. 206, p. 141; no. 208, p. 144; no. 257, p. 175; no. 342, p. 238-239; no. 607, p. 421-422.

⁶ TYSZKIEWICZ, J.: Dąb w kulturze Słowian wczesnośredniowiecznych. In: *Geografia historyczna Polski w średniowieczu. Zbiór studiów.* Warszawa 2003, p. 165-171; SZABÓ, P.: *Woodland and Forests in Medieval Hungary.* Oxford 2005, p. 63, 76.

⁷ KOBIELUS, S.: *Florarium christianum. Symbolika roślin – chrześcijańska starożytność i średniowiecze.* Kraków 2006, p. 52-55; FORSTNER, D.: *Die Welt der christlichen Symbole.* Innsbruck – Wien 1986, p. 156-157.

⁸ Author assessed German-Slavic relations and ideas of borders in Elbe valley, Silesia and Prussia. NICKLIS, H.-W.: Von der „Grenitze“ zur Grenze. Die Grenzidee des lateinischen Mittelalters (6. – 15. Jhdt.). In: *Blätter für deutsche Landesgeschichte.* Bd. 128, 1992, p. 21.

senting boundaries were quite frequent.⁹ Stones identified with border were also found in medieval sources (perambulations). Following the evidence, marked natural stones as well as fixed boundary stones were concerned.¹⁰ There are more detailed descriptions of boundary stones mentioned in documents from early modern times, which already emphasize its role.¹¹ Phrases in different language variations have been used to name these boundary stones or landmarks in younger sources from the region. Besides Latin, also Slovak and German language were used: *lapis limitaris*, *mezny kamen* or *marckstein*.¹² They have common meaning – intentionally processed and marked boundary stones.

In association with term *meta* also term *signum* occurs in documents. A source from 1282 has mentioned name *metis et signis* standing for bounds of Poniky village, whereby the first border is called *meta sive signum*.¹³ Name *crux* represented synonym of term *signum*. It could be understood mostly as a boundary sign (a cross). Less frequently designation of whole geographic object is concerned.¹⁴ From the descriptions in oldest documents emerge that crosses marked borders in documented cases. A tree with a border in form of a cross on the eastern boundary of Stojanova Lúka area is mentioned in a written document from 1285. Also documents from 1293, 1295 and 1296 mention trees marked with crosses. Elm tree with two crosses have occurred in one of the documents. One of the crosses divided the area of royal gamekeepers and the second one designated aristocratic property. The crosses were most probably located on both sides of a tree trunk. According to mentioned reference we can assume that the location of signs was determined by sides of neighbouring properties.¹⁵ When evaluat-

⁹ In 1263 *duas metas, quarum una est arbor tulgfa et alia est meta terrea*. WENZEL, G. (ed.): *Codex diplomaticus Arpadianus continuatus III*. (other such CAC, Vol. I.-XII., Pest 1860 – 1874) no. 31, p. 41. In 1285 *due mete arborree*. SZENTPÉTERY, I. – BORSA, I. (eds.): *Regesta regum stirpis Arpadianae critico-diplomatica II/2-3*. (other such RA, Vol. II./2-4, Budapest 1961 – 1987) no. 3245, p. 319. In 1287 *arbor pomi silvestris pro meta*. CAC XII., no. 379, p. 454. In 1340 *arbor magna theul dicta pro meta*. JUCK, E. (ed.): *Výsady miest a mestečiek na Slovensku I*. Bratislava 1984, no. 159, p. 131.

¹⁰ In 1295 *ad unam metam terream in qua est unus lapis rotundus positus... ascendit iterum unum monticulum in quo est lapis unus magnus positus*. FEJER, G. (ed.): *Codex diplomaticus Hungariae ecclesiasticus ac civilis VI./1*. (other such CDH, Vol. I.-XI., Budae 1828 – 1844) p. 347. In 1300 *habet metam... unum lapidem magnum inter duas arbores querci*. RA II./4, no. 4321, p. 249. In 1329 *ad quendam lapidem, qui est pro meta*. Magyar Országos Levéltár Budapest (other such MOL), Diplomatikai levéltár (other such DL) 84 686. In 1358 *duos lapides pro metis assignassent*. NAGY, I. – TASNÁDI NAGY, Gy. (eds.): *Codex diplomaticus Andegavensis VII*. (other such CDA, Vol. I.-VII., Budapest 1878 – 1920) no. 110, p. 206.

¹¹ In 1552 *saxum pro meta vicissim relinquissent et renovassent... metam unam antiquam, lapidibus erectam reperissent, quam renovassent; meta saxea antiqua in fluvio Gron... saxum unum ingentem metalem in cuius latere cruces excise essent reperissent*. In 1556 *saxum illud maximum... in signum reambulationis istius ac metarum divisionis erectum*. Štátny archív v Banskej Bystrici (other such ŠA BB), Pobočka Zvolen (other such Pob. ZV), fond Magistrát mesta Zvolen (other such MZV), fasc. 12, sign. V. D 2, sign. V. D 6.

¹² ŠA BB, Pobočka Banská Bystrica (other such Pob. BB), fond Archív mesta Lubietová (other such AML), sign. ML – 70c, sign. ML – 70d; ŠA BB Pob. BB, fond Mesto Banská Bystrica (other such MBB), fasc. 3, num. 17/a, pag. 1, 3.

¹³ IPOLY, A. – NAGY, E. – VÉGHÉLY, D. (eds.): *Codex diplomaticus patrius Hungaricus VI*. (other such CDP VI., Budapest 1876) p. 286, no. 206.

¹⁴ Perambulations at the southern border of Zvolen County show different meaning of “a sign”. In 1361 *in cuius montis vertice partes signum pro meta possuissent*. In 1425 *arbor circumdatus lapidibus pro signoposito metam*. ŠA BB Pob. ZV, fond Magistrát mesta Krupina, fasc. 5, no. 43, 46/a.

¹⁵ MALINIAK, P.: „Meta ad modum...”, p. 395.

ing polish sources, R. Kiersonowski came to a conclusion that on the contrary, two crosses positioned on a tree presented an axis identical with a boundary line, not sides of two neighbours. Crosses located this way helped to bypass the borders.¹⁶

Methods of marking out the property boundaries, especially village bounds and its parts help us to understand the content of perambulations. So far known general knowledge of delimitation can be related to different conditions in assessed region. Regarding the genesis (reasons of perambulations' formation) we can classify perambulations into three groups. The first group presents perambulations, which were formed with a purpose to write down already existing boundaries. The second group includes perambulations recorded during delimitation of re-designated properties. The third group is formed by perambulations, which repeatedly record, add or specify the progress of delimitation in two previous groups. Term repeated perambulation was also used for this type of delimitation. A certain procedure was carried out by properties delimitation, especially by the donated ones. After an order from the king or royal officers, the owner of the property was appointed and introduced to the ownership (*statutio et introductio*) on announced date in attendance of witnesses from the area, deputy of trustworthy office and royal representative. During the introduction to the ownership, authorized persons carried out boundaries delimitation and found out, whether the neighbours were not against this delimitation (*contradictio*).¹⁷

Relatively little evidence is found in the sources about the course of boundaries delimitation itself. The documents from the Arpad dynasty period describe bounds delimitation by boundaries marking,¹⁸ boundaries enclosing,¹⁹ circling (walkabouts) and marking out²⁰ or more frequently by dividing.²¹ All these terms have very similar meaning and are often synonymous. Accessibility, extent and area segmentation as well as a distance from the place, where the delimitation began could have influenced the boundaries delimitation and it's circling. These conditions also influenced the way of borders walkabouts, which was usually realized, because of the presence of officials, on the back of a horse.²² With greater accessibility of the area also the accuracy of delimitation was better. Except zonal boundaries in less accessible areas we can observe that the course of boundaries was mostly determined by lines. In general linear forms

¹⁶ KIERSNOWSKI, R.: Znaki graniczne w Polsce średniowiecznej. In: *Archeologia Polski*. Tom. V., No. 2, 1960, p. 280.

¹⁷ ŠVECOVÁ, A.: Inštitúcia hodnoverných miest ako kvázi verejných notárov v stredoveku. In: *Acta Universitatis Tyrnaviensis. Iuridica*. Tom. II., 2005, p. 175-177; LUKAČKA, J.: Ohraničovanie majetkových celkov v stredoveku. In: *Archaeologia historica*. Vol. 29, 2004, p. 61-63.

¹⁸ In 1250 *eandem terram... fecimus assignari*. CDSI II., no. 349, p. 243.

¹⁹ ++1282 *metis et signis undique circumdando*. CDP VI., no. 206, p. 286. In 1295 *statueret eisdem comiti... metis circumdando*. RA II./4, no. 2008, p. 145.

²⁰ In 1293 *presentibus omnibus commetaneis et vicinis circuendo et reambulando ac novas metas iuxta veteres erigendo*. CAC X., no. 80, p. 119.

²¹ In 1255 *super metis seu terminis... distingui fecimus*. CDSI II., no. 491, p. 341. In 1263 *a terris... fecimus separari novas metas circumquaque in eadem elevari faciendo*. MOL DL 84 671. In 1287 *erectis metis faceremus separari... ipsas terras separavit*. CAC XII., no. 379, p. 453-454. In 1291 *homine nostro metis distinctis... reambulate metis distinctis... statuisset distinctis metis*. CAC V., no. 20, p. 30-31. In 1295 *certis metis et signis distinguendam*. CDH VI./1, p. 346. In 1295 *statuisset... novis metis separando*. RA II./4, no. 4008, p. 145.

²² For the term *circumequitacio* in Silesia see KARP, H.-J.: *Grenzen in Ostmitteleuropa während des Mittelalters. Ein Beitrag zur Entstehungsgeschichte der Grenzlinie aus dem Grenzraum*. Köln – Wien 1972, p. 117-118.

of boundaries have been widespread since late Antiquity and early Middle Ages. Basics of linear forms of boundaries were presented by marking of boundary points and its connection with imaginary line. This type of delimitation has been used in the Eastern Europe since the 13th century.²³

Amongst the basic formulations used in documents' dispositions belongs determination of property expanse "with all utilities and supplements". Its terminological equivalent can be found "in all its boundaries and bounds as these are designated and marked all around". Both seemingly simple formulations point out different understanding and complexity of linear boundaries delimitations.²⁴ The first formulation is often connected with perambulations, however in more cases when utilizations and supplements are mentioned in documents, property delimitation is not present. This state could be partly influenced by the fact that the boundaries had already been written down in older documents. In other cases the documents state the whole villages *cum pertinenciis*, *cum appendiciis*, *cum attinenciis*, i.e. determined by boundary points, which course was preserved in the collective memory of local people. Therefore written sources, useful only for literate community, are in contrast to real social conditions.²⁵ Well known and mainly respected course of boundaries (*cursus metarum*, *cursus metales*) is besides repeated perambulation also recorded in registers of bounds appurtenances. As an example serve disputes of squires from Mičiná village over a land with their neighbours, during which they defended the ownership of occupied areas within their boundaries based on their ownership law.²⁶ Understanding of an abstract border corresponds with sporadic evidence linked with a verb representing a course or direction of border lines. According to these a border rises up on a hill or extends towards a tree – linden tree.²⁷ A simple question can be asked in term of this case, however without any simplifying answer. What was the attitude (in level of spiritual ideas) of a medieval man to the boundaries of the area surrounding him?

We only dispose of mostly indirect evidence from different sources related to the questions regarding this subject. Reconnaissance and inspections of land boundaries belong here, which are especially important for economical as well as social life of village inhabitants. In the reality these not only served during the standard process of property delimitation, which came into operation. Historical research has so far paid less attention to ritual perambulations related usually to calendar cycle. They fulfilled territorial, legal as well as religious function. According to formal signs in the region, evidence from urban environment belongs here. A brief record that mentions paying

²³ SCHNEIDER, R.: *Lineare Grenzen...*, p. 56-60, 67; MARKOVÁ, M.: *Vymezování hranic a jejich značení v přírodě ve středověku*. In: *Regiony – časoprostorové průsečíky?* red. R. Šimůnek, Praha 2008, p. 99.

²⁴ NICKLIS, H.-W.: *Von der „Grenitze“...*, p. 20-21.

²⁵ MYŚLIWSKI, G.: *Boundary Delimitation in Medieval Poland*. In: *Historical Reflections on Central Europe. Selected Papers from the Fifth World Congress of Central and East European Studies*. ed. S. J. Kirschbaum, London – New York 1999, p. 28; MARKOVÁ, M.: *Vymezování hranic...*, p. 103.

²⁶ In 1430 *plures particulas terrarum arabilium, pratorum, silvarum, rubetorum et aliarum utilitatum intra metas et cursus metales earundem possessionum existencium*. MOL DL 63 940. In 1506 *universas metas suas utque montes, colles..., prata, fenilia ac generaliter omnes metas suas*. MOL DL 63 982.

²⁷ In 1291 *directe ascendit ipsa meta ad montem Wrpyn*. MOL DL 84 676. In 1351 *inde iret meta ad unam hasfa meta terrea circumdata*. Slovenský národný archív v Bratislave, fond Rod Benický z Beníc, Příbovec a Rakova, Archív príboveckej línie, sign. H, fasc. I, no. 1.

for fabrics for people, who rode their horses to the cross was already found in the city book of Banská Bystrica from the 14th century.²⁸ City administration book of Zvolen contains a notarial record from 1469 according to which Zvolen inhabitants carried out boundaries perambulations on their horses during Pentecost ceremony. The town earmarked finances to pay for lunch and drinks for mentioned people.²⁹ Seemingly low statement value of records in this case does not exclude the possibility of its content interpretation. Within the central European area, especially in German speaking areas, imploring horse rides belonged to typical forms of traditional perambulation. Besides other annual ceremonies, this form of procession was carried out also during Pentecost. Imploring horse rides included a mass or a blessing from a priest, ride around the boundaries on horses back with a cross and a flag, sanctification of fields, singing, praying and refreshment for the attendants. This ritual continued in different regions even in 19th and 20th century. Following its origin it can be classified into manifestations of agricultural folk belief with the presence of both christen and non-Christian elements. At the same time it is necessary to emphasise that this is just one type (although quite distinct) of several forms of perambulations. The origin of these perambulations could have varied depending on religious ideas, social and ethnical structure of inhabitants.³⁰ Despite mentioned evidence our knowledge is mostly of a general character. After all this is understandable as the boundaries are demonstrated in preserved sources mostly in its original form.

Besides ideas linked with boundaries it is possible to observe the development and improvement of forms of land delimitation. Among the first evidence proving the presence of boundary signs related to evaluated region belongs the perambulation of properties of Bzovík monastery, which had been recorded in a written form in 1135 even before it was confirmed in 1262 by the sovereign. There are innumerable signs on trees in the area of northern border of monastery properties between a place called Lopata and a Lom plain mentioned in a written document (*innumerabilia signa super arbores posita*).³¹ Probably signs (crosses) located on border trees were concerned, which were characteristic for boundaries marking in older period. According to about 200 years younger source, crosses in the same area can be found located on stones by the spring called Čierne bahno (Black morass). In the perambulations of Bzovík priory from 1471 the delimitation continued towards mentioned spring, where crosses on

²⁸ *Item quando equitaverunt ad crucem pro pannis molendinatoris consumpserunt 46 gross.* FEJÉRPATAKY, L. (ed.): *Magyarországi városok régi számadáskönyvei.* (other such Számadáskönyvei) Budapest 1885, p. 83.

²⁹ *Item dum equitamus ad metas ad conspiciendum in festivitatibus Pentecosten hominibus iisdem exposui super prandium et super potagia LXVI. d. ŠA BB, Pob. ZV, MZV, fasc. 11, Mestská kniha I. (1465 – 1503)* (other such MK I.), fol. 77.

³⁰ FIELHAUER, H.: Umritte. In: *Österreichischer Volkskundeatlas. 2. Lieferung.* Wien 1965, Kommentar Bl. 24, p. 12-14; FROLEC, V.: Das Oster- und Pfingstreiten. In: *Ethnologia Slavica. Universitas Comeniana Bratislavensis. Facultas Philosophica.* Tom. XXIII., 1991, p. 139-145; VEČERKOVÁ, E. – TARCALOVÁ, L.: Náboženské průvody v kalendářním cyklu svátků a slavností. Na okraj studia. In: *Slavnostní průvody.* ed. L. Tarcalová, Uherské Hradiště 1994, p. 32-35; WOJCIECHOWSKA, B.: Na granici dwóch światów. Rozdroża i sakralizacja przestrzeni w przekazach średniowiecznych. In: *Ludzie, kościół, wierzenia. Studia z dziejów kultury i społeczeństwa Europy Środkowej.* Kielce – Warszawa 2001, p. 514-516; MYŚLIWSKI, G.: Boundary Delimitation..., p. 29-31.

³¹ CDS I., no. 74, p. 71.

stones were also located (*fons et cruces supra petras formatae*).³² Although trees marked with crosses still served as boundary signs, since late Middle Ages more often stones with crosses occurred. Actual appearance of these boundary crosses is known from 1516. During an official boundaries walkabout of Bzovík priory emerged that the provost had the trees marked with signs, whereby the author of repeated perambulation used the image of an isosceles Greek cross (*signa + in arboribus*) in order to abbreviate the term *crux*. The description of borders also states that these continued till the wood called Jacob's cross, Jakubov kríž in Slovak language (*lignum Jacobow cris vocatum*).³³ In this case a standing wooden cross was concerned. The attribute Jakubov can represent the name of the land owner; however relation to the grave and the name of the deceased can not be excluded either.

More particular younger sources give the opportunity to observe more detailed descriptions of boundary crosses, which were yet not mentioned in older sources. A record of land delimitation between the town of Banská Bystrica and nobles from Radvaň village from 1574 used symbols + and X to describe boundary stones, replacing the word cross. It is typical that these symbols are only found in German version of the source. It reflects practical use of living language together with the use of agreed signs. On the contrary these symbols have not been used in the official Latin source.³⁴ Both visual sources, images from 1574, as well as the written record from 1516 gain interpretive value by cognition of boundary crosses symbolism at the turn of Middle Ages and Modern times. According to the depictions, the boundary signs were of a Greek or St. Andrew's cross shape. Simple form of depiction influenced the spread and almost universal use of these symbols and signs. They can be classified into the group of archaic protective symbols due to its broad application in both religious and folk magic belief. The significance of crosses in form of apotropaic mediums got forefront as these were often used to protect against the evil and negative influence in physical and spiritual form. This is the reason for widespread of crosses at different places. Long and continuous development also influenced its adaptability even in changed cultural conditions. Thank to its universal validity they could express common values, which were formed on the base of different influences.³⁵

Besides actual shapes of crosses we can observe the occurrence of other specific boundary and orientation points, especially small sacral structures in late medieval sources. Solitary objects with religious motifs have been build on the border lines of properties, as well as inside of them by the fields, meadows, roads or directly in the

³² MOL DL 25 232.

³³ ŠA BB, fond Zvolenská župa (other such ZŽ), Kongregačný protokol I. (1506 – 1579) (other such KP I.), fol. 34/pag. 65.

³⁴ *prima meta esset posita, lapis cruce signatus... lapides cruce signate terrae impositi haberentur versus Podlavitz, ubi magnus lapis penes fluvium visitur... lapis cruce signatus reperiretur.* V nemeckom znení: *der frste marckstein gelegt und ein kreutz darein gehören ist... da ettlich marckstein mit + eingraben auf Podlawitz zu allda ein grosser stein mit einem +... ein stein mit einem X... ein grosser stein neben dem wasser mit einem X.* ŠA BB Pob. BB, MBB, fasc. 3, num. 17/a, pag. 1, 3.

³⁵ KOBIELUS, S.: *Krzyż Chrystusa. Od znaku i figury do symbolu i metafory.* Warszawa 2000, p. 221-224; MARINGER, J.: *Das Kreuz als Zeichen und Symbol in der vorchristlichen Welt. Studia Instituti Anthropos* 36. 1980, p. 108-110.

built-up area of villages and towns since the Middle Ages. There is a record of a field located to the north of Banská Bystrica found in town book from 1398 stating that it is situated by a cross (*circa crucem*).³⁶ The position of the field by a cross (probably wooden one) may refer to a custom of locating protective mediums in the near distance of agricultural land in order to protect fields and crop against damage, especially against atmospheric occurrences. The main role of the sign was to discourage all the evil from the sacralised place.³⁷ There is another evidence of a standing cross found in already mentioned source from 1516. As already stated, the phrase *Jakubov križ* (Jacob's cross) can point out the name of the proprietor; however it can as well mark a grave. Relatively often different images appeared in the region. In the sources from 1498 until 1573 in the areas of town Zvolen, village Rybáre (today's part of town Sliach) and town Slovenská Lupča by its description we encounter with its location "by the picture" (*prope imaginem* in Latin or *u obrazu* in Slovak language).³⁸ Most probably these were the pictures of saints. Unfortunately we do not know their closer description. Single information about an object situated at the boundaries of town Lubietová refers to certain indirect associations. According to delimitation from 1536 the boundaries passed over to some picture located at two columns (*ad quandam imaginem in duobus stipixibus*). This landmark is described as a picture or a column also in perambulation from 1566 (Latin: *statua cum cruce lignea*, Slovak: *obraz aneb stlup z drevenym križem*). It is interesting that according to both sources the landmark was situated by a sidewalk near a meadow, which belonged to a priest from Lubietová.³⁹ Besides highlighting the border lines, the crosses, pictures and other small sacral structures could have served as convenient orientation points. They gained this function especially if they became objects of local cult. They were mostly created in rustic style. Thus they contributed to strengthen the folk devoutness and also formed esthetical dimension of the country. They can be considered one of the long-lasting signs in numerous regions of Central European cultural area.⁴⁰

Besides collective reverence to objects with direct or indirect religious function we on the contrary also meet with individual damaging and destruction of border crosses. The oldest record of boundary cross damage is known from 1552. There is a stone mentioned in a document describing repeated perambulation of north-eastern section of town Zvolen boundaries. Formerly it had been marked with a cross however it was already peeled off by bad people (*per malenolos homines*). Therefore a border was marked out on the same stone again. Likewise according to a complaint from 1575 a border tree with a cross was cut down during deracination of disputed forest

³⁶ Számadáskönyvei, p. 85.

³⁷ WOJCIECHOWSKA, B.: Na granicy..., p. 517; SLIVKA, M.: Hranice v mentálnom chápaní stredovekého človeka. In: *Archaeologia historica*. Vol. 29, 2004, p. 11.

³⁸ ŠA BB Pob. ZV, MZV, MK I, fol. 83; TRŇOVSKÝ, K.: Popis dežmy na hájnický kostol zo zemí v Rybároch z roku 1556. In: *Kultúra. Časopis Literárno-vedného odboru SSV*. Vol. III., No. 11, 1931, p. 805; ŠA BB Pob. BB, fond Mestečko Slovenská Lupča, Mestský majetkovoprávny protokol (1541 – 1688), fol. 11, 37.

³⁹ ŠA BB, Pob. BB, MBB, fasc. 23, num. 23; ŠA BB Pob. BB, AML, sign. ML – 70d, ML – 70c.

⁴⁰ HÁJEK, T.: Křížek a strom v úsilí o vydobytí identity. In: *Tvář naší země – krajina domova. Svazek 6. Krajina v ohrožení*. Lomnice nad Popelkou 2001, p. 160-167; BUGANOVÁ, K.: Mimoliturgické prejavy úcty ku křížom. In: *Kult a životy*. ed. L. Tarcalová, Uherské Hradiště 1999, p. 45-55.

neighbouring with the Mičiná village bounds.⁴¹ Such references impair the idealized image we could get by mechanical observation of crosses, pictures or other objects. Regarding the evidence of frequent borders transgresses it is necessary to consider the relation with its intentional damaging. Symbolic boundary protection was one of the functions of border crosses. Although both borders and crosses presented generally comprehensible facts, they were put in risk of damage by individual human contact. Its validity was limited in form of material fact and symbol.

There is evidence from the early modern times regarding the attitudes, relations and ideas present in the society, which are in conflict with traditional understanding of christen values. The discrepancy in official tendency of contemporary cultural orientation is not belittled by the fact that this has so far been just sporadic information. A legal action can be included here according to which a servant of the count of Zvolen County accused a woman in the Zvolen County justice's court, which was supposed to lay a horse head on a stone in 1536 in order to perform certain spiteful act.⁴² It is a well known fact that within folk society ideas and practices linked with both christen and pre-Christian spiritual foundations persisted. However these were formed and spread also as a result of actual cultural influences as well as spontaneously due to people's superstitiousness. Many of them are seemingly of an archaic character although we do not know its exact genesis. As if accidentally there are stones marked with crosses with "Paromova skala" rock behind them found at the borders of Železná Breznica village in 1638.⁴³ Regarding the dialect the name of the rock is related to the name of Slavic god of thunder and lighting Perun. The motive of the name selection is not known, however following a source there were also other rocks marked with crosses located in the near distance. We cannot rule out the possibility that besides the boundary function they also served to overlay the meaning of original cult place. The local metaphoric names reflect not only the sacralisation of the area but as well the negative ideas related to borders. Concerns and fear played important role in keeping these ideas in collective awareness of people, which explains their long-lasting persistence.⁴⁴

A process of passing down the knowledge about boundaries to the next generations was also connected with fear feelings. Beating, a direct physical violence carried out during boundaries perambulations belongs here. Young burghers took part at the repeated perambulation of Banská Bystrica boundaries in 1574.⁴⁵ Their presence could be motivated by the intention to familiarise them with the process of border delimitation, when they attended in the role of witnesses. They were expected to keep the role of witnesses also for the future. Since 1643 we have known a record from town Krupina, according to which adult witnesses had beaten a youngster with a whip during an urban boundary walkabout in order to make him "remember where the border

⁴¹ ŠA BB Pob. ZV, MZV, fasc. 12, sign. V. D 2; ŠA BB, ZŽ, KP I., fol. 316/pag. 573.

⁴² ŠA BB, ZŽ, KP I., fol. 123/pag. 240.

⁴³ *na križowe skaly dve, od tey na malu križnu skalu a odtud na Paromowu skalu.* ŠA BB, ZŽ, Litteralia privatorum, A – IV., sect. 592, fasc. V., inv. no. 43.

⁴⁴ TAKÁCS, I.: *Idol Stones...*, p. 116-117.

⁴⁵ ŠA BB Pob. BB, MBB, fasc. 3, num. 17/a, pag. 1.

line was". The custom when young boys (usually sons of present older witnesses) were beaten during boundary walkabout and inspection is known from different localities in the region of Zvolen County also in the following period. It was being carried out even in the first half of the 19th century. The older men beat the young boys with a whip, rod or with a stick. After the beating the boys were usually given a reward, e.g. a cake.⁴⁶ The ritual of the beating during the boundary perambulations could be of even older origin. There is evidence of such rituals in German, Czech and Polish society in the modern times. The beating was carried out directly at the border point (stone), whereby this procedure could have gained more mass range (several tens of boys). Making a oath followed this ritual.⁴⁷ These practices of passing down information of boundaries were abandoned probably because of the beginning of accurate registers of borders thank to cadastral surveys and its record into maps in the 19th century.

Together with the development of different forms of border signs also the evidence of border points changed. While until the 16th century the border signs were in form of crosses, since the 17th century also other different types of signs have occurred. Epigraphic landmarks were quite often. These occurred in 1656 during the boundaries description between the town Brezno and village Polomka at the upper reaches of the river Hron. There was a cross found located together with a letter A on a spruce and a cross with letters B and F on a fir tree and a beech. Letters in combination with crosses are often found also on other trees.⁴⁸ It seems like the letters carved in the trees were supposed to mark the initials of the owners of neighbouring grounds. In other cases, these initials could belong to names of neighbouring villages, eventually names of local area districts. Increasing number of literate people as well as the need to extinguish accurately individual boundary points was related to spreading of the use of letters to mark the borders. The persisting significance of traditional boundary marking with crosses is obvious from the connection of crosses and letters at various boundary points. These could be marked at the same time or were added to the older signs (crosses).

There has been evidence of the use of special sign known since the half of the

⁴⁶ MAJTÁN, M. – SKLADANÁ, J. (eds.): *Pramene k dejinám slovenčiny*. Bratislava 1992, no. 46, p. 118-119; Štátny ústredný banský archív v Banskej Štiavnici (other such ŠŮBA), fond Hlavný komorskogrófský úrad (other such HKG), *Dominalia*, fasc. 6033, no. 90, fasc. 6034, no. 138.

⁴⁷ ŠLÉZAR, P.: Sádky, kopy a „výprask na pamětnou.“ *Hranice ve středověké krajině Dražanské vrchoviny*. In: *Vlastivědný věstník moravský*. Tom. 59, 2007, p. 155-156; WARNKE, M.: *Politische Landschaft. Zur Kunstgeschichte der Natur*. München – Wien 1992, p. 16-17; BUJAK, F.: *Studia nad osadnictwem Małopolski*. Poznań 2001, p. 147, note 153.

⁴⁸ *ad arborem pinum, in qua crux et litera A. excisa cernitur, circumfusa lapidibus et terra in formam erecti cumuli... tres arbores, unam abietem et binas fagos angulariter consitas, in quarum interstitio, signum metale erectum ex lapidibus, in acerovum comportatis, terra mixtum apparet et crux ac litera B. ac F. excisa extaret... ad semitam vulgo lenivay chodník nuncupatam, penes quam semitam binae abietes procerosae extarent, in quarum una crux et litera H. consignata visitur... crassa fagus existeret, in qua binae cruces, et in tiliis J. et K. literae excavatae conspiciuntur... arbores abietum quatuor sunt consitae, in quarum inferiori et crassiori crux, in superiori autem litera M. excisa cerneretur... ad arborem abietem, in qua ex parte inferiori crux, ex superiori litera N. incisa visuntur... in arboribus abietum in ibi exurgentibus litera O. et P. essent consignatae... binae arbores abietis, ex inferiori et superiori partibus fulcirent, quarum superior arbor R., inferior autem O. literas incisas porrigerent... pinus, in qua incisae literae M. et B. conspiciuntur... arbor pinus consita literas J. et H. excisas exhibet. ŠA BB, ZŽ, *Litteralia pivatorum*, A – IV., sect. 592, fasc. VI., inv. no. 116.*

17th century. There is a record of boundary delimitation between villages Dubové and Bacúrov from 1656. Following this source, a sign of a hand comprised of five fingers was found at one section of the boundary (in Hungarian language: *kész formara eőt ujnak*). A document from 1676 mentions at the same place near the localities Haj and Vtacnik a stage of boundaries proceeding towards “five-finger rock” (*na pat prstovu skalu* in Slovak language).⁴⁹ Evidence of existence of boundary signs in this case proves its long-term continuous use. In 1805 a detailed boundaries repeated perambulation was created between the castle domains of Zvolen and Dobrá Niva and coparcenary in Bacúrov. Fifth boundary point, which was composed of two big stones located on a hill behind village called Háj is mentioned in the perambulation. One of them was marked with a star of five rays or fingers ✕ on its northern side and also with letters CE CV SE. Such sign was called a *petoprstnica* (in Slovak literally: a sign with five fingers). Neighbours from Dubove called this landmark a saddle stone.⁵⁰ The origin of the name – the star (cross) is indirectly explained in the document. According to the name “*pätoprstnica*”, a symbol referring to plant species, which was applied in religious symbolism representing a Christ’s palm tree, could be concerned. In this case, we may assume it was a motif of a palm cross, which was adapted in folk environment. Semantics of Latin *palma* refers to a palm tree as well as to a palm or a hand. Depicted five fingers therefore also point out universally used symbol of a hand. It presented e.g. the god’s mightiness, delivery of happiness, power and blessing, but also the law.⁵¹ It is interesting that according to descriptions from the 17th century the sign did not change until the 19th century, whereby time of its origin is not known. Regarding the information from 1805, already the inhabitants of one village called the landmark with the sign a “saddle stone”. This name was probably derived from the shape of the rock debasing the presence of the sign. Carved letters reflect the application of more rational approach to boundaries delimitation.

In 1700 county officers carried out a repeated borders and border signs inspection at the western border of the Zvolen County. The border line of Hronská Breznica bounds went towards the south till the row of stones and turned to the boundary, which composed of five bigger stones called “*Na križnu skalu*” (To cross rock). One of the stones facing east was marked with the “oldest” cross on its side. This border was marked epigraphically as well. Above the cross a letter L was situated. A neighbouring stone facing north was marked with a cross too.⁵² Near the hill called Handel the border line was formed by two massive oaks at one hundred steps distance. The trees were marked with old crosses. The following boundary point was a rough stone with signs carved in called *Na cipov*. A niche in shape of a foot sole was found on the west-


⁴⁹ ŠA BB, ZŽ, *Litteralia privatorum*, A – IV., sect. 591, fasc. III., inv. no. 120, sect. 594, fasc. XVII., inv. no. 265.


⁵⁰ *per iugum montis za Haj procedentes, in eius summitate reperimus duo grandia saxa in quorum uno in latere versus orientem stella cum litteris C.E. C.V. S.E. ✕ quinque seu radios, seu digitos prae se ferente, quod signum Baczurovienses quidem incolae petoprstnica, Dubovienses autem sedlova skala cuius formam, ac similitudinem prae se fert, appellarunt.* ŠÚBA HKG *Dominialia*, fasc. 6034, no. 147.

⁵¹ MALINIÁK, P.: „Meta ad modum...”, p. 403; KOBIELUS, S.: *Krzyż Chrystusa...*, p. 73-75; LURKER, M.: *Wörterbuch der Symbolik*. Stuttgart 2005, entry hand.

⁵² ŠÚBA HKG *Dominialia*, fasc. 6033, no. 108, fol. 514.


ern side of the stone. On its southern side, a sign in shape of a sphere was located. In Slovak it was called cipov, however in Latin a cake, from which according to a document a folk name cipov is derived.⁵³ Term cipov was used to name a loaf of bread or a cake. This appellation refers to Latin name *libum*. The reason for forming this metaphoric designation is not clear. We cannot exclude the possibility that application of this name was only conditioned by the shape of the rock.


Other types of boundary signs became more significant in the 18th century. Following the state in 1756 the representatives of Kremnica town from the aristocratic family of Radvansky and Zvolen County carried out in 1786 a repeated perambulation of boundaries at a place called “Na Tri kríže” – At Three crosses (*in loco ad tres cruces dicto*) above Ortúty valley. The delimitation started at the landmark, which was dividing the area of zvolen dominion, Radvaň and Kremnica. The border line went to the north following a path alongside trees marked with crosses till a big rock. There were trees located on the boundary, which had been marked off with crosses already during the last repeated perambulation. Other trees were marked the same way. On the top of a hill in the place called Bulovo lovisko a stone marked with a cross had been recorded during a repeated perambulation in 1756, however it was not found later. Therefore a triangle stone marked with a broken wheel of St. Catherine, the town crest of Kremnica , was placed there. From the north it was marked with a letter R. Another broken stone marked with a cross was found during a repeated perambulation in a place called Nad Lopušným. There was the boundary of Kremnica marked with a cross sign located on a pile of stones and with a letter R from the northern side. Three cut around stones were found on a slope of a hill in radvan bounds.⁵⁴ Another record of using both heraldic and religious motifs by boundaries marking comes from the same period.


In 1786 by the attendance of an officer, gamekeepers and representatives of Badín village also a repeated perambulation of western borders of Ortúty bounds was carried out. The border line descended southwards alongside a path surrounded by beeches and firs marked with crosses towards three stones with boundary signs on. One of the stones marked with letters DZ was denoting the border of zvolen dominion. A sign  demonstrating Kremnica area was carved to another stone.⁵⁵ The border then passed a triple cross (*iuxta crucem tripplicatam*), which was located at a traverse to Banská Bystrica. At the next stage the border was formed by five trees with crosses, as well as border stones with letters of Zvolen dominion and Kremnica town crest carved. The boundaries passed along various border signs till the Železná brána (The Iron

⁵³ *ad certam petram hirsutam na czipou vulgo vocari solitam, in qua petra haberentur exsculpta certa signa, utpote versus occidentem excavatio adinstar plantae cothurni, versus autem meridiem adinstar cuiusdam globi seu sclavonice idiomate czipou, latine autem libo cognominati, unde etiam deductionem et vulgarem denominationem eadem petra czipou obtinuisset.* ŠÚBA HKG Dominialia, fasc. 6033, no. 108, fol. 514-515; MALINIÁK, P.: „Meta ad modum...”, p. 400-401.


⁵⁴ ŠÚBA HKG Dominialia, fasc. 6034, no. 127.

⁵⁵ *frequentioresque arbores faginaceas et abietinas cruce signari procurando reperimus tres lapides ex terra prostantes, quorum uni territorium Zolyense versus litteras D.Z. designantes Dominium Zolyom ex parte vero Cremnicziensis territorii  seu insigne civitatis dictae insculpi fecimus.* ŠÚBA HKG Dominialia, fasc. 6034, no. 140.

gate). Besides crosses on trees, boundary landmarks were also piled up or renewed at the border. There were crosses located on the trees from both sides at some places. On the southern part of the border line behind an old coalman's road a sign + marking a boundary stone was recorded in repeated perambulation together with a broken wheel .⁵⁶ From a distance of a few centuries again a picture of an isosceles (Greek) cross is concerned.

Another repeated perambulation of boundaries above Ortuty valley was carried out by the representatives of Zvolen and Dobrá Niva dominion, the Badín district, Kremnica town and a county surveyor in 1797. The border line started again on the ridge and descended alongside beeches and firs marked with crosses southwards to three landmarks marked with letters DZ and with a Kremnica town crest . The border line led towards a triple cross (*versus tripplicatam crucem*), which was located by a footpath to Banská Bystrica. Several fathoms further trees marked with crosses could be found. Latin crosses with a crutch-finished arms were recorded as a sign † in this place as well as in other places according to a document. The following stage of the boundary was formed by a big mill stone marked with a Kremnica town crest and letters of Zvolen dominium. Then the border continued to the Iron gate. Each point on the border line was accurately defined by steps. The older signs were repaired or there were new landmarks piled up using soil and stones. The boundary then continued southwards to the old coalman's road. By the description of signs on a boundary stone, where according to a repeated perambulation from 1786 a broken wheel as well as an isosceles cross was found, already a † mark symbolizing a Latin cross was used.⁵⁷ The border by the road was formed by trees marked with signs, which were recorded as X in the text at different places.⁵⁸ It was an image of already mentioned St. Andrews cross. The source distinguishes between two types of crosses. Comparing the mark used to picture the Latin cross with the evidence from 1786 we can consider just a schematic image of a cross sign in some of the cases.

The sources from the Middle Ages till more comprehensive references from the modern times have been substantiating the use of a cross in form of a boundary sign. The original religious and cult symbol gained different, changed functions due to its secondary use. Regarding this fact it is necessary to consider and distinguish different types of crosses during different time periods. The images of a Greek and a Latin cross occur at first in historical sources, also a specific sign with five fingers as well as records of double and triple crosses, which image is not known. Greek, Latin and St. Andrews cross was found by closer description at the end of the 18th century. The St. Andrews cross was also found in the sources from the 19th century. In some cases, this

⁵⁶ *Servata meridionali linea pervenimus ad lapidem metalem signis +  notatum.* ŠÚBA HKG Dominialia, fasc. 6034, no. 140.

⁵⁷ *iuxta vestigia metalis semitae pertigimus ad metale saxum signo crucis † et eidem incisis distinctum.* ŠÚBA HKG Dominialia, fasc. 6034, no. 126, 139. The mark mentioned was also used by the transcript of a document from 1797. ŠÚBA HKG Dominialia, fasc. 6034, no. 127.

⁵⁸ *intra duas signo X distinctas arbores pertigimus ad struem lapidum.* ŠÚBA HKG Dominialia, fasc. 6034, no. 126, 139.

type of a cross served as a general sign of the term *crux*. Perhaps already by the oldest evidence about tree and stone marking using a cross, mostly this sign in form of a letter X reminiscent of martyr's cross of St. Andrew was concerned.⁵⁹ Simple image of the cross influenced its widespread and almost universal use of the symbol and the sign. The cross located on the border did not only represent the dividing line between two areas. It also pointed out the presence of a significant place and protected symbolically the border itself.

Reconstruction of the meaning of the cross in folk environment must avoid generalization within local conditions. This can be based on concrete although just a few sources. In 1829, Alois Mednyanszky published in his work *Erzählungen, Sagen und Legenden aus Ungarns Vorzeit* a legend of a magical cross inside a tree. According to the legend after the uprising of Francis Rákoczy (1711) a gang of outlaws raged in the western Carpathians. The outlaws killed a merchant on the top of the hill Barvinek. A cross was placed on a hundred years old oak there. Later they decided to attack merchants again at the same place. Their leader Rajnoha wanted to push the cross down from the tree with his axe "when the tree opened up, hugged the cross with its branches inclining above the cross and the cross disappeared in front of the outlaws. Hissing and humming could be heard as if the forest came alive, the earth shivered, thunder rumbled, trees and people had been pushed and thrown down the valleys and chasms. After the bandits had recovered they were alone in different countries, away from the crime scene. Many of them gave up blasphemous life and the cross inside the protective bark of the tree fought off all the evil. It has become a sign of comfort for everyone travelling there ever since and no one has ever after forgotten to pay tribute to it with a short prayer or a pious thought. Everyone with a heart of gold walks peacefully, undaunted with danger of body and soul, which brings the villains on the road to perdition."⁶⁰ The contrast between the cross and the outlaw highlights religious and moral appeal in this case. According to the story the cross does not only symbolize faith and sacrifice, it also represents an instrument of higher power and a mean of atonement. Its location on an old oak purports characteristically, in which it finally blends. Comparative research may contribute with new findings in the future to the knowledge about the role of borders and boundary signs in men's minds, ideas and activities of communities. Examples from different regions show that elements with common cultural models can be found in this sphere. These were formed by local influences, which developed autonomously or more often as a result of effects from opened environment.

⁵⁹ MALINIAK, P.: „Meta ad modum...”, p. 403-406; KIERSNOWSKI, R.: *Znaki graniczne...*, p. 278.

⁶⁰ In Slovak language MEDŇANSKÝ, A.: *Dávne povesti o hradoch*. Bratislava 2005, p. 107-108.



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Appendix: Types of border cross according the sources from the 16th till 19^h century. Greek cross (1). Latin cross (2). St. Andrew's cross (3). Star with five fingers – „pätoprstnica“ (4).

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Nationalism, idea of the nation-state and the Habsburg Monarchy*

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Throughout the history of mankind, a state has become the most widespread and most important form of social organization. In the course of history we come into contact with big states, i.e. empires, small states, as well as city-states where one municipality actually takes on a dimension of an independent state. Throughout the history of a state, on the other hand, we can see various internal forms of political organization, i.e. various state-political systems.

Throughout the long terms of history the states were formed, they grew larger, but they also came to an end as a result of battles among the great powers. To a large degree, mostly utilitarian, pragmatic and governmental interests participated in their formation. In the past, right up until the end of the 19th century, states based on ideology were very rarely seen. In the history of states the religious ideologies played certain or, occasionally, very important role. In the Middle Ages, for example, states of knightly orders were founded. The papal state was founded, too. The ideology and religion, however, did not usually play the state-forming but state-preserving role. State's existence was founded on sanctification by its own God, or godhood, which was very common in the Middle Ages. As a result, term such as "the chosen nation" or to be more precise, "the chosen people", was derived. But in all these cases was ideology used, misused or instrumentalised by political subjects.

The most common type of a state form, not only in Europe, was the one based on the monarch or dynasty. In both cases it was the person of monarch who played a role of a state sovereign. Nobility, either as a political force in the form of diet or as a military force, could participate in state management to a certain degree. In principle, nobility was, however, in the service of the monarch or dynasty. Even in this case, religious ideology could play a role of force supporting the monarch's authority and his untouchability. Monarchs acted as God's anointed and chosen ones. However, in the state the person of monarch was still the dominant one. Through the history it is less likely to see a democratic civic principle. Pure democracy could, for some time, work in a small city-state such as Athens, or in parliamentary democracy based on a civic principle. A citizen as a sovereign of the state was introduced to the history by the French Revolution in 1789. However, a citizen, even in France, remained on a pedestal only for a short time, particularly if they played a role of the opponent of the hated absolutism. Unlike the monarchical principle, the civic principle has much more complex structure and therefore it is internally more unstable. In terms of a long historical development, ancestral archetypes based on a principle of a leader (führer, duce) have always played a very important role here.

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The 20th century was the century of extremes but also the century of extremely big changes in political map of the world and Europe, as well. Such significant and big political changes in the history, just like the ones in the 20th century, have never been seen before. The world entered the 20th century with the Boer war, which heralded the fall of colonial system. The new power on the European continent, Germany, started a big struggle for rebirth of the world or, as it was called in Germany, “a place in the sun”¹. In the Balkans struggle for formation of the new states and, at the same time, struggle of these newly formed states to win a “space for living” still continued. The First World War in 1914 initiated a great war of the 20th century, which was finished not until the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989. In the first stage of this war the European great power, Austria-Hungary, ceased to exist. In addition, the role of Turkey and Russia, which was in the throes of a revolution, was weakened. The Versailles system created many new states in Europe, mostly the small ones. Two totalitarian dictatorships, the Nazi and the Bolshevik one, shortly thereafter, attempted to gain control over Europe. After the defeat of Hitler in Second World War the world tried to get back on the previous track. However this was just partial and illusory return. In fact, Stalin succeeded in taking political control over the large part of the Central and South-East Europe. Although the states in this part of Europe were still officially independent, the Soviet Union, in fact, had control over them. In the political map of Europe states, which belonged to this area, were marked in various colours, however, all of them, including the part of Germany, got the only paint, the red one. After World War II the world lived under the sign of the first dissolution of the colonial system, what brought the European colonial empires back to a new sense of fulfilment on the European continent with the others two non-European great powers. Although one of them geographically stretched even to the European continent, the Soviet Union was, in itself, the continent in political terms. In such situation Europe soon ceased to exist. Only then, at the beginning of the 21st century, after the EU extension, Europe gave a signal to the world it would attempt to make a radical change in the map of Europe, even though there is still a question mark hanging over the future of this project.

Changes that occurred in Europe in the course of the 20th century cannot be, in my opinion, fully understood only on the grounds of the development in the 20th century alone because the causes of these radical changes and takeovers are deep-seated in the previous century.

The idea of the nation-state, being the main idea of political nationalism, originated and was formed and elaborated in the 19th century. Unfortunately, in this paper there is no space for an analysis of all existing theories about nationalism.² In addition,

¹ Platz in der Sonne.

² In the last decades are in the academic community dominant so called constructivistic theory. The most influential works: GELLNER, Ernest: Nations and Nationalism, Ithaca- New York 1994, 6. edition; BARTH, Frederik (ed.): Ethnic Groups and Boundaries. The Social Organisation of Cultural Difference, Bergen, 1969; LEVINE, Robert A. and CAMPBELL, Donald T.: Ethnocentrism: Theories of Conflict, Ethnic Attitudes and Group Behavior, New York 1972; ARMSTRONG, John, Nations before Nationalism, Chapel Hill, NC, 1982; ANDERSON, Benedict: Imagined Communities. Reflexions on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism. London 1991; FERENCOVÁ, Michaela: Konstruktivistické a esencialistické pristupy k etnickej identite: Prehľad teórií a problém konceptu identity (Constructivistic and essentialistic approach to ethnic identity. A survey

it is not even necessary in this connection. I will restrict myself only to the statement that, in my opinion, is reasonable and meaningful to perceive nationalism as some political category and therefore to talk about it only from the time of appearance of the national political programmes. And thus it would also be reasonable and meaningful to define the previous period of ethnic-cultural debate as proto-nationalism. According to Miroslav Hroch, national movements of politically non-emancipated nations graduate from learned phase (phase A) to the phase of national agitation (phase B).³ But nationalism isn't only the matter of small, non-emancipated nations, but it is, above all, the matter of big nations. Conflicts don't arise out of learned debates, but they arise out of incompatibility of various national political programmes.⁴ It would be, therefore, wise to differentiate between political nationalism and ethnic-cultural proto-nationalism. Such differentiation cannot be, however, complete. The main reason for such differentiation is the fact that political nationalism works with old, conventional archetypes, which are well founded in terms of ethnicity and religion. Take, for instance, the Old Testament and modern nationalistic theories. If the former says about a "chosen nation" and the latter about exclusiveness (historic role) of this or that nation, we talk, in principle, about two different phenomena, although formally associated with the fact of exclusiveness or superiority. Relation between political nationalism and ethnic-cultural proto-nationalism could be, or often it really is, of casual nature. Cultural and language issues and awareness of language-ethnic affinity are prerequisites for development of the political national program. This was the case of Germany and Italy in the 19th century. However, the problems with assertion of language-cultural demands may lead, mainly in case of small nations, to development of political programme and then to national agitation, as it was demonstrated by Miroslav Hroch.

The idea of nation-state or as well the idea of national statehood is the dominant idea of political nationalism. The programme of national statehood is characteristic of some small nations which, as a result of their historic tradition, didn't include demand for absolute state sovereignty in their political programmes. They submitted only a request for limited statehood in the form of autonomy. Such program was de-

of theories and the problem of identity concept) , in: MARUŠIAK, Juraj, FERENCOVÁ, Michaela: Teoretické prístupy k identitám a ich praktické aplikácie (Theoretical approach to identities and its practical applications), Bratislava 2005, s. 31-42.; SMITH, Anthony, D.: The Ethnic Origins of Nations, Oxford 1986. The useful outline see in:

„Oxford Readers“ ed. HUTCHINSON, John and SMITH, Anthony D., Oxford, New York 1994 and SMITH, Anthony D., Nationalism and modernism. A critical survey of recent theories of nations and nationalism, London 1998; HOBSBAWM, Eric: introduction in: The Invention of Tradition, ed. HOBSBAWM, Eric and RANGER, Terence, Cambridge 1983.

³ HROCH, Miroslav: Evropská národní hnutí v 19. století (European national movements in 19th century), Praha 1986. The last work of Miroslav Hroch: Národy nejsou dílem náhody. Příčiny a předpoklady utváření moderních evropských národů (Nations are not the products of fortuity. The causes and suppositions of formations of the modern European nations), Praha 2009.

⁴ See: KILIÁNOVÁ, Gabriela – KOWALSKÁ, Eva – KREKOVIČOVÁ Eva: My a tí druhí v modernej spoločnosti. Konštrukcie a transformácie kolektívnych identít (Us and the Others in Modern Society. Constructions and Transformations of Collective Identities), Bratislava 2009, Chapter IV, 1: Identita a národ (Identity and Nation) by Dušan Kováč.

veloped, for example, by Slovaks, who accepted historic statehood of the Hungarian Kingdom but they demanded autonomy at the ethnically Slovak territory.⁵ To a certain degree the Czech, Slovenian, Croatian and many other political programs were written in the same strain. The issue of federalism is closely connected with such form of statehood. Therefore it isn't just coincidence that Milan Hodža ranks as one of the most important federalists of the 20th century.⁶

The idea of national state has led to the appearance of new state sovereign on the history scene. It is the nation. Nation has taken the role of the state sovereign. This is the new and creative idea, which originated in the 19th century. The interesting thing about it is that the nation is of a virtual nature unlike the monarch or the citizen. Nation is not able to decide on its own and, moreover, it cannot express its own opinion. It needs some mediator to do so. And, of course, it needs national symbols as well. Dynamics and power of this new state sovereign also lies in the fact that it appeals to old archetypes, which are considered to be conventional in a human society. Moreover, in its role of a state sovereign, the nation is very flexible right because of its virtuality. It is able to incorporate not only the monarchical principle, but also the civic one. Monarch can become either the speaker or some symbol of national society and so the citizen can take a formal part in state management as a member of national society. Right as a result of historically originated contradiction of political nature, on the one hand, and ethnic nature on the other hand, the problems with ethnic but also with some other minorities and with their participation in state management arose mainly after First World War.

The ideology of nationalism doesn't completely replace all previous political structures and patterns. The main representative of nationalism is the middle class (bourgeoisie). Nationalism is of an urban nature, although its ideology is often based, paradoxically, on "pure and innocent rural people". However in many cases, and there are actually many of them in Central Europe, nobility takes part in nationalistic programmes as well. Besides nobility, so called fourth estate represented by workers and peasants, who become politically active at the late 19th century, participates in nationalistic programs.⁷ A special nationally oriented movement, the national socialist movement, originated as some subcategory of the socialist movement. (Of course, Hitler's national socialist movement is a phenomenon of a different nature).

The idea of a nation-state has appeared to be a very flexible and dynamic one. It not only took the place of the previous governmental and imperial tendencies, but it also, on the contrary, managed to adopt them, even literally to get hold of them and give them completely new ideological content. "A place in the sun" isn't a desired necessity for the monarch, just little would be enough for him (royal enclosure or gardens), but it is, however, a desired necessity for "nation". And this creates a germ of a conflict. From now on, the governmental and imperial tendencies get their hands on a

⁵ So it was in the first Slovak political programme by Ludovít Štúr of 1848 and in Memorandum of the Slovak nation of 1861 as well. Memorandum was the principal Slovak political programme till the First World War.

⁶ HODŽA, Milan: *Federation in Central Europe*, London 1942.

⁷ Many social democratic and agrarian political parties were emerging in that time.

new ideological weapon. All is being done “on behalf of the nation”. Even the monarch is a changed person now. He is a “nation’s monarch”. Although his political powers are restricted, he rules on behalf of nation besides. The citizen, as a fully-fledged member of a national society, becomes a “co-partner” taking part in the state sovereignty. Nationalism managed also to nationalize religions to a certain degree. In the time of First World War priests consecrated cannons, which were meant to serve the needs of one national society and were designated for killing the members of another national society, even though they often had the same confession. Slovak nationalism led by Andrej Hlinka introduced a slogan, “For God and Nation!” into the political life. Somehow, a catholic priest, Andrej Hlinka, omitted that the God, which is professed by the Catholic Church, is the God of all nations. Nationalism took control over economy, too. It took control not only over the economic thinking but also over economic activities. At length, almost all conflicts, structures and ideas were nationalized in the 19th and 20th centuries. It means they have become of the nationalistic nature.

The idea of a national state had a great deal of influence on historic process of state formation or dissolution in the 19th and 20th centuries.

Political nationalism had various, often completely opposing influences on society, politics, economy and culture in Europe. On the one hand, nationalism supported imperial, aggressive and dominant tendencies, but on the other hand it presented itself as a defence and self-preservation ideology. Sometimes these opposing tendencies cross each other in one national ideology. Magyars in the modern period resisted dominant position of Vienna and dynasty, but on the other hand Magyar nationalism proved to be dominant establishing its dominance over the other nations and nationalities in the Kingdom of Hungary. Similarly, after achieving the national sovereignty, defence nationalism proved to be dominant over the ethnic minorities. Political nationalism also proved to be a creative, structural and centripetal force, which was able to create a national state all around its core. However it also proved to be a destructive and centrifugal force launched against the existing state. And thus Europe became extremely sensitive zone, where the old, ancestral conflicts, were strengthened by the nationalistic ideology and, at the same time, the new conflicts arose.

Based on the idea of national state, new big states, such as Italy and Germany, were formed in the 60s and 70s of the 19th century. New states in the Balkans also based on this idea were created gradually. There was a dramatic change mainly after First World War. Basically, a completely new political map of Europe originated, and on this occasion, several states came to existence as totally new ones without any former state traditions. This was the case of Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Estonia and Latvia. Despite the absence of the former tradition a national principle played a dominant role in formation of these states.

In Europe this process continues up to the present, although the case of Kosovo, South Ossetia or Abkhazia is, each in itself, very specific. For example, in case of Caucasus, it is possible to speak of some relics of nation-state ideology only to a certain degree. On the other hand, the very contrary process has started in Europe but in fact the germ of it has begun already in the 50s of the 20th century. It is the process of Euro-

pean integration, which has been given a completely new vitality at the beginning of the 21st century.

Logically, the formation of new states has always had its opposite pole. It has been the dissolution of the former states. However, the dissolution of the old states has not always been of disintegration nature. On the contrary, in case of formation of Italy and Germany, it was about the dissolution of the small states and the process was of integration nature. It is interesting that formation of the new states in Europe in the 19th century, formation of Italy, Germany and of some new states in the Balkans, always referred to the Central-European great power, the Habsburg monarchy. And as a result, the position of the Habsburg monarchy was weakened.

The level of disintegration was, however, pretty different as far as the formation of new states was concerned. After First World War imperial Russia lost some of its peripheral areas and it stopped playing the role of an important European great power for a certain period of time. However in a relatively short time Russia was in the process of new integration under the new name, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. During the revolution the Russian Bolsheviks, with the help of a spread of the slogan propagating the right of the nations to self-determination and the document called the Declaration on the Rights of Russian Nations, confirmed that they reckon on the idea of the nation-state. However they were in the process of new integration based on completely new ideology, the communist one. Thanks to victory in Second World War the process of this new integration was exceptionally successful. Thanks to this idea Russia succeeded not only in restoration of old Russian Empire. Thanks to the formation of Soviet Bloc, Russia also took control over the considerable part of Europe including part of Germany.

After First World War Turkey lost the position of a great power. It lost some of its provinces in the Balkans but it managed to retain the heart of its state, which became one of "the national states". In some senses, it managed to retain the relations with Europe, despite its geographical position. The only state, which disappeared from the map of Europe in that time and literally ceased to exist, was the Habsburg Monarchy. It was the only state, which stepped into the 20th century without any integrating nation-state ideology and, what is more, it didn't establish any other ideology.

The *Radetzky March* novel by Joseph Roth⁸, which is devoted to the fall of the Habsburg Monarchy, features the following episode. Garrison, miles away, somewhere in the Habsburg Monarchy Far East on the borders with Russia, organized a summer celebration. The celebration was in a full swing, most officers were already drunk, when the garrison received the news of the assassination of Franz Ferdinand, the successor to the throne, in Sarajevo. In a tense atmosphere when nobody knew whether to continue with the celebration or not, Magyar officers clustered together and started talking in Magyar language. Their faces reflected they were apparently oblivious to other officers. They were apparently amusing and laughed loudly. The captain (Rittmeister) Jelacich, who was Slovenian, and the only person who understood Magyar language, thumped his fist on the table and demanded the respectabilities to start

⁸ ROTH, Joseph: *Radetzky March*, Amsterdam 1932.

talking in German. An inebriated major Benkyö replied to him, „I also say it in German. We are in complete agreement, my compatriots and me, about the point that we can only be happy that this swine snuffed“! High ranking Magyar officers of imperial and royal army, which was believed to be the main pillar of the Habsburg monarchy, thought of his imperial majesty, who was already about to accede to the throne, in such a way. The novel is a fiction, but disloyalty of Magyar public to the throne successor can be seamlessly documented by many archive papers, correspondence or newspapers articles from the Magyar press as well.

Georg Ritter von Schönerer is not a fictional character, but he is a real historical one. He was a representative of the radical wing of German Nationalism in Austria.⁹ He was bitterly opposed to Liberalism, Catholicism and Slavic people and well known for his anti-Semitic attitude. Already in the 70s of the 19th century he demanded annexation of Austria to German Empire. In addition he declared war on the Habsburg Dynasty and its monarchy, tilted at Dualism and any concessions to Slavic nations. This extreme pro-Prussian, German nationalism could be considered only an episode, unless we are aware of the fact that Schönerer was one of the signatories of Linz Program of 1882, which represented the Magna Charta of German nationalism in Austria. The main idea of the program consisted in political realignment of Austria. It meant to transform that part of the monarchy, which was originally the part of German Confederation, into German state. Unification with the Kingdom of Hungary was meant to have a character of just a personal union. „Non-Germanic“ parts of Austria, such as Dalmatia, Galicia, Bukovina and also Bosnia and Herzegovina (which, at that time, were still only under Austro-Hungarian administration) were meant to be annexed to the Kingdom of Hungary. And as a result, the Kingdom of Hungary would have become a kind of collecting basket and of course, Bohemia and Moravia with mostly Czech population, were intended to be a part of German Austria. Annexation of such Austria to the German Empire by means of Customs Union and State Treaty was expected to open some space for formation of Great Germany in future.¹⁰ This programme was adopted not only by Schönerer's supporters, but also by other German-nationalistic, progressive, democratic and people's political movements. Viktor Adler, a later leader of Austrian Social Democrats, was its signatory as well.¹¹ German nationalism in Austria, which, of course, can be documented not only by Linz Program, stopped to focus on the Habsburg monarchy as Central European Power under the Habsburg sceptre. The idea of German National State, either in the form of annexation to Germany or in the form of creation of “the second German state”, was given a priority over other ideas.

Štefan Marko Daxner, the ideologist of Slovak nationalism and the main author of the Memorandum of the Slovak Nation of 1861, wrote already in the early 1860s that “We (i.e. Slovaks) recognize this state (i.e. the Habsburg Monarchy and es-

⁹ PICHL, Herwig Eduard: *Georg Schönerer 1 – 6*, Berlin 1938. There is nearly a hagiographic work, but with many interesting details.

¹⁰ KRUCK, Alfred: *Geschichte des Alldeutschen Verbandes 1890/1939*, Wiesbaden 1954, p. 105; HANTSCH, Hugo: *Die Geschichte Österreichs*, Bd.2, 4th edition Graz-Wien.Köln 1968, p. 417 – 18.

¹¹ See BRAUNTHAL, Julius: *Victor und Friedrich Adler. Zwei Generationen Arbeiterbewegung*, Wien 1965.

pecially the Kingdom of Hungary) only in so far as how much recognition we are given in this state.”¹² This is the kind of a typical formulation of political nationalism, where the idea of nation is given the priority over the idea of state. The other non-dominant nations in the monarchy acted in accordance with this formulation. The roots of Czechoslovak cooperation and Yugoslav idea can be clearly documented and traced back to the early 20th century. Right, in the case of the Yugoslav idea, it was obvious that the very endeavour to find a way how to extricate oneself from the Habsburg monarchy was its driving power. And thus, this essential objective suppressed any internal or confessional differences. Polish people, but also people in Galicia, pinned their hopes on restoration of Polish state. The attention of Transylvanian Romanians was focused on their plans towards Romania, not to mention Italians.

Already at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries the Habsburg monarchy was internally the state with disintegrated ideas, despite its apparent, outwardly kept status of the Great Power. The main idea, which caused this internal disintegration, was nationalism itself and the idea of nation-state formulated by nationalism. The ideology of nationalism caused, in fact, the new sovereign of the state to come on stage. The European medieval and early modern tradition has it that the sovereign of the state was a monarch. A well known quotation from Louis XIV of France, „L'état c'est moi!“, is used as an example of absolutism. Actually, it is only in extreme (absolutistic) form expressed the real nature of a state as we know it from the History of Europe in those times. The state is formed and it exists as a unit dependent on a monarch or dynasty. The powers of the monarch are sometimes limited by various settlements with nobility, church, cities or diets possessing in various states very different privileges. However the crux of the matter was unvarying, i.e. the monarch remained to be the sovereign of the state. The French revolution of the late 18th century contrasted the monarch and dynasty with the citizen and republic. That didn't take very long. After a short while the nation took the place of a citizen. This condition lasts up to now to a certain degree. However the nation is very specific type of a state sovereign. It is a multitude of people, who will never assemble at one particular place. It is impossible that the members of this set will ever get to know each other. They communicate by way of symbols such as flags, colours, anthems or national programme dogmas. In such a diversified society it is, however, more and more difficult to observe them. The nation is a virtual social unit. It is not possible to kill the nation or to get rid of it in some other way. On the other hand, with regard to its virtuality, it can be controlled and manipulated very easily. And that is the chance of demagogues, dictators, as well as monarchs, who declare that they act on “behalf of a nation” and offer the nation themselves, or their political party, as the most significant state symbol.

The idea of nation-state was very actual one already in times of the Habsburg monarchy, at least since the first half of the 19th century. The monarchy was still based on the monarch and dynasty that acted as sovereigns of the state. What kind of solution could the monarch and dynasty offer in such a situation? Could they attempt to create the Habsburg nation? Two politically dominant nations, Austrian Germans and

¹² DAXNER, Štefan Marko, Hlas zo Slovenska (A voice from Slovakia), Pešť 1861, p. 14.

Magyars, already formulated their idea of nation-state, which was as follows: German Austria and Hungarian Kingdom with the dominant state sovereigns, i.e. German nation in Austria and Magyar nation in the Kingdom of Hungary. Thus in a conglomerate consisting of several countries, which constituted the monarchy and were so ethnically, historically and, as well economically different, it was impossible to find and create some central, dominant national ideology. Besides, the rest of national societies, based on ethnic principle, had also their own political programmes. In such a situation, the national programmes usually perceived the monarch as an accepted figure or figure to be endured, however, never as a state sovereign. The monarch and dynasty that insisted on their sovereignty had just little choice. They had to make tactical decisions and turn the conflicts among the nations of monarchy to their advantage and thus to acknowledge own sovereignty in the state split by ideological differences. However, this strategy was connected with an extreme risk. In each critical situation, such as revolutions or wars, this skating on thin ice could lead to a catastrophe. Franz Joseph still had the chance to save his Empire by taking the huge leap forward. This meant to overcome disintegrative nationalism by introducing the civic principle and creating the civic parliamentary democracy. However he would fall back to the modest representative function. In addition he would have to conquer ongoing political conservatism of the Vienna court and nationalism of dominant nations in the monarchy. This was, however, beyond the Franz Joseph power.

In one of his articles Frederick Engels, for whom the Habsburg Monarchy practically meant some symbol of reaction, wrote that “steam torn the Austrian barbarism to pieces and thus cut the ground from under feet of the Habsburg Monarchy.”¹³ Engels was right to some degree, but not completely. Steam, which was a symbol of modernization, posed serious problems for the central European monarchy, however, not unsolvable ones. It is true to say that the monarchy was in a state to meet the challenges of modernization, although with some difficulties. Nationalism, in a sense, was the side product of modernization and the Habsburg state wasn't able to successfully reconcile itself to “steam of nationalism”.

Self-deceit of the Vienna court since the Napoleonic wars was one of the reasons. Even in the Vienna newspapers was written about “the ill man at the Bosphorus”. However, nobody wanted to admit the existence of “the ill man at the Danube”. The emperor Francis suffered a crushing defeat at the time of the Napoleonic wars. In the end, he turned out to be a conqueror. At the grand Congress of Vienna it was, somehow, forgotten that the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation came to an end and the Habsburgs weren't German emperors any more. There was one prospective competitor, who made it to the top, in the German Confederation. It was Prussia. The fact that Austria was the weakest military and economic link of the European concert of powers was obscured by mist of diplomatic ceremonies and Vienna Waltzes. Metternich's dominance concealed the internal problems of the state, which led to a revolution. A Pyrrhic victory over the revolution in 1849 only added to self-deceit of the Vienna court. And Vienna had no intention of admitting the internal weakness even after

¹³ Quotation from the Czech translation of article *Začátek konce Rakúska*, published originally in German in *Deutsche Basler Zeitung* 23. January 1848, MARX, Karel, ENGELS, Fridrich. Spisy vol. 4, Praha 1958, p.476.

the lost wars with Piedmont and Prussia. The dual Austro-Hungarian Monarchy still belonged formally to big European states. It was, however, the political visionary and not the bureaucrat as was the case of Franz Joseph, who was perhaps needed to salvage this ill man at the Danube. Franz Ferdinand, who was the successor to the throne, was that kind of visionary, at least to some degree. The plan he worked out after he had succeeded to the throne was, in principle, based on monarch's stronger position in the state. This was intended to be carried out by abolishment of dualism and by federalization of the Empire based on ethnic principle. Such disintegration could really help to strengthen the position of the monarch as an arbiter and, as well as a unifier of the state.¹⁴ However this plan had, at least, two weaknesses. Firstly, the separation of the country into smaller parts based on ethnic principle had to act as a trigger for chain reaction of conflicts among the nations in the Monarchy. Secondly, the plan was, without any doubt, anti-Magyar and it had to lead to a civic war with Magyars. Any attempt to carry out such plan would ultimately have to lead to a reorientation of foreign politics. Magyar resistance would also be based, that is to say, on a support of double-alliance partner, Germany. This could be carried off only by a reorientation of foreign politics by searching approach to Russia and so creating some new balance of political power on European continent. The help of Russia was inevitable to stop Magyar resistance. Therefore, it is really questionable whether Franz Ferdinand would ever have attempted to implement this state reform. This begs the question whether it would be possible to implement any crucial reform, not to mention any vision in the Habsburg Monarchy. And state, which defies any vision, has no prospects.

Tomáš Garrigue Masaryk, a man who has taken great pains to dissolve the Austro-Hungarian Empire, said of his day, that states exist and continue to exist by help of the idea, out of which they arose. The Habsburg Monarchy was created as a result of power politics of only one dynasty. Without any doubts, this wasn't very favourable prospects for the 20th century. In the 16th century, when the monarchy was formed, it was threatened by expansion of the Ottoman Empire. Habsburgs built up their state in the way of an ideological barrier, i.e. in defence of Christianity against the threat of the Ottoman Empire. This idea practically came to its end in the 18th century. On the contrary, in the second half of the 19th century, in principle since the Crimean war, foreign politics of the Habsburgs stood up for defence of Turkey against national liberation fight of Balkan nations and against the Russian aggression.¹⁵ In the course of the 19th century, as a result of a progress of political nationalism, one more idea appeared. The Habsburg monarchy aimed to protect and govern small nations in the Central Europe. František Palacky's, a Czech historian and politician, policy was based on this idea. It was formulated in the work "The idea of an Austrian state".¹⁶ Already at the end of the 19th century it was, however, evident that the monarchy wasn't able to

¹⁴ See Österreichisches Staatsarchiv, Haus-Hof-und Staatsarchiv, Nachlaß Franz Ferdinand, volume: Thronwechsel.

¹⁵ See the new book: AMEIL, Gilbert – NATHAN, Isabelle et SOUTOU, Georges-Henri: Le Congrès de Paris (1856). Un événement fondateur. Bruxelles-Bern-Berlin-Frankfurt am Main-New York-Oxford-Wien, Peter Lang 2009.

¹⁶ PALACKÝ, František: *Idea státu rakouskeho* (Idea of the Austrian state), Praha 1865.

carry out such a task. On the contrary, small nations and their political programmes were at variance with this idea. Political slogan propagating the idea of “the prison of nations” isn’t historically correct indeed, mainly as for the relation to the Austrian part of the monarchy, but separation of small nations and creation of their own “living space” was simply the historic fact.

Situation in the Austro-Hungarian Kingdom at the end of First World War positively documents the internal disintegration of the state. In the monarchy there wasn’t any pertinent political power, which would attempt to govern the whole state in any way. In Zagreb already on October 5, 1918 the National Council, as a representative body of all South Slavs in the monarchy, was set up with aim to leave the yoke of the Habsburg monarchy and establish Yugoslav state. In Budapest on October 16 Sándor Wekerle, a Hungarian prime minister, announced the abolishment of dualism and termination of union with Austria. At the same time, the Hungarian government started to withdraw the Hungarian regiments from the front line. In Vienna, on October 21 the Provisional National Assembly was set up. It attempted to create a new Austrian state, the state consisting of Austrian counties and areas of Bohemia and Moravia with German ethnic groups. On October 28 the Czechoslovak republic was established. Restoration of the Polish state led to separation of Galicia from Austria. In short, all national groups worked on formation of so called “nation-state”. Nobody was interested in the monarchy as a whole. The emperor Charles made an attempt to introduce a reform of Cisleithania by means of federalization.¹⁷ His attempt was, however, made too late. In addition, it didn’t fulfil defined Czechoslovak, Yugoslav and Romanian ambitions, because the reform didn’t include the Kingdom of Hungary at all.

There was no relevant political power, or political party and no relevant nation or nationality which would be interested in maintenance of the Habsburg Monarchy. All relevant subjects confess the idea of nation-state and self-determination of nations. Idea of nation-state and nationalism was alive, so the Habsburg monarchy was dead. It was only one great power which was doomed to terminate in consequence of nationalism.

The *Radetzky March* novel finishes with death of the main character, a lieutenant Trotta. Trotta decided to leave the army after his experience in the imperial and royal army, and among other things, also as a result of Magyar officers' attitude towards assassination of the successor to the throne. Ironically, shortly after he left the army, he had to join it again as a lieutenant mobilized for Russian front. In the novel his death is symbolic. At the Russian front a loyal servant of the emperor and monarchy behaves partly as a somnambulist, who doesn’t know, what is going on around him and partly as a suicide, when he moves unprotected and indifferent to his fate at the battle line, which is bombarded by Russian soldiers. It has a logical implication that he takes a bullet from a Russian soldier's gun. In the last years of monarchy's existence the supporters of the monarchy and loyal servants of the emperor behaved in the same way.

¹⁷ See LAMMASCH, Heinrich: Seine Aufzeichnungen, sein Wirken und seine Politik, Hrsg. M. Lammasch und H.Sperl, Wien 1922.

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Migration des habitants de la Russie après 1917 et la Tchécoslovaquie (1918-1939)

LUBICA HARBULOVÁ – BOHUMILA FERENČUHOVÁ

La fin de la première guerre mondiale, les changements géopolitiques dans les différentes zones du monde et de l'Europe, l'émergence de nouveaux Etats et leur évolution politique momentanée formaient la base, entre autre, pour la migration des habitants. La chute de l'Empire des Romanov en Russie a ouvert la voie aux changements politiques en Europe de l'Est. L'usurpation du pouvoir par les bolchéviks en automne 1917, la guerre civile successive, la suppression de tous les centres de résistance au bolchévisme partout en Russie et l'affermissement du pouvoir bolchévik non seulement sur tout le territoire de la Russie, mais aussi dans les régions qui, après la chute du tsarisme, ont proclamé l'indépendance – Biélorussie, Ukraine, Géorgie – constituaient dans sa totalité les facteurs déterminants la première vague de l'émigration politique provenant de l'Europe centrale au 20^e siècle.

Les émigrés de la première vague ont quitté la Russie pendant la courte période de facto de 4 ans, 1917-1920, en suivant plusieurs directions. Au fur et à mesure s'affirmaient trois directions principales de départs des émigrés. La première direction en passant par les Etats baltes, la Finlande et la Pologne et continuant à l'Europe de l'Ouest, surtout vers l'Allemagne où Berlin constituait la première ville de transit des émigrés pour remplir ce rôle jusqu'en 1923. La seconde direction menait par la Turquie, Constantinople et les Etats balkaniques (Yougoslavie, Bulgarie) et de là plus loin vers l'Europe centrale et occidentale (Tchécoslovaquie, France). Le troisième courant de l'émigration se dirigeait vers l'Extrême-Orient, la Chine, avec Charbin comme la troisième ville de transit, transformé plus tard en centre connu du rameau oriental de l'émigration russe. Pendant la période mentionnée 2 à 3 millions d'habitants ont quitté la Russie. Le gouvernement de la Russie soviétique a résolu en automne de 1922 d'augmenter ce chiffre en procédant à l'expulsion de 200 savants, enseignants, écrivains et représentants de culture éminents. Ils étaient envoyés à l'étranger par bateaux de Petersbourg et d'Odessa, sans possibilité de retour.¹

Les premières années de l'émigration ont été très difficiles pour la plupart des émigrés pour plusieurs raisons : mauvaises conditions de vie qu'ils étaient obligés de subir, perte de status social et de la situation qu'ils avaient en Russie, l'incertitude dans le pays choisi.

Le statut légal peu claire a rendu la vie des émigrés encore plus difficile.² Le gouvernement soviétique par sa résolution du 15 décembre 1921 a privé de citoyenneté tous les évadés qui ne déposeraient pas de demande de passeport soviétique avant le 1^{er} juin 1922. Par cet acte les fugitifs sont devenus apatrides, ils ont été relégués et pros-

¹ Pour plus de détails CHAMBERLAINOVÁ, Lesley: *Parník filozofů. Lenin a vyhánění inteligence*. Praha: Mladá fronta 2008.

² *Russkije bežency. Problemy rasselenija, vozvraščenija na rodinu, ureguirovanija pravogo položenija.. 1920 – 1930-je gody*. Ed. Z. S. BOČAROVA. Moskva 2004.

crits. Il n'était pas facile pour l'Europe d'accueillir autant de réfugiés : le problème des réfugiés de Russie a atteint la Société des Nations, où le poste du Commissaire pour les affaires des réfugiés, avec F. Nansen en tête, a été créé. Au début la Société des Nations aidait à trouver des pays d'accueil pour les réfugiés russes. A partir de 1922 elle a décidé de délivrer les documents d'identité pour ces émigrés. A partir de 1924 les réfugiés russes obtiennent des passeports dits de Nansen de la part des pays où ils se trouvaient, néanmoins leur statut juridique n'a pas été résolu de manière définitive. On s'attendait à une amélioration substantielle grâce à la Convention sur le statut juridique des réfugiés russes et arméniens élaborée pendant la Conférence de Genève en 1933. Elle devait entrer en vigueur après sa ratification par toutes les parties prenantes. L'admission de l'Union soviétique à la Société des Nations une année plus tard (1934) a influencé l'opinion mondiale par rapport aux réfugiés russes et a eu l'impact défavorable sur le processus de ratification de la Convention. Elle n'est pas entrée en vigueur. Le statut juridique des réfugiés provenant de Russie n'a pas été résolu de facto ni de iure jusqu'en 1945.

Les émigrés de la première vague s'installent d'abord dans les pays proches du pays natal. Ce fait est lié à leur conviction que l'émigration forcée n'est qu'un épisode de courte durée et que le régime bolchévik tombera bientôt ce qu'il leur permettra de rentrer. Pour la première vague de l'émigration de la Russie soviétique il est symptomatique que les évadés se sont tenus à l'écart de la vie active du pays où ils se sont installés ; ils étaient contraires à l'assimilation, leur peu de volonté d'adaptation est devenu fameux. Ils essayaient de ne pas dépasser les limites de la vie de la colonie d'émigrés. Cela reste typique surtout pour les personnes plus âgées et pour la période chronologique des années 1920. La génération plus jeune de l'émigration commence à changer d'opinion surtout dans les années 1930, bien que la foi en retour pour la Russie lui soit proche aussi. Dans la seconde moitié des années 1920 et dans les années 1930 les centres de l'émigration russe se sont multipliés : à côté de Berlin, Constantinople et de Kharbin de nombreux émigrés russes se sont installés à Belgrade, Sofia, Varsovie, Karlovatz de Sriem, Chang-Hai. Parmi les centres européens la place principale revenait à Paris et à Prague.

Dans les pays de l'Europe centrale les émigrés de la Russie arrivaient de deux directions : le vecteur occidental traversait l'Ukraine, les Etats baltes, la Pologne avant de continuer plus loin en Europe, le vecteur méridional de la Russie par Istanbul pour le Royaume des Serbes, Croates et Slovènes, en Bulgarie, Roumanie, Hongrie, Autriche et Tchécoslovaquie et plus loin dans les pays de l'Europe occidentale. Selon les données de la Société des Nations les dizaines de milliers d'émigrés de Russie se sont installés dans les pays de l'Europe centrale : 70 000 en Pologne, 27 000 en Tchécoslovaquie, 3 500 en Autriche, 2 600 en Hongrie, 80 000 en Roumanie.³ Au cours des années 1920 les chiffres mentionnés ci-dessus changeaient en conséquence de facteurs différents – la politique intérieure dans les Etats particuliers, l'attitude des autorités envers les émigrés, l'attitude de la population majoritaire, l'accès au travail, les facilités d'études à la portée des émigrés dans un pays concret, mais aussi la migration massive propre à

³ NAZAROV, M.: *Missija russoj emigracii*. Moskva 1994, p. 18.

la communauté. Vu les conditions concrètes dans les différents pays le nombre d'émigrés allait augmentant ou diminuant. C'est surtout la Tchécoslovaquie qui attirait l'intérêt des émigrés russes de passage dans les pays de l'Europe centrale.

Les premiers réfugiés politiques russes sont arrivés en Tchécoslovaquie au début de l'année 1921, ce qui était en rapport avec l'exode en masse après la défaite des troupes militaires blanches en Crimée en automne 1920. Le général Wrangel a alors sollicité le gouvernement tchécoslovaque de recevoir dans la République une partie de son armée.⁴ L'aide aux réfugiés russes a été examinée en profondeur par les autorités et discutée à la Chambre des députés. A la lumière des interpellations parlementaires la scène politique tchécoslovaque était en général favorable au soutien éventuel des émigrés. Le ministre des Affaires étrangères Edvard Beneš a souligné dans sa réponse aux interpellations que la Tchécoslovaquie avait déjà commencé à soutenir les émigrés matériellement et moralement, que ce secours devrait aboutir à une action humanitaire largement conçue qui était déjà en train d'élaboration concrète.⁵ Le gouvernement tchécoslovaque a approuvé le projet sous le nom de *L'action d'aide russe*⁶ pendant sa réunion le 28 juin 1921. C'est le Ministère des Affaires étrangères qui a été chargé par la réalisation concrète du projet ; on lui a transféré une somme de 10 millions couronnes à cette fin.⁷ Le président de la République T. G. Masaryk a appuyé la résolution du gouvernement en ajoutant: « Cette Action ne peut pas oublier de nombreux citoyens russes qui vivent déjà parmi nous en Europe et que nous soutenons déjà. »⁸

Le programme de l'Action d'aide russe a dû se conformer aux principes suivants : le retrait des forces armées par le territoire de la République était interdit ; les réfugiés devaient arrêter toutes les activités politiques ; le soutien a dû être réalisé uniquement à la base du programme d'Etat, non pas par intermédiaire des organisations privées ; l'action devait aboutir à la formation de conditions qui permettraient aux réfugiés de prendre soin d'eux et de vivre normalement. Le Ministère des Affaires étrangères a proposé de diviser les émigrés en trois groupes distincts. Le premier groupe englobait les émigrés non aptes au travail physique, à savoir invalides, vieillards, femmes non aptes au travail, enfants et écoliers. Ces personnes devaient passer sous les soins de la Croix rouge tchécoslovaque. Le deuxième groupe a été formé par les émigrés aptes au travail physique, le troisième groupe a été constitué par l'intelligentsia.⁹ Le Ministère des Affaires étrangères gérait l'Action de secours russe en général, mais en ce qui concerne la réalisation concrète des objectifs, les tâches étaient partagées. Il coopérait avec de nombreuses organisations et associations tchécoslovaques et russes, parmi eux la Croix Rouge de Tchécoslovaquie, l'Unité agricole tchécoslovaque (*Československá zemědělská jednota*) et surtout l'association russe *Zemgor*

⁴ *Dokumenty a materiály k dějinám československo-sovětských vztahů*. T. 1. November 1917 – august 1922. Praha: Academia 1975, p. 383.

⁵ CHINAYEVA, E.: Ruská emigrace v Československu: vývoj ruské pomocné akce. In: *Slovanský přehled*. 1993, no. 1, p. 18.

⁶ *Ruská pomocná akce*

⁷ SLÁDEK, Zdeněk.: Ruská emigrace v Československu. In: *Slovanský přehled*. 1993, no. 1, p. 3.

⁸ MASARYK, T. G.: *Cesta demokracie. Soubor projevů za republiku*. Sv. II. 1921-1923. Praha 1934, p. 56-57.

⁹ Archives du Ministère des Affaires étrangères, Prague (désormais AMZV). Fond II. Sekcia politická, k. 256.

(Objedinenije rossijskich zemskich i gorodskich dejatelej v ČSR).¹⁰

Dans les premières années de la réalisation de l'Action d'aide russe les questions sociales étaient de première importance. Elles étaient du ressort de *Zemgor* de Prague en premier lieu et de ses succursales de Bratislava et d'Užhorod. Plus tard on a mis l'accent sur l'éducation et l'enseignement des étudiants russes. A Prague on a fondé des écoles russes de tous les niveaux – du préscolaire à l'Université – en instituant progressivement le système d'enseignement russe complet. En outre les étudiants russes pouvaient étudier dans les écoles secondaires professionnelles tchécoslovaques et pouvaient s'inscrire aux universités et aux Grandes écoles techniques de type universitaire tchécoslovaques. C'est le Comité pour faciliter les études des étudiants russes en Tchécoslovaquie¹¹ qui faisait venir les étudiants russes dans le pays, les plaçait dans des établissements scolaires et universitaires et leur assurait les moyens de subsistance durant les études. Les autorités tchécoslovaques envisageaient de fournir des bourses d'études à un millier d'étudiants de Russie, mais ce chiffre a été largement dépassé. Les études en Tchécoslovaquie sont devenues populaires et appréciées par les étudiants. Selon le rapport du Comité pour faciliter les études des étudiants russes et ukrainiens en Tchécoslovaquie, élaboré pour le Ministère des Affaires étrangères au mois de janvier 1935, 6 816 étudiants russes et ukrainiens bénéficiaient dans les années 1921 – 1934 de bourse d'études dans le cadre de l'Action d'aide russe.¹² Celle-ci comprenait la sollicitude de savants et d'enseignants russes qui assuraient l'éducation dans les écoles russes de Tchécoslovaquie ou travaillaient dans les établissements scolaires, universitaires ou scientifiques tchèques et slovaques. Ces tâches ont été reprises par l'Association des savants russes, épaulée par le Corps des professeurs d'enseignement supérieurs en Tchécoslovaquie et le Corps autonome des professeurs d'université russes.

L'Action d'aide russe n'était pas limitée aux écoles, étudiants, enseignants, centres de recherche et bibliothèques. Une grande partie de subventions était destinée pour soutenir les activités des associations et unions d'émigrés russes.

La réalisation de l'Action d'aide russe a de loin surpassé le contenu et les dimensions prévues à l'origine. Dès le début on entendait dans la société des voix qui se sont opposées à l'assistance humanitaire ainsi conçue. Il s'agissait surtout des députés de gauche, surtout communistes, accusant le gouvernement tchécoslovaque d'aider les monarchistes et les éléments antisoviétiques d'une manière inacceptable. Ils deman-

¹⁰ *Zemgor* fut fondé le 17 mars 1921 et enregistré par Zemská politická správa v Praze – l'Administration politique du pays à Prague – le 30 avril 1921. Il fut dirigé en 1921 d'abord par V. M. Zenzinov et après lui par V. J. Gurjevič, à partir de 1922 par I. N. Brunšvit. La direction de *Zemgor* fut de tendance SR – les adhérents au parti politique des socialistes radicaux (essers) qui constituaient le groupe le plus influent (29 essers de 69 membres de direction dans sa totalité). L'Union de la renaissance des kazaks représentait le deuxième groupe le plus fort au sein de la direction. L'objectif de *Zemgor* était d'aider par tous les moyens tous les citoyens russes se trouvant sur le territoire de la République tchécoslovaque.

¹¹ *Komité pro zabezpečení studia ruských studentů*. Fondé le 1 octobre 1921 ensemble avec le Comité pour faciliter les études des étudiants ukrainiens en Tchécoslovaquie ; en 1926 les deux Comités ont fusionné et fonctionnaient ainsi jusqu'en 1930. A cette date commence la restriction de leurs activités qui ont pris fin définitivement en 1935, quand les Comités ont cessé d'exister.

¹² AMZV, fonds : II. sekcia – politická, k. 187. Správa Komitétu pro zabezpečení studia ruských studentů. Leden 1935.

daient d'arrêter l'aide sans délai. Le financement de l'Action d'aide russe si large et exigeante devenait peu à peu fardeau pesant pour le gouvernement tchécoslovaque. Le Ministère des Affaires étrangères a donc commencé avec les réductions progressives dès 1927. Les problèmes économiques et sociaux liés à la crise économique des années 1930 ont réduit les investissements de l'Etat dans l'Action russe. La reconnaissance de l'Union soviétique par la Tchécoslovaquie en 1934 a entraîné la fin formelle de l'Action d'aide russe. Les émigrés de Russie qui vivaient sur le territoire de la République tchécoslovaque et avaient besoin d'assistance ont été repris par les soins de la Croix Rouge tchécoslovaque et à partir de 1937 la prévoyance sociale de ces personnes passait au ressort du Ministère de l'assistance sociale.¹³

L'Action de secours russe présentait une opération de grande envergure exigeant des ressources financières importantes. La somme des dotations a atteint le sommet dans les années 1924 – 1926 : en 1924 c'était 99 775 428, 54 Couronnes tchécoslovaques (Kčs), en 1925 72 934 702,62 Kčs, en 1926 71 010 294,56 Kčs. A partir de 1932 les subventions ont été radicalement restreintes et jusqu'à la fin de l'Action ils n'allaient que diminuant. Pendant toute la durée de l'Action entre 1921 – 1937 le gouvernement tchécoslovaque a fourni 508 034 511,11 Kčs pour réaliser cette forme de secours.¹⁴ Les activités et dépenses de cette envergure ont été motivées chez le gouvernement tchécoslovaque par les objectifs humanitaires sans aucun doute. Néanmoins il est possible de distinguer aussi des motivations et objectifs politiques. Selon la représentation de T. G. Masaryk les forces démocratiques avec le rôle dominant de l'intelligentsia devaient décider de l'évolution politique de la Russie à l'avenir. La Tchécoslovaquie offrait les possibilités pour l'enseignement et l'éducation des spécialistes russes qui après leur retour en Russie à l'avenir y occuperaient des postes importants. Ils pourraient rendre alors à la Tchécoslovaquie l'aide dont ils avaient bénéficié auparavant, en lui fournissant certains avantages, par exemple sur le marché de la Russie. Ceci serait profitable à l'Etat tchécoslovaque émergé récemment et bienvenu du point de vue politique et économique à la fois. A l'origine de la préparation de l'Action d'aide russe les idées de la solidarité slave et les contacts précédents entre les milieux tchèques et slovaques et la Russie jouaient aussi un certain rôle.

La Tchécoslovaquie de l'entre-deux-guerres grâce à son secours humanitaire largement conçu est devenue le but final des milliers d'émigrés de Russie. Leur nombre a atteint le niveau le plus élevé dans la moitié des années 1920, lorsqu'ils dépassaient 25 000 personnes.¹⁵ Cette masse apparemment amorphe était à l'intérieur différenciée. Quant aux nationalités (l'ethnicité) il y avait des Russes, Ukrainiens, Biélorusses, Géorgiens, Arméniens et d'autres. En ce qui concerne la structure sociale on y trouve des soldats, des paysans (kazaks), étudiants et intelligentsia – scientifique, artistique et administrative.¹⁶

¹³ AMZV, Fonds II. Sekcia – politická, k. 256a, k. 277a.

¹⁴ AMZV, Fonds II. Sekcia – politická, k. 256a.

¹⁵ SLÁDEK, Zdeněk: Ruská emigrace v Československu. In: *Slovanský přehled*, 1993, no 1, p. 3.; VEBER, V. a kol.: *Ruská a ukrajinská emigrace v Československu v letech 1918 – 1945*. Praha 1996, p. 58.

¹⁶ Selon les statistiques de *Zemgor* la plupart des émigrés (90 – 93 pour cent) étaient des travailleurs manuels, dont en agriculture 40 pour cent, dans l'industrie et artisanat 20 pour cent. Les 30 pour cent qui restent fai-

Après l'arrivée en Tchécoslovaquie les émigrés ont été le plus souvent obligés de concentrer l'effort pour satisfaire leurs besoins matériels et sociaux de base, ce qui a déterminé leur vie de manière fondamentale. Les organisations de soutien, *Zemgor* notamment, ne leur fournissaient que l'aide fondamentale inévitable (logement, nourriture et soins médicaux). Cette sollicitude était d'importance capitale, vu le milieu d'accueil, pour eux socialement et linguistiquement inconnu. Après avoir surmonté les premières difficultés, les émigrés ont commencé à chercher du travail, bien que les possibilités n'étaient pas adéquates à leur éducation ni le statut social.

Les émigrés se sont installés dans plusieurs villes tchèques, moraves et slovaques. La communauté numériquement la plus nombreuse vivaient à Prague, où tout de suite après leur arrivée se formaient des institutions scolaires russes, parmi elles la Faculté juridique russe (Russkij juridičeskij fakultet), le Gymnase (lycée) réel russe de Prague (Russkaja reformnaja realnaja gimnazija), l'Université populaire russe (Russkij narodnyj universitet). Parmi les professeurs des écoles russes il y avaient des enseignants et savants éminents. Quelques uns sont venus sur l'invitation du gouvernement tchécoslovaque et enseignaient aussi dans les universités tchèques et slovaques. A l'Université Charles de Prague nous trouvons plusieurs professeurs slavissants, par exemple V. A. Francev, N. P. Kondakov, A. V. Florovskij, R. O. Jakobson, A. L. Bém et d'autres.¹⁷ On peut constater le même fait par rapport aux philosophes de pointe petersbourgeois, exclus de la Russie en 1922, qui se sont rassemblés successivement à Prague (N. Losskij, I. Lapšin, P. Sorokin, L. Karsavin et d'autres).¹⁸

A côté d'établissements d'éducation toute une série d'organismes scientifiques, d'institutions et de centres de recherches ont vu le jour ; ils permettaient à de nombreux savants russes de poursuivre le travail scientifique dans les conditions d'émigration. Il faut citer parmi les plus connus les Archives historiques étrangères russes (Russkij zagraničnyj istoričeskij archiv), le Cabinet d'Economie du professeur S. N. Prokopovič (Ekonomičeskij kabinet prof. S. N. Prokopoviča), Institut d'études de Russie (Institut izučenija Rossii).¹⁹

Le système d'institutions d'enseignement et de recherches a été complété par les activités d'édition riches, publiées d'abord sous forme de brochures, journaux et revues. Au fur et à mesure que les émigrés choisissaient la façon de vivre plus stable, ils ont commencé à publier la littérature classique russe, belles lettres, manuels scolaires et les livres d'enfants, mémoires et littérature professionnelle. Parmi les maisons d'édition russes de Prague les plus connues il convient de mentionner les maisons d'édition *Plamja*, *Slavjanskoje izdatel'stvo*, *Chutor* ou bien *Vol'a Rossii*. Entre 1920-1940 il

saient part de *l'intelligentsia* dans le pays d'origine, mais en émigration ils exerçaient le travail manuel pour plusieurs raisons. Seulement 7 – 10 pour cent d'émigrés travaillaient intellectuellement (artistes, savants, enseignants, étudiants, médecins ou ingénieurs. In : VEBER, V. A kol. : *Ruská a ukrajinská emigrace v ČSR v letech 1918 – 1945*. Praha 1966, p. 58 -59.

¹⁷ ŠIMEČEK, Zdeněk: Ruští a ukrajinští slavisté v meziválečném Československu. In: *Slovanský přehled*, 1993, no 1. VACEK, J.: Interakce ruské a ukrajinské emigrace s československou vědou a kulturou v letech 1919 – 1945. In: VEBER, V. a kol. *Ruská a ukrajinská emigrace v ČSR v letech 1918 – 1945*. Zv. 2, Praha 1994, s. 1 – 40.

¹⁸ GONĚČ, V. Ruská filozofická emigrace v Československu. In: *Slovanský přehled*, 1993, no 1.

¹⁹ VACEK, J. Knihy a knihovny, archivy a muzea ruské emigrace v Praze v meziválečném období. In: *Slovanský přehled*, 1993, č. 1, p. 63-74.

paraissait à Prague une centaine titres de revues et une vingtaine de journaux.²⁰ L'importance de Prague comme centre d'édition de l'émigration russe est confirmée par le fait qu'en 1925 Prague par le nombre de titres a occupée la seconde place (après Berlin) parmi les 32 villes du monde entier où on publiait dans l'entre-deux-guerres des livres russes.²¹ Prague avec Berlin et Paris présentait un des centres d'édition les plus connus de la diaspora émigrée russe.

Après l'acclimatation dans les conditions nouvelles l'émigration a lancé de nombreuses activités culturelles et sociales, en fondant notamment associations, alliances ou amicales. Selon la législation de Tchécoslovaquie toutes les associations devaient présenter une demande d'autorisation au Ministère de l'intérieur et y être formellement enregistrées. Leurs activités ont été subventionnées par l'intermédiaire de l'Action d'aide russe. Les émigrés fondaient des associations de plusieurs types : associations culturelles, spécialisées et professionnelles ou d'assistance. La durée dans le temps et la qualité de leurs activités changeaient de l'association à l'association. En 1934 on enregistrait à Prague 33 organisations culturelles russes, 11 organisations professionnelles et 26 d'assistance et d'entraide.²² La sphère d'activité de plusieurs associations (Fédération Gallipoli, associations kazaks, l'Union des ingénieurs et techniciens russes) s'étendait sur tout le territoire de la République tchécoslovaque. Siégeant à Prague où se trouvaient les organes dirigeants de l'association, elles avaient des succursales dans plusieurs villes de Bohême, de Moravie et de Slovaquie. Une telle structure profitait aux réseaux reliant la société des émigrés russes dans toute la Tchécoslovaquie de l'entre-deux-guerres.

Les activités culturelles et artistiques de l'émigration russe ont été concentrées surtout à Prague. Le groupe littéraire *Daliborka* se distinguait parmi les associations artistiques ; les artistes s'alliaient dans l'Artisan russe (*Russkij kustar*) ; à la base d'association fonctionnait le Théâtre de caméra russe (*Russkij kamernyj teatr*), Société chorale d'étudiants russes A. A. Archangelski (*Studenčeskij russkij sbor imeni A. A. Archangel'skogo*) ou l'Ensemble chorale de kazaks de Don – ataman Platonov (*Donskij kozackij sbor atamana Platonova*). Les émigrés se rencontraient régulièrement pendant la célébration des fêtes traditionnelles russes en toute communauté, à partir de 1925 ils se réunissaient aussi en organisant et visitant les Journées de la culture russe (*Dni ruskoj kul'tury*).²³

En arrivant en Tchécoslovaquie les émigrés devaient accepter de ne pas s'engager politiquement et de ne pas former de groupements politiques. Pourtant, certains émigrés n'étaient pas en mesure de tenir ces engagements et de prendre distances par rapport aux activités politiques. Ils sont partis de la Russie avec ces convictions en apportant avec eux ses rancunes et querelles. Ils étaient divisés selon l'appartenance politique, opinions ou sympathies avec telle ou telle tendance politique,

²⁰ PODHÁJECKÁ, T. Ruský periodický tisk vycházející v Praze v meziválečném období. In: *Slovanský přehled*, 1993, no 1, p. 75-82.

²¹ VACEK, J. *Knihy a knihovny...* op. cit., p. 63.

²² AMZV, Fonds: II. sekcia – politická, k. 258.

²³ VEBER, V.: *Dni ruské kultury*. In: VEBER, V. a kol. *Ruská a ukrajinská emigrace v ČSR v letech 1918 – 1945*. Zv. 2. Praha 1994, p. 90-93.

fonctionnant comme facteurs de différenciation au sein de la communauté. Il y avait trois courants politiques principaux au sein de l'émigration russe de Tchécoslovaquie : monarchistes (40 pour cent), socialistes (11 pour cent) et démocrates (environ 10 pour cent).²⁴ Le reste se déclarait politiquement indifférent.²⁵

La division en trois courants politiques dont l'origine avait sa source dans la répartition des forces politiques dans la Russie prérévolutionnaire a perduré parmi les émigrés jusqu'à la fin des années 1920. Après les changements de la situation politique et économique à la charnière des années 1920 et 1930 sont apparus de nouveaux mouvements politiques qui reflétaient la nouvelle réalité sociale de même que l'évolution à l'intérieur de la communauté des émigrés. De plus en plus influente la jeune génération ne se limitait plus à condamner le régime bolchévik et à attendre sa chute ; elle acceptait ce régime comme la réalité et espérait qu'il pouvait se transformer. C'était le mouvement de « changement des bornes » (*smena vech*)²⁶ et *eurasianisme*²⁷ qui traduisaient le mieux la pensée et les opinions politiques de la jeune génération. Prague et Paris sont devenus les centres les plus importants du mouvement euroasian ; l'idée principale de celui-ci se fondait sur la représentation de la Russie comme le résultat de son histoire unique découlant de sa position géographique, de la diversité de ses ethnies et cultures. Les partisans de l'eurasianisme refusaient l'héritage culturel de l'Europe occidentale en soulignant l'importance de l'impact de l'Orient et de l'orthodoxie. Ils affirmaient que la Russie ne se trouve pas en Europe ni en Asie, elle même constitue un phénomène à part – elle est *Eurasie*. En 1925 on a fondé à Prague le *Séminaire d'eurasianisme* qui animait des cercles et éditait des ouvrages spécialisés et des recueils d'articles. En Tchécoslovaquie les personnalités si connues comme P. N. Savickij, G. V. Vernadskij et R. O. Jakobson²⁸ incarnaient et cultivaient les idées d'eurasianisme. Les deux mouvements – eurasianisme et *smena vech* – avaient à l'origine de nombreux partisans et un impact important dans la vie culturelle en Tchécoslovaquie. Au courant des années 1930 ils ont peu à peu perdu d'influence.

La grande crise économique au début des années 1930 se manifestait aussi dans la vie des émigrés russes en Tchécoslovaquie. De graves problèmes financiers ont déterminé les activités de toutes les associations et cercles. La coopération avec le milieu tchèque et slovaque a été perturbée. En dépit de problèmes les subventions n'ont

²⁴ MAGEROVSKIJ, L.: Ruská emigrace. In: *Ročenka Československé republiky*. Praha 1928, s. 364-367.

²⁵ Sur les activités politiques de l'émigration russe dans la Tchécoslovaquie de l'entre-deux-guerres plus en détail TEJCHMANOVÁ, S.: Politická činnost ruské emigrace v Československu v letech 1920-1939. In: *Slovenský přehled*, 1991, no 4; VEBER, V.: Strana esserů v moderních ruských dějinách a v Praze. In: VEBER, V. a kol.: *Ruská a ukrajinská emigrace v ČSR v letech 1918 – 1945*. I. Praha 1993, s. 20-31.

²⁶ Les pensées fondamentales du mouvement *smena vech* ont été formulées par N. V. Ustrialov (1890-1938), journaliste et militant du parti des démocrates constitutionnels – kadet après l'échec des tentatives de liquider le système bolchévik par la force des armes. Après la révolution N. V. Ustrialov a émigré en Chine, en 1935 il est rentré en URSS. C'est lui qui a lancé l'exigence de « changer les bornes » (*smena vech*) et a appelé le camp d'émigrer de changer et commencer à collaborer avec le pouvoir soviétique.

²⁷ VORÁČEK, Emil: *Eurasijstoj v ruském politickém myšlení. Osudy jednoho z porevolučních ideových směrů ruské meziválečné emigrace*. Praha 2004.

²⁸ SÉRIOT, Patrick. *Struktura a celek. Intelektuální počátky strukturalismu ve střední a východní Evropě*. Praha: Academia 2002. Surtout le chapitre Eurasiánské hnutí, p. 37-80. Traduit de l'original français publié par P.U.F en 1999.

jamais été complètement arrêtées. La nouvelle ligne de politique extérieure tchécoslovaque, manifestée en premier lieu par la reconnaissance de l'Union soviétique, après par les activités qui devaient faciliter l'admission de l'URSS à la Société des Nations en 1934, suivie le 16 mai 1935 par la signature du traité d'assistance mutuelle entre la Tchécoslovaquie et l'URSS²⁹ avait, elle aussi, de sérieuses conséquences pour l'émigration russe. Le soutien des « contrerévolutionnaires » exilés a toujours été considéré par l'URSS comme acte au moins inamical, sinon ennemi. La diplomatie soviétique introduisait cette question dans la plupart des négociations officielles ou officieuses avec les puissances occidentales.³⁰ Après le rapprochement entre la Tchécoslovaquie et l'URSS les émigrés ont réagi à ces changements de manière différente : quelques uns ont quitté la Tchécoslovaquie, d'autres ont décidé de s'assimiler et ont déposé les demandes de citoyenneté tchécoslovaque. Il y avait parmi eux des émigrés qui vivaient comme auparavant chacun sa vie de tous les jours, avec les attitudes indifférentes par rapport aux événements de grande politique.

Avec l'aggravation de la situation internationale vers la fin des années 1930 l'émigration russe en Tchécoslovaquie s'est divisée en deux camps, comme partout ailleurs : les défenseurs de l'Union soviétique et leurs opposants. Les partisans de la défense – les *oborony* soutenaient l'idée de l'intégrité territoriale de la Russie et ils étaient résolus de défendre le pays sans se soucier du système politique qui oppressait le pays au moment donné. Le périodique Défense de la Russie (*Oborona Rossii*), dont le premier numéro a paru en 1936, a fait la publicité massive de ses idées. Le deuxième camp d'émigrés, surnommés défaitistes – les *poražency*, refusaient avec intransigeance absolue la défense de la Russie dominée par les bolchéviks. Les représentants de ce courant ont été décidés de s'allier dans la lutte contre le système soviétique avec les nazis allemands et les militaires japonais. Cette rupture de la communauté russe étrangère a continué même pendant la deuxième guerre mondiale, phénomène qui a de nouveau atteint la vie de tous les jours et de presque tout le monde.

L'émigration de la Russie soviétique après 1917 présente un phénomène unique par son nombre et par sa composition. Elle peut être classée parmi les plus grands mouvements d'émigration politique en histoire. Son déplacement se présente en tant que transfert sur le territoire étranger de toute la base sociale et culturelle qui ne peut plus exister en Russie. Il est caractéristique pour la première vague de l'émigration russe qu'elle s'enfermait dans son propre milieu ce qui contribuait à sa polarisation et ses divergences intérieures.³¹ L'importance historique de la première vague de l'émigration de la Russie soviétique consistait dans la conservation de la mémoire historique sur la Russie prérévolutionnaire, de la mémoire de son identité nationale et dans l'accomplissement du devoir moral envers la patrie en soutenant des forces de résistance contre le bolchévisme et aussi en cultivant « la vie russe » en émi-

²⁹ FERENČUHOVÁ, Bohumila: *Francúzsko a slovenská otázka 1789 – 1989*. Bratislava: Veda 2008, p. 387-428.

³⁰ FERENČUHOVÁ, Bohumila: *Sovietske Rusko a Malá dohoda. K problematike medzinárodných vzťahov v strednej Európe 1917 – 1924*. Bratislava: Veda 1988.

³¹ POLAN, P. Emigracija: kto i kogda v XX veke pokidal Rossiju. In: <http://www.demoscope.ru/weekly/2006/0251/analit01.php>. 6. 11. 2008

gration.³²

Pour la Tchécoslovaquie et l'Europe il faut souligner surtout le fait que Prague est devenu le lieu de croisements de cultures, notamment scientifiques et le lieu de naissance de nouveaux courants scientifiques, par exemple en linguistique (Cercle linguistique de Prague) étudié notamment par Patrick Sériot.³³

Quelle était donc la spécificité de la situation des émigrés russes en Tchécoslovaquie ? La première république tchécoslovaque ne représentait qu'un des pays, qui, dans l'entre-deux-guerres ont activement secouru les réfugiés et expulsés de Russie. Selon les statistiques de la Société des Nations élaborées en 1928, la Tchécoslovaquie présentait le 8^{ème} pays du monde par nombre de réfugiés secourus. Elle a été devancée par la France et Allemagne (avec 400 000 d'émigrés), la Pologne (100 000), la Chine (88 000), Lituanie (30 000) et la Yougoslavie 27 000. Mais par sa dimension matérielle l'Action d'aide russe a dépassé l'aide fournie par l'ensemble de tous les autres pays. En citant les mots de l'historien tchèque Zdeněk Sládek « *l'émigration russe a obtenu grâce à l'Action d'aide tchèque la base matérielle qui les a assuré matériellement dans la première phase de leur séjour. L'action d'aide russe était ciblée surtout sur l'intelligentsia russe et son éducation. Le soutien de l'enseignement russe de tous les niveaux, de la recherche et de la vie culturelle était unique dans le monde. L'action d'aide russe en Tchécoslovaquie prenait en considération aussi les besoins des autres nationalités de Russie. Dans les conditions tchécoslovaques a émergé une remarquable symbiose de la science et de la culture tchèque et russe.* »³⁴

Cette constatation est valable d'une certaine manière aussi pour la Slovaquie, bien que la première université y a été fondée seulement en 1919. Au début la majorité des professeurs de l'Université Comenius étaient tchèques et ils sont venus de Prague. Grâce aux invitations du gouvernement tchécoslovaque plusieurs professeurs russes – parmi eux l'historien et slavisant E. J. Perfeckij, avant son émigration professeur de l'Université de Kyjev, spécialiste de l'histoire de la Russie et de la Ruthénie subcarpatique. A Bratislava il enseignait l'histoire des Slaves de l'Est, domaine cultivé à l'Université Comenius et enseigné par ses successeurs jusqu'à nos jours. (Plusieurs d'entre eux étaient d'origine russe ou ukrainienne ou ont fait les études à Kyjev.) Perfeckij publiait souvent ses articles dans une influente revue de tendance libérale et démocratique *Prúdy*, dans la presse *Slovenský denník* et dans la revue littéraire *Slovenské pohľady*, elle aussi de première importance. Ses conférences pour le public large ont eu lieu dans différentes villes de Slovaquie et de Ruthénie subcarpatique (Bratislava, Banská Bystrica, Levice, Brezno, Rimavská Sobota, Kremnica, Kežmarok, Levoča, Spišská Nová Ves, Michalovce, Humenné, Mukačevo, Berehovo...) Il a participé activement au cours pour les professeurs de lycée et pour les instituteurs organisés par l'Université. L'impact de son activité scientifique a donc été grand.³⁵ On peut dire la même chose à propos des autres savants, par exemple spécialiste de la langue et de la littérature russe V. J. Pogorelov ou juriste J. Markov. Il est intéressant de noter que

³² NAZAROV, M.: *Missija ruskoj emigracii*. Moskva 1994, p. 61.

³³ SÉRIOT, P. *op. cit.*, réf. 33.

³⁴ SLÁDEK, Zdeněk: Ruská emigrace v Československu. In: *Slovanský přehled*, 1993, no 1.

³⁵ HARBULOVÁ, Lubica: *Ruská emigrácia a Slovensko. (Pôsobenie ruskej poškôbenej emigrácie na Slovensku v rokoch 1919-1939.)* Prešov: Filozofická fakulta Prešovskej univerzity 2001, p. 94-115.

plusieurs intellectuels russes, par exemple philosophe N. O. Losskij, ont trouvé le refuge à Bratislava après l'occupation des pays tchèques par Hitler pendant toute la durée de la seconde guerre mondiale. Losskij est parti pour la France seulement en septembre 1945.³⁶

L'émigration de Russie a été en général très bien reçue par les autorités et par la population slave de la République tchécoslovaque. Les transferts culturels réciproques ont été bien étudiés par les historiens tchèques et slovaques après 1989.³⁷ Nous connaissons moins bien les relations entre les émigrés russes et l'université allemande de Prague, ainsi que l'interaction possible entre l'enseignement russe et l'enseignement hongrois par exemple en Ruthénie subcarpatique. De telles relations n'étaient pas simples et pas du tout évidentes. Nous savons, par exemple, que le soutien par le gouvernement tchécoslovaque de l'émigration ukrainienne était à l'époque très mal vu par la Pologne et représentait une complication importante des relations entre les deux alliés de la France dans l'entre-deux-guerres.³⁸ La Pologne soutenait le courant russophile de l'émigration dans la Ruthénie subcarpatique contre le courant ukrainien.³⁹ De l'autre côté le traité d'assistance entre la République tchécoslovaque et l'URSS et une certaine russophilie de la population slave de la République tchécoslovaque ont été perçus par la Pologne comme dangereuses.

Il serait donc possible de comprendre la première République tchécoslovaque comme le point d'intersection et le lieu de transferts politiques et culturels multiples et à plusieurs niveaux. Il nous reste à approfondir les recherches à ce sujet.

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³⁶ Ibid., p. 119-121.

³⁷ Plus en détail l'ouvrage collectif récemment publié par HARBULOVÁ, Lubica (ed.) : *Migrácia obyvateľov východnej Európy na územie Slovenska a Čiech (prvá polovica 20. storočia)*. [Migration des habitants de l'Europe de l'Est sur le territoire de la Slovaquie et de la Bohême (première moitié du 20^{ème} siècle)] Prešov: Filozofická fakulta Prešovskej univerzity 2009, 308 p.

³⁸ LEWANDOWSKI, K.: *Sprawa ukraińska w polityce zagranicznej Czechosłowacji w latach 1918-1932*. Wrocław – Warszawa – Kraków – Gdańsk 1974.

³⁹ JARNECKI, Michał: Subcarpathian Rus: Polish Diplomatic Interest During the Interwar period. A Factor in the History of Local Irredentism. In: FERENČUHOVÁ, B. – GEORGET, J.-L. et al. *Political and cultural Transfers between France, Germany and Central Europe (1840-1945); the Case of Slovakia. Hommage à Dominique Las-saigne*. Bratislava : Veda 2010, p. 316-326.

The international context of the technological changes of the Slovak power engineering base in the first half of the 20th century

LUDOVÍT HALLON – MIROSLAV SABOL

Electrification began in the last quarter of 19th century with construction of in-plant power stations and municipal power stations that generated the electric energy for consumption in the neighbouring surroundings. The overhead electric current distribution was enforced in the developed countries already in the nineties of the 19th century. In the economically underdeveloped territories of Europe it was at the beginning of the 20th century. Building of the first overhead electric lines represented the transition of electrification from its initial stage, denominated as the local one, towards the higher regional stage. Development of the integrated regional energy supply systems implied the culmination of the regional electrification stage. It was terminated with mutual interconnections of these systems during the twenties and thirties, of the 20th century. In the countries of more developed parts of world the electrification was ended with construction of nationwide electrification networks during the forties and fifties years of the 20th century.

Understanding of the general importance of electrification process led in individual countries to elaborating of different conceptions of complex systematic electrification of the state. The states of Middle Europe between the wars were characterized with the fact that the state, respectively the autonomous territorial units participated in realization of the systematic electrification. In the most of these countries the conception of systematic electrification took the form of law.

In the countries of Middle Europe that until the year 1918 belonged to Habsburg monarchy with their whole territory or its part, the electrification process began to develop on the basis of the Austro-Hungarian legislative. The power-station business in Austria-Hungary was in legal respect regulated by the Law on electrification business. It was issued in the year 1882 for Austrian part of monarchy and in the year 1884 for Hungary. The industry of building and maintenance of power-station was perceived as a certain kind of trade activity and it was administration authorities. But during the last years before the first world war there were strengthened the voices for elaborating of the conception of systematic electrification with support of state and regional authorities that should take the legal form in the most developed part of monarchy that is on the territory of present Austria and in Czech countries where began also the partial transition from the local stage of electrification to the regional one.¹

The first drafts of plans and rules of law for systematic electrification appeared in the Austria and the Czech lands as early as during of the years 1904-1905. During the next period the focal point of the activity in the field of systematic electrification

¹ O soustavné elektrisaci země Moravy. In *Elektrisace Československa 1918 – 1928*. Praha 1928, s. 18 – 19 (About the systematic electrification of country Moravia. In *The electrification of Czechoslovakia 1918 – 1928*. Praha 1928, pp 18 – 19); STRAUB, Aladár. *Statistik der Eletrizitätswerke in Ungarn* 1911. Budapest 1911. (*Statistic of power plants in Hungarian Kingdom* 1911. Budapest 1911).

rested on Moravia that represented the Eastern part of the present Czech Republic. The electrification process in the Eastern part of Habsburg monarchy went through its initial local stage by the year 1918. There were several larger municipal enterprises the most important of which were located in Budapest that operated in the industry of building and maintenance of power-station of Hungary. It was also the seat of central electrification companies that controlled the considerable part of local enterprises through their capital.²

After the fall of Austria-Hungary into the national states in the year 1918 it was accelerated the start of systematic electrification in the Middle Europe. From among the succeeding states of Austria-Hungary the Czechoslovakia between the wars made the greatest progress in preparation of conception of systematic electrification. In this case the preparation works were directly connected with conception and models of electrification laws elaborated as early as before the year 1918. The electrification law was adopted in Czechoslovakia in July 1919. Unlike the imperial electrification law its provisions were except the small exceptions applied in practice. According to the law in question the subjects of systematic electrification should have become in Czechoslovakia the regional power-station enterprises with the mixed form of ownership with the state participation. Each enterprise had precisely determined the electrification territory. The minimal share of the state and public corporations in power-station enterprises was originally stated at 60 %.³

The electrification law provided a great number of advantages, reliefs and powers to the selected enterprises. Among the most important rights belonged the right to build the high voltage line on the lands of ownership of all types and the title for expropriation of the things and rights. For example from the above mentioned resulted the possibility to expropriate other power-station enterprise in case that its lack of economy was proved. The power-station enterprises could make use of the tax reliefs, advantageous long-terms loans with the states guarantees and to the smaller extent also the states subsidies. Their task was to build the termal power-stations and electric networks, while the construction of big water power-stations should be managed and financed directly by state. The electrification law specified standardized 380/220 voltage values for low-tension, and 22 kV, 60 kV and 110 kV for high-tension lines, and introduced the 50 Hz standard frequency. A basic subsidy was specified amounting to Kč 75 million. All mentioned preferences were provided to the enterprises on the basis of granting of the so-called right of universal utility.⁴

The Czechoslovak state supported the large-surface electrification also trough other rules of laws, for example by the law for support of electrification of countryside

² O soustavné elektrisaci země Moravy... Ref. 1; STRAUB, Ref. 1; LIST, Vladimír. Vývoj elektrizace na Moravě a ve Slezsku. In: *Elektrotechnická ročenka*, 6, 1931, s. 27 (LIST, Vladimír. Development of electrification in Moravia and in Silesie. In *Electrical Engineering Yearly*, 6, 1921, s. 27.); JANŠÁK, Štefan. *Zpráva o činnosti vládného referátu Ministerstva veřejných prací za rok 1919*. (JANŠÁK, Štefan: *Report about activities of Ministry of public works from the year 1919*).

³ Zákon č. 438 z 22. 7. 1919. *Sbírka zákonů a nařízení Republiky československé*. Praha 1919. (Law Nr. 438 from 22. July 1919. *Collection of laws and rules of Czechoslovak Republic*. Prague 1919).

⁴ Ref. 3; *Zprávy Veřejné služby technické*, 1, 1919, č. 11 – 12. (*Reports of Public Technical Service*, 1, 1919, Nr. 11 – 12); *Elektrotechnická ročenka*, 1, 1926, s. 64. (*Electrical Engineering Yearly*, 1, 1926, p. 64).

from the year 1926 specifying the sum of Kč 10 million (later increased to 35 million) as the annual subsidy of electrification of agricultural villages, or the Electrification Fund Act of 1929 offering credits in the total amount of Kč 500 million for high-tension line construction projects at favorable credit term. A special governmental agency was established in the Czechoslovakia for the purpose of managing the process of electrification. This was called Electricity Council. Independent companies engaged in the electrification process were subordinated to the Ministry of Public Works, whereas factory-owned power plants came under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Trade. This resulted in frequent disputes regarding responsibilities.⁵

In the Czech lands there was created 19 regional power-station enterprises preferred by state. The majority of these enterprises took the form of company with the limited liability and they were mostly formed from the older entrepreneurial subjects. In the eastern part of the Czechoslovakia between the wars, that is on the territory of Slovakia and Carpathian Russia, the beginning of systematic electrification was pushed ahead from the top, through the activity of state bodies. The Slovakia and Carpathian Russia could use the ready knowledge and experiences from the construction and maintenance of power-stations in Germany, Czech lands as well as in other countries that were already embodied in the electrification legislative.⁶

The territory of Slovakia was divided into five regions because of the needs of systematic electrification. These were during the years 1920 – 1929 gradually allocated to the five joint-stock companies. The newly-created power-station enterprises represented during the first years of their operation on relatively large allocated territories in fact only others form the small enterprises. The turn in the development of the Slovak industry of building and maintenance of power-stations appeared circa during the years 1927 – 1928 with the help of the central government authorities and new bodies of the Slovak country that was forming. The last regional power-station company on the basis of electrification law was established in Czechoslovakia in the year 1930 on the territory of the Carpathian Russia. The most important position in the power-station enterprises of Czechoslovakia was gained by autonomous bodies of countries, districts and municipalities. By the year 1935 they gained the share of 58 % in the total capital of the power-station companies preferred by state. The exception represented only the enterprise Central Power-Station – Prague with the participation of state of 50 % and the Slovak enterprises with the share of 33 % to 60 %. At the end of twenties years the development of regional power-station systems made such progress that they gradually began to interconnect. For example, as early as in the year 1931 merged the middlemoravian and northmoravian enterprise. In the year 1937 the regional enter-

⁵ VONDRÁŠEK, Karel. *Soustavná elektrizace v ČSR*. Praha 1936, s. 180 – 289. (VONDRÁŠEK, Karel. *Systematic electrification in Czechoslovakia*. Prague 1936, pp. 180 – 289); *Elektrotechnická ročenka*, 12, 1937, s. 26 – 49. (*Electrical Engineering Yearly*, 12, 1937, pp. 26 – 49); HALLON, L.: Štátne zásahy do vývoja energetiky na Slovensku v rokoch 1918-1938. In *Historický časopis*, 44, 1996, č. 3, s. 431 – 444. (State interferences into energy producing in Slovakia in 1918 – 1938. In *Historical Journal*, 44, 1996, Nr. 3, pp. 431 – 444).

⁶ VONDRÁŠEK, Ref. 5, s. 180 – 257; *Elektrotechnická ročenka*, 12, 1937, s. 26 – 35. (*Electrical Engineering Yearly*, 12, 1937, pp. 26 – 35).

prises supplied 65 % of total volume of electric energy in whole Czechoslovakia determined for the market.⁷

The five Slovak regional power-station companies incorporated the capital majority of eighty other electrification enterprises in Slovakia in the inter-war period, along with a considerable number of the 800-odd factory-owned power plants. The total volume of the share capital of these five regional enterprises increased to 108 million Kč by 1938, and the value of their combined investments to 0.4 billion Kč. Largely thanks to these enterprises, independent power plants were able to increase their share of electrical energy production from 13 % to 64 % between 1913 and 1938 at a simultaneous absolute volume growth by 370 % (from 91.5 to 415 million kWh) over the same period.⁸

The output of primary drive motors in the production area of Slovakia represented 264 MW in 1938. Of these, up to 83 % were installed in power plants. The Slovak industry, originally a supplier of electrical energy to regional electrification enterprises, became their customers. By 1938, the proportion of electric motors in the combined output of electrical drive units in industry had grown to 82 %. In agriculture, this proportion increased to 11.5 % in the inter-war period, which was only just enough to cover small parts of agricultural production. Regional electrification companies introduced special low rates for electrically-driven threshing machines. After the first successful steps, taken before 1918, the electrification of the railways was shelved until the 1940s.⁹

The main parts of the capital invested by regional electrification companies in Slovakia was directed to the construction of 22 kV high-tension networks and the length of these rose dramatically as a result: from 180 kilometers in 1918 to 4,830 kilometers in 1938. In 1929 construction of a 100 kV line was commenced to bring power from Moravia and, until 1938 this system was already some 150 kilometers in length. By 1930, power was available in 9.7 % and, by 1938, in 31 % of houses, 31 % and 54 % of the population respectively. The average price of electrical power for small consumers was reduced to a level similar to that of advanced European countries – 2.50 Kč/kWh by the end of the 1930.¹⁰

By the year 1938 the systematic electrification reached the greatest progress within the framework of Czechoslovakia just in Moravia and in Czech lands. In the year 1938 there were the municipalities supplied with the electric energy with the number of inhabitants of 88 % the 90 % while in Slovakia the municipalities with 54 %

⁷ Štátny oblastný archív Bratislava, f. Energetické závody, k. 1, Výročné správy vŕseužitocných elektrárenských podnikov 1921 – 1938. (State regional archive, f. Energy producing factories, k. 1, Yearly reports of Universal-Utility Companies 1921 – 1938.); VONDRAŠEK, Ref. 5, s. 180 – 257; *Elektrotechnická ročenka*, 12, 1937, s. 26 – 35. (*Electrical Engineering Yearly*, 12, 1937, pp. 26 – 35).

⁸ Štátny oblastný archív Bratislava, f. Energetické závody, k. 1, Výročné správy vŕseužitocných elektrárenských podnikov 1921 – 1938. (State Regional Archive, f. Energy Producing Factories, k. 1, Yearly reports of Universal-Utility Companies 1921 – 1938.); HALLON, L.: Energetika a jej miesto vo vývoji hospodárstva na Slovensku v rokoch 1918-1938. In *Historický časopis*, 40, 1992, č. 2, s. 198 – 214. (Energy producing and its place in the economy development in Slovakia in 1918 – 1938. In *Historical Journal*, 40, 1992, Nr. 2, pp. 198 – 214).

⁹ Ref. 8.

¹⁰ Ref. 8.

of inhabitants and in Carpathian Russia with 33 % of inhabitants. The production of electric energy increased in Czechoslovakia during the years 1913 – 1937 from 900 million to 3600 million of kWh. In per capita conversion it was increased in the Czech lands from 85 to 340 kWh and in Slovakia from 29 to 145 kWh.¹¹

1938-1948

The positive development of power generation industry, as well as other sectors of industry, in the time of conjuncture of the second half of the 30s was held back by contemporary judicial and political changes in the Mid European region. The general development of power generation industry, particularly the development of regional electrifying companies, was far influenced by Vienna Arbitration from 2 November 1938 and the following formation of war Slovak Republic in March 1939. The breakaway of the southern regions with the area of 10 thousand square kilometers on the basis of Vienna Arbitration had a great impact on the development of energetic base in our region from the social political sphere.

Administrating authorities of Czechoslovakia were taken their rights of action away in the taken area on November 2, 1938 and the power to take decisions was given to Hungarian army authorities. After some official protests of Czechoslovakia and later Slovak Republic, the Hungarian ministry of industry in Budapest issued a decree in the spring of 1939, according to which all parts of the industry were taken over by Hungarian government into its own holding and management was delegated to the company *Győri Ipartelepék, R.T. Győr*.¹²

Different options of property legal issues were introduced. The opinion prevailed, that property parts in question should be sold to foreign interested parties. The interested parties came especially from Germany and Switzerland. Later this solution was abandoned. The division of assets was complicated mainly because through Vienna Arbitration Hungary acquired only a part of the joint-stock assets of the former Czechoslovakia in power generating companies, which was not identical with the property situated in the taken region. Negotiations with the Hungarian delegation about property compensation thus lasted from November 1938 till November 1941 and were accompanied by national tensions. They came to a head on 15 November 1941 in an agreement on financial compensation.¹³

¹¹ VONDRÁŠEK, Ref. 5, s. 180 – 289.; *Elektrotechnická ročenka*, 12, 1937, s. 26 – 35. (*Electrical Engineering Yearly*, 12, 1937, pp. 26 – 35).

¹² Rábske priemyselné závody, uč. s., skratka GIRT. Podnikový archív Východoslovenských elektrární Košice (ďalej PA VSE KE), f. Spisy 1929-1945 (nespracované) Zápisnica zo zasadnutia maďarskej a slovenskej delegácie 14.mája 1941 v Tatranskej Lomnici. (Ráb industrial factories, A.C. (GIRT). Company archive of The East Slovak power house Kosice, f. Files 1939-1945, raw date. Minute from sitting of Hungarian and Slovak delegation on 14 May 1941 in Tatranská Lomnica).

¹³ PA VSE KE, f. Spisy 1929-1945 (nespracované) Zápisnica zo zasadnutia slovensko-maďarskej komisie z dňa 15. 11. 1941 v Budapešti; Slovensko-maďarská dohoda o majetkovej kompenzácii vŕeužitocných elektrárenských spoločností z 15. 11. 1941. Zpráva o likvidovaní vlastníctva maďarských podnikov podľa slovensko-maďarskej dohody z 15. 11. 1941. (Company archive The East Slovak power house Kosice, f. Files 1939-1945, raw date. Minute from sitting of Slovak-Hungarian Commission on 15 November in Budapest; Slovak-Hungarian Negotiation about property of Slovak Universal-Utility Companies from 15 November 1941; Report about liquidation of Hungarian factories property according Slovak-Hungarian Negotiation from 15

The common factor of systematic large area electrification of Slovakia on the threshold of the forties were attempts to create a central concern for generation and supply of electric power into particular areas of curtailed region of the war Slovak Republic. The concern was to coordinate the construction of low and high voltage electric wiring and at the same time manage the process of building water powerhouses, which was at rise in this time. However, the realization of the mentioned plans progressed with great difficulties, especially as a result of deep political changes.¹⁴

In 1942 integrative tendencies in power generation industry of Slovakia culminated. On 5 June 1942 the first central power generation company in Europe was formed called **Slovenské elektrárne, úč. spoločnosť, Bratislava /Slovak power company, joint stock company, Bratislava/ (SE)**. The fact that the CEO appointed by the board of directors was the Minister of transport and public work *Július Stano*, gives evidence about how strategic this resort was for the Slovak government. With regard to the majority share ownership of the German capital in Slovak companies, the fact that 99.5% of share value in Slovak power company had nationally Slovak capital is interesting and exceptional. The contemporary government gathered that power generation industry will be the leader of Slovak industry.¹⁵

From the beginning of its activity Slovak power generation company aimed at solving current Slovak problems in power generation industry and electrification. This was especially building more effective manufacturing capacities, expansion of very high voltage networks focusing at electric connection of individual regions, then the problem of technical normalization, research and more quality utilization of electricity in industry, craftsmanship and in agriculture. The emphasis was also put on improvement of administration, the formation of tariffs, organization of social policy etc.¹⁶

The formation of central power generation company SE was preceded by an important measure in the legislative sphere, and that was the passing of the law *On state helping continual electrification* in January 1942. It was the most important law passed during the war. The law followed legislation from the time between the wars, especially the so called electrification law No. 438 from 1919, which was supposed to be elaborated and optimized for new economic-political conditions. The new electrification law ordered municipalities, towns and counties to support the ongoing electrification. It was supposed to accelerate the electrification process and help the development of power generation companies. However, individual regulations of the law

November 1941).

¹⁴ VÁVRA, Ján. Dnešný stav elektrizácie Slovenska a jej vývin. Bratislava, 1944, s. 50 – 56. (Present day stand of electrification of Slovakia and its development. Bratislava 1944, pp. 50 – 56).

¹⁵ PA VSE KE, f. Vedenie a správa 1929-1945 (nespracované), Obežník č. 9, Organizácia Slovenských elektrární úč.spol. z dňa 10.11. 1942. (Company archive The East Slovak power house Kosice, f. Conduct and government 1929-1945, raw date, Circular Nr.9. Organization of Slovak Power Company, from 10 November 1942).

¹⁶ PA VSE KE, f. Dokumentácia pred rokom 1929 (nespracované). (Company archive The East Slovak power house Kosice, f. Documentation before the year 1929 (raw date).; Zákon o štátnej podpore pri začatí sústavnej elektrifikácie č. 438 Zb. z. zo dňa 22.7.1919. (The law on state helping beginning systematic electrification Nr. 438 from 22 July 1919).

were vaguely formulated and interpreted in different ways. This resulted into power generation companies including central Slovak power company lacking finances to buy technical and building material.¹⁷

Since problems of the war economy were intensified, from the year 1943 economical precautions and interventions into production and consumption were needed. The first more serious precautions were taken at the end of 1943 in the power generation sector. A distinctive division was formed at The higher department for supply (NUZ), which was the highest institution of the war economy; the task of the division was to regulate purchases of different electrical appliances a supply of electric power. The conditions for the development of electrification in the last two years of the existence of the war Slovak Republic were less and less favoring with the growing influence of world war two operations on the Slovak economy. Air raids at economic targets from June 1944, battle operations during Slovak national uprising, but especially the transit of the frontal lines from October 1944 till the end of April 1945, left deep marks in all areas of economy. The withdrawing Nazi army deliberately damaged infrastructure. That is why in this time the electrification process was almost completely stopped.¹⁸

In the fall of 1945 the history of power generation industry saw a new milestone. It concerned proprietary relationships. The whole system of power plants and distribution networks as a part of key industry was liable to the so called first phase of nationalization. By the decree of the Czechoslovak president No. 100 coll., from 24 October 1945, energetic companies and establishments for production, storage, distribution and supply of power of all kinds were nationalized by transfer into state ownership. In power generation industry the state had a key role even before 1945. However, it was a form of capital share in ownership of autonomous alliances. By the nationalization the development of power generation industry received a completely new dimension. The way was opened for direct bureaucratic management of power generation companies by government authorities.¹⁹

The all-state managing authority for power generation industry became **Československé energetické závody / Czechoslovak energetic enterprise (CEZ)**, with the headquarters in Prague. National gas industry was also subject to this authority. The new organ was divided into two ground supervisory offices. The after-war political garniture realized the importance of energetics and power generation industry for further development of economy. That is why in the two-year economic plan of after war renewal in the years 1947 – 1948 power generation industry was considered a key

¹⁷ Zákon o štátnej podpore elektrárenským podnikom, Úradné noviny, b.č. 176/1942. (The law on state helping electrification factories, Office News, Nr. 176/1942).

¹⁸ PA VSE KE, f. Spisy 1939-1945 (nespracované), Cestovná správa riaditeľa Ministerstva verejných prác E. Seneša. (Company archive The East Slovak power house Kosice, f. Files 1939-1945, raw date. Travel report of director of The Ministry of public works E. Seneš; SLÁDEK, Vojtech. Elektrárstvo na Slovensku 1920–1993. Bratislava 1996, s. 85. (SLÁDEK, Vojtech. Power Generation Industry in Slovakia 1920 – 1993, p. 85).

¹⁹ Dekrét prezidenta republiky o znárodnení dolů a některých průmyslových podniků č. 100 S.z. zo dňa 27.10.1945. (The decree of the Czechoslovak president on nationalization of mines and same industrial factories Nr.100 from 27 October 1945) ; Štatistická príručka Slovenska, rok 1947.Bratislava 1947, s. 144. (Statistic handbook of Slovakia, year 1947Bratislava 1947, p. 144).

industry. The economic plan, submitted by the government of the communist K. Gottwald, aimed at reaching the pre-war level of production in chosen sectors of economy. More specifically, the sector of power generation industry had the task of raising the production of power up to 7.4 billion kWh in the whole Czechoslovakia till 1948. The main condition of the realization of the plan was accelerated building of technical base of the power generation company, raising their installing output and further building of supply systems. Within the scope of building and operation of distribution appliances, in the early after-war period attention was paid especially to renewal of damaged and disrupted supply systems. Later attention was also paid to gradual construction of new lines of 22 kV supply systems for electrification of municipalities. In the post war time power generation companies had to proceed to limiting the power supply. Big consumers were divided with regard to power consumption into three categories: strategic, important and unimportant. Severe restrictions of power usage were applied in tertiary sector.²⁰

The Slovak region was, with regard to electrification, deeply regionally differentiated. The electrification came further in some parts of western Slovakia and the most lagging part was the north-eastern region of eastern Slovakia. Out of 80 counties in 1947, only 6 were completely electrified. There were 12 counties where electrification hardly reached 10 %. According to statistics, there were 3359 municipalities in Slovakia and out of them 1467 were electrified, which was 43.7 %. Out of 3 538 709 citizens, 2 377 741 used Slovak electric power at the beginning of 1947. This was 67.2 %. In 1938 23 % of the Slovak region was electrified. In this time 51 % of inhabitants used electric power. For comparison, at the end of 1948 the region of Czech Republic and Moravia was electrified by 88 %. In Czech Republic and Moravia 10 012 municipalities were electrified, in Slovakia 1727 municipalities. This was projected to the overall production of electric power which was quite unequal. Annual production of electric power in 1948 was the following. Compared to developed west European countries, Slovakia lagged in electrification. It was only a little ahead of the Balkans.²¹

²⁰ Stručný prehľad vývoja Československej elektroenergetiky v rokoch 1920 – 1965. Bratislava 1967, s. 27. (Short review of development of Czechoslovak electric power industry in the years 1920 – 1960 Bratislava 1967, p. 27) ; KOMORA, Ján. Elektrina budúcnosť Slovenska. Bratislava 1947, s. 45. (KOMORA, Ján. The electric energy, the future of Slovakia) ; Elektrizácia obcí v dvojročnici úspešné pokračuje. In: Prúd, roč. 3, č. 6, jún 1947. (Electrification of villages in two-year economic plan successful carries on. In: Prúd, Volume 3, Nr. 6, Jun 1947).

²¹ PA VSE KE, f. Dokumentácia po roku 1945 (nespracované). Štatistické údaje o dvojročnici. (Company archive The East Slovak power house Kosice, f. Documentation after the year 1945 (raw date). Statistic dates on two-year economic plan); KUBÍN, Miroslav. Rozvoj energetiky v ČSSR. Praha 1989, s.103. (KUBÍN, Miroslav. Development of energy producing industry in Czechoslovakia Prague 1989, p. 103) ; Štatistická príručka Slovenska, rok 1947. Bratislava 1947, s. 205-506. (Statistic handbook of Slovakia, year 1947 Bratislava 1947, p. 144).

Table Nr. 1 Structure of Slovak households costs in 1939²²

<i>Area of costs</i>	Share in %
<i>Food-stuff</i>	39 – 50
<i>Footwear, Dressing</i>	10 – 16
<i>Rent</i>	9 – 13
<i>Taxis</i>	8 – 10
<i>Heating</i>	6 – 7
<i>Electric energy</i>	1 – 2

Table Nr. 2 Consumption of electric energy per capita in 1948²³

State	kWh/per capita
Norway	3700
Canada	2700
Switzerland	2000
USA	1600
Belgium	890
Finland	850
England	830
Germany	729
Austria	701
France	688
Netherlands	620
Japan	600
Italy	590
Soviet Union	153
Hungary	130
Poland	108
Greece	69
Bulgaria	60
Turkey	16
China	14

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²² Päť rokov sústavnej elektrifikácie Slovenska. Bratislava 1944, s. 9 – 11. (Five years of systematic electrification in Slovakia Bratislava 1944, pp. 9 – 11); PA VSE KE, f. Vedenie a správa 1929- 1945 (nespracované). Zápisnica zo zasadania akvizičnej komisie z dňa 11.3.1944. (Company archive The East Slovak power house Kosice, f. Conduct and government 1929-1945, raw date. Minute from sitting of propagation commission from 11 March 1944).

²³ VÁVRA, Ján. Elektrina je zrkadlom vypestosti národa. In: Prúd, roč. 4, č. 12, december 1947. (VÁVRA, Ján. Electric energy is a mirror of nation advance. In Prúd, Volume 4, Nr. 12, December 1947).

Anti-Communist Activities of the Exile *White Legion* and Its Operation by the State Security in Slovakia

VLADIMÍR VARINSKÝ

1 What was the *White Legion*?

The *White Legion* constituted one of the longest-enduring manifestations of anti-communist resistance. It operated from Austria and coordinated activities in Slovakia mainly from 1950-1955; however, its influence persisted until the 1960s. It applied unorthodox methods of resistance that emphasized the psychological preparation of people, and thus it threatened the Achilles' heel of the totalitarian regime and eventually turned out to be the most effective tool in the inner disintegration of the regime. The *White Legion's* broadcaster was the first of its kind; broadcasters *Slobodná Európa* (Free Europe) and *Hlas Ameriky* (Voice of America) only started broadcasting one year later.

During the State Security's largest raid against the *White Legion* from 1951-1952, the state presented the *White Legion* as a mass paramilitary terrorist organization controlled by its broadcaster abroad. This is documented by the many archived records of the *White Legion* that contain many photocopies of the legion's organizational procedure, identification cards of its members, application forms with oaths and most important, a huge list of confiscated arms.¹

However, this is at odds with the ambitions of the founders of the *White Legion* broadcaster, especially their main protagonist Jozef Vicen² and his way of presenting it in the directives of the *White Legion* in December 1949. It is also at odds with the archived records of the broadcasted programs (so-called *Bulletin 1* and *2*). According to these sources there was no armed or terrorist resistance movement, nor were there radio programs that incited people to resistance. They speak of the *White Legion* as of some sort of resistance against the communist regime; however, it was an unorgan-

¹ In the comprehensive report of Sergeant Vladimír Matoušek (the chief of the State Security investigators) which was published in Prague, Matoušek claims that the members of the *White Legion* in Slovakia had to take a commitment pledge to the Slovak State, were granted military ranks achieved during the existence of the Slovak State and were promoted to higher ranks. The members of the *White Legion* had to follow strict discipline, and they could be sentenced to death for disobeying an order. Each group had its own news reporter, operational officer and secret police reporter. Selected members of the *White Legion* took a 3-14-day course that either took place in a forest or was disguised as a Revolutionary Trade-Union Movement (ROH) training. Archives of the Slovak Republic Ministry of Interior (AMV SR), Nitrianska Streda, f. P 10/3, inventory unit 16.

² Jozef Vicen was born on December 14, 1921 in Horná Streda. During his university studies in 1943-44 he also graduated from the Higher Leadership School of Hlinka's Youth. In 1943 he became a member of a community organized by Kolakovič called *Rodina* (Family). During the Slovak National Uprising Vicen co-organized reporting activities against the uprising within the framework of the organization "Hlášky" (Reports), which became the basis for the establishment of the Slovak Secret Defence. Vicen was allegedly the chief of the organization in Slovakia. In May 1946 he emigrated for the second time, and in cooperation with the American Secret services he developed anti-communist resistance until 1957 when he was abducted to Czechoslovakia by security officers. See Varinský, V.: *Jozef Vicen a Biela légia (Jozef Vicen and White Legion)*. Banská Bystrica: FHV UMB Banská Bystrica, 2003, 124 pg. ISBN 80-8055-844-2

ized, uncontrolled and rather passive resistance against the orders of the totalitarian power. The creation of the movement was a reaction to the broadcasted programs that created a spirit of fellowship among the people and the need for mutual help as a means defence of their rights in times of communist terror. A conscious rejection of an organized resistance was explained by the fact that all forms of movements and organizations were sooner or later discovered by the State Security. The foreign broadcaster was supposed to substitute for the missing resistance movements. Its aim was to address people individually and at the same time try to organize their resistance activities.

Many years after the existence of the *White Legion*, in his lectures and memoirs (*Vo víre rokov/In the Swirl of Years 1938-1988*) Jozef Vicen takes the responsibility for the creation and implementation of the idea of the *White Legion*, however only in its obvious, less persuasible form, and presents it as only a “defamation of the republic” realized through the *White Legion* broadcaster. He disavows the establishment of *White Legion* organizations in Slovakia and explains their creation by saying that they were either provoked or instructed by the Secret Security,³ or they were formed by activists who were not aware of the orders broadcasted by the *White Legion* radio and thus thought that the *White Legion* operated in the form of partisan units as they remembered them from wartime. Based on these biased fancies they established groups and called them the *White Legion*. They did not know the orders and thus they left many traces behind them and were easily discovered by the State Security.

Research has however proved that in the overall concept of the *White Legion* anti-communist resistance was only of secondary importance. Its primary aim was to develop reporting activity for the benefit of Americans. The *White Legion* broadcaster was only supposed to be a tool for recruiting people in Slovakia to report activities within the framework of the spy project WACO against Czechoslovakia. The project was led by J. Vicen and J. Mikula⁴ who worked for the American news service CIC⁵ (Counter Intelligence Corps) from September 1948 until the end of 1949. They were paid in U.S. dollars – they started with 250 USD monthly, which later changed to 350

³ In connection with this, Vicen mentions the pseudo-broadcaster *White Legion* as occasionally used after 1952 by the State Security for provoking sabotage activities. However, our research has not proved the existence of the broadcaster. VICEN, J.: *Vo víre rokov 1938-1988*. Bratislava: Lúč, 1999, pg. 205. ISBN 80-7144-279-4

⁴ In the period of the First Slovak Republic Dr. Jozef Mikula served as the president of the Association of University Students. Together with other high representatives of the First Slovak Republic he emigrated to Kremsmünster, Austria in March 1945. He was captured by Americans and transported to Germany. After giving proof that he was not a member of the Slovak army, he was liberated. He returned to Austria where Karol Murín's wife, who worked as an interpreter for the CIC, introduced him to the CIC captain, Paul Lyon. Subsequently he started working for the CIC as an advisor for Central European issues, specifically for Slovakia. In September 1948 he became the formal chief of the WACO project. AMV SR in Levoča, f. 509-1-3. Minutes from the testimony of J. Vicen recorded on June 14, 1957.

⁵ The CIC was a military unit of the American Army; since 1947 it was the apparatus of military occupational administration mainly dealing with pursuing war criminals. The anti-spy activities against the people's republics gradually turned into active spying reaching its peak in 1950. AMV SR in Levoča, f. 509-1-3. Minutes from the testimony of J. Vicen recorded on May 30, 1957.

USD.⁶

Vicen thought that what needed to be done was to affect people in Czechoslovakia psychologically and make them think that there existed a wide organization. During his visit to Austria in Autumn 1948, Vicen promised A. Tunega⁷, the leader of the reporting agency in Slovakia, that they would launch the *White Legion* radio broadcast in the spring of 1949. He thought that after psychological preparation, people would be ready to get involved in the program of the *White Legion* and no other connections with other people would be needed. Each person willing to cooperate would be considered as a member of the organization – provided that they followed the directives of the *White Legion*. Also, these people were supposed to believe that if needed, the organization would assign them various tasks. After the *White Legion* had become well-known, the agents of the “project” were supposed to address various people on behalf of the Legion without lengthy explanations of their activities.⁸

However, the arrest of Albert Púčik⁹ (Vicen’s connection with Slovakia) on January 1, 1949 and on the basis of his testimony as well as the testimonies of 74 other persons foiled all these plans. People involved in the “project” were depressed. The implementation of Vicen’s concept of the *White Legion* became impossible. Not only did they lack important information that Tunega’s group was supposed to take care of, but the radio broadcaster was not ready to be launched, either. Furthermore, the lack of information threatened the existence of the WACO project and thus the position of Vicen and his co-workers in Vienna.

Examination of the available sources proves that in the atmosphere of intensive efforts to save the “project” and perhaps due to CIC pressure, Mikula’s group acceded to the establishment of the *White Legion*, however, only in such form as the

⁶ Spying against Czechoslovakia was controlled through the system of *projects*. Between 1948 and 1949, six projects against Czechoslovakia and probably one project against Hungary originated in Austria. AMV SR in Levoča, f. 509-1-3.

⁷ Anton Tunega was born on August 7, 1925 in Dolné Motešice in the Bánovce nad Bebravou district. During the period of the First Slovak Republic he studied at the Technical University. He also graduated from the Higher Leadership School of Hlinka’s Youth and was the member of the illegal domestic leadership of the Slovak Secret Defence. Before the coming of the Red Army, he immigrated to Austria; however, he returned with Vicen and others to Slovakia to destroy the archives of the Higher Leadership School of Hlinka’s Youth. In 1945 Tunega cooperated with Dr. Š. Chalmovský in the *White Guard*. After the disclosure of the group he lived illegally under the name Trnka. In 1946 he immigrated to Austria, where he stayed with Joachym Jánoš, who provided a shelter for many immigrants from Slovakia. In 1947 Tunega started working as a news agent for J. Vicen. On January 7, 1949 Tunega was arrested, and on May 21, 1949 he received a life sentence, which was changed to a death sentence in 1951. AMV SR in Levoča, f. 509-1-1, inventory unit 159. Evaluation of the archive file No. 29.

⁸ AMV SR in Levoča, f. 509-1-5. Minutes from the testimony of J. Vicen from August 28, 1957.

⁹ Albert Púčik was born on October 7, 1921 in Dolné Motešice in the Bánovce nad Bebravou district. He was a medical student and he graduated from the Higher Leadership School of Hlinka’s Youth in Belušícké Slatiny in 1944. After the war he joined the Slovak Communist Party, and at the same time cooperated with the *White Guard* of Dr. Š. Chalmovský, and he helped to distribute the magazine *Slovák*. On December 3, 1945, Púčik was arrested and sentenced to 7 months in prison and for 6 months in a labor camp. After his release in November 1947 he left to the American zone to join J. Vicen. From that time until his arrest on January 6, 1949, he worked as Vicen’s agent and his liaison with Slovakia. In 1949 Púčik was given a life sentence. In 1951 his punishment was changed, and together with other Vicen co-workers (A. Tunega, E. Tesár, L. Gálik), he was executed. AMV SR in Levoča, f. P 10/3, inventory unit 22. Evaluation of the investigation file No. 29.

situation allowed, i.e. without the broadcaster. There were no more plans about an unorganized self-supporting movement; the idea was to form an organized underground movement functioning on a cell principle, something like an organized Slovak Secret Defence. Creation of a new reporting network in Slovakia became the priority of this project, while its participants did not dare to continue where Tunega had finished. According to the testimony of J. Vicen, there were two other attempts to establish the *White Legion* in Slovakia as a reporting organization.

The first attempt (this was within the framework of the WACO project) was carried out by Ján Minárik, whom Vicen had mentored as a news agent and subsequently sent to Slovakia on August 13, 1949 to establish the organization *White Legion – 8* in the village Dvorinky (Sečovce district). Another man, Janko Vrábek (codename: Bosnak) was sent to Eastern Slovakia with a transmitter with the same purpose. At the beginning the results of their work were rather poor and not usable; however, in quite a short time Minárik's *White Legion – 8* grew into a large organization with 149 members, according to State Security data. In 1949 Vicen was dismissed from the American reporting services. Officially, the reason for his dismissal was the fact that he lost the Americans' trust due to the unsatisfying results of the WACO project. However, the true reason for his dismissal was the fear that if Vicen remained the leader of the WACO project, it would have been threatened. At the end of November 1949, Czechoslovakian secret services, in cooperation with the Soviets, tried to abduct Vicen to Czechoslovakia. This was supposed to happen during Vicen's meeting with his agent Janko Hurban (who was forced to cooperate with the Secret Service beforehand) in the coffeehouse Harmony in Vienna. However, Hurban had informed Vicen through his friend Štefan Buček about the plan and with the help of the Americans who occupied the coffeehouse, the plan failed. Nevertheless, the Americans understood that they needed to find a new venue of activity for Vicen.

Vicen attempted to establish a reporting organization in Slovakia for the third time in June 1951 when he sent his agent J. Vrábek to Slovakia.¹⁰ This was an activity formally independent of the WACO project carried out by means of the *White Legion* broadcaster that the Americans had finally unofficially approved after November 1949. Basically this meant the adoption of the original project of the existence of the *White Legion* as an assistant program enabling the spread of the WACO project's reporting results. Probably the only difference was that formally, the *White Legion* broadcaster was supposed to function independently of the WACO project, and thus without the financial support of the Americans. However, due to a lack of money as well as reporting material, this third attempt to establish a reporting organization also turned into a failure, and in July 1951 the broadcasting was stopped.¹¹ The *White Legion* broadcaster started its operation in April 1950 and operated under Vicen's management until July 1951. In that time the broadcaster transmitted from Ried in Innsbruck, Upper Austria. According to Vicen's witness from 1957, during the entire duration of the operation under Vicen's and later Šumichrasta's management until 1955, they only used one transmitter. This was allegedly the transmitter used by O. Čačko called *Hlas slobodného*

¹⁰ AMV SR in Levoča, f. 509-1-3. Minutes of J. Vicen's testimony recorded on June 4, 1957.

¹¹ See: VARINSKÝ, V.: *Jozef Vicen a Biela légia/Jozef Vicen and White Legion*. 2003, pg. 54-61.

demokratického Slovenska/Voice of Free Democratic Slovakia. In November 1948 the transmitter was confiscated by the CIC; however, Čačko recovered it in the summer of 1949. Before his emigration to the U.S. he gave it to K. Murgaš. In the spring of 1951, Stowasser (a Prague immigrant of German origin) reconstructed it and increased its output from 300 to 500 W.

2 *White Legion* Organizations in Slovakia and their Operation by State Security

Research has shown that the establishment of the *White Legion* organizations in Slovakia was stimulated by several circumstances, which we can divide into three groups – the protagonists of the *White Legion* broadcaster, the activities of foreign intelligent services and the growing discrepancy between the citizens and the practices of the totalitarian regime.

First and foremost we have to mention the interest of the main protagonists of the *White Legion* broadcaster. They initiated the establishment of at least two organizations – the already mentioned *White Legion* – 8 and the so-called Piešťany *White Legion* of Ernest Strečanský.

White Legion – 8

After his return from Vienna, Ján Minárik had to begin military service, and he was sent to the border police in the Chebsko region. He delegated the leadership of the *White Legion* – 8 in Dvorianky (Sečovce district) to Stanislav Hadač. Within a short time he was able to increase the number of the organization's members from 12 to 149 (41 of them took a written oath). They were divided into cells in 26 villages of the districts of Sečovce and Trebišov.¹² In spite of the number of members of this organization, its anti-state activities were of a rather Platonic character. While Minárik was still in Dvorianky, the group started with reporting. Minárik sent several coded letters to Vienna and obtained four messages. In the last message he was ordered to discontinue the activities until the launching of the *White Legion* radio broadcast. At the same time he was supposed to wait for the new abroad connection. However, neither Minárik nor Hadač were thereafter able to re-establish an abroad connection. In their efforts to re-establish the connection (including their plan to send Minárik to Vienna again illegally) the leaders of the organization started making mistakes that gradually led into the deconspiracy of the whole organization. Hadač took the bait of a man called Michal Miľo from the village Stankovce (Sečovce district), who declared that he had a connection with the leaders of the *White Legion* in Košice. He ordered Hadač to prepare lists of the members of his organization. Hadač made the list even though he was aware of the fact that this was a suicidal step absolutely at odds with the orders from the *White Legion* broadcaster. It turned out later that Miľo was lying; however, it was too late.

The documents show that the organization was detected more or less accidentally. J. Minárik made a mistake when he sent a letter from his military service in

¹² AMV SR in Levoča, f. P 10/3, inventory unit 16. The following villages were included: Sečovská Polianka, Dvorianky, Bačkov, Zbehnov, Egreš, Lastovce, Vojčice, Čerhov, Zemplínske Hradište, Slanec, Sečovce, Dargov, Čakanovce, Tušická Nová Ves, Cabov, Košice, Trebišov, Veľký and Malý Ruskov, Veľký Kazimír, Slivník, Čelovce, Michaľany, Plechotice, Nižný Žipov, Stanča.

which he wrote something that the censor found suspicious. Subsequently State Security assigned a decoy agent who was successful in infiltrating the leadership of the organization and subsequently in disclosing the whole group. Could Miľo have been the decoy? We do not know; these are just logical conclusions with no direct evidence. One fact that challenges this theory is that Miľo was found in the list of the members of the *White Legion* – 8, while his name is not found in the list of agents assigned to uncover and destroy it.

The so-called Piešťany *White Legion* of Ernest Strečanský

The establishment of this group stems from the initiative of K. Šumichrasta, who became the manager of the *White Legion* broadcaster in 1951. He sent his agents Strečanský, Tihlárík and Krutý to Slovakia with the aim of creating a reporting group of the *White Legion*.¹³ Little is known about the background of the establishment of the organization. The group was created in April 1952. 50 people were arrested, from which 17 were taken to court and 3 of them got a life sentence.

The establishment of other organizations could also have been stimulated by the activities of agents from different secret services or foreign underground groups who worked on behalf of the *White Legion* in Slovakia. This alternative is only supported by indirect evidence. While radio broadcasting as well as anti-communist activities were only carried out anonymously and the true protagonists of the *White Legion* remained unknown, there existed different interpretations of the *White Legion* activities by different pseudo-representatives who presented the *White Legion* only by its name as a militant anti-communist organization operating on Slovak territory.

Dr. Vojtech Krajčovič, who lived in the USA, had the largest share in spreading this disinformation.¹⁴ He was known by the fact that he established and led a separatist organization, *The Committee for Liberation of Slovakia*, in New York, which was some sort of counterpart to the *Slovak National Council Abroad*. In 1950 Vicen's co-worker in the USA, O. Čačko, asked Krajčovič for some financial means for the activities of the *White Legion*. Krajčovič misused this appeal and pronounced himself the leader of the Slovak underground movement and the leader of the *White Legion*. He immediately launched widespread propagandistic activities by means of press, radio and television, where he presented the *White Legion* as a partisan association involved in bloody battles with communists. He was so careless about lying that he asked Vicen to make a movie about partisan battles in Slovakia, suggesting that they could film the movie in the Austrian mountains. Obviously such propagation of the *White Legion* could not remain unnoticed by Czechoslovakian intelligence.

A group of emigrants concentrated around F. Ďurčanský had a similarly radi-

¹³ AMV SR in Levoča, f. 509-1-1, inventory unit I-159. Amendment to the file of Alexander Tihlárík, see also: AMV SR in Levoča, f. 509-1-5. Minutes of Vicen's testimony recorded on September 2, 1957.

¹⁴ Dr. Krajčovič was one of the emigrants who subordinated underground activities to their personal ambitions. During the existence of the First Slovak Republic he was one of the directors of the Slovak State Bank. Towards the end of war he escaped by a rented car to Croatia, where he was arrested by Germans and taken to a concentration camp in Germany. This improved his "political image" in Americans' eyes and enabled him to emigrate during 1946-47 to America. AMV SR in Levoča, f. 509-1-5. Minutes of Vicen's testimony recorded on September 2, 1957.

cal notion of the activities of the *White Legion*. They liked the concept of battle formations; however, they were jealous of it because they were afraid that someone else would eventually win the battle with the communists, tainting their political prestige. Thus they tried to present themselves in the West as representatives of the *White Legion*.¹⁵ They also tried to isolate the workers of the *White Legion* in order to cut them off from their financial means, forcing them to give up the activities, which could subsequently be carried out by Ďurčanský and his supporters. Through agent Mutňanský, Ďurčanský stayed in touch with partisan groups in Slovakia. This was indirectly proved by the fact that the identity cards of *White Legion* members that were confiscated by the State Security were signed by Ďurčanský.¹⁶ Obviously, there is a hypothetical possibility (though no direct proof) that Ďurčanský might have misused the influence of the *White Legion* broadcaster for carrying out his own radical concepts of anti-communist resistance. Theoretically this would make sense, given that after his return from Argentina, Ďurčanský planned to intensify activities aiming at the “liberation” of Slovakia from communism. This hypothesis is also supported by the fact that Ďurčanský changed the name of his organization from “operational” committee to “liberation” committee.

The share of State Security can also be included in the category of possible causes of the establishment of the *White Legion* organization. In their efforts to uncover criminal activities “ordered” by the higher authorities and acting on behalf of the *White Legion*, State Security sometimes provoked selected groups inhabitants to anti-state activities. We want to underline the fact that the methods of provocation were not in contradiction with the allowed practices of the operational work of the secret police.¹⁷

There are four *White Legion* organizations that may be included in the category of organizations that were discovered by agencies, yet not confirmed as those that were provoked by the State Security – i.e. groups in Šafárikovo, Klenovec, Rimavská Sobota and Lučenec.¹⁸ However, drawing on the State Security materials, it cannot be absolutely denied that they actually existed. While they carried out their activities according to the intentions of the orders from the *White Legion* broadcaster, they were able to hide their ambitions from the State Security authorities and thus save themselves. Also, it is very probable that there were more such groups and individuals. State Security had a problem in identifying the *White Legion* groups, given that their anti-state activities were unnoticeable. *White Legion* thus became an “invisible enemy” and a nightmare for the totalitarian regime, and no other groups were uncovered. When talking about the period when the communist authorities made decisions about everything, it is not difficult to understand why the State Security applied their meth-

¹⁵ AMV SR in Levoča, f. 509-1-6. Report on the political activities of the Slovak emigration, pg. 65. In 1951, Vicen learned from Whitehead that F. Ďurčanský declared in his request addressed to American authorities in Germany that he was the leader of *White Legion* and that he was the only one making decisions about *White Legion* activities in Czechoslovakia.

¹⁶ AMV SR Nitrianska Streda, f. P 10/3, inventory unit 16. *Comprehensive Report on the Organization and Activities of the Slovak Illegal organization White Legion*.

¹⁷ PEŠEK, J.: Štátna bezpečnosť na Slovensku 1948-1953/State Security in Slovakia between 1948-1953. Bratislava: Slovenská akadémia vied, 1999, s. 58. ISBN 80-2240575-2

¹⁸ See: VARINSKÝ, V.: *Jozef Vicen a Biela légia/Jozef Vicen and the White Legion*, pg. 76.

ods of provocation in the earliest phases of creation of the *White Legion* organizations, thus attempting to reveal its members. However, because the State Security tried to conceal their share in their creation, as well as due to missing documents from the period, it is now very complicated to reconstruct the historical events.

Another suspicion in connection with the establishment and existence of the *White Legion* is raised in the case of archived documents from the Vranov district. The State Security records speak of a group called *White Legion* – 3. This was an illegal *White Legion* organization that was, according to the State Security, established in March 1951 by Michal Mihok, Jr. in Čaklov and subsequently in other villages of the Vranov district under the influence of the *White Legion* foreign radio. The suspicion that the existence of this organization was a case of an anti-state activity provoked by State Security is backed up by several facts. The most questionable issue is the establishment of the organization. Ján Sisák, Jozef Bednár, Michal Mihok, Sr., and Michal Jantek, who were the members of the organization (and imprisoned at the time), testified in front of a Ministry of Interior committee in 1959 that the *White Legion* in Vranov was established and managed by the State Security office in Prešov.¹⁹ They explained the discrepancy with their former witness from 1952 by saying that they made false statements because they were forced to do so by means of physical violence. Andrej Mihok, one of the examined men, declared that his brother, Michal Mihok, Jr., was forced to plead guilty. As main witnesses against Mihok, the investigators used members of *White Legion* who were bound to cooperate with them – one of them before the investigation had started (Ján Košár), and the other forced to cooperate during the investigation (Ján Sisák). During the three-month investigation, both of them had to memorize their testimonies.

In 1968, in the time of political “warming”, some affected people from the villages Čaklov, Cabov, Juskova Voľa and Banské wrote a letter to the headquarters of the Communist Party in Prague, in which they declared that the *White Legion* organization in the Vranov district had been established by the State Security members M. Benček, Dovina and Volčko. These men had allegedly organized secret meetings and provoked citizens to anti-state activities through their assistants. They promised that there would be an upheaval and encouraged people not to enter the co-ops.²⁰ This version of Mihok’s organization was also confirmed by Captain Ján Mati, who at the time of the *White Legion* operation worked at the IV. Department of the Regional State Security Administration in Prešov. In his letter to the police department in Prešov written on April 18, 1968, he confirmed that the stimulus for the establishment of Mihok’s organization came from the District State Security Chief in Vranov Jozef Behún and from the chief of the II. Department of the Regional State Security Administration in Prešov, Martin Benček. With the approval of the Regional State Security Administration chief in Prešov, Michal Sadloň, they informed authorities in Prague about their plan. Within the framework of the DUBEN (April) project, Vladimír Matoušek and Captain František Novák came from Prague to take further measures. Sadloň’s deputy Pupala was

¹⁹ AMV SR in Levoča, f. A, inventory unit 808. Inspection of Czechoslovakian Ministry of Interior in Prague.

²⁰ AMV SR in Levoča, f. P 10/3. Anonymous warning about the establishment of the *White Legion* organization in the Vranov district.

chosen to be the leader of the provoking action. Pupala and Žilka, who was called from Bratislava, wore English uniforms in order to fool people. Captain Mati further writes that during the operation of the *White Legion* there occurred a conflict between Matoušek and Sadloň which resulted in Sadloň's dismissal.²¹ Thus Matoušek became the leading figure of the operation in Prague and M. Benček in Prešov.

The new investigation of the *White Legion* case in the Vranov region lasted until the end of 1969, and it repeatedly implied the possibility of the *White Legion's* establishment by the State Security. On January 7, 1969, during the investigation, Jozef Bednár declared that M. Mihok, Jr. had personally informed him about the fact that the organization was administered by the State Security in Prešov, from which he received instructions. V. Hanzel (the key State Security agent of the case) allegedly considered giving a broader testimony if the Ministry of Interior would exempt him from confidentiality.²²

However, there are also some other facts that question the official version. Mihok's possibilities to act against the state would have been considerably limited if he had not received help from the State Security. From the co-workers evaluation of the *White Legion* activities we come to know that through its agent *Homer* (V. Hanzel), the State Security provided Mihok with a typewriter, which he used for rewriting the documents for the archive, for typing threatening letters, anti-state leaflets and newsletters of the *White Legion*. It is still questionable who enabled the distribution of the leaflets by bicycle. The argument that the State Security infiltrated the organization only after the terrorist activities and that it was impossible to thwart their efforts is clearly not true. According to the same source, we come to know that agent *Homer* allegedly informed the controlling body about the fact that the *White Legion* member Mádej was ordered by Mihok to burn down Jablonský's lodge. This proves that he must have been a member of the organization before June 22, 1951, when the attack took place. Thus his role was not only to infiltrate the leadership of the organization; it was also to provoke anti-state activities. On page 71, in the part evaluating *Homer's* activities, the report states that the agent threatened Mihok that he would leave the organization and return to the *Free Europe* and forced Mihok to participate in anti-state activities. The immediate result of this was burning of a haystack in the agricultural co-op in the village Sol.²³

²¹ According to the letter that Sadloň sent the chief of the Regional Administration in Martin in 1968, the conflict was allegedly caused by the fact that on the meeting of the chiefs of regional committees of State Security in Prague in May 1952, Sadloň attacked Minister of Interior K. Bacílek. He had accused the Ministry of bad politics and their distrust of Slovak authorities. He also attacked the methods of Czech authorities, who he thought were primarily interested in their career and honour. Subsequently Sadloň was arrested and taken to Ružyň by Matoušek. AMV SR in Levoča, f. 10/3, inventory unit 7. Sadloň's arrest can be also explained from a different perspective. In the process of operation of the *White Legion* in Čierny Balog, the investigation proved that Sadloň, as former chief of Regional Administration of State Security in Banská Bystrica, was suspected of murdering a driver from the Regional Political School who came from Čierny Balog.

²² AMV SR in Levoča, f. P 10/3, inventory unit 7. Informative record written down with J. Bednár on January 7, 1969.

²³ In 1969 Ján Sisák testified that originally Hanzel ordered him, J. Mitrišin and J. Guzy from the village Banské to set the haystack on fire. Sisák refused to do this, and he learned later that Mitrišin and Kolár ob-

There is another fact that implies a potential connection between M. Mihok and the State Security in Prešov. On November 25, 1951, M. Mihok and J. Baník from Čaklov had a heated argument. As Baník was leaving, Mihok fired his gun 7 times. The next day Mihok sent his mistress Mária Dzurišová to Prešov to report the shooting and to bring further instructions.²⁴ Whom was she supposed to inform if not the State Security? (The Community Council did not exist then.) All these facts give rise to a suspicion that the State Security played a double game: one with M. Mihok and the other one with the agents deployed in the *White Legion*. It needed both sides – the first one in order to initiate the establishment of the organization and thus find people to arrest, and the other one to disclose the existence and functioning of the whole organization.

The last investigation led by Major Michal Mati resulted in the same findings as the preceding one. In November 1969, Michal Mati sent a letter to Captain J. Mati in which he stated that the investigation of the complaints of people from several villages of the Vranov region had not proved his charges. It is interesting to note that Major Mati's report can be found in two copies in the archives – formally these reports are the same; however, their findings are different.²⁵

Another reason for establishing the *White Legion* organizations in Slovakia could have been the growing discrepancy between the citizens and the newly formed totalitarian regime. People negatively affected by the regime reacted to it spontaneously (i.e. with no stimuli from the *White Legion* protagonists nor the State Security) through an organized rebellion in the same form as during the war which was at odds with the instructions from the *White Legion* broadcaster. Many resistant groups were established; however, State Security identified and eliminated them easily. One of these groups was the *White Legion* organization in the Brezno district, which was divided into two groups – one working in Čierny Balog and the other one in Hronec. The leader of the one in Hronec was a member of National Security Corps (ZNB) Vydra, and the district leader of the whole organization was Jozef Kováčik (*Blachárik*).

The documents show that the establishment of this relatively extensive paramilitary organization²⁶ was the result of tension between the local administration and

eyed the order. AMV SR in Levoča, f. P 10/3, inventory unit 7. Informative record written down with J. Sisák on January 16, 1969.

²⁴ AMV SR in Levoča, f. P 10/3, inventory unit 8. Evaluation of the activities of the people involved in the case of the *White Legion*. M. Dzurišová was the wife of Mikuláš Dzuriš, a member of *White Legion*. After Dzuriš found out about the relationship of Mihok and his wife, he came to the District Office of the police in Humenné on November 26, 1951 and became their co-worker under the codename *Karol*. His wife became an official co-worker later, on December 11, 1951 and she was directed by Šimko.

²⁵ AMV SR in Levoča, f. P 10/3, inventory unit 7. In the report sent to the Headquarters of the Communist Party, it is stated on page 431 that "the investigation had not proved" that the State Security had established and provoked the *White Legion*. In the same volume there is another report that states on page 482 that "the investigation proved" that the State Security established and provoked the activities of the *White Legion*.

²⁶ During the investigation of people involved in the case, weapons, bullets and one broken transmitter were found. The investigation also revealed that 80 people were registered *White Legion* members and another 28 people knew about its existence. 39 military rifles, 30 guns, 5 machine rifles, 1 machine gun, 8 civilian rifles, 80 fuses of various kinds, 4 mines, 1 bomb, 2 compasses, 8 bayonets, 23 bags of mine powder and 1597 pieces of various bullets were found in the process of the dissolution of the organization. AMV SR in Levoča, f. A 2/1, inventory unit 50.

local inhabitants of the region. The tension first occurred in the post-war years when the then officials of the party and the public administration misused their positions for their personal gain (financial profit) and thus caused the people to distrust them. One historical event that was particularly sensitive was the case when the Local National Council (MNV) in Čierny Balog let the Red Army's front cross their territory and received 4 million crowns for it. The Council was supposed to use the money for awarding the local people for helping the Red Army as well as for the repair of the damage caused by fighting in Čierny Balog. However, the officials only paid a pittance to the people who later asked for an investigation and for holding the officials accountable.²⁷

Similar circumstances also appeared in the case of Štefan Kovalčík (*Šparhet*), who held the office of Vice-Director of the Local National Council in Čierny Balog. In 1949 Kovalčík became the Director, and immediately after entering office he started applying nepotistic policies, especially in distributing contingents. Many inhabitants of Čierny Balog lived in horrible housing conditions, and their houses did not meet health code. When they asked for material to reconstruct their houses, their requests were not taken into consideration, during which time many officials built new houses.²⁸

Another reason for the negative attitudes of the inhabitants towards the security authorities were two murders. Towards the end of 1949, worker Klement Medved' from Čierny Balog was murdered in Bratislava. This murder was followed by another – Ján Makuš from Čierny Balog, who worked as a driver for the Regional Political School, was killed in Sliach. The cases were never resolved in that period, and some people believed that both men had been killed by the State Security authorities.²⁹ This situation caused growing resentment towards the Party officials, public administration, and the security bodies. This all created conditions for the creation and existence of anti-state-oriented groups of the *White Legion*.

The Regional Administration of State Security in Banská Bystrica started operating in Brezno as early as the end of 1950, based on economic and political stimuli. Subsequently it was found out that a huge anti-state *White Legion* organization was being formed in the region and it was divided into two units. There was an effort to

²⁷ The District Council of the Communist Party in Brezno and the security authorities started the investigation; however, the case was never resolved. Local National Council leader Štulajter was also arrested during the process; however, he was released after the intervention of a member of the National Party, Gotier. In spite of the local citizens' distrust, Štulajter was installed into the function of Director of the State Forests in the Zlaté Moravce district. AMV SR in Levoča, f. A 2/1, inventory unit 50.

²⁸ An example of this is Gotier, a member of the National Party, who sold his house in Kokava and built a new house in Brezno. According to the information of the Political Secretariat of the Headquarters of the Czechoslovakian Communist Party, the house was worth 1 million Slovak crowns. Another example of the misuse of financial means is Róbert Štulajter, who was given building material for a new house in Brezno. AMV SR in Levoča, f. A 2/1, inventory unit 50.

²⁹ In a secret report about the elimination of the anti-state *White Legion* organization in Čierny Balog and its surroundings from October 17, 1952 written for the needs of the Political Secretariat of the Headquarters of the Czechoslovakian Communist Party it is stated that "the driver of the Regional Political School in Banská Bystrica who came from Čierny Balog and was a good a loyal member of the Party was killed by the then regional State Security chief Sadloň." This was what the people had actually known about. AMV SR in Levoča, f. A 2/1, inventory unit 50.

provoke *White Legion* leaders in Čierny Balog to take part in some anti-state activities. Using a man who presented himself as a representative of a foreign news agency, the State Security officials tried to get the *White Legion* leaders under their control. However, the whole project resulted in a failure due to the leaders' precise rules on establishing contacts with the district. Thus further infiltration into the organization became rather difficult. There was a danger that the whole group would relocate to mountains. Eventually the State Security officials eliminated the whole *White Legion* organization on February 18, 1952 under the command of František Starý from the Ministry of National Security.³⁰

Spontaneous establishment of *White Legion* organizations is the last reason of their origin. To sum up the findings of our research, the first reason for establishing the organizations were the *White Legion* protagonists themselves; then it was the *White Legion* broadcaster that created the ideological and psychological environment needed for the creation of anti-state organizations under the name *White Legion*. Consequently, at odds with the content of the broadcasting, some other anti-state organizations were created by the *White Legion* protagonists as well as by other reporting groups, including the State Security representatives. Obviously even those groups that were organized spontaneously had an impact on the *White Legion* broadcaster. Considering the ambitions of the creators of the *White Legion* programs, one can suppose that the range of the *White Legion* members was much wider than the documents identify and than the State Security was able to effect. Generally speaking, all people who somehow tried to foil the activities of the Communists, who threatened basic human and civil rights, could have been associated with the *White Legion*.

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³⁰ AMV SR in Levoča, f. b. 10/12, inventory unit 7.

Learning to crawl before we can walk

(Gender in historical research (not only) in Slovakia)*

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In the last two decades the research in Gender History has intensified in countries of the former Soviet block. The potency of gender related historical research in terms of adding new approaches to mainstream political history, and especially its position at the interface of social sciences was (and still is) evaluated very positively. Particularly in East-European countries, there were expectations of creating an institutional basis for this sub-discipline, and hopes for new cooperation and exchange with regions, where Women's and Gender History have a longer tradition. New gender-specific projects, results and impulses were being anticipated.

In 2004, in her critical essay on the future of Women's History in Eastern Europe, the Hungarian historian Andrea Pető came to the following conclusion: euphoric expectations after the collapse of communism that new research from the former Soviet block could contribute new theoretical and academic issues to "western" Gender History, ended in scepticism. In spite of those big hopes, the reality speaks a different language: Gender History in Eastern Europe remains "still in its early phases". After years of researching and teaching Women's and Gender History at the Central European University in a broader Eastern European context and comparing it to the West-European development, she states quite pessimistically: "It may be that our expectations were too optimistic in the early 1990s: we expected a boom in Women's History, in a field crippled not only by institutional and disciplinary boundaries but also by national hegemonies and overarching frameworks on history writing"¹.

Many historians who have considered and practiced gender as "a useful category of historical analysis"² express their disappointment trying to integrate Gender History to historiography and establish it as a consistent curriculum at the institutions of higher education. The late Anna Żarnowska, leader of the successful and well-developed research group on Women's History in Poland³, gave an evaluation after years of her own pioneering work: "[...] research of this field of historical observation – a field somewhat undervalued in Poland as yet – is still at the stage of completing basic

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¹ PETŐ, Andrea. Writing Women's History in Eastern Europe: Towards a „Terra Cognita“? In *Journal of Women's History*, 16, No. 4 (Winter 2004), 173-181, quotation 174.

² I refer to Joann Scott's basic contribution to Gender History: SCOTT, Joann W. Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis. In *The American Historical Review*, 91, 1986, 5 (December), 1053-1075.

³ SZEŁĄGOWSKA, Grażyna. Professor Anna Żarnowska (1931-2007). Obituary and Selected Bibliography. In *Aspasia*, 2, 2008, 271-281.

knowledge. The place of Women's and Gender History in general, as a separate field of Polish historiography, though generally accepted, is yet to be firmly established"⁴. She stated this in spite of the systematic research on the social position of women in Poland, accomplished by a group of historians focusing on Social and Gender History since the 1990's; the group furthermore had published numerous volumes of the special series *Kobieta i ... (Woman and...)*⁵, edited by A. Żarnowska and A. Szwarc under the auspices of the Historical Institute of the Warsaw University⁶.

Deficiency of specialized institutions

A common obstacle to the development of Eastern European Women's History is the lack of a stable institutional basis (i.e. a department in research institutes and/or universities, permanent research-groups, a special journal) within historiography. Some other social sciences have already accepted Gender Studies as a requisite component. This has been acknowledged in recent evaluations about the actual state of Women's and Gender History. Andrea Petó and Judith Szapor repeatedly and firmly call attention to "infrastructural vacuum and institutional resistance against which a few committed practitioners of Women's and Gender History have been struggling to

⁴ ŻARNOWSKA, Anna. Writing Women's History in Poland. In ČADKOVÁ, Kateřina – LENDEROVÁ, Milena – STRÁNÍKOVÁ, Jana (eds.) *Dějiny žen aneb Evropská žena od středověku do 20. století v zajištění historiografie* [Women's History or European woman from the Middle Ages to the 20th Century in the seizure of Historiography]. Pardubice : Univerzita Pardubice, 2006, 41-68, quotation 46.

⁵ Since 1990 nine volumes of this series were edited by Anna ŻARNOWSKA and Andrzej SZWARC, published in Warsaw DIG Publishing house: 1. *Kobieta i społeczeństwo na ziemiach polskich w XIX wieku* [Woman and Society in 19th Century] 1990 and 1995; 2. *Kobieta i edukacja na ziemiach polskich w XIX i XX wieku* [Woman and Education in 19th and 20th Centuries Poland] 1992; 3. *Kobieta i świat polityki* [Women and the World of Politics]: 3/1. *Polska na tle porównawczym w XIX i w początkach XX wieku* [19th and 20th Centuries Poland in an international comparison] 1994, 3/2. *W niepodległej Polsce 1918 – 1939* [In the independent Poland 1918 – 1939] 1996; 4. *Kobieta i kultura. Kobiety wśród twórców kultury intelektualnej i artystycznej w dobie rozbiorów i w niepodległym państwie polskim* [Woman and Culture. Women among the Creators of Intellectual and Artistic Culture in partitioned Poland and in the independent Polish state] 1996; 5. *Kobieta i kultura życia codziennego. Wiek XIX i XX* [Woman and Everyday-life Culture. The 19th and 20th Centuries] 1997; 6. *Kobieta i praca. Wiek XIX i XX* [Woman and Work. The 19th and 20th Centuries] 2000; 7. *Kobieta i kultura czasu wolnego* [Woman and Culture of the Leisure Time] 2001; 8. *Kobieta i małżeństwo. Społeczno-kulturowe aspekty seksualności. Wiek XIX i XX* [Woman and Marriage. Socio-cultural Aspects of Sexuality. The 19th and 20th Centuries] 2004; 9. *Kobieta i rewolucja obyczajowa. Społeczno-kulturowe aspekty seksualności. Wiek XIX i XX* [Woman and the Sexual Revolution. Socio-cultural Aspects of Sexuality. The 19th and 20th Centuries] 2006.

⁶ Apart from the series „Kobieta i...” further publications were: ŻARNOWSKA, Anna - SZWARC Andrzej (eds.). *Równe prawa i nierówne szanse. Kobiety w Polsce międzywojennej* [Equal Rights – Not Equal Opportunities. Women in interwar Poland]. Warszaw : DIG, 2000; KAŁWA, Dobrochna – WALASZEK, Adam – ŻARNOWSKA, Anna (eds.). *Rodzina - prywatność - intymność. Dzieje rodziny polskiej w kontekście europejskim* [Family – Privacy – Intimacy. History of the Polish family in the European context] 2005; JASIŃSKA JANIĄK Agnieszka – SIERAKOWSKA, Katarzyna – SZWARC, Andrzej (eds.). *Działaczki społeczne, feministki, obywatelki... Samoorganizowanie się kobiet na ziemiach polskich do 1918 roku (na tle porównawczym)* [Public Actors, Feminists, Citizens... Associations of women in the Polish Lands until 1918 (in a comparative context)]. Warszawa : Neriton, 2008; JASIŃSKA JANIĄK Agnieszka – SIERAKOWSKA, Katarzyna – SZWARC, Andrzej (eds.). *Działaczki społeczne, feministki, obywatelki... Samoorganizowanie się kobiet na ziemiach polskich po 1918 roku (na tle porównawczym)* [Public Actors, Feminists, Citizens... Associations of women in the Polish Lands after 1918 (in a comparative context)]. Warszawa : Neriton, 2009.

establish a foothold".⁷ Similarly, Maria Bucur, one of the editors of *Aspasia*, the new International Yearbook of Central, Eastern, and South-eastern European Women's and Gender History, emphasizes in her essay on Gender History in Eastern Europe, not only the importance but also, simultaneously, the deficiency of institutionalized Gender Studies / Gender History. Bucur's "cautiously optimistic conclusion about the potential of gender analysis in the wider historical scholarship in the coming years" is based exactly on new generation of students and "future scholars".⁸

There is practically no tradition of Gender Studies in academic programmes in this region. As an academic discipline in Eastern Europe, Gender Studies was founded only in 1994/1995 at the Central European University in Budapest (with partial focus on Gender History, but not included to the curriculum of the History department); in other post-communist states this happened even later. Vienna University is a coordinating institute of the first Joint European Master Degree in Women's and Gender History (MATILDA)⁹.

In Czechoslovakia after 1989, and the Czech and Slovak Republics since 1993, two nongovernmental organizations initiated the first steps towards debate, research and academic teaching of Gender Studies: *Gender Studies o.p.s.* in Prague (founded in 1992) and *Aspekt* in Bratislava (1993). Both have been striving for public and academic debate on gender related issues, as well as their introduction into academic programmes. In 1998, as a result of previous activities, e.g. lectures and special courses since 1993 at Charles University in Prague, a brand new *Centre for Gender Studies* was opened at the Philosophical Faculty. When transferred to the Faculty of Humanities of Charles University in 2003, it was elevated to the status of an independent *Department of Gender Studies*¹⁰ and MA programme in Gender Studies; plans to develop it into a Ph.D. programme are being considered¹¹. From the very start, the strong cooperation of Czech and Slovak scholars, but also a wider international network has been a significant factor.

The *Gender Studies Centre - Centrum rodových štúdií* in Bratislava, established by a group of female feminist researchers Zuzana Kiczková, Marianna Szapuová, and writer Etela Farkašová¹², has been working at the Faculty of Philosophy at Comenius University (Univerzita Komenského) in Bratislava since 2001; their research serves as an educational basis for feminist theory and Gender Studies in Slovakia¹³. The Centre is connected to *Aspekt* by personal and international contacts, especially with Czech and other (Central-) European Gender Studies institutions. The Gender Studies Centre

⁷ PETŐ, Andrea – SZAPOR, Judith. The State of Women's and Gender History in Eastern Europe: The Case of Hungary. In *Journal of Women's History*, 2007, 19 (Spring), 1, 160-166.

⁸ BUCUR, Maria. An Archipelago of Stories: Gender History in Eastern Europe. In *American Historical Review*, 113, 2008, 5 (December), 1375-1389, quotation 1375.

⁹ <https://matilda.ned.univie.ac.at/>.

¹⁰ More about these institutions and their history on <http://www.en.genderstudies.cz/>; <http://gender.ff.cuni.cz/>

¹¹ http://www.fhs.cuni.cz/gender/o_nas_eng.html.

¹² In 2002, the NGO *Feminist Philosophers Club - Klub feministických filozofiiek* was registered. For more details see: http://genderstudies.fphil.uniba.sk/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=729&Itemid=39.

¹³ For more details see: <http://genderstudies.fphil.uniba.sk/>.

offers lectures on Feminist philosophy and Introduction to Gender Studies, but no course on Gender History yet- mainly because of the lack of basic literature in Slovakia¹⁴. Save for results of several international projects, that focus primarily on feminist philosophy and the recent situation in issues of gender equality, the recent extensive research on oral history of women in times of communism presents a first important contribution to Gender History¹⁵.

Aspekt, the feminist association for education and publishing, was the first to promote Gender Studies in Slovakia¹⁶. It founded an information and documentation centre with a library and its own webzine; it has also been publishing its own magazine *Aspekt* and a book series¹⁷. During the first decade of its activity (1993 to 2004), the journal *Aspekt* published 21 monothematic volumes, creating a vibrant stage for a Slovak and Czech discourse on new topics. The NGO has encouraged new research by translating crucial feminist texts into Slovak, thereby promoting Gender Studies in general. According to the historians of literature, founding members Jana Cviková and Jana Juráňová, the NGO *Aspekt* was established as an interest group for women who wanted "to take the discourse about equality and democracy seriously and apply it to the lived realities of the people of feminine gender in Slovakia. Already second decade *Aspekt* does so by means of its (subversive and pioneering) publishing and educational activities."¹⁸ Since its foundation, *Aspekt* has been personally connected with the Czech Centre for Gender Studies and has cooperated with international feminists, mostly from the Czech Republic, Austria, Germany and Hungary.

Gender History in Slovakia is advancing slowly. It is limited to the small number of social scientists, mostly female. In Slovakia so far, Gender History can nowhere be studied as an independent course; there are only lectures on family history and about some topics of Women's History at the departments of ethnology and social anthropology.

Weighed down by the heritage: Gender History within Slovak Historiography

Due to several reasons, criticism and scepticism is justified when evaluating the general position of Gender history in Slovakia. Gender History is not yet established as a special sub-discipline of historiography. In spite of this lack, it is crucial to examine the recent state of Slovak historiography: it focuses predominantly on political history (history of the "own nation"), which is, to some extent, the legacy of previous positivists orientation and Marxist methodology. Therefore, the reasons for the rather unfavourable situation regarding Women's and Gender History should be discussed in a broader context. Because of the frequent changes of political regimes, including the

¹⁴ About the history and goals of the Centre see: KICZKOVÁ, Zuzana. Rodové štúdiá na Slovensku [Gender Studies in Slovakia]. In MACHÁČEK, Ladislav (ed.). *Gender – rodovosť v pedagogickom výskume a praxi* [Gender in research and practice of Pedagogy]. Trnava : UCM, 2006, 9-30.

¹⁵ For the English version see: KICZKOVÁ, Zuzana (ed.). *Women's Memory. The Experience of Self-shaping in Biographical Interviews*. Bratislava, IRIS, 2006.

http://genderstudies.fphil.uniba.sk/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=748.

¹⁶ <http://www.aspekt.sk/english.php>.

¹⁷ http://www.aspekt.sk/in_tiraz.php.

¹⁸ Quoted from: *ASPEKT is...*, on <http://www.aspekt.sk/english.php>.

split of Czechoslovakia, the establishing of the Slovak Republic in 1993 and the effort of the regimes to influence the interpretation of history, the outcome was more than predictable.

The main causes of the slow establishment of Gender History in Slovakia are:

1. Regarding of Slovak Historiography in general:

- ✓ Injection of ideology into history and historiography – most importantly, the dictatorship of the communist regime until 1989, and the old-new national ideology after 1993;
- ✓ An enduring priority of Political History and a weak position of Social History when compared to the neighbouring countries;
- ✓ A reluctance of Slovak historians to discuss the new theoretical and methodological concepts, evident not only in comparison to other countries, but also to other social sciences in Slovakia.

2. Other factors determining the position of Gender History in Slovakia:

- ✓ We still have a material deficiency in basic research and published works from the year before 1989; there is still a lack of synthesis on this subject,
- ✓ The interpretation of women's emancipation as a component of the ethnocentric concept of history, that is the national emancipation of Slovaks in the Habsburg monarchy and then in the Czechoslovak republic. Furthermore, in this context, I want to point on the influence of memory creation about women's emancipation and the women's movement after World War I, which is present in some works.

After the fall of communism, the historiography in the former communist states made an effort to remove the ideology, replace the Marxist concepts with some new interpretations and fill in the "blank spots" about events, individuals and phenomena, forbidden by the communist authorities, for example the issue of political persecution. The lack of basic research in several areas and some contentious questions led to the fact that Slovak historiography is not a historiography of monographic syntheses, but more that of one of various particular proceedings. Soon after 1989, it was evident that the 'de-communisation' of historiography (according to the historian Dušan Kováč) does not necessarily mean the removing of ideology. Slovak historiography was (and in some aspects still is) in a period of overcoming the deformations and stereotypes of Marxism, and also the pre-Marxist period. Negative influences came in form of the caginess and the lack of theoretical knowledge of local historians, but also the attitude of former exile historians, who promoted a nationalist concept of history¹⁹.

In the prevailing ethno-centric concept, the creation of an independent Slovak State marks the high point in Slovak history, which maintains the form of a grand narrative about the struggling for the nation and national state. Some searching the roots

¹⁹ For reflections about Slovak Historiography after 1989 see the monothematic issue of the German journal Bohemia: *Bohemia. Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Kultur der böhmischen Länder*, 44, 2003, No. 2 - Neue Impulse der Forschung: Geschichtsschreibung in der und über die Slowakei. A Slovak version was published in: *Historický časopis*, 52, 2004, No. 2.

of the Slovak state in the oldest periods suggest the possibility to change terminology: from the medieval Great Moravia to Great Slovakia, from Slavs to Old Slovaks, etc. Historians, who do not share this view, were accused of holding up Marxism, Czechoslovakism and a lack of patriotism.

The political leadership of the Slovak Republic, particularly the rightist and the nationalist groups, supported this kind of strengthening of the identity of the new state. They contributed to it politically, financially and institutionally. The most obvious example of such activities occurred in the 1990's, when the Slovak government interfered into the writing of history textbooks and attempted to limit free research by means of merging the various research organizations into one institution that would be controlled by the states' nationalist leadership. Recently, there are no such clear distinctions among Slovak historians (those "pro-nationalistic" and those "pro-Czechoslovak", "Marxist" or branded with some other "label"), while the right to determine the "official and definitive truth" is present. Slovak historians must constantly contest the apologetic, romanticizing, and often emotional conceptions of the history of "our nation". In the view of the public, but also of some historians, the key historical periods are still subject to questionable interpretations the first Czechoslovak Republic between the wars, the first Slovak State during World War II as a German satellite, and the Slovak National Uprising in 1944. Some historians are not willing to acknowledge the nation's responsibility for collaboration with the Pro-fascist regime and the deportations of the Jews, or the crimes of the communist regime.

A comparison of the post-communist historiographies in Eastern European countries had shown that their nationalisation is not a feature unique to Slovakia²⁰. Slovak historiography has even more in common with others: a priority of political history, an effort to get rid of Marxist ideology by replacing it with another one (sometimes with ardent nationalism, or with an overestimation of the role of the Catholic church in history), a lack of theoretical foundations, an effort to equate ones own with foreign historiography on the one hand, while not "abandoning the traditions" on the other. The end of Marxism meant for many historians a return to positivism.

An important, but weak frame: Gender in the context of Social History

The period after the Spring of Prague, the so-called Normalisation (starting in 1969), caused a further wave of dogmatism and political persecutions, also for historians. While the social sciences in Poland, Hungary, Yugoslavia and Romania started to accept the impulses and contacts from Western science, Czechoslovakia prohibited the access to foreign collaboration and literature. That is the reason why Czechoslovak historiography recognized the French Annales School and Social History, besides Women's History, only late and to a significantly less extend, in Slovakia, even only

²⁰ IVANIŠEVIĆ, Alojz – KAPPELER, Andreas – LUKAN, Walter – SUPPAN, Arnold (eds.). *Klio ohne Fesseln? Historiographie im östlichen Europa nach dem Zusammenbruchs des Kommunismus*. Wien – Frankfurt – Berlin – Bern – Oxford, 2002 (Österreichische Osthefte, Sonderband 16). GYÁNI, Gábor. Történetírásunk az évezred fordulón. In: *BUKSZ*, Új folyamam 18, 2000, 117-140; IODARCHI, Constantin. Társadalomtörténet a Román történetírásban: örökség, új utak és kihívások. In *KORALL*, 2002, 7-8, 190-199; GYÁNI, Gábor. *Emlékezés, emlékezet és a történelem elbeszélése*. Budapest : Napvilág, 2000, p. 37.

very marginally.

In the 1990's, when attention to gender related topics of research started in Slovakia, a deep theoretical and methodological shift from early Women's studies to both gender and poststructuralist approaches occurred. Historians had to confront many concepts, which were prohibited or simply not accessible before. This presented both advantages and disadvantages: a chance to "avoid the mistakes" of "Western colleagues" and develop high quality research even with new topics – e.g. gender relations in the communist era. A promising perspective in this kind of renewal was seen in the new quality of academic collaboration between "West" and "East". Even German specialists on Eastern European history have promoted the gender analysis as a concept, that is suitable for overcoming the East – West divide, which originated in the Cold War stereotypes²¹. A disadvantageous situation in post-communist states presented itself in a new wave of nationalism and the framing the Women's History in political history. The new results of historical anthropology and Social History proved that they offer more plausible explanations, especially for the multiethnic and multicultural regions of Eastern Europe with rapid political changes.

When considering gender in historical research, the emphasis should be put on the concrete historical context with emphasis on social reality. A large proportion of works is analysing the contemporary or historical discourse in order to show how the society enforces gender norms in the process of socialisation; how gender identities, the ideal image and roles of a woman, a man and a family are being created and reproduced. However, the gap between norms and everyday life can be seen more clearly through the analysis of the real social position of women and men. Research of women's legal status, labour market, socio-anthropological research of the family and everyday life offers a more accurate picture about the gender specific options and limitations for women in society. These reflect the „doing gender“ in various social strata and situations.

In this sense, the situation in Social history is crucial for the Gender History. Unfortunately, Social history has a weak position in Slovakia - it is not established as an independent discipline either. Specialised institutions for research and university study as well as lack of theoretical basis are absent as a consequence of the dominance of political history²². In spite of this, there are many new results and projects. Several areas of research on, for example, aristocracy, middle class, marginal groups, which

²¹ See: STEGMANN, Natali. Die osteuropäische Frau im Korsett westlicher Denkmuster. Zum Verhältnis von Geschlechtergeschichte und Osteuropäischer Geschichte. In *Osteuropa*, 52, 2002, 7, 932-944, especially 939-941; KRAFT, Claudia. Geschlecht als Kategorie zur Erforschung der Geschichte des Staatssozialismus in Mittel- und Osteuropa. In KRAFT, Claudia (ed.). *Geschlechterbeziehungen in Ostmitteleuropa nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg. Soziale Praxis und Konstruktionen von Geschlechterbildern. Vorträge der Tagung des Collegium Carolinum in Bad Wiesee vom 17. bis 20. November 2005*. München, R. Oldenbourg, 2008, 217-229; BUCUR, An archipelago of Stories, Footnote 8.

²² The closest approach to Social History research is the one at the *Institute of Social Sciences of the Slovak Academy of Sciences* in Košice with its online journal ČAS, focused mainly on research of minorities in the 20th Century (see: <http://www.saske.sk/SVU/index.html>); also the Hungarian institute for minority research *Fórum* with its magazine and editions (see: <http://www.foruminst.sk/index.php?P=index.en>).

Dušan Kováč referred to as “blank spots” in his review from 1994²³, are now being covered by new works and research in progress²⁴. An inquiry into the state of Social History, which I did among historians and other social scientists in 2003, confirmed the importance and willingness to commit themselves to Social History, to a lesser extent also to Gender History. However, this inquiry discovered once again the lack of theoretical and methodological preparation, sometimes even helplessness, as well as an insufficient preparation of teachers and students. The contributors to this inquiry talked openly about the lack of appreciation of Gender History, which is partly brought about by the priority given to political history; also conservatism of a part of the scientific community and the public plays a role (and not only in such issues as history of sexuality)²⁵.

This can be applied to Gender History as well. The analysis of recent works showed that some historians follow the new theoretical and methodological concepts - for example modernisation, ethnic and cultural diversity, collective identities and memories, as well as the method of oral history²⁶.

Impulses: from outside and inside

Because of the weak tradition of Women’s History in Czechoslovakia and the isolation of social sciences after 1968/69, first impulses for the research of Gender History in Slovakia were given by feminist philosophy, sociology and ethnology. While in Czech historiography the demographic school started to evolve, studying population and family since the late 1960s, in Slovakia only the basic demographic data were published in the historical syntheses. In contrary to Czech historiography with its many works focusing on the history of women’s education, women’s movement and historically important individuals, in Slovakia only one monograph on the history of the first Slovak women’s association (founded in 1869), was published²⁷.

Slovak ethnology and social anthropology dealt with the social position of women within research that focussed on family and gender relations, and the division

²³ KOVÁČ, Dušan. Probleme der sozialhistorischen Forschung zum 19. und 20. Jahrhundert in der slowakischen Historiographie. In: *Archiv für Sozialgeschichte*, 34, 1994, 111-130. KOVÁČ, Dušan. Die slowakische Historiographie nach 1989: Aktiva, Probleme, Perspektiven. In *Bohemia*, 37, 1996, 169-180. See also HOLEC, Roman. Problémy a úlohy hospodárskych a sociálnych dejín 19. a 20. storočia. In FANO, Štefan (ed.). *Slovenské dejiny v dejinách Európy*. Bratislava : Academic Electronic Press 1997, 103-112. MANNOVÁ, Elena. A Korral körkérdésére a társadalomtörténetírás helyzetéről 2. In *KORRAL, Társadalomtörténeti folyóirat*, 2002, 7-8, 204-207.

²⁴ For the period after 1994 see: DUDEKOVÁ, Gabriela. Sozialgeschichte in der Slowakei – eine Bilanz und neue Impulse. In *Bohemia*, 44, 2003, 2, 418-243; DUDEKOVÁ, Gabriela. Sociálne dejiny 19. a 20. storočia na Slovensku - bilancia a nové impulzy. In *Historický časopis*, 52, 2004, 2, 331-346.

²⁵ DUDEKOVÁ, Gabriela. Problémy výskumu sociálnych dejín na Slovensku. In *Česko-slovenská ročenka*. Brno : 2006, 57-70.

²⁶ Detailed information on works published after 1990 of Slovak historiography can be found online in the databases of the *Institute of History, Slovak Academy of Sciences*. They are processed and periodically completed by Alžbeta Sedliaková. See: <http://www.history.sav.sk/bibliography.htm>, <http://databazy.dejiny.sk/>.

²⁷ No other monograph on this topic was published since 1969. See: TKADLEČKOVÁ – VANTUCHOVÁ, Jarmila. *Živena – spolok slovenských žien* [Živena – Association of Slovak women]. Bratislava 1969.

of work, especially in agriculture and crafts²⁸. In the late 1980s, the Urban ethnology evolved, including topics on the urban middle class. Since the 1990s the prime voice in Slovak women's history was that of feminist philosophy, ethnology²⁹ and partially also sociology; the sociologist Zuzana Kusá, focussed on middle class women in the era of communism and used the oral history method³⁰.

The acute deficiency of historic works was the reason, why historian Tünde Lengyelová initiated at the end of the 1990s the research of social position of women in the early modern age, carried out at the Institute of History of SAV. Later she founded the section of Gender History as a part of the Slovak Historical Association. The main result of this project was the collective monograph *Woman and the law. Legal and social position of women in the past*³¹; this volume is the first work on the social position of women in Slovak area from medieval times until the 20th century. The contributing authors are historians from Slovakia, Czech Republic, Hungary, Austria and Russia.

A further gender related project was running in the Institute since 2004, focusing on changes in social position of women in the process of modernisation in 19th and 20th centuries. Besides several single studies published in Slovakia, the Czech Republic and Poland, the special issue of the internet journal ČAS is the only result of research team³².

The recently finished project at the Institute of History presents a collective monograph about professional and social positions of women from 18th to 20th centuries in Slovakia; the volume is currently under review³³. The interdisciplinary project *Collective Identities in modern times in Central Europe* applied the methodological concepts of gender identities. A chapter on Gender Identities in the volume conceptualizes

²⁸ FILOVÁ, Božena. Spoločenský a rodinný život [Social and family life]. In FILOVÁ, Božena a kol.: *Slovensko. Lud – II. časť* [Slovakia – Populace – Part II.]. Bratislava : Obzor 1975, 977-983.

²⁹ HLŔŠKOVÁ, Hana – LEŠČÁK, Milan (eds.). *Žena z pohľadu etnológie* [Woman from the viewpoint of Ethnology]. Bratislava, 1998.

³⁰ KUSÁ, Zuzana. Autobiografické rozprávanie v projekte "20. storočie v rodinách slovenskej predprevratovej inteligencie [Autobiographical narratives in the Project „The 20th Century in the pre-World War I Slovak Intelligentsia' Families]. In *Sociológia*, 24, 1992, 6, 571-578; KUSÁ, Zuzana. Prvá Československá republika v životopisných rozprávaniach rodinných príslušníkov predprevratovej slovenskej inteligencie [The First Czechoslovak Republic in the Life-History narratives of the members of the pre-World War I Slovak Intelligentsia' Families]. In *Sociologický časopis*, 29, 1993, 1, 43-57; KUSÁ, Zuzana. Gesellschaftliche Unterschiede als Erzählthema der Nachkommen aus Familien der Intelligenz der Vorkriegszeit und der Elite der Ersten ČSR. In MANNOVÁ, Elena (ed.). *Bürgertum und bürgerliche Gesellschaft in der Slowakei 1900 - 1989*. Bratislava : Academic Electronic Press, 183-195.

³¹ LENGYELOVÁ, Tünde (ed.). *Žena a právo. Právne a spoločenské postavenie žien v minulosti* [Woman and the Law. Legal and social position of women in the past]. Bratislava : Academic Electronic Press, 2004.

³² DUDEKOVÁ, Gabriela – MANNOVÁ, Elena (eds.). *Rodové vzťahy a postavenie žien v období modernizácie. Výsledky najnovších výskumov*. [Gender relations and social position of women in the period of modernization. New research results]. Monotematické číslo internetového časopisu ČAS – Človek a spoločnosť, 9, 2006, 4: <http://www.saske.sk/cas/archiv/4-2006/index.html>.

³³ DUDEKOVÁ, Gabriela a kol. *Na ceste k modernej žene. Kapitoly z dejín rodových vzťahov na Slovensku* [Towards the modern woman. Chapters on gender relations history in Slovakia]. Bratislava : Pro Historia – Historický ústav SAV, under review.

the gender as a part of multiple collective identities³⁴. Further research projects dealt with gender equality, Gender Studies and Gender History, e. g. *Memory of women, Women in holocaust*³⁵, research of family and History of women. The outcomes of the Czech research partially amend the research of the period after 1918. Despite some partial results, we still feel the deficit of basic research, especially on the medieval times and the period after 1945³⁶.

Interdisciplinary approach and international cooperation is therefore not only a challenge, but a necessity. Linked by shared experience of Habsburg monarchy and Czechoslovakia, Czech, Hungarian, Austrian and Polish Women's and Gender History face many common facts and interpretations, as well as similar problems in establishing of this sub-discipline.

The cooperation with Czechs colleagues is the easiest because of our common tradition, the shared book market and no language barrier. As mentioned above, Gender Studies in the Czech Republic is already institutionalised; Women's and partially also Gender History are strongly represented, especially in regard to the modern age and the 19th century³⁷. There are relatively many publications related to the communist

³⁴ BAČOVÁ, Viera – DUDEKOVÁ, Gabriela – LENGYELOVÁ, Tünde. Identita a rod [Identity and gender]. In KILIÁNOVÁ, Gabriela – KOWALSKÁ, Eva – KREKOVIČOVÁ, Eva a kol. *My a tí druhí v modernej spoločnosti. Konštrukcie a transformácie kolektívnych identít* [We and the others in the modern Society. Construction and transformation of collective identities]. Bratislava : Veda, 2009, 39-107.

³⁵ VRZGULOVÁ, Monika. *We Saw the Holocaust*. Bratislava : Nadácia Milana Šimečku, 2005; VRZGULOVÁ, Monika. *Deti holokaustu* [Children of Holocaust]. Bratislava: Dokumentačné stredisko holokaustu, 2007. From the historian Katarína Hradská see: HRADSKÁ, Katarína (ed.). *Listy Gisely Fleischmannovej (1942-1944): Snahy Pracovnej skupiny o záchranu slovenských a európskych židov. Dokumenty* [Gisela Fleischmann's letters 1942-1944. Attempts of the Working Group to save the Jews from Slovakia and Europe. Documents]. Edícia Holokaust na Slovensku, zv. 3 [Series Holocaust in Slovakia: 3]. Bratislava – Zvolen: Nadácia Milana Šimečku – Židovská náboženská obec Bratislava, 2003; HRADSKÁ, Katarína. Gisela Fleischmann. Príbeh odvážnej ženy [Gisela Fleischmann. The story of a brave woman]. In CVIKOVÁ, Jana – JURÁŇOVÁ, Jana – KOBOVÁ, Ľubica (eds.). *Histórie žien. Aspekty písania a čítania* [Histories of Women. Aspects of writing and reading]. Bratislava : ASPEKT, 2007, 125-134.

³⁶ The research provided by Marína Zavacká in Slovakia proved how useful gender can be for the analysis of power mechanisms in totalitarian regimes; see: ZAVACKÁ, Marína. *Súdržky ženy. Ženská, rodová a rodinná tematika na okresných konferenciách Komunistickej strany Slovenska (1949-1957)* [Comrades women. Women-, gender- and family-related topics at the regional conferences of the Communist Party of Slovakia, 1949-1957]. In ČAS, 9, 2006, 4: <http://www.saske.sk/cas/archiv/4-2006/index.html>; ZAVACKÁ, Marína. Die Geschlechter- und Familienthematik auf den Kreiskonferenzen der Kommunistischen Partei der Slowakei 1949 – 1958. In KRAFT, Claudia (ed.). *Geschlechterbeziehungen in Ostmitteleuropa nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg*. Footnote 20, 125-136.

³⁷ The main issue is the history of women's movement and emancipation in the context of national movement, especially in the education and political participation – see e.g. BAHENSKÁ, Marie. *Počátky emancipace v Čechách. Dívčí vzdělávání a ženské spolky v Praze v 19. století* [The beginning of women's emancipation in Bohemia. Education of girls and women's societies in Prague in the 19th Century]. Praha : Libri, 2005; MALÍNSKÁ, Jana. *Do politiky prý žena nesmí - proč? Vzdělání a postavení žen v české společnosti v 19. a na počátku 20. století* [Women allegedly can't get into politics – why? Education and social position of women in Czech society during the 19th and at the beginning of the 20th Centuries]. Praha : Libri – Slon, 2005; VOJÁČEK, Milan (ed.). *Reflexe a sebareflexe ženy v české národní elitě 2. poloviny 19. století*. Praha : Scriptorum, 2007. BUREŠOVÁ, Jana. *Proměny společenského postavení českých žen v první polovině 20. století* [Changes of the social position of Czech women in the first half of the 20. century]. Olomouc: Universita Palackého, 2001; MUSILOVÁ, Dana. *Z ženského pohledu. Poslankyně a senátorky Národního shromáždění Československé republiky 1918-1939* [From the woman's viewpoint. Women-deputies and women-senators

period³⁸, high relevance has the research on this topic provided by Czech sociologist³⁹. Several historical monographs on different topics as well as a synthesis are available⁴⁰. A rich variety of theoretical approaches – including microhistory, cultural anthropology⁴¹, demography⁴², and Cultural history⁴³ – constitute a rule model for Slovak Gen-

of the National assembly of the Czechoslovak Republic 1918-1939]. Praha : Univerzita Hradec Králové – Veduta, 2007; VOJÁČEK, Milan (ed.). *Reflexe a sebareflexe ženy v české národní elitě 2. poloviny 19. století* [Reflection and self-reflection of woman in the Czech national elite in the 2. half of the 19th Century]. Praha : Scriptorum, 2007.

³⁸ For the period after 1948 see works of Historian Denisa Nečasová, especially her recently defended PhD with

included bibliography of published works: NEČASOVÁ, Denisa. „Buduj vlast – posílíš mír!“ „Ženské hnutí v českých zemích 1945-1955. [“Build your Country to Strengthen Peace!” “Women’s Movement” in the Czech Lands 1945-1955.] Dizertační práce. Brno : Masarykova Univerzita – Filozofická fakulta – Historický ústav, 2009. Fulltext at: http://is.muni.cz/th/19154/ff_d/.

³⁹ See especially publications of H. Havelková, H. Hašková and I. Vodochodský, e.g. HAVELKOVÁ, Hana (ed.). *Gibt es ein mitteleuropäisches Ehe- und Familienmodell?/Existuje stredo-evropský model manželství a rodiny? Praha: Divadelní ústav, 1995; HAVELKOVÁ, Hana. Dreifache Enteignung und eine unterbrochene Chance: Der "Prager Frühling" und die Frauen- und Geschlechterdiskussion in der Tschechoslowakei* [Threefold expropriation and an interrupted chance: Prague Spring and the women/gender discussion in Czechoslovakia]. In *L'HOMME*, 20, 2009; HAŠKOVÁ, Hana: Pracující matky a genderové role ve výsledcích mezinárodního longitudinálního výzkumu [Working Mothers and Gender Roles in an International Longitudinal Survey]. In *Gender, rovné příležitosti, výzkum*, 2005, fulltext at: <http://www.genderonline.cz/view.php?cislocid=2005122202>; Vodochodský focuses on the position of men in the state-socialist gender order. VODOCHODSKÝ, Ivan. „Superženy“ a „velké děti“ : Konceptualizace postavení mužů v rámci genderového řádu státního socialismu [‘Superwomen’ and ‘Big children’: conceptualisation of position of men within gender order of state socialism]. In *Pražské sociálně vědní studie – Prague social science studies*, Sociologická řada SOC-012, 2007. Fulltext at: <http://publication.fsv.cuni.cz/eng/publication.php?id=4306>; VODOCHODSKÝ, Ivan. Patriarchát na socialistický způsob: k genderovému řádu státního socialismu [Socialist-wise Patriarchy: on Gender Order of State Socialism]. In *Gender – rovné příležitosti – výzkum*, 8, 2007. Fulltext at: <http://www.genderonline.cz/view.php?cislocid=2008012707>.

More see at the web-site of the *Gender & sociologie* [Gender & sociology] Departement of the Czech Academy of Sciences: http://www.genderonline.cz/texty/EN_Main.html.

⁴⁰ The recently published monograph is a synthesis of social position of women in the Czech lands from the medieval period to the 20th Century: LENDEROVÁ, Milena – KOPIČKOVÁ, Božena – BUREŠOVÁ, Jana – MAUR, Eduard (eds.). *Žena v českých zemích od středověku do 20. století*. Praha : Lidové noviny 2010. The volume includes an overview of actual research and published works.

⁴¹ For the Early modern period see several works of D. Tinková, e.g.: TINKOVÁ, Daniela. *Tělo, věda a stát. Zrození porodnice v osvětské Evropě* [Body, Science and the State. The Birth of the maternity ward]. Praha : Argo, 2010; TINKOVÁ, Daniela. *Hřích, zločin, šílenství v čase odkouzlování světa* [Sin, crime and madness in the Age of Reason]. Praha : Argo, 2004; TINKOVÁ, Daniela. V zájmu “přirozenosti věcí”. Genderové identity, “bio-moc” a osvětská věda [Gender identities, „biopower“ and science in Enlightenment]. In *Práce z dějin vědy*, 6, 2003, 571-613; TINKOVÁ, Daniela. Ilegitimita a “nová ekonomie života” v osvětské Habsburské monarchii: problém svobodných matek a nemanželských dětí mezi sociální kontrolou a sociální péčí na prahu občanské společnosti [Illegitimate and “the new economy of life” in Habsburg monarchy in Enlightenment : Problem of single mothers and illegitimate children between the social control and social care]. In *Historická demografie*, 27, 2003, 133-172; TINKOVÁ, Daniela. Předcházet či trestat? Problém infanticidia v osvětské společnosti [Prevention or punishment? The problem of infanticide in the society of Enlightenment.]. In *Český časopis historický*, 101, 2003, 1, 27-76.

⁴² For history of gender and family mainly in the early modern period see works of A. Klášterská–Velková: VELKOVÁ, Alice. *Venkovské ženy 1650-1850. Perspektivy výzkumu s využitím historické demografie, historické antropologie a dějin každodennosti* [Peasant women 1650-1850. Research perspectives applying concepts of Historical demography, Historical anthropology and History of Everyday life]. In ČADKOVÁ,

der History⁴⁴.

Similarly to the Czech case, Women's History has advanced in Poland and Hungary⁴⁵. When compared to the recent unfavourable situation in Slovakia, I dare say this is true, despite of the criticism expressed by specialists on Gender Studies in these countries.

The cooperation between Slovak and Hungarian historians focusing on Women's History is essential, at least for the period of shared history in the Kingdom of Hungary until 1918. Tünde Lengyelová, focusing on gender identities in the early

K. – LENDEROVÁ, M. – STRÁNÍKOVÁ, J. (eds.) *Dějiny žen aneb, Footnote 4*, 125-144; VELKOVÁ, Alice. *Sebevědomé nebo zoufalé? Vdovy hospodařící na venkovských usedlostech v první polovině 19. století* [Self-confident or desperate? Widows managing peasant farms in the first half of the 19th Century]. In VOJÁČEK, Milan (ed.). *Reflexe a sebareflexe ženy v české národní elitě 2. poloviny 19. století*. Praha : Scriptorum, 2007; VELKOVÁ, Alice. *Nemanželské dítě ve venkovské společnosti na přelomu 18. a 19. století* [Illegitimate child in the peasant society at the turn of the 18th and 19th Centuries]. In JIRÁNEK, Tomáš – KUBEŠ, Jiří (eds.). *Dítě a dětsví napříč staletími*. Pardubice : Univerzita Pardubice, 2003, 205-227. For the later periods see works of Eduard Maur and Pavla Horská. More about marriage law and practices see: HALÍŘOVÁ, Martina (ed.). *Oznamuje se láskám vašim aneb svatby a svatební zvyky v českých zemích v průběhu staletí* [Weddings and weddings customs in the Czech lands trough the Centuries]. Pardubice 2008; BŮŽEK, Václav. *Muž, žena a děti v aristokratické rodině na prahu novověku* [Man, woman and children in aristocratic families on the beginn of early modern times]. In LENDEROVÁ, Milena a kol. *Eva nejen v ráji. Žena v Čechách od středověku do 19. století*. Praha : Karolinum, 2002, 45-66.

⁴³ See publications of M. Lenderová, in particular: LENDEROVÁ, Milena. *K hříchu i k modlitbě. Žena v minulém století* [For sin and praying as well. Woman in the previous Century]. Praha : Mladá fronta, 1999; LENDEROVÁ, Milena. *Chytla patrola aneb Prostituce za Rakouska i republiky* [Caught by the Patroll or Prostitution in times of Austria and Republic]. Praha : Karolinum, 2002; LENDEROVÁ, Milena. *Tragický bál. Život a smrt Pavliny ze Schwarzenbergu* [Tragic ball. Life and death of Pavlina von Schwarzenberg]. Praha – Litomyšl : Paseka, 2004; LENDEROVÁ, Milena. *Model mateřství - životadárný a životaschopný stereotyp* [Model of motherhood – a vivid stereotype]. In ŘEPA, Milan (eds.). *19. století v nás. Modely, instituce a reprezentace, které přetrvaly*. Praha : Historický ústav, 2008, 471-482. See also HANÁKOVÁ, Petra – HECZKOVÁ, Libuše – KALIVODOVÁ, Eva (eds.). *V bludném kruhu. Mateřství a vychovatelství jako paradoxy modernity* [Motherhood and preceptorship as paradoxies of modernity]. Praha : SLON, 2006; LENDEROVÁ, Milena. *Model mateřství - životadárný a životaschopný stereotyp* In: ŘEPA, Milan (eds.). *19. století v nás. Modely, instituce a reprezentace, které přetrvaly*. Praha : Historický ústav, 2008, 471-482.

⁴⁴ From recently published see especially: VOŠAHLÍKOVÁ, Pavla – MARTÍNEK, Jiří a kol. *Cesty k samostatnosti. Portréty žen v éře modernizace* [Pathways to independence. Women's portraits in the period of Modernisation]. Praha : Historický ústav AV ČR, 2010.

⁴⁵ Several publications since the 1970s were published, more intensive research on Women's /Gender History started after 1990. From publications focusing on the 19th and 20th centuries which are relevant for the wider (Central/East European) context see e.g. editions of sources: FÁBRI, Anna (ed.) *A nő és a hivatása. Szemelvények a magyarországi nőkérdés történetéből* [Woman and her predestination. Documents of women's question history] I. 1777-1865. II. 1866-1896. Budapest : Kortárs Kiadó 1999, 2006; further see e.g. BALOGH, Margit, S. – NAGY, Katalin (eds.). *Asszonyorsok a 20. században* [Women's lives in the 20th century]. Budapest : Budapesti Műszaki Egyetem, 2000; FÁBRI, Anna – VÁRKONYI, Gábor (eds.). *A nők világa. Művelődés és társadalomtörténeti tanulmányok*. Budapest : Argumentum, 2007; LÁCZAY, Magdolna (ed.). *Nők és férfiak..., avagy a nemek története* [Women and men... or gender history]. Nyíregyháza : Hajnal István kör, 2003; GYÁNI, Gábor – NAGY, Beáta. *Nők a modernizálódó magyar társadalomban* [Women in the Hungary in the process of modernisation]. Debrecen : Csokonai kiadó, 2006; BAKÓ, Boglárka – TÓTH, Eszter Zsófia (eds.). *Határtalan nők*. Budapest : Nyitott könyvmohely, 2008; PETŐ, Andrea. *Nőhistóriák : a politizáló magyar nők történetéből, 1945-1951*. Budapest : Seneca, 1998; PETŐ, Andrea. *Women in Hungarian politics, 1945-1951*. Boulder, Colo : East European Monographs, 2003; PETŐ, Andrea. *Geschlecht, Politik und Stalinismus in Ungarn : Eine Biographie von Júlia Rajk*. Herne : Gabriele Schäfer Verlag, 2007.

modern period, is leading the cooperation with the Hungarian colleagues⁴⁶. Research and publishing on Gender History at the Central European University in Budapest had an international focus from its very start⁴⁷. The intention to study gender relations in the wider context of Central and Eastern Europe is typical for the advanced Gender History in Germany and Austria⁴⁸. Several publications as a result of international cooperation, involving authors from Central and Eastern Europe, were published, organized by University of Vienna, and the journal and edition of book series

⁴⁶ From her recently published works see: LENGYELOVÁ, Tünde – VÁRKONYI, Gábor. *Báthory : život a smrt'* [Báthory: Life and Death]. Praha : Ottovo nakladatelství, 2009; LENGYELOVÁ, Tünde – VÁRKONYI, Gábor. *Báthory Erzsébet – Egy asszony élete* [Báthory: Life and Death]. Budapest : General Press Kiadó 2010; LENGYELOVÁ, Tünde. Az írástudatlantól a főispánig. Czoborszentmihályi Czobor Erzsébet. In FÁBRI, Anna – VÁRKONYI, Gábor (eds.). *A nők világa*. Budapest : Argumentum 2007, 139-159. LENGYELOVÁ, Tünde. The Social Status of Women in the History of Slovakia. In PISCOVÁ, Magdaléna (ed.). *Slovakia on the Way to Gender Equality*. Bratislava : ERPA - SÚ SAV 2006, 29-42 (fulltext see at: <http://www.sociologia.sav.sk/publikacie.php?id=1147>); LENGYELOVÁ, Tünde. Žena očami svetských a cirkevných autorov v Uhorsku v období raného novoveku [Woman in the works of civil and religious authors in the early modern Hungary.] In ČADKOVÁ, K. – LENDEROVÁ, M. – STRÁNÍKOVÁ, J. (eds.) *Dějiny žen*, Footnote 4, 469-484; LENGYELOVÁ, Tünde. Bosorky - špecifický druh zločinnosti žien v období raného novoveku [Witches – a specific kind of women's criminality in the Early modern period]. In: SOKOLOVSKÝ, Leon (ed.). *Kriminalita, bezpečnosť a súdnictvo v minulosti miest a obcí na Slovensku*. Bratislava: Univerzita Komenského, 2007, 174-187. Further publications of Lengyelová see at: http://www.history.sav.sk/cv/lengyelova_tunde.pdf.

⁴⁷ PETŐ, Andrea – PITTAWAY, Mark (eds.). *Women in history : women's history : Central and Eastern European perspectives*. Budapest : CEU, 1994. For a comparison of Austrian and Hungarian women's movement see the publications of S. Zimmermann, e.g. ZIMMERMANN, Susan. *Die bessere Hälfte? Frauenbewegungen und Frauenbestrebungen im Ungarn der Habsburgermonarchie 1848 bis 1918*. Wien – Budapest : Promedia Verlag - Napvilág Kiadó, 1999; ZIMMERMANN, Susan. Reich, Nation und Internationalismus. Kooperation und Konflikte der Frauenbewegungen der Habsburger Monarchie im Spannungsfeld internationaler Organisation und Politik. In HEINDL, Waltraud – KIRÁLY, Edit – MILLNER, Alexandra, (eds.). *Frauenbilder, feministische Praxis und nationales Bewusstsein in Österreich-Ungarn 1867-1918*. Tübingen: Francke, 2006, 119-167; ZIMMERMANN, Susan: Frauenbewegungen und Frauenbestrebungen im Königreich Ungarn. In: RUMPLER, Helmut – URBANITSCH, Peter (eds.): *Die Habsburgermonarchie 1848-1918. Band VIII./1. Politische Öffentlichkeit und Zivilgesellschaft. Vereine, Parteien und Interessenverbände als Träger der politischen Partizipation*. Wien : Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2006, 1359-1491; ZIMMERMANN, Susan. Wie sie Feministinnen wurden. Wege in die Frauenbewegung im Zentraleuropa der Jahrhundertwende. In: *L'Homme*, 8, 1997, 2, 272-306. From the newest publications see: HAAN, Francisca de – DASKALOVA, Krassimira - LOUTFI, Anna (eds.). *Biographical dictionary of women's movements and feminisms in Central, Eastern, and South Eastern Europe*. 19th and 20th centuries Budapest – New York 2006.

⁴⁸ Many publications are important for the comparative studies, e.g. HAUCH, Gabriella. *Vom Frauenstandpunkt aus. Frauen im Parlament 1919-1933*. Wien 1995; BISCHOF, Günter – PELINKA, Anton – THUMER, Erika (eds.): *Women in Austria*. New Brunswick – London 1998; GOOD, David F. – GRANDNER, Margarete – MAYNES, Mary Jo (eds.): *Austrian women in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Cross-Disciplinary Perspectives*. Providence 1996; WAKOUNIG, Marija (ed.). *Die gläserne Decke. Frauen in Ost-, Ostmittel- und Südosteuropa im 20. Jahrhundert*. Wien : Studienverlag, 2003; HEINDL, Waltraud – KIRÁLY, Edit – MILLNER, Alexandra (eds.). *Frauenbilder, feministische Praxis und nationales Bewusstsein in Österreich-Ungarn 1867-1914*, Tübingen – Basel : Francke, 2006; RUMPLER, Helmut – URBANITSCH, Peter (eds.): *Die Habsburgermonarchie 1848-1918. Band VIII./1. Politische Öffentlichkeit und Zivilgesellschaft. Vereine, Parteien und Interessenverbände als Träger der politischen Partizipation*. Wien : Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2006; GEHMACHER, Johanna – VITTORELLI, Natascha (eds.). *Wie Frauenbewegung geschrieben wird. Historiographie, Dokumentation, Stellungnahmen, Bibliographien*. Wien 2009. See also <http://www.onb.ac.at/ev/about/ariadne.htm>.

L'HOMME⁴⁹. Very useful international net - the Women's Studies Documentation Center *Ariadne* – is provided by National Library of Austria⁵⁰.

Important impulses come from the foreign specialist on Gender history, not being in the frame of the local historical stereotypes⁵¹, particularly those German historians, focusing of gender and Eastern Europe⁵².

Toward an optimistic view?

Despite the slow development of Gender History in Slovakia, we can find some positive aspects: we are dealing with new and valuable research. We can make use of the results and experience of our neighbours: we can more precisely consider specific features for our own development. The example of the ethnically and confessionally diverse area of Slovakia demonstrates the importance of the Central European context in research.

Slovak Historiography has faced many problems which are common in post-communist countries, including the weak position of Social History and Women's /Gender History. The continuous establishing of these two research fields is supported, on the one hand, by the freedom of academic research in Slovakia and, on the other, impeded both by the lack of an institutional base and the prevailing dominance of political history. Social scientists dealing with gender in Slovakia are familiar with the "gender trouble" in their specific disciplines, especially sociology, social anthropol-

⁴⁹ L'HOMME. Europäische Zeitschrift für Feministische Geschichtswissenschaft/European Journal of Feminist History: <http://www.univie.ac.at/Geschichte/LHOMME/cms/index.php?lang=en>.

⁵⁰ <http://www.onb.ac.at/ev/about/ariadne.htm>.

⁵¹ E.g. ZAHRA, Tara. *Kidnapped Souls: National Indifference and the Battle for Children in the Bohemian Lands, 1900-1948*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2008; FEINBER, Melissa. *Elusive Equality: Gender, Citizenship, and the Limits of Democracy in Czechoslovakia, 1918-1950*. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2006; HÜCHTKER, Dietlind. Rückständigkeit als Strategie oder Galizien als Zentrum europäischer Frauenpolitik. Beitrag zum Themenschwerpunkt "Europäische Geschichte - Geschlechtergeschichte". In *Themenportal Europäische Geschichte*, 2009, fulltext at: <http://www.europa.clio-online.de/2009/Article=402>. For Slovak history see RUDINSKY, Norma Leigh. *Incipient Feminists: Women Writers in the Slovak National Revival*. Columbus – Ohio : Slavica Publishers, 1991; WEBER, Nora: Gender and Class as Components of a National Efforts in Slovakia from 1848 until 1900. In *Historické štúdie*, 36, 1995, 69-35; WEBER, Nora: Feminism, Patriarchy, Nationalism and Women in Fin-de-Siècle Slovakia. In *Nationalities Papers*, 25, 1997, 1, 35-66.

⁵² See activities and publications of the German Institute of History (Deutsche Historische Institut) in Warsaw: KEMLEIN, Sophia (ed.). *Geschlecht und Nationalismus in Mittel- und Osteuropa 1848-1918*. Osnabrück, Fibre, 2000; STEGMANN, Natali. *Die Töchter der geschlagenen Helden. „Frauenfrage“, Feminismus und Frauenbewegung in Polen, 1863-1919*. Wiesbaden (Quellen und Studien des Deutschen Historischen Instituts Warschau 11), 2000; GEHMACHER, Johanna – HARVEY, Elizabeth – KEMLEIN, Sophia (eds.). *Zwischen Kriegen. Nationen, Nationalismen und Geschlechterverhältnisse in Mittel- und Osteuropa 1918-1939*. Osnabrück, Fibre, 2004; further see: *Frauen und Nation*. Tübingen : Frauen & Geschichte Baden-Württemberg, 1996; ZETTELBAUER, Heidrun. *„Die Liebe sei Euer Heldentum“*. *Geschlecht und Nation in völkischen Vereinen der Habsburgermonarchie*. Frankfurt; New York : Campus Verlag, 2005; KRAFT, Claudia (ed.). *Geschlechterbeziehungen in Ostmitteleuropa nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg. Soziale Praxis und Konstruktionen von Geschlechterbildern*. Vorträge der Tagung des Collegium Carolinum in Bad Wiesee vom 17. bis 20. November 2005. München : R. Oldenbourg, 2008.

ogy⁵³, philosophy, history of literature, feminist art history etc. For historiography, only a handful of historians appreciate gender as a relevant and productive instrument of historical analysis, which can result in a new perspective in exploration of important phenomena and processes (e.g. modernisation, democratisation, power and regimes, nationalism, social hierarchies and collective identities etc.).

Recent research focuses on important aspects of gender identities⁵⁴ and gender hierarchies in specific historical contexts⁵⁵, in legal⁵⁶ and social status⁵⁷, shifts in public discourse related to gender stereotypes and gender order in respect to specific regimes⁵⁸, as well the fundamental problems of women's emancipation⁵⁹ and women's

⁵³ BOTIKOVÁ, Marta – HERZÁNOVÁ, Lubica (eds.). *Nové perspektívy v sociálnych vedách a historická antropológia* [New perspectives in the Social sciences and the Historical anthropology]. Bratislava 2003; BOTÍKOVÁ, Marta – HERZÁNOVÁ, Lubica – BOBÁKOVÁ, Miroslava (eds.). *Neroľnícka rodina na Slovensku* [The nonfarmer family in the Slovakia]. Bratislava : Prebudená pieseň 2007.

⁵⁴ For masculinity see: MANNOVÁ, Elena. „Mužský svet.“ Spolky a armáda v 19. storočí [“World of men” – Army and associations in the 19th Century]. In SEGEŠ, Vladimír – SEĎOVÁ, Božena (eds.). *Miles Semper Honestus. Zborník štúdií vydaný pri príležitosti životného jubilea Vojtecha Dangla*. Bratislava : Vojenský historický ústav, 2007, 117-123.

⁵⁵ MIKULOVÁ, Marcela. Ženy a národ na prelome 19. a 20. storočia [Women and nation on the turn of the 19th and the 20th Centuries]. In CVIKOVÁ, Jana – JURÁŇOVÁ, Jana (eds.). *Hlasy žien. Aspekty ženskej politiky*. Bratislava 2002, 166-175; VRZGULOVÁ, Monika. Aj v sukni sa dá bežať tak rýchlo, že predbehnete dobu. (Seriál portrétov žien) [Series of women's biographies]. In VRZGULA, Monika. *Príručka vlastenectva pre začiatovníkov a pokročilé*. Bratislava : MONMART 2007, 168-204; Dubovský, Patrik : Akcia R (R1-R7) – likvidácia ženských kláštorov na Slovensku v rokoch 1950-1952 [Aktion R – Dissolution of women's convents in Slovakia, 1950-1952]. In *Pamäť národa*, 2005, 3, 73-78.

⁵⁶ DUDEKOVÁ, Gabriela. Právne postavenie ženy v 19. storočí. Hranice a limity [Legal status of woman in the 19th Century. Limits and boundaries]. In: DARULOVÁ, Jolana – KOŠTIALOVÁ, Katarína (eds.). *Sféry ženy. Sociológia, etnológia, história*. Banská Bystrica : Fakulta humanitných vied Univerzity Mateja Bela - Sociologický ústav Akadémie vied Českej republiky, 2004, 377-390.

⁵⁷ VRZGULOVÁ, Monika. Frauen der Mittelschichten und ihre Aktivitäten im öffentlichen Raum der Stadt 1918–1945. In MANNOVÁ, Elena. Bürgertum und bürgerliche Gesellschaft in der Slowakei 1900-1989. Bratislava : AEP, 1997, 223-231; VRZGULOVÁ, Monika. The Family of the Tradesman and the Position of Women in the First Half of the 20th Century. In *Slovenský národopis*, 49, 2001, 419-426; FALISOVÁ, Anna. Ženy v zdravotníctve so zameraním na ošetrovatelstvo(1918-1938)[Women in the Health Care in Slovakia: Nurses, 1918-1938]. In *Čas*, 9, 2006, 4, fulltext at: <http://www.saske.sk/cas/4-2006/index.html>; ŠÍMOVÁ, Danica - FORDINÁLOVÁ, Eva – ŠTVRTECKÁ, Anna. From Husband's Household to National Activity. The Ambivalent Position of Slovak Women. In HOERDER, Dirk - BLANK, Inge (eds.). *Roots of the Transplanted. I. Late 19th Century East Central Europe and Southeastern Europe*. New York: Columbia UP, 1994, 341-358; DOBROTKOVÁ, Marta. Úloha a postavenie slovenských žien v USA na konci 19. a začiatku 20. storočia na príklade osobnosti Pauly Novomeskej [Goals and status of Slovak women in US on the turn of the 19th and the 20th Centuries]. In *Studia Historica Tyrnaviensia*, 4, 2004, 175-181; FRANCOVÁ, Zuzana – GRAJCIAROVÁ, Želmíra – HERUCOVÁ, Marta. Ženy v Bratislavskom umeleckom spolku [Women of the Bratislava's Arts Association]. In *Pamiatky a múzeá*, 2007, 1, 24-28; ĎURANOVÁ, Ludmila – ŠOURKOVÁ, Anna – TÁBORECKÁ, Alena (eds.). *Lexikón slovenských žien* [Biographical dictionary of Slovak women]. Martin : Slovenská národná knižnica – Národný biografický ústav, 2003; MACHO, Peter. Jozefína Marečková alias Puella Classica (1880-1953). Osudy zabudnutej spisovateľky [Jozefína Marečková alias Puella Classica. A Forgotten Writer]. In *Čas*, 9, 2006, 4, fulltext at: <http://www.saske.sk/cas/4-2006/index.html>.

⁵⁸ KAČÍREK, Luboš. Vnímanie emancipácie žien v slovenskej spoločnosti v 60. a 70. rokoch 19. storočia [Perception of women's emancipation in the Slovak society in the 1860s and 1870s]. In DARULOVÁ, J – KOŠTIALOVÁ, K (eds.). *Sféry ženy. Sociológia, etnológia, história*, Footnote 53, 391-401; HOLLÝ, Karol. Kauza "Olga Rubešová". Názory na emancipáciu žien v publicistickej diskusii k divadelnej hre [The case of Drama „Olga Rubešová“. A debate on women's emancipation in the Slovak journals at the beginning of the 20th Century]. In CVIKOVÁ, J – JURÁŇOVÁ, J – KOBOVÁ, Ľ (eds.). *Histórie žien*, Footnote 34, 240-272;

movement⁶⁰. Though the quality and methodology varies, the completion of the

ZAVACKÁ, Katarína. „Vladárstvo v rodine“. Politika Slovenského štátu voči ženám [Governance in the family. Gender politics of regimes in Slovak Republic, 1939-1945]. In CVIKOVÁ, J – JURÁŇOVÁ, J – KOBOVÁ, L (eds.). *Histórie žien*, Footnote 34, 307-316; ŠALINGOVÁ, Andrea. Die Konstruktion geplanter Elternschaft in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland und in der Slowakischen Sozialistischen Republik in den 1970er Jahren. In KRAFT, Claudia (ed.). *Geschlechterbeziehungen in Ostmitteleuropa nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg*, Footnote 49, 217-229.

⁵⁹ On gender and education see: KODAJOVÁ, Daniela. Vzdelávanie dievčat – možnosti a limity uplatnenia v spoločnosti pred rokom 1918 [Educations of girls – opportunities and limits in their accomplishment in society before 1918]. In ČADKOVÁ, K. – LENDEROVÁ, M. – STRÁŇIKOVÁ, J. (eds.): *Dějiny žen*, Footnote 4, 291-302; KODAJOVÁ, Daniela. Vyššie vzdelávanie dievčat na Slovensku v 19. storočí [Higher educations for women in Slovakia during the 19th Century]. In *ČaS*, 9, 2006, 4, fulltext at: <http://www.saske.sk/cas/4-2006/index.html>; KODAJOVÁ, Daniela. „Učenia v škole bolo mi skôr primálo.“ Vzdelávanie dievčat v rodinách slovenských národovcov [„There was not enough learning for me“. Women’s education in the Slovak elite families during the 19th Century]. In CVIKOVÁ, J. – JURÁŇOVÁ, J. – KOBOVÁ, L. (eds.): *Histórie žien*, Footnote 34, 211-224; KODAJOVÁ, Daniela. Vzdelávanie dievčat na Slovensku a prvé učiteľky [Women’s education and the first professional women’s teachers in Slovakia]. In *Dejiny školstva a pedagogiky na Slovensku : zborník z konferencie konanej dňa 28. 11. 2007 v Bratislave*. [Bratislava] : Ústav informácií a prognóz školstva, 2008, 170-182; FALISOVÁ, Anna. Vzdelávanie žien pre pôrodnícku prax [Education of women in obstetrics](1918-1938). In *Zborník príspevkov z 8. medzinárodného sympózia o dejinách medicíny, farmácie a veterinárnej medicíny*. Martin : Jesseniova lekárska fakulta UK - Bratislava : Ústav ošetrovateľstva, 2007, 37-42; HOLLÝ, Karol. K niektorým problémom ženskej vzdelanosti na Slovensku na prelome 19. a 20. storočia [Some aspects of women’s education in Slovakia on the turn of the 19th and the 20th Centuries], under review. For emancipation see: Cviková, Jana. "Sinnlose" und "sinnvolle" Emanzipation. Über die Entstehung des feministischen Bewusstseins in der Slowakei. In HEINDL, W. – KIRÁLY, E. – MILLNER, A. (eds.). *Frauenbilder*, Footnote 47, 209-218. For women’s suffrage see: KOBOVÁ, Lubica. Načo je (komu) volebné právo? Jeden z príbehov volebného práva žien na Slovensku [What for (and for whom) is the suffrage? One of the female suffrage stories in Slovakia]. In CVIKOVÁ, J. – JURÁŇOVÁ, J. – KOBOVÁ, L. (eds.). *Histórie žien*, Footnote 34, 273-291; KOBOVÁ, Lubica. The Contexts of National and Gender Belongings in the History of Female Suffrage in Slovakia. In RUIZ, Blanca Rodriguez – RUBIO, Ruth (eds.) *Female Suffrage in Europe*. Leiden – Boston : Brill Publishers, under review; HOLLÝ, Karol. Volebné právo pre ženy na stránkach slovenskej tlače roku 1913. Reflexia kongresov ženských organizácií v Prahe a v Budapešti [Female suffrage in the Slovak press in 1913. Reflection of the Congresses of women’s organisations in Prague and Budapest]. In *Ružomberský historický zborník II.*, 2008, 133-144.

⁶⁰ MANNOVÁ, Elena. Charitable Societies and the Construction of Collective Identities. In MANNOVÁ, Elena – CSÁKY, Moritz (eds.). *Collective Identities in Central Europe in Modern Times*. Bratislava : Academic Electronic Press, 1999, 197-216; MANNOVÁ, Elena. Verejnosť versus rodinný krb? Ženy v spolkoch na Slovensku v 19. storočí [Public vs. Family Fireplace? Women in Voluntary Associations in Slovakia in 19th Century]. In *ČaS*, 9, 2006, 4, fulltext at: <http://www.saske.sk/cas/4-2006/index.html>; MANNOVÁ, Elena. Stowarzyszenia kobiece i „społeczności cząstkowe“ w przestrzeni wielokulturowej (na przykładzie XIX-wiecznej Słowacji) [Women’s associations in the multicultural Slovakia in the 19th Century]. In JANIÁK-JASIŇSKA, A. – SIERAKOWSKA, K. – SWARC, A. (eds.). *Działaczki społeczne, feministki, obywatelki... Samoorganizowanie się kobiet na ziemiach polskich do 1918 roku*, Footnote 6, 131-146; HOLLÝ, Karol. Ženský a chlápky svet. Prvý slovenský časopis pre ženy ako ideologický konflikt [Worlds of women and men. The first Slovak journal for women as a conflict of ideologies]. In BYSTRICKÝ, Valerián – ROGULOVÁ, Jaroslava (eds.). *Storočie škandálov. Aféry v moderných dejinách Slovenska*. Bratislava : Spoločnosť Pro Historia, 2008, 35-42; KODAJOVÁ, Daniela. Stowarzyszenie Kobiet Słowackich Żivena [Živena - Association of Slovak women]. In JANIÁK-JASIŇSKA, A. – SIERAKOWSKA, K. – SWARC, A. (eds.). *Działaczki społeczne, feministki, obywatelki... Samoorganizowanie się kobiet na ziemiach polskich do 1918 roku*, Footnote 6, 477-487; DUDEKOVÁ, Gabriela. Emancipácia a ženské hnutie na Slovensku - nové možnosti a perspektívy [Emancipation and women’s movement in Hungary – outcomes of the recent research and the options for the future]. In *ČaS*, 9, 2006, 4, fulltext at: <http://www.saske.sk/cas/4-2006/Dudekova.html>; DUDEKOVÁ, Gabriela. Międzynarodowa działalność kobiet w Austro-Węgrzech i VII Kongres Międzynarodowego Stowarzyszenia na Rzecz Praw Wyborczych Kobiet w Budapeszcie w 1913 r. [International activities of

knowledge base is in progress⁶¹.

The first steps of international cooperation in Central and Eastern European countries have already been made, offering ample opportunities. In addition to those above mentioned, there are several international networks, for example the International Federation for Research in Women's History (IFRWH)⁶², of which Slovakia became a member⁶³.

Where "the specifics" begin and end

In Central and Eastern Europe, being less industrialised than the West, important differences to the "Western model" are recognized; for example the level of women's employment: the proportion of women in crafts, trade and home manufacturing was much higher than previously assumed. In spite of the dominant patriarchal system and authority in the family, widows had a significant power of decision making in regard to their families. Also, married women had similar status in rural regions because the husbands' migration to find employment. Similarly, there was a shift of authority from the husband to the wife because of the of husband's service in the World War I. But as new research has shown, the main breakthrough in the political position of women during and after the War was not just the high level of women's employment in the industry, but the fact that woman's work, seeing as work towards the welfare of the homeland, was appreciated as an equivalent of soldiering. Paid work of women during the War was considered a temporary matter, from the points of view of both women and men. The Great War caused crucial factors for the "gender order": breaking of the stereotypes regarding the role of women in society, the widening of access to education hence to the well-paid jobs for women, and democratisation and

women's movement in Austria-Hungary and the Seventh Congress of IWSA in Budapest (1913)]. In JANIÁK-JASIŇSKÁ, A. – SIERAKOWSKA, K. – SWARC, A. (eds.). *Działaczki społeczne, feministki, obywatelki... Samoorganizowanie się kobiet na ziemiach polskich do 1918 roku*, Footnote 6, 147-169; DUDEKOVÁ, Gabriela. Radikálky alebo konzervatívky? Nové výskumy v oblasti dejín ženského hnutia na Slovensku [Radical or conservative? Recent research on women's movement history in Slovakia]. In ČADKOVÁ, K. – LENDEROVÁ, M. – STRÁNÍKOVÁ, J. (eds.) *Dějiny žen*, Footnote 4, 145-158; HOLLÝ, Karol. Genéza Dennice, prvého ženského časopisu na Slovensku [Genesis of the first Slovak women's journal Dennica]. In *Aspekt*, 10, 2003/2004, 1, 62-71; HOLLÝ, Karol. Česko-slovenské vzťahy a „ženská otázka“ na prelome 19. a 20. storočia [Czech-Slovak relations and the "women's question" on the turn of the 19th and the 20th Centuries]. In ČADKOVÁ, K. – LENDEROVÁ, M. – STRÁNÍKOVÁ, J. (eds.) *Dějiny žen*, Footnote 4, 335-356; RUSKOVÁ, Mária. Spoločenské aktivity banskobystrických žien v 20-tych rokoch 20. storočia [Social activities of women in Banská Bystrica in the 1920s]. In NAGY, Imrich - GRAUS, Igor. *Minulosť a prítomnosť Banskej Bystrice*. Zv. 2. Brno : Katedra histórie FHV UMB - Štátna vedecká knižnica 2006, 103-114; RUSKOVÁ, Mária. "Ženská otázka" v zrkadle politiky i mimo nej. Aktivity banskobystrických žien na poli sociálnom a politickom v 20. rokoch 20. storočia ["Women's question" inside and outside of politics. Women's social and political activities in Banská Bystrica in the 1920s]. In *AUPO Historica*, 34, 2008, 75-85; DOBROTKOVÁ, Marta. Živena v Spojených štátoch amerických [The Živena Association in the United States of America] (1891-1918). In *Historický zborník*, 14, 2004, 1, 30-39.

⁶¹ Further publications see in the database in Footnote 25.

⁶² <http://www.ifrwh.com/>.

⁶³ The actual President of the National Committee of IFRWH in Slovakia, Dr. Tünde Lengyelová (Institute of History, Slovak Academy of Sciences), took part in the IFRWH Conference *Gender and the Cultural Production of Knowledge* in August 2007 in Sofia and organized the foundation of the National Comitee.

secularisation of social life in the new post-war regimes⁶⁴. Analysis of women's legal status in family and marital law (e.g. in Hungary before 1918) uncovered the following paradox: women in the lowest peasant classes enjoyed more rights than women from middle bourgeois strata in Hungary, because of the inheritance law. From the second half of the 19th century, women from formerly serf families achieved a legal status of equal beneficiary in regard to inheritance of property in Hungary.

Gender idyll and dual oppression – myth or facts?

The connection between gender order and nationalism is significant for the development of Central and Eastern Europe. Nationalism promoted and intensified the democratization and emancipation of the ethnic minorities and greatly influenced women's emancipation. Since the 19th century, woman's status as a national symbol in the sense of "Mother-Patria" turned into an active phase of "raising the nation"; this important goal of women in the national ideology was an argument for their access to education and public sphere. This development is common for the entire region, including the multi-ethnic Habsburg monarchy and the Ottoman empire, especially for the non-dominant nations (e.g. Polish, Czech, Slovaks etc.), but also for the ruling nations (Austrian Germans and Magyars). On the other hand, the ideology of nationalism simultaneously outlined the boundaries of women's emancipation: it adopted the bourgeois patriarchal model of the family and insisted on its preservation. The interface of gender and nationalism needs a reevaluation because of overestimation of favourable women's position in non-dominant nations in the Habsburg monarchy, especially the Czech and Polish.

Jitka Malečková and Hana Havelková⁶⁵ speak about the *myth of gender harmony*⁶⁶ or the *myth of gender idyll*⁶⁷, which has to be re-evaluated in the analysis of gender order in the 19th and 20th Centuries. Appreciated as a positive characteristic feature of the Czech society, this myth was present both in the ideology of the Czech national movement and the first writings about the Gender- and women's movement

⁶⁴ For more information about the influence of World War I on family, social position of women, and new research in this context, see: DUDEKOVÁ, Gabriela. Stratégie prežitia v mimoriadnej situácii. Vplyv Veľkej vojny na rodinu na území Slovenska. [Survival strategies in an extraordinary situation. Influence of the Great War on the family in Slovakia]. In Forum Historiae, 3, 2009, 1, http://www.forumhistoriae.sk/FH1_2009/texty_1_2009/dudekova.pdf.

⁶⁵ The Czech sociologist and expert on Gender Studies H. Havelková was first who has initiated the debate on Gender and the concept of privat and public spheres in Czechoslovakia since the 1990s. See: HAVELKOVÁ, Hana. Dimenze „gender“ ve vztahu soukromé a veřejné sféry [The Gender Dimension of the Relationship Between Private and Public]. In Sociologický časopis, 31, 1995, 1, 27-38; HAVELKOVÁ, Hana: Ignored But Assumed. Family and Gender between Public and Private Realm. In Czech Sociological Review, 4, 1996, 1, 63-79, fulltext at: http://sreview.soc.cas.cz/uploads/31daaf089cbc1160a06f0adc655f19bae4cf7130_454_063HAVEL.pdf.

⁶⁶ See also MALEČKOVÁ, Jitka. Nationalizing Women and Engendering the Nation : the Czech national Movement. In BLOM, Ida – HAGEMANN, Karen – HALL, Catherine (eds.). Gendered Nations : Nationalism and Gender Order in the Long Nineteenth Century. Oxford – New York : Berg, 2000, 293-310.

⁶⁷ HAVELKOVÁ, Hana. Konec idyly? Možné konceptualizácie postavení žen v moderní české historii [The end of an Idyll? Possible conceptualisations of women's position in the modern Czech history]. In CVIKOVÁ, Jana – JURÁŇOVÁ, Jana – KOBOVÁ, Lubica (eds.). História žien. Aspekty písania a čítania [Histories of Women : Aspects of writing and reading]. Bratislava : ASPEKT, 2007, 72-79.

history. Many historians dealing with women and nation in the Central- and East-European countries, especially in those multinational Empires, point out the important and high valued position of women in the societies, struggling for national independence. Analysing almost exclusively the contemporary public discourse– but not the real social status of women in particular historical context, e.g. their legal status in the family law – many writing repeat the exclusive position of women in those societies. There is often no place for analysis of rift between gender equality as a proclaimed principle in ideology and social reality, even not for critical discourse analysis; which could bring new conclusions about the real limits of gender equality not only in the regimes until 1945, but also for those communist.

In her comparative study on the image of women in nationalism, based on analysis of national discourses in the Ottoman Empire and Czech lands (as well as those Nations “on the margins of Europe”), Jitka Malečková points out that women played a key role in the national ideology: “The representatives of these societies faced problems similar to those of Ottoman-Turkish intellectuals, i.e. an awareness that their nation lagged behind the most developed countries and was considered excluded from their ‘civilization’.” She provides a critical evaluation of this high valued position of women: The stereotypes of an ideal woman, i.e. of expectation of their behaviour, were “important part of the self-image of the nation” and “were incorporated into the newly constructed national history.” She partly agreed with the repeated conclusions about the favourable situation of women in the nations struggling for independence: “Discourses on women at the margins of Europe, and above all calls for their participation in national movements, had the potential to create a more favourable atmosphere for women’s public activities than was common in Western Europe.” This is her principal argument: “Although this had a little direct or immediate impact on the everyday conditions of women’s lives, the tradition of debates on women and nation was later to be reflected in ideas about the social organization in the new national states.” She concludes, that the “marginality [of East in face of the West] seems to have made gender a more important issue” in the Eastern Europe.⁶⁸

Czech sociologist Hana Havelková, focusing on changes in gender order in the 19th and 20th centuries, sees the difference between Western and Eastern societies as a result of self-image the nation in connection to the women’s position. Compared to Europe’s dominating nations, the leaders of national liberation movements demonstrated “that the certain kind of gender equality had been traditionally part of the national character” to show the progressiveness and their “proper place” in Europe. According Havelková, this created a specific kind of negotiation between male national leaders and women’s movements, comparing to the Western Europe, which resulted into certain improvement in the social status of women. Simultaneously, the limits of these favourable conditions for women were significant: “another part of the intellectual elite and national leaders was in turn putting emphasis on the moral superiority of women as safeguards of conservative traditional values in their respective countries as compared to those in Western countries.” A mixture of progressivism and conservativ-

⁶⁸ MALEČKOVÁ, Jitka. Úrodná půda. Žena ve službách národa [Fertile Soil : Women serve the Nation]. Praha : ISV, 2002, 239-242.

ism was the result of gender politics⁶⁹.

Not only the national self-image, but another important point has to be taken in account for the comparative research on women's history: the way memory is created about the history of women's emancipation. Even though the first drafts of the history of women's movement and emancipation in Central Europe originate in the period before World War I, the collective memory was created only after the war. The first works were influenced by the interwar period. The main aim of memoirs and historical works from that period was to establish the identity and the positive image of the new states that arose from the ruins of the Habsburg monarchy, and to disavow from the "old" and support the "new" state identity⁷⁰. That is why the history of women's movements in the Central European states is woven from narratives about the fight for national liberation. The role of women had its merit in the creation of the national state. Each individual national history tends to ignore other ethnics groups and/or minorities (for example Jews). This is meant by the *dual oppression* of women: national and gender-based.

It is mainly experts from the "West" who point out another important aspect of finding and upholding an adequate place of gender history within mainstream historiography: its being imprisoned in the national narratives of the particular "own" national historiography. This aspect is often ignored by Eastern European historians.

The comparison of historical works about women's emancipation in the countries of the former Habsburg monarchy illustrates that many of them are still being written in the context of building the nation and the national state. Some of them speak of the *dual oppression* of women in the Habsburg monarchy: a national and a gender-based discrimination occurring during the "struggle for the nation". The problem is that even many new historical works cannot cross the barrier of this argumentation. They are still under the influence of the interwar period's perception how history of women's emancipation was created. This gives the wrong impression that we are dealing with totally independent women's movements and stories of women's emancipation (Slovak, Hungarian, Czech, Polish, etc...), e. g. without any contacts among themselves, although sharing common territory and problems. This creates a need to re-evaluate these writings and consider them as a means of memory creation, a part of discourse with a need for a critical approach.

Comparative research of women's emancipation has to be done – in my opinion – outside the narrative of "national oppression". Only outside this framework can we find answers to the question, why the ideas of feminism and women's equality in everyday life were always subordinate to current political interests: the struggle for the

⁶⁹ From national icons to superwomen: Gender and social change from pre-communism to post-communism. In *Waste of talents: turning private struggles into a public issue. Women and Science in the Enwise countries. A report to the European Commission from the Enwise Expert Group on women scientists in the Central and Eastern European countries and in the Baltic States*. Luxembourg : Office for Official Publications of the European Communities, 2003, pp. 16-31, here 20; fulltext at: http://ec.europa.eu/research/science-society/women/enwise/pdf/enwise-report_3.pdf.

⁷⁰ More see in DUDEKOVÁ, Gabriela. *Frauenbewegung in der Slowakei bis 1918 : Bibliographie und Kommentar*. In GEHMACHER, Johanna – VITTORELLI, Natascha (eds.). *Wie Frauenbewegung geschrieben wird : Historiographie Dokumentation Stellungnahmen Bibliographien*. – Wien : Erhard Locker, 2009, 329-349.

nation, later the political regime in the name of the “public good”, the “highest purpose”. Following women’s emancipation process during modernization, both in discourse and social reality, we can observe some fixed points, which paradoxically last until today. Most important are: 1. the repeating gender-based stereotypes; 2. the constant adaptation of gender stereotypes for specific ideology, especially women’s images, 3. framing the women’s emancipation into the area of so called “public good/higher principle”. Limits of women’s emancipation were, until the first half of the 20th century, defined almost exclusively by men, while the definition of the “public good” itself was always adapted to the new historical situation. The concept of public good stems from the Enlightenment, which claimed for right equality of all citizens. Access to the public sphere thus opened to women under the condition that they work for the Public good and keep their position supporting men’s activities and aspirations. Only those women who respected the roles, hierarchies and values defined by men, were accepted and integrated into the position of co-worker, men’s companion.

It is valuable to apply this concept also for communist ideology and practise. Havelková characterizes gender order in communists regimes in the countries of Central and Eastern Europe as an „modernisation without liberation“, while the state policy towards women was aimed to create an employment model specific to communist regimes: the working mother, protected by state (system of child-care etc.), but being under the *double burden / double shift* (paid work versus unpaid household and child-care duties). Despite of declarations of gender equality in the ideology by propaganda, power elites’ policies towards women were self-contradictory and resulted to an irony (in spite of struggling with the bourgeois legacy): communist regimes established set of achievements, „which for the second wave women’s movemet was fighting for in the 1960s and 1970 in *bourgeois* countries.“ The other side of the irony was the attitude of the opposition against the regime: often linked to a church, dissent groups (both men and women) promoted conservatism and idealisation of traditional values of the *bourgeois* gender model. Havelková points out the more complex changes under communist regimes: sociological data show a real improvement of women’s social status during communism, especially the young generation, using the advantages of access to education and more qualified jobs. Despite of this, “the horizontal and vertical segregation between the two sexes were not lessening, but rather deepening”. In regard to “glass ceiling” the important difference is notable between Western and Eastern countries – in communist regimes there was no reflected by women⁷¹. Evaluating the women’s emancipation in communist era, feminist philosophers Kiczková and Farkašová prove, that “socialist conception of emancipation was an androgynous one” while “the male value system, male thought patterns, and male ways of action became the pattern for the whole social structure”; the principle of formal equality meant for women adapting to the existing male model.⁷²

⁷¹ From national icons to superwomen, Footnote 65, 24-25.

⁷² KICZKOVÁ, Zuzana – FARKAŠOVÁ, Etela. The Emancipation of Women: A Concept that Failed. In FUNK, Nanette – MUELLER, Magda (eds.). *Gender Politics and Post-Communism: Reflections from Eastern Europe and the Former Soviet Union*. New York – London : Routledge, 1993, 84–94. Fulltext at: http://genderstudies.fphil.uniba.sk/files/pub/emancipation_of_women.doc. See also: FODOR, Éva. Smiling

Only by taking into account all three dimensions of gender-based identities we can understand the social reality: gender norms, everyday life conditions and self-identification of persons/groups. Then, we can discover the reasons, why the deep rift between equality as a political principle and equality as a social practice remains, even after the principles of gender equality were embedded into the Constitutions⁷³, and why the gender-related stereotypes are so resistant. Another important issue remains how the competition between women and men started: when women became rivals in getting highly qualified, socially prestigious, and well paid jobs.

It seems, Eastern European historians have their “own problems” without achieving new methodological impulses. They still struggle for the acknowledgement of Gender History, and many of them have already given up. The reason for evaluating this field as a necessary part of research is its existence in the “West”. The starting point was an attempt of colleagues from abroad to find research partners in the countries of the “East”. We must learn to crawl before we can walk. Women’s /Gender History in Slovakia has a weak personal and institutional basis; we experience conservatism in our environment, in the sense of both and ethno-centric conception of history and anti-feminism. We cannot simply skip early stages of development. We can, however, consider new methods and present our own perspective, maybe a new dimension to international research. The ethnical and confessional diversity of Slovakia and the transformation of the Slovak nation from a non-dominant ethnic group to a nation state during the 20th century prove the necessity to leave the traditional path of history as a “narrative about the building of the nation”. Then we have to ask what we had and have in common, and discover the specific and universal features of gender history in Central and Eastern Europe.

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⁷³ Comparative research on the gender-based differences in the legal status in the family law is valuable, see:

GERHARD, Ute (ed.). *Frauen in der Geschichte des Rechts. Von der Frühen Neuzeit bis zur Gegenwart*. München 1997; MEDER, Stephan – DUNCKER, Arne – CZELK, Andrea (eds.). *Frauenrecht und Rechtsgeschichte. Die Rechtskämpfe der deutschen Frauenbewegung*. Köln – Weimar – Wien : Böhlau, 2006; LOUTFI, Anna. *Hungarian family law and the struggle for gender order, 1848-1913*. CEU PhD Thesis. Budapest 2006. HAVELKOVÁ, Barbara. Genderová rovnost v období socialismu [Gender equality in the socialist era]. In BOBEK, M. – MOLEK, P. – ŠIMŮNEK, V. (eds.). *Komunistické právo v Československu. Kapitoly z dějin bezpráví*. Brno: Mezinárodní politologický ústav – Masarykova univerzita, 2009, 179-206, fulltext at:

http://www.komunistickepravo.cz/kapitoly/07_179-207_komunistickepravo-cz_Havelkova_Gender.pdf.

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