2023
Vol. 3
No. 1

Historical Studies on Central Europe

HSCE | Historical Studies on Central Europe

Eötvös Loránd University
Faculty of Humanities

HSCE | Historical Studies on Central Europe

Published by Eötvös Loránd University

PROOFREADERS: Simon J. Milton, Eszter Timár
TYPESETTING: Gábor Váczi

Source of the background image: http://mek.niif.hu/00800/00893/html/img/nagy/1761.jpg

Historical Studies on Central Europe 2023
Vol. 3
No. 1

Content

Research Articles

Ethnogenesis at the Balkans II

Danijel Džino
Early Medieval Serbs in the Balkans: Reconsideration of the Evidence 4

Tsvetelin Stepanov
Turkic, Roman, or Iranian? The Institution of the Six Great Boilades in Early Medieval Bulgaria 26

Politics of Memory in the Middle Ages

Jakub Jauernig and Barbora Uchytilová
Surrounded by Ancestors: Depiction of Luxembourg and Plantagenet Genealogies in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries 42

Vojtěch Bažant
Nationalism in the Second Redaction of the Verse Chronicle by the So-Called Dalimil 80

Family Business and Economic Nationalism

Roman Holec
The "Slovak Buddenbrooks": Three Generations of the Makovický (1850–1945) and Pálka Family (1850–1921) from the Perspective of Economic Nationalism 103

Ivan Smiljanić
"Erased from the Face of God": Slovene Economic Nationalism in Press Reports on A. Kajfež & Co. in Kočevje 122

Recent Studies on Central Europe

Boldizsár Vörös
Children's War Games and Toys in Hungary, 1914–1918 144

Reflection on the Craft

Being a Historian of Central Europe: The Survey of HSCE
A Response from Professor Pieter M. Judson 163

Stefan Troebst
"On Trying to be a Historian of Eastern Europe." An Interim Review
Heavy with Wanderings 167

Current Research

Balázs Ablonczy and Gergely Romsics
Towards a New—and Broader—History of Hungary's Troubled
Peacemaking: A Research Report on the Trianon 100 Research Group 197

Book Reviews

On the Historical Concepts of Jenő Szűcs

Gábor Gyáni
What is the Intellectual Heritage of Szűcs? On the Apropos of His Newly
Published Collected Works 213

Gabriella Erdélyi
Some Reflections on the Uses of the Construction of National Consciousness 216

László Kontler
Theoretical Elements in Jenő Szűcs's Historical Scholarship 220

Guido Franzinetti
Szűcs's Challenge 224

Drahoslav Magdoško
Civitas nostra Bardfa vocata. Správa mesta Bardejov v stredoveku (1320–1526)
[Civitas nostra Bardfa vocata. The Administration of the Town of Bardejov
in the Middle Ages (1320–1526)]. By Mária Fedorčáková. 234

Katalin Szende
Biographies of a Reformation. Religious Change and Confessional
Coexistence in Upper Lusatia, c. 1520–1635. By Martin Christ. 238

László Pilikta
Jezsuiták Nyugat-Magyarországon a 17. században. A pozsonyi, győri és soproni kollégiumok [Jesuits in Western Hungary in the Seventeenth Century. The Colleges of Pressburg (Bratislava), Győr and Sopron]. By Zsófia Kádár. 242

Róbert Károly Szabó
Háborúból békébe: a magyar társadalom 1918 után. Konfliktusok, kihívások, változások a háború és az összeomlás nyomán [From War to Peace: Hungarian Society after 1918. Conflicts, Challenges, Changes following the War and the Collapse]. Edited by Zsombor Bódy. 245

Nóra Szigethy
Pioneer Hungarian Women in Science and Education. Edited by Réka M. Cristian and Anna Kérchy. 248

Judit Acsády
Lányok, asszonyok Szlovákiában és Magyarországon (1955–1989). Ahogy két etnológus nő látta / Dievčatá, ženy na Slovensku a v Maďarsku (1955–1989). Očami dvoch etnologičiek [Girls and Women in Slovakia and Hungary (1955–1989): Through the Eyes of Two Female Ethnologists]. By Marta Botiková and Zita Deáky. 251

Dávid Biró
From Iberia to China: Some Interactions of the Islamic World with the West and the East. Edited by Abdallah Abdel-Ati Al-Naggar, Ágnes Judit Szilágyi, and Zoltán Prantner. 258

Ágnes Eitler
Paradigma "Ländliche Gesellschaft". Ethnografische Skizzen zur Wissensgeschichte bis ins 21. Jahrhundert. By Leonore Scholze-Irrlitz. 261

HSCE | Historical Studies on Central Europe

Historical Studies on Central Europe 3, no. 1 (2023): 4–25
doi.org/10.47074/HSCE.2023-1.01

Early Medieval Serbs in the Balkans

Reconsideration of the Evidence

Danijel Džino

Department of History and Archaeology, Faculty of Arts, Macquarie University, Sydney NSW 2109, Australia; danijel.dzino@mq.edu.au

Received 13 March 2023 | Accepted 18 May 2023 | Published online 31 July 2023

Abstract. This paper discusses the problem of the appearance of the Serb ethnonym in the Balkans, as evidenced in the ninth-century Frankish Royal Annals and the mid-tenth-century Byzantine treaty *De Administrando Imperio*. Written evidence is analysed together with available archaeological information in order to criticize currently dominating ideas concerning the Serb migration in the seventh century, as well as to offer different perspectives on the origins of the early medieval Serb ethnonym in the Balkans.

Keywords: Serbs; Balkans; early medieval; migration; medieval ethnography

Understanding the appearance and spread of the Serb ethnonym in the early medieval Balkans remains an important problem for both archaeologists and historians. Current explanations and popular discourse, rooted in national-romantic historiographical traditions, imagine that this happened as a consequence of the arrival of a large ethnic group of Serbs migrating from East-Central Europe in the seventh-century Balkans. The premise is based exclusively on the testimony provided in the much later, mid-tenth-century Byzantine treaty known as *De Administrando Imperio (DAI)*. The same source, taken in conjunction with the ninth-century Frankish Royal Annals, implies that Serb ethnicity spread throughout the east Adriatic hinterland, much wider than the area of Ras in modern Sandžak (southwestern Serbia), where the core of the early medieval Raška Serb state was established.[1] These premises have very seldom been questioned in modern scholarship, unlike the similar story

1 The literature, mostly historiographical, is extensive, and it is not necessary to recount it here in more detail, more recently, e.g., Komatina, *Konstantin Porfirogenit*, 210–29; Aleksić, Srpske zemlje; Fokt, "Serbowie"; Maksimović, "Constantine VII"; Živković, "O takozvanoj Hronici"; Zhikh, "Migratsiya," etc.

of Croat migration, which was also present in the *DAI* but experienced much more concerted criticism.[2]

This paper will address written and material evidence in order to discuss the question of the Serb arrival as well as the spread of the Serb ethnonym in the ninth-century Balkans.

The arrival of the Serbs

The only testimony about the arrival of the Serbs in the Balkans comes from chapter 32 of the *DAI*. The authorship of this treaty was traditionally ascribed to the Emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus, but more recent scholarship very convincingly points out that it must have been the work of a whole team of scholars directed by the emperor who wrote only some parts.[3] The story places the origins of the Serbs *(Sérbloi)* in Central Europe, where "unbaptized Serbia" is located in Boïki, "beyond the Turks" (Hungarians) and "next to the Franks and Great/White Croatia." After an unnamed Serb ruler dies, one of his also unnamed two sons takes "half of the population" from "unbaptized Serbia" in order to claim the protection of the Byzantine Emperor Heraclius (r. 610–641). The emperor personally receives the brother and gives him the area of "Serblia" (Servia in Kozani in modern Greek Macedonia) in the "*theme* of Thessalonica" to settle in. After some time, the Serbs decide to go back and do so after obtaining Heraclius' permit. However, after crossing the Danube on their way back, the Serbs suddenly change their mind again. They ask the emperor, through the Byzantine strateg "in Belgrade," to be resettled somewhere else. The emperor grants the Serbs the lands "desolated by the Avars," which were in Constantine VII's times known as Pagania (Narentani), Zahumlje, Travunia, the land of Canaliti and "baptized" Serbia, stretching approximately from the river Cetina in Croatia all the way to Ras and its surroundings in southwestern Serbia. Finally, the emperor sends priests from Rome to baptize his new subjects. Then, this seventh-century narrative jumps through time into the ninth century by recounting the names of four Serb princes who ruled in succession from father to son (Boïseslav, Rodoslav, Prosigoïs, Blastimer), the last one dated to the time of the Bulgar khan Presian (836–852). They are presented as direct patrilinear descendants of the unnamed brother who led the Serbs in the times of Heraclius.[4] The rest

2 Alimov, "Izvestiya"; Pohl, *The Avars* 315–16; Curta, *Eastern Europe*, 69–71 and Kardaras, *Byzantium and the Avars*, 90–98 with the difference that Kardaras believes that the story is "probably true" (especially 97–98).

3 Ševčenko, "Re-reading," 184–95; Holmes, "Byzantine Political Culture," 69–72; Németh, *The 'Excerpta Constantiniana,'* 131–32; Shchavelev, "Treatise," 688–701.

4 *DAI*, 32.1–38.

of chapter 32 is a complicated story of the descendants of Blastimer fighting for power and balancing Serbia between the Bulgars and Byzantines. The chapter finally ends with the list of inhabited settlements in "baptized Serbia" and the small land of Bosona, which is considered to be part of Serbia.

It is generally agreed that this chapter was based on information derived from a genuine Serb tradition, with Živković's argument that the chapter is composed of three sources, including the source he called *De conversione Croatorum et Serborum* allegedly written by Anastasius the Librarian in Rome around 878, rightly rejected today. The most accepted opinion is that the Serb tradition (called in Serbian historiography *Chronicle of the Serb Rulers*) was recorded before the end of 944, and with some minor interventions reproduced in its entirety in chapter 32.[5] Most recently, Komatina pointed out that the impact of the author(s) of the *DAI* (he himself ascribes authorship solely to Constantine VII) on the original *Chronicle of the Serb Rulers* was much more significant. He compared it to editorial interventions made by the author(s) of the *DAI* on the Croat *origo gentis*, recorded in chapter 30 and edited in chapter 31. While rightly suspecting that parts mentioning the agency of Emperor Heraclius are added to the story of the seventh-century wanderings and settlement of the Serbs, Komatina still sees this event as essentially authentic. He also makes the important proposal that this original *Chronicle of the Serb Rulers* was composed at the court of the Serbian prince Časlav (Tzeëslav from *DAI*) and was transmitted to Constantinople from there.[6]

As correctly observed by Komatina, we can understand the Serb chapter by looking into the story of the Croats' arrival recorded in chapters 30 and 31 of the *DAI*. Chapter 30, generally agreed to be either a later addition or work of a different author to the one who wrote chapter 31, brings forward parts of an undated Croat *origo gentis,* which tells the story of a migration led by five brothers (Kloukas, Lobelos, Kosentzis, Mouchlo, and Krobatos) and two sisters (Touga and Bouga) from White "unbaptized" Croatia located "beyond Bavaria" on the Frankish borders in Central-Eastern Europe. On their way, the Croats defeated the Avars, after several years of fighting, before conquering Dalmatia and settling there.[7] However, chapter 31 tells a different story, deleting the brothers and sisters from the plot and attributing the Croat defeat of the Avars to the leadership and approval of emperor Heraclius, whom the Croats initially asked for protection and approval to settle. Here, the Croat leader is stated to be the unnamed father of a historically unknown Porgas, while the Croat homeland of White "unbaptized" Croatia is located "beyond

5 Ostrogorski, "Porfirogenitova Hronika"; Maksimović, "Constantine VII"; Contra Živković, "O takozvanoj Hronici," 314–17; *De conversione*, 149–51, 197–223.

6 Komatina, *Konstantin Porfirogenit*, 227, 264–71.

7 *DAI*, 30.61–75.

Turkey, next to Francia," neighboring "unbaptized Serbs." The chapter also states that these events occurred *before* the Serbs asked for Heraclius' protection and adds that the Croats were baptized by the priests from Rome sent by the emperor.[8] In the Croat case, we most likely have fragments of a genuine and undated Croat *origo gentis* in chapter 30, and an 'official' imperial version that inserts Heraclius in chapter 31, loosely referencing the Croat migration story in a brand new historical construct.[9] Chapter 30 contradicts the narrative of what Howard-Johnston calls the "Balkan dossier" in the *DAI,* starting with chapter 29 and ending with chapter 36, so it is possible that it was composed later and added to the manuscript.[10]

This contradictory information about the origins of the Croats has given rise to more recent discussions supporting the idea of a later arrival of the Croats around 800. This idea was first proposed by Croatian historian Lujo Margetić in the late 1970s.[11] However, it took over two decades before a group of archaeologists and historians working on the exhibition "Croats and Carolingians" held in 1999 in Split utilized a combination of written and material evidence in the exhibition catalog to argue that the Croats migrated to modern-day Dalmatia in the late 790s/early 800s from Central Eastern Europe. They viewed the Croats as a small gentile elite group with followers, arriving within the context of the Carolingian–Byzantine conflict in the eastern Adriatic. The well-supported sudden change in the material culture of early ninth-century Dalmatia, particularly the emergence of western Carolingian artifacts and "warrior burials" with weapons, was used to support this idea.[12] Although the argument still does not represent scholarly consensus, the ideas that there was no Croat migration in the seventh century and that the Croats migrated as an elite group are starting to gain ground.[13]

8 *DAI*, 31.1–25, while more recent literature disputes the historicity of Porgas: Milošević, "Tko je Porin?"; Alimov, "Khorvaty." To be sure, the mention of Porgas and his father might indicate the existence of at least two different stories of origin amongst the Croats.

9 Dzino, "Local knowledge."

10 Howard-Johnston, "The *De Administrando*," 314. See also Ančić, "Zamišljanje tradicija" on possible later dating of chapter 30, in his opinion, based on imagined traditions developed in the context of the Croat court in the 960s–970s.

11 Margetić, "Konstantin Porfirogenet."

12 Milošević, ed., *Hrvati i Karolinzi*, elaborated later by some of the contributors to the exhibition catalog: e.g., Milošević, "The arrival of the Croats"; Ančić, "Migration or Transformation." See on the exhibition, its genesis, and impact in Dzino, Milošević, and Vedriš, eds., *Migration, Interaction and Connectivity*, especially the introduction and the contributions of Dzino and Vedriš.

13 E.g. Alimov, Etnogenez khorvatov; Pohl, *The Avars*, 311–15; Budak, *Hrvatska povijest*, 86–113; Džino, *From Justinian*, 156–65, 186–88. It is also worth mentioning Sokol, *Medieval Jewelry*, who also argues for the late arrival of the Croats but portrays them as a people rather than an elite group. Additionally, Curta, *Eastern Europe*, 65–69 generally questions the notion of migration.

The Serb migration story could also have some fragments of genuine Serb *origo gentis* in chapter 32, but this is much more difficult to ascertain as we have only the 'official' imperial version which corresponds to chapter 31.[14] The use of the term "*Sérblos*/*Sérbloi*" (plural) in the *DAI* corresponds with the Serb self-identification recorded in later medieval documents as **Сръблинъ** (*Srblin*, nom. sing.) and indeed might suggest that the authors of the *DAI* had a genuine Serb tradition at their disposal.[15] Still, there are indications that whatever stood in as the original version was edited when chapter 32 was written. For example, there is a striking similarity between the description of the Croat homeland location in the edited chapter 31 (beyond "Turks," next to Francia and "unbaptized" Serbs) and the Serb homeland location in chapter 32 (beyond "Turkey," neighbors to Francia and Great/"unbaptized" Croatia). Chapter 30 locates the Croatian homeland in different terms without referencing the Serbs ("beyond Bavaria"), adding later that these "White" Croats are subjects to the Franks and friends with the "Turks" (again meaning the Hungarians).

The part of chapter 32 which is related to the times of Heraclius is nonsensical when analysed in more detail, and there are quite a few elements there suggesting the tenth century as a time of composition. A prime example is the mention of *thema* Thessalonika, which does not exist in the seventh century. Similarly, the settlement Servia in Kozani (modern Greece) is unknown from the sixth and seventh century evidence such as itineraries (including Anonymous of Ravenna), and the first time the name is mentioned is as a seat of a bishopric in only the early tenth century.[16] Furthermore, the name of the settlement on the confluence of the Sava and Danube in the early seventh century is Singidunum, with the term "Belgrade" first attested in the letter of Pope John VIII from 878. Singidunum is mentioned in the last years of Maurice's reign when the Byzantines recaptured it from the Avars in 595 and turned it into a military base, but it was never a seat of the Byzantine governor in Late Antiquity.[17]

---

14 Argued in e.g., Komatina, *Konstantin Porfirogenit*, 227–28, 266. On the other hand, Kardaras, *Byzantium and the Avars*, 95, thinks that chapter 32 shows no separate tradition of the Serb *origo gentis*.

15 Bošković, "Srblji i Srbi"; Živković, *De conversione*, 151–52; Komatina, *Konstantin Porfirogenit,* 218.

16 *Notitiae*, 7.300 (p. 278). Traditional attempts to establish the presence of the Serbs in Greece through topography (e.g., Loma, "Neki slavistički," 117) are problematic, while the connection of the bishop of Gordoserbon in Bythinia with the Serbs is at very least – suspicious. It certainly cannot be linked with the resettlement of the Slavs in Asia Minor by Justinian II 688-689 (Komatina, "Settlement") because the bishopric is attested in *Notitiae*, 1.183 (p. 208), composed around 660 as shown in Jankowiak, "Notitia 1."

17 *Epist. Ioh.* 66 (p. 60.22–30) – the letter of pope John VIII; Theoph. Sim., 7.11.7–8; 8.1.11; Theophanes, 277.8–10, 278.13–17, 281.21–24—Singidunum in the 590s.

The story of the Serbs wandering the Balkans, repeatedly asking Heraclius to approve their settlement is also hard to believe, as is the timeline suggested in chapters 31–32:

- the Avars ravage western and central Balkans
- the Croats arrive and expel the Avars
- the Serbs arrive to Greece
- the Serbs depart Greece (after some time)
- the Serbs change their mind somewhere around Belgrade, still controlled by the Byzantines
- the Serbs are resettled throughout central and western Balkans

This means that all these events should have happened within a single decade after Heraclius took the throne in 610 and before the Byzantine withdrawal from the Danube in the early-mid 620s. Knowing that the Croat historical memories were edited to insert the Byzantine emperor from the seventh century as a primary subject and actor in the narrative of the events from chapter 31, it is very likely that a similar thing happened with the Serb migration story, which might indeed have been part of a so-called *Chronicle of the Serb Rulers*. The part describing the Serb wanderings in the seventh-century Balkans does not seem to be part of their tradition at all, but rather a narrative composed in the tenth century by the authors of the *DAI* in order to reinforce Byzantine claims on this part of the world. This is not surprising:

> "…Byzantium had a conception of historical writing wholly different from our own. If it was standard authorial practice to alter accounts so as to present a more colorful portrait of people and their characters, to shift events, deeds, speeches, and sayings both in time and space, and to deploy anonymous quotations in order for an author to demonstrate his own erudition and to satisfy that of his listeners and readers, readers, then Byzantine historical writing can no longer be regarded as comparable to today's."[18]

It was a carefully plotted text which used the similarity in the names between the settlement of Servia and the Serbs to place the Serbs in Greece. *DAI* even calls Servia "Serblia" to better correspond with the ethnonym *Sérbloi* used there. The actual name of this settlement, recorded in the early tenth century *Notitia* 7, which pre-dates *DAI* by some half a century, is Servia. The choice of emperor Heraclius as an agent of the events in quasi-historical narratives of the *DAI* was not accidental. This emperor was remembered by the following generations as a hero who saved the Empire from collapse and was readily credited with real or invented achievements and critical decisions.[19]

18 Ralph-Johannes, "Reality and invention," quote from 209.

19 Budak, *Prva stoljeća* 64–65; Kaegi, *Heraclius*, 318–21; Curta, "Emperor Heraclius," 132; Alimov, "Izvestiya," 221.

The story of the Serb arrival also seems less plausible when one attempts to prove it as a historical fact by referencing supposed migrations occurring in the seventh century. Migrations from East-Central and Central Europe to the Balkans in the first half of the seventh century could not be established in the archaeological or written record. In fact, modern scholarship thinks that either the migrations went the other way—from the lower Danube to East-Central Europe—or sees them as a long-term process of cultural contact and small-scale migrations going from the lower Danube towards Central Europe. The beginning of this cultural interaction and/or migration cannot be dated before the very late sixth century.[20] Another problem is represented by the lack of consistent archaeological evidence that would attest to settlements belonging to the migrants moving across the Danube towards the central Balkans. While cultural discontinuity and depopulation are clearly visible in the seventh and eighth centuries, the evidence points to very limited migrant settlement at best.[21]

The first population movements across the Sava-Danube line in modern-day Serbia are securely dateable to only the later seventh century by the foundations of new sunken-huts settlements. These settlements correspond chronologically with three new settlements south of Sava in the northernmost part of the former province of Dalmatia in modern Bosnia and Herzegovina.[22] The archaeological evidence in Ras, where the early medieval "baptized Serbs" are located and where we can safely locate the core of early medieval Serbia, also reveals no evidence of seventh-century migrants. Suspected traces of cremation burials placed on top of mounds in this area, which could indicate the presence of a new population, are dateable only from the ninth century onwards. Such a burial custom has no parallels elsewhere in this area except for a single find of a pyre on top of a mound without human remains in Sultići near Konjic, in modern Bosnia and Herzegovina. Some similarities can be noticed between these and the contemporary burials of the western Slavs west of the river Bug, but poor data from Ras makes it difficult to elaborate on this link further.[23] Finally, the story from the *DAI* implies that the Serbs were a large ethnic group with a sizeable population, which was able to settle the areas between the river Cetina and Ras in the second quarter of the seventh century. The appearance of such a large

20 E.g., different points argued in Dulinicz, *Frühe Slawen*, 275–87; Profantová, "Cultural discontinuity"; Pohl, *Avars*, 150–62; Curta, *Slavs in the Making*.

21 Bugarski and Radišić, "The Central Balkans," 91–95, 99; Ivanišević and Bugarski, "Post-antique," 9

22 Džino, *From Justinian*, 135–36.

23 Premović-Aleksić, "Istraživanje," 306; Premović-Aleksić, *Arheološka karta*, 459–61, 535–36; Špehar, *Centralni Balkan*, 110–13 (Ras); Anđelić, "Dva srednjevjekovna" (Sultići), cf. Džino, *From Justinian*, 179–80, and Aleksić, *Srpske zemlje*, 260, 324–27.

migrant population would have left a consistent footprint in the seventh-century archaeological record of these areas. However, the existing evidence cannot confirm the presence of such a sizeable and homogeneous migrant group in this period.[24]

Chasing the location of Boïki, the original Serb homeland provided in the *DAI*, is equally problematic and futile as it relies on more or less inventive re-readings of the *DAI* combined with palaeolinguistics, reminiscent of approaches in nineteenth-century scholarship.[25] It is indeed likely that the Serbs migrated into the central Balkans after the seventh century, probably after the demise of the Avar qaganate at the end of the eighth century, but we currently have very little hard evidence to support this with as the regions where early medieval sources located the Serbs in the Balkans are very poorly archaeologically explored. It is equally hypothetically possible that their migration might have happened in the mid/late eighth century, with the agency of the Bulgars, coming from the eastern Balkans.[26] The area of Ras, the center of the Serb early medieval state evidenced in the sources, is also poorly excavated. Apart from the fragmentary evidence of new burial rites dateable from the ninth century onwards and these contacts with the Bulgars, the rest of the archaeological finds point to a rise in complex social structures in the second half of the ninth century through the renovation of the late antique fortresses at Postenje and Gradina above Pazarište, as well as the construction of the early medieval church of St Peter in Ras (probably on the place of the earlier early medieval cremation burials over an Iron Age burial mound), as well as the contemporary renovation of the neighboring fort Gradina in Vrsenice.[27]

When removing the narrative related to the seventh century, the Serb tradition, or *Chronicle of the Serb Rulers* as it is known in historiography, presents a more logical structure which, after an undated migration from Boïki, connects the unnamed legendary leader with four generations of Serb princes: Boïseslav, Rodoslav, Prosigoïs, and Blastimer. That the first three princes are historical figures is not impossible, but the description of bitter fights between the descendants of

24 Džino, *From Justinian*, 116–39; Džino, *Early Medieval Hum and Bosnia*, 111–23; Bugarski and Radišić, "The Central Balkans," 91–95, 99.

25 Recently: Komatina, *Konstantin Porfirogenit*, 211–14; Aleksić, *Srpske zemlje*, 21–31, on a trace of much older discussions, as, e.g., Šafařík, *Slovanské starožitnosti*, 259–61; Rački, "Biela Hrvatska," 151–54; Labuda, *Pierwsze państwo*, 206, etc.

26 Komatina ("The Slavs") suggests that the Bulgars resettled some Slavic tribes in the west, although this does not imply that the Serbs were amongst them. Radišić ("Archaeological testimonies") finds more substantial archaeological traces of Bulgar interaction with the early medieval central Balkans, including Ras, although this evidence might relate to the ninth and tenth-century Bulgar political influence.

27 Popović, *Tvrđava Ras*; Popović and Bikić, *Vrsenice*; Popović, "Preispitivanja"; Špehar, *Centralni Balkan*, 81–92, 144–45; Bugarski and Radišić, "The Central Balkans," 97–98; Ivanišević and Bugarski, "Post-antique," 9–16; Babić, "Biography."

Blastimer makes it unlikely that they represent four different generations, and that power was directly transmitted from father to son. However, Boïseslav, Rodoslav, and Prosigoïs are not so important and only serve as a genealogical link between the migration leader and the most important figure for understanding the actual purpose of *Chronicle of the Serb Rulers*—Blastimer, the first historically dated Serbian prince and contemporary of Khan Presian. As Komatina rightly points out, the patrimonial division of the land after Blastimer's death amongst his sons Muntimer, Stroïmer, and Goïnikos has direct parallels with the beginning of the story and the division of the Serbs before the migration.[28] Thus, it has important symbolic meaning within the narrative structure of chapter 32, as it references the distant past to validate the present. The text also very clearly implied that, initially, all three brothers had an equal right to rule over the Serbs until Muntimer took all the power into his hands.[29] This might give us the key to understanding the political purpose of the *Chronicle of the Serb Rulers*—it was composed in the circles close to Prince Časlav to legitimize his rule and newly established alliance with the Byzantines.

Časlav was brought up in Bulgaria as the son of a Bulgarian mother. In the early 920s, he helped (willingly or unwillingly) the Bulgars in facilitating the surrender of the Serb elite after the Bulgars overthrew his cousin Zacharias. So, it seems clear that Časlav might have had a somewhat difficult time establishing himself as a prince, as he must have been seen as a foreigner by the Serbs. When Časlav left Bulgaria, which is dated between 927 and 933/34,[30] and allied with the Byzantines to take power in Serbia, his only claim to the throne was ancestry through his father Klonimer—the son of Stroïmer and grandson of Blastimer. However, unlike the sons of Muntimer and Goïnikos, Časlav's father was never a Serb prince, as he lived at the Bulgar court.[31] So, it is not difficult to imagine that Časlav needed a narrative to restate his claim to the throne through genealogical connections to Blastimer and a (probably legendary) migration leader. Longer excursus on Serb wanderings during the times of Heraclius in the *DAI* can also perhaps be better explained if looked at in the context of the geopolitical changes that occurred during Časlav's reign that turned Serbia from the Bulgars towards the Byzantines. This narrative was, therefore, the 'creative contribution' of the writers of the *DAI*, intended to strengthen ties with a new ally by extending the Serb–Byzantine relationship into the distant past.

28 Komatina, *Konstantin Porfirogenit*, 235–36.

29 *DAI*, 32.42–44, 57–62.

30 See different opinions in Leszka, "On the reliability," 131–32. His opinion that Časlav was enthroned with approval of the Bulgars is interesting but not accepted in general scholarship.

31 *DAI*, 32.62–65, 117–45.

The Serbs in the ninth-century Balkans

The second problem related to the early medieval Serbs discussed here is evidence for the spread of the Serb ethnonym in the western and central Balkans from the ninth century onwards. As noted earlier, the *DAI* explicitly states that the Pagani-Narentani, Zahumljani, Travunjani, and Canaliti, the Slavic ethnonyms used by the Byzantine administration from the ninth and tenth century, are Serbs, descendants of the "unbaptised" Serbs settled during the times of Heraclius, in the same way the "baptised" Serbs were in Raška. In addition, the *DAI* mentions the "small land of Bosona," typically taken as the core of the future Bosnian medieval polity, as a part of Serbia.[32] More than one century before the *DAI*, the Frankish Royal Annals mentioned "the dukes of the Sorabi" in Dalmatia 822, who were giving refuge to Liudewitus (Ljudevit), a rogue Carolingian duke of Lower Pannonia hiding from the Frankish army. From the context, it is clear that the ARF was referring to the territory of the former late antique province of Dalmatia and that these Sorabi should be located in the deep hinterland of the eastern Adriatic, probably modern northern and/or central Bosnia.[33]

Some memories of this early medieval widespread 'Serbness' in the Dalmatian hinterland are detectable in later centuries. Documents confirming the extent of the power of the archbishop of Dubrovnik, starting from 1022, mention *regnum Servilie* (i.e., Serbia), but in the 1187 bull of Pope Urban III, the phrase *regnum Serviae quid est Bosnia* appears at this place in the listing order, thus linking Bosnia and Serbia.[34] It is also similar to the often discussed sentence of John Kinnamos, imperial secretary to Manuel Komnenos (before 1143 – after 1185), who says that the "river Drina separates Bosnia from the rest of Serbia," implying that Bosnia is part of wider 'Serb lands,' but acknowledging that it was a separate political entity from Serbia at that time.[35] Further memories of this early medieval 'Serbness' in the Dalmatian hinterland could be recalled in local perceptions, witnessed in the thirteenth-century charters of the Bosnian *ban* Matthew (Matej) Ninoslav (r. 1232–1250), which acted as political treaties with the city of Dubrovnik. In three of the four charters issued between 1214–1217 (or more likely 1232–1235, 1240, and 1249), amongst other things, the terms Serb (*Srblin/Serblin* – **Серблинъ**) and Vlach (*Vlah* – **Влахъ**)

32 *DAI*, 32.21–29; 32.149–151; 33.8–10; 34.1–6; 36.5–7. All these ethnonyms, except the Narentani (Zahumljani, Travunjani, Canaliti), are mentioned in the *Book of Ceremonies*, 2.48 (Vol. 3, 374–75).

33 The issue of the dukes of Sorabi in Dalmatia (*ARF* s.a. 822; *AF* s.a. 822) was discussed in several publications (e.g., more recently Živković, "The origin") which took the term "Sorabi" literally as the Serbs.

34 *CD*, 2.199 (p. 207); 2.211 (p. 226); 3.246 (p. 274); 4.48 (p. 54): *regnum Servilie quid est Bosna* (papal diplomacy).

35 *Cinnami epitome*, 104.7–10.

are mentioned, which would have regulated their legal positions in Bosnia and the Republic of Dubrovnik.[36] These appearances of the Serbs and Vlachs in the charters of Bosnian ban have generated voluminous debate that initially involved seeing the terms describing the subjects of *ban* Ninoslav as ethnic Serbs and the citizens of Dubrovnik as the Vlachs.[37] A different opinion was argued by Raukar. He thought that the Serb-Vlach terminology did not imply inhabitants of Bosnia and Dubrovnik but was rather developed in the diplomatic chancellery of the Raška Serb court and taken over by the Dubrovnik chancellery, where most of these documents were written with an outsider's perception.[38] However, this does not explain the fact that the earliest charter, an appendix to a now lost document, was written by Ninoslav's own scribe, *grammaticus* Desoje, suggesting that the terms *Serblin* and *Vlah* are present in the perception of Ninoslav's own chancellery.[39] It seems more appropriate to interpret the term *Serblin* in these charters as an archaism from earlier centuries when this term might have held more significance for the local population and local elites. This 'Serbness' in the local perception of the Bosnian elite will ultimately disappear because the claim on the Serb ethnonym was already much more successfully used by the elite of another polity—the Raška Serbs. This will be clearly visible in the early fourteenth-century documents, when a new group name, "Bosnians" *(Bošnjani)*, starts to be claimed by the select elite of the Bosnian *banate*.[40]

Archaeology of the ninth century only reveals a partial similarity of material culture in the 'Serb lands' of the *DAI*. The regions on the left and right banks of the Middle and Lower Neretva in modern Herzegovina, attributed to the groups called Narentani and Zahumljani, are home to 'warrior burials' with Carolingian weapons, horseman equipment, and belt garnitures. This is reminiscent of the areas in the hinterland of Zadar and Split, as well as modern-day southwestern and western Bosnia, which belonged to the Duchy of Dalmatia, later known as the Croat duchy and kingdom. The rest of the eastern Adriatic hinterland, attributed to the Serbs, does not bear any evidence of Carolingian artifacts or 'warrior burials.'[41] Thus, we can see that communities of the Narentani and Zahumljani, although labeled "the Serbs" by the

36 *Stare srpske povelje* no. 9, 11–12 (pp. 6–10) (= *CD*, 3.371 p. 427; 4.99 pp. 107–108; 4.341 pp. 386–387).

37 E.g. Jireček, "Die Wlachen," 111–12; Rački, "Hrvatska prie XII vieka," 141; Ćorović, *Historija Bosne*, 204–5; Ćirković, *Istorija*, 338; Mrgić Radojčić, *Donji Kraji*, 134, note 3.

38 Raukar, *Hrvatsko srednjovjekovlje*, 283–85.

39 *Stare srpske povelje* 9 (p. 6) (= *CD*, 3.371 p. 427).

40 On *Bošnjani* as elite identity see Raukar, *Hrvatsko srednjovjekovlje*, 285-86 and more comprehensively in Džaja, "Dobri Bošnjani."

41 See the spread of Carolingian artifacts in the eastern Adriatic hinterland (up to the publication date) in the catalog Milošević, ed., *Hrvati i Karolinzi,* Vol. 2, 174–75, cf. Džino, *From Justinian*, 156–65, 181–86; Džino, *Early Medieval Hum and Bosnia*, 135–56.

DAI, have a different experience in terms of their interaction with the Carolingian empire in the ninth century and that they belonged to different social networks from communities living in the eastern Adriatic hinterland, including the "baptized Serbs" in Ras. Therefore, the archaeology cannot provide evidence for a coherent and different material culture in all these areas labeled by the *DAI* as the "Serb lands." In addition, the *DAI* also contradicts itself by saying that the ruling elite kindred of the Zahumljani are not the Serbs but rather originate from the Litziki on the river Visla.[42]

The manuscript of *Historia Salonitana Maior (HSM)*, before listing the decisions of the Church Council in Split from 925, says that the bishops coming to the council from all parts of coastal Dalmatia passed through the states of the Croats and "*Vrborum*," meeting their nobles along the way. This was recently used by Komatina as evidence that the (Za)humljani (whose duke was present at the Council), a place where the bishops from Kotor and Dubrovnik must have passed through on their way to Split, were the Serbs, by following some earlier authors in reading the word *Vrborum* as *Serborum*, i.e., the Serbs. However, such an assumption is highly problematic. The *HSM* is a later and longer text from the sixteenth century, based on the thirteenth-century *Historia Salonitana (HS)* by Thomas the Archdeacon of Split. The sections on the Split councils in 925 and 928, preserved in the *HSM*, are missing from *HS* and seem to have been composed by multiple authors. The passage on the gathering of the bishops was written by a later author, so cannot be used as authentic evidence from the tenth century in the same way that the papal letters or actual acts of the councils can.[43]

As stated earlier, the idea that the Serbs migrated to the Balkans in the seventh century is based on the testimony of the *DAI*, which does not withstand textual criticism and cannot be supported with archaeological evidence. However, it is impossible to deny the presence of the Serb ethnonym in the early medieval Balkans, stretching much wider than the state of the Serbs from Ras. It is very unlikely that different Slavic elite groups from the ninth century, distributed over the vast areas of western and central Balkans, could have shared the same sense of ethnicity. As shown in the example of the groups inhabiting and contesting power within the ninth-century Dalmatian (later Croat) duchy in the eastern Adriatic, ethnicity was linked to small gentile elite groups, some of which were of migrant origin. Migration processes are detectable there from the late eighth and throughout the ninth century as a longer-term process based on local, gradual, long-distance, and also return migrations of small Slav-speaking groups. Some of these ethnonyms, such as the Croats, survived and were accepted by other elite groups and the wider population as a shared sense of identity, while the others were not so successful. The evidence

42 *DAI*, 33.16–19.

43 *HSM*, 628r (pp. 98–99); Komatina, *Konstantin Porfirogenit*, 277. See Budak's "*Historia Salonitana*" on the origins of the text and composition of the section of the Split Councils.

from the central Balkans points to very similar conclusions about successive population inflows from neighboring areas in the eighth and ninth centuries.[44] Thus, the assumption that a large population of the ethnic Serbs at some point in time migrated and settled in the western and central Balkans is untenable and should be explained differently.

It is possible that the elites of some of these Slavic groups originated from the Polabian Sorabi or claimed origins from them. The Sorabi was an ethnonym applied by the sources to a political union of different Slavic communities in the middle flow of the river Elbe/Labe, one of the most significant western Slavic political groups together with the Wiltzi and Abodrites. For that reason, the Frankish annalist, who had more experience with the Polabian Sorabi, recognised their offshoots in the deep Dalmatian hinterland. However, the Byzantine perception was not based on the same premises. Chapters 29, 30, and 31 of the *DAI* mention the Narentani-Pagani, Zahumljani, Travunjani, and Canaliti but never state that they are the Serbs. This connection comes first, as mentioned above, in chapter 32, where these groups are connected with the imaginary seventh-century settlement of the Serbs and the same premise is repeated in chapters 33 (Zahumljani), 34 (Travunjani and Canaliti), 36 (Narentani-Pagani), when each of these groups is described as having descended from the "unbaptized Serbs," settled in the time of Heraclius.[45] Knowing that the seventh-century migration story of the Serbs is highly problematic to prove, it seems that the perception of these groups as the "Serbs" from the *DAI* might also be part of a literary construct that stretches their submission to the Empire into a distant past. An indication of such a conclusion being valid is the aforementioned information about the non-Serb origins of the ruling kindred of the Zahumljani. To be sure, the elites of the Travunjani and Canaliti might have been more closely connected with the Serbs, as the *DAI* mentions a marriage between the daughter of Serb prince Blastimer and Kraïnas, *župan* (lord) of the Travunjani, as well as the information that the Travunjani were "always" under Serb rule and that the Canaliti are subordinated to the Travunjani.[46] However, the Serb origins of the Pagani-Narentani and Zahumljani remain a problematic issue, which is solely based only on the pseudo-historical story of the Serb migration in the seventh century.

There is also another possibility, which is that multiple groups in Central and Eastern Europe claimed origins from the group placed in the context of Samo's rebellion in the early 630s, whom Fredegar knew as the Surbi. Fredegar perceives the Surbi as a Slavic people who overthrew the Frankish overlordship and joined

44 Džino, *From Justinian*, 161–65, 173–76, 186–88 (east Adriatic with hinterland); Bugarski and Radišić, "The Central Balkans," 99 (modern Serbia).

45 *DAI*, 32.21–29; 33.8–10; 34.1–6; 36.5–7.

46 *DAI*, 34.6–16.

Samo, led by their Duke Dervanus. The location of these, Surbi, is never mentioned but usually assumed to be the same as Polabian Sorabi mentioned from the late eighth century in the Frankish sources dwelling on the Thuringian borders.[47] While linguistic etymology is not always useful for history and archaeology, it is worth mentioning the opinion of some linguists that this ethnonym comes from Old Slavic **sъrbъ,* which might have had the meaning of 'descendant'/'successor,' 'people,' or could have meant 'kinsmen.'[48] The later medieval Czech *Chronicle of Dalimil* from the fourteenth century uses the ethnonym "Serbs" in a few places to mean Slavs.[49] This could also be interpreted as a much later reflection of the wider significance of this ethnonym. These possibilities (at least on hypothetical grounds) support the idea that the ethnonyms Sorabi/Surbi/Serbs claimed by different Slavic groups were, in fact, prestigious names rather than referred to a stable and persistent ethnic identity. The evidence in the so-called Bavarian Geographer manuscript from the ninth century confirms the existence of other prestigious names amongst the Slavs, such as Zeriuani/Zuierani, who were apparently regarded as 'progenitors of the Slavs.'[50] Such claims to certain ethnonyms were common in the early medieval past—a good example is seen with the European Avars, who monopolized this prestige ethnonym from Chinese frontiers.[51] Thus, it seems that different elite Slavic groups claimed the 'Serb' name as a prestigious name in order to explain their origins or justify their newly taken positions of local leadership *rather* than because of their being part of a unified Serb ethnicity. This especially relates to the groups from the hinterland in modern central, eastern, and northern Bosnia. As history shows, only two of those groups successfully monopolized the Serb name in the end: the Serbs from Ras and Lusatian Sorbs.

Conclusion

A few conclusions follow from the present discussion. First, with the present state of the evidence, it is not possible to support the idea of a seventh-century migration of the Serbs to the Balkans. This segment of chapter 32 of the *DAI* seems to have been produced in the context of the mid-tenth century in order to provide pseudo-historical support for a newly established Serb–Byzantine alliance. It was incorporated in the narrative about the Serb princes from the ninth century, which was most likely

47 Fredegar, 4.68 (p. 155).

48 Gołąb, "About the connection"; Hermann, "Die Slawen," 12; Loma, "Serbisches und kroatisches," 93; Komatina, "Slavyanskiye etnonimy," 114; Komatina, *Konstantin Porfirogenit*, 218.

49 *Staročeska kronika*, 98.29–31, 105.1–4; Gavrilović, "O Srbima"; cf. Mesiarkin, "Examining," 94.

50 Bayerische Staatsbibliothek. Clm. 560. fol. 150r – the Zeriuani as the Slav 'progenitors'.

51 Pohl, *Avars*, 33–47.

composed at the court of Prince Časlav in the 940s in order to reinforce his right to rule over the Serbs as a direct descendant of Blastimer and a legendary unnamed Serb prince who led the Serb migration. It is possible that the "baptized" Serbs, or at least their elite kindred, were migrants who arrived at some point in time in the eighth or early ninth-century central Balkans, but such a premise needs much more archaeological evidence to be established as a historical fact.

Second, the undeniable presence of the Serb ethnonym in the Adriatic hinterland from the ninth century was not a consequence of mass migration by an ethnically homogenous group. The migrations likely affected these areas south of the Sava and Danube from the late seventh century onwards but as a long-ongoing process carried out by small groups of individuals with heterogeneous origins rather than the long-distance migration and settlement of large groups. The spread of the Serb ethnonym should be therefore interpreted either as a perception of cultural similarities and shared origins amongst these Slav-speaking political groups by outside observers or as a justified or invented claim to a prestige ethnic name by these newly migrated Slavic-speaking elite groups in the eastern Adriatic area. It was used to justify the power of these groups and their followers on a local level and provide them with a 'historical biography' by relating them to an important Slavic political alliance in East Central Europe.

Sources

Annales Fuldenses. *Annales Fuldenses sive Annales regni Francorum Orientalis*, edited by Friedrich Kurtze. Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum separatim editi 7. Hannover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 1891.

Annales Regni Francorum. *Annales Regni Francorum inde a. 741 usque ad 829 qui dicuntur Annales Laurissenses maiores et Einhardi*, edited by Georg H. Pertz. Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum separatim editi 6. Hannover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 1895.

Book of Ceremonies. *Constantin VII Porphyrogénète: Le livre des cérémonies*. Edited by Gilbert Dagron, Bernard Flusin and Denis Feissel. Corpus fontium historiae byzantinae 52/1-5. Paris: Association des Amis du Centre d'Histoire et Civilisations de Byzance, 2020.

CD. *Codex Diplomaticus regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae*, edited by Tadija Smičiklas *et al.* Zagreb: Jugoslovenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, 1904–1990.

Cinnami epitome. *Ioannis Cinnami epitome rerum ab loanne et Alexio Comnenis gestarum*, edited by Augustus Meineke. Bonn: Ed. Weber, 1836.

DAI. *Constantine Porphyrogenitus, De Administrando Imperio*, edited by Gyula Moravcsik and Romily J. H. Jenkins. Dumbarton Oaks Texts 1. Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Center for Byzantine Studies, 1962.

Epist. Ioh. *Registrum Iohannis VIII Papae*, edited by Erich Caspar. In *Epistolae Karolini Aevi* 5. Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Epistolarum 7, 1–272. Berlin: Weidmann, 1928.

Fredegar. *Chronicon quae dicuntur Fredegarii Scholastici libri IV. cum Continuationibus*, edited by Bruno Krusch, In *Fredegarii et aliorum chronica. Vitae sanctorum*. Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Scriptores rerum Merovingicarum 2, 1–193. Hannover: Impensis bibliopolii Hahniani, 1979.

Historia Salonitana Maior. *Historia Salonitana Maior*, edited by Nada Klaić. Posebna izdanja 399. Belgrade: Srpska akademija nauka i umetnosti, 1967.

Notitiae. *Notitiae episcopatuum ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae: texte critique, introduction et notes*, edited by Jean Darrouzès. Paris: Institut Français d'Études Byzantines, 1981.

Stare srpske povelje. *Stare srpske povelje i pisma* [Old Serbian charters and letters] Vol. 1, edited by Ljubomir Stojanović. Belgrade and Sremski Karlovci: Srpska kraljevska akademija, 1929.

Staročeská kronika. *Staročeská kronika tak řečeného Dalimila* 1, edited by Jiří Daňhelka, Karel Hádek, Bohuslav Havráne and Naděžda Kvítková. Prague: Academia, 1988.

Theophanes. *Theophanis Chronographia* 1, edited by Carl de Boor. Leipzig: Teubner, 1883.

Theoph. Sim. *Theophylact Simocatta, Historia*, edited by Carl de Boor, revised by Peter Wirth. Stuttgart: Teubner, 1972.

Literature

Aleksić, Marko. *Srpske zemlje pre Nemanjića od 7. do 10. veka* [The Serb Lands before the Nemanjićs from the Seventh to Tenth Century], 4th ed. Belgrade: Laguna, 2020.

Alimov, Denis, E. "Khorvaty, kul't Peruna i slavyanskiy »gentilizm«. (Kommentariy k gipoteze Ante Miloshevicha o tozhdestve Porina i Peruna)" [Croats, the Cult of Perun and Slavic »Gentilism«. A Comment on the Hypothesis of Ante Milošević about the Identity of Porin and Perun]. *Studia Slavica et Balcanica Petropolitana* 2 (2015): 21–64.

Alimov, Denis E. *Etnogenez khorvatov: formirovaniye khorvatskoy etnopoliticheskoy obshchnosti v VII–IX vv.* [Ethnogenesis of the Croats: The Formation of Croat Ethnopolitical Identity between 7th and 9th Century]. St. Petersburg: Nestor-Istoria Books, 2016.

Alimov, Denis, E. "Izvestiya Konstantina Bagryanorodnogo o kreshchenii serbov i khorvatov v pravleniye imperatora Irakliya (610–641). Problema interpretatsii" [Constantine Porhyrogenitus's Accounts of the Conversion of the Serbs and Croats under Emperor Heraclius (610–641): a Problem of Interpretation] *Khristianskoe Chtenie* 4 (2018): 214–224.

Ančić, Mladen. "Zamišljanje tradicija: Vrijeme i okolnosti postanka 30. glave djela *De administrando imperio*" [Imagining the Tradition: When and Why the 30th Chapter of the *De administrando imperio* was Written]. *Radovi Zavoda za hrvatsku povijest* 42 (2010): 133–151.

Ančić, Mladen. "Migration or Transformation: The Roots of Early Medieval Croat Polity." In *Migration, Integration and Connectivity on the Southeastern Frontier of the Carolingian Empire*, edited by Danijel Džino, Ante Milošević, and Trpimir Vedriš, 43–62. East and Central Eastern Europe, 450–1450 50. Leiden–Boston: Brill, 2018.

Anđelić, Pavao. "Dva srednjevjekovna nalaza iz Sultića kod Konjica" [Two Medieval Finds from Sultići near Konjic]. *Glasnik Zemaljskog muzeja u Sarajevu* 14 (1959): 203–15.

Babić, Staša. "Biography of the Hill. Novi Pazar in South-Western Serbia." In *The Lives of Prehistoric Monuments in Iron Age, Roman and Medieval Europe*, edited by Marta Díaz-Guardamino, Leonardo García Sanjuán, and David Wheatley, 249–64. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015. https://doi.org/10.1093/oso/9780198724605.003.00015

Bošković, Radosav. "Srblji i Srbi" [The Srblji and Serbs]. *Zbornik Matice srpske za filologiju i lingvistiku* 21, no. 1 (1978): 23–25.

Budak, Neven. *Prva stoljeća Hrvatske* [First Centuries of Croatia]. Zagreb: Hrvatska sveučilišna naklada, 1994.

Budak, Neven. "*Historia salonitana* and *Historia salonitana maior*: Contribution to the Debate about the Relation of the Two Texts." In *Summer School in the Study of Historical Manuscripts*, edited by Mirna Willer and Marijana Tomić, 101–30. Zadar: Sveučilište u Zadru, 2013.

Budak, Neven. *Hrvatska povijest od 550. do 1100* [Croatian History from 550 to 1100]. Povijest hrvatskih zemalja u srednjem vijeku 1. Zagreb: Leykam International, 2018.

Bugarski, Ivan and Milica Radišić. "The Central Balkans in the Early Middle Ages: Archaeological Testimonies to Change." In *Processes of Byzantinisation and Serbian Archaeology*, edited by Vesna Bikić, 91–102. Byzantine Heritage and Serbian Art 1. Belgrade: Institute for Byzantine Studies, Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, 2016.

Curta, Florin. "Emperor Heraclius and the Conversion of the Croats and Serbs." In *Medieval Christianitas. Different Regions, "Faces," Approaches*, edited by

Tsvetelin Stepanov and Georgi Kazakov, 121–38. Sofia: Voenno izdatelstvo, 2010.

Curta, Florin. *Eastern Europe in the Middle Ages (500–1300)*. Brill's Companions to Ancient History 19. Leiden–Boston: Brill, 2019. https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004395190

Curta, Florin. *Slavs in the Making: History, Linguistics and Archaeology in Eastern Europe (ca. 500–ca. 700)*. London–New York: Routledge, 2020. https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203701256

Ćirković, Sima. *Istorija srednjovekovne bosanske države* [History of Medieval Bosnian State]. Belgrade: Srpska književna zadruga, 1964.

Ćorović, Vladimir. *Historija Bosne* [A History of Bosnia]. Posebna izdanja 129. Belgrade: Srpska kraljevska akademija, 1940.

Dulinicz, Marek. *Frühe Slawen im Gebiet zwischen unterer Weichsel und Elbe. Eine archäologische Studie*. Neumünster: Wachholtz, 2006.

Džaja, Srećko M. 2008. "»Dobri Bošnjani« i »*boni homines*«" ['Good Bosnians' and '*boni homines*']. In *Zbornik o Pavlu Andjeliću*, edited by Marko Karamatić, 143–68. Sarajevo: Franjevačka teologija, 2008.

Dzino, Danijel. "Local Knowledge and Wider Contexts: Stories of the Arrival of the Croats in De Administrando Imperio in the Past and Present." In *Byzantium, Its Neighbours and Its Cultures*, edited by Danijel Dzino and Ken Parry, 89–105. Byzantina Australiensia 20. Brisbane: Australian Association for Byzantine Studies, 2014.

Džino, Danijel. *From Justinian to Branimir: The Making of the Middle Ages in Dalmatia*. London–New York: Routledge, 2021. https://doi.org/10.4324/9780429299162

Džino, Danijel. *Early Medieval Hum and Bosnia, ca. 450–1200. Beyond Myths.* London–New York: Routledge, 2023. https://doi.org/10.4324/9781003194705

Džino, Danijel, Ante Milošević, and Trpimir Vedriš, eds. *Migration, Integration and Connectivity on the Southeastern Frontier of the Carolingian Empire*. East and Central Eastern Europe, 450–1450 50. Leiden–Boston: Brill, 2018. https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004380134

Fokt, Krzysztof. "Serbowie w najdawniejszym podziale Słowiańszczyzny" [Serbs in the Oldest structure of Slavdom]. *Slavia Antiqua* 44 (2003): 9–32.

Gavrilović, Marko. "O Srbima u Dalimilovoj Hronici" [About Serbs in the Chronicle of Dalimil]. *Istorijski časopis* 69 (2020): 13–37. https://doi.org/10.34298/IC2069013G

Gołąb, Zbigniew. "About the Connection between Kinship Terms and some Ethnica in Slavic." *International Journal of Slavic Linguistics and Poetics* 25–26 (1982): 166–71.

Herrmann, Joachim. "Die Slawen der Völkerwanderungszeit." In *Die Slawen in Deutschland: Geschichte und Kultur der slawischen Stämme westlich von Oder*

und Neiße vom 6. bis 12. Jahrhundert. Ein Handbuch, 2nd ed., edited by Joachim Herrmann, 19–40. Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1985.

Holmes, Catherine. "Byzantine Political Culture and Compilation Literature in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries: Some Preliminary Inquiries." *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 64 (2010): 55–80.

Howard-Johnston, James. "The *De administrando imperio*: A Re-examination of the Text and a Re-evaluation of its Evidence About the Rus." In *Les Centres proto-urbains russes entre Scandinavie, Byzance et Orient: Actes du Colloque International tenu au Collège de France en octobre 1997*, edited by Michel Kazanski, Anne Nercessian and Constantin Zuckerman, 301–36. Réalités Byzantines 7. Paris: Lethielleux, 2000.

Ivanišević, Vujadin and Ivan Bugarski. "Post-antique Settlement Patterns in the Central Balkans: Use of Justinianic Landscape in the Early Middle Ages." In *Mediterranean Landscapes in Post Antiquity: New Frontiers and New Perspectives*, edited by Sauro Gelichi and Lauro Olmo-Enciso, 7–17. Oxford: Archaeopress, 2019. https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctvndv6wx.5

Jankowiak, Marek. "*Notitia* 1 and the Impact of the Arab Invasions on Asia Minor." *Millennium* 10 (2013): 435–61. https://doi.org/10.1515/mjb.2013.10.1.435

Jireček, Konstantin. "Die Wlachen und Maurowlachen in den Denkmälern von Ragusa." *Sitzungsberichte der königlichen böhmischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften in Prag jahrgang 1879.* (1880): 109–25.

Kaegi, Walter E. *Heraclius; Emperor of Byzantium*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003.

Kardaras, Georgios. *Byzantium and the Avars, 6th–9th Century AD. Political, Diplomatic and Cultural Relations.* East Central and Eastern Europe in the Middle Ages, 450–1450 51. Leiden –Boston: Brill, 2018. https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004382268

Komatina, Predrag. "Settlement of the Slavs in Asia Minor during the Rule of Justinian II and the Bishopric τῶν Γορδοσέρβων." *Beogradski istorijski glasnik* 5 (2014): 33–42.

Komatina, Predrag. "Slavyanskiye etnonimy »Bavarskogo geografa«: istoriko lingvisticheskiy analiz" [Slavic Ethnonyms in "Bavarian Geographer": Historical and Linguistic Analysis]. *Studia Slavica et Balcanica Petropolitana* no. 1 (2020): 106–37. https://doi.org/10.21638/spbu19.2020.106

Komatina, Predrag. *Konstantin Porfirogenit i rana istorija Južnih Slovena* [Constantine Porphyrogenitus and the Early History of the South Slavs]. Belgrade: Vizantološki institut, 2021.

Komatina, Predrag. "The Slavs of the Mid-Danube Basin and the Bulgarian Expansion in the First Half of the 9th Century." *Zbornik radova vizantološkog instituta* 47 (2010): 55–82. https://doi.org/10.2298/ZRVI1047055K

Labuda, Gerard. *Pierwsze państwo słowiańskie: państwo Samona* [First State of the Slavs: The State of Samo]. Poznań: Księgarnia Akademicka Spółdzielnia z Odp, 1949.

Leszka, Mirosław J. "On the Reliability of Constantine Porphyrogenitus' Account of the »Flight« of Prince Časlav from Bulgaria." *Studia Ceranea* 6 (2016): 129–38. https://doi.org/10.18778/2084-140X.07.08

Loma, Aleksandar. "Neki slavistički aspekti srpske etnogeneze" [Some Linguistic Aspects of the Serb Ethnogenesis]. *Zbornik Matice srpske za slavistiku* 43 (1993): 105–26.

Loma, Aleksandar. "Serbisches und kroatisches Sprachgut bei Konstantin Porphyrogennetos." *Zbornik radova Vizantološkog instituta* 38 (1999/2000): 87–161.

Maksimović, Ljubomir. "Constantine VII and the past of the Serbs. On the genesis of De administrando imperio, chapter 32." In *Aureus. Tómos afieroménos ston kathigití Evángelo K. Chrysó* [Aureus: Volume Dedicated to Professor E. K. Chrysos], edited by Taxiarchis G. Kolias, Konstantinos G. Pitsakis, and Katerina Synellis, 553–60. Athens: Institouto Historikon Ereunon, Ethniko Hidryma Ereunon, 2014.

Margetić, Lujo. "Konstantin Porfirogenet i vrijeme dolaska Hrvata" [Constantine Porphyrogenetus and Dating of the Croat Arrival]. *Zbornik Historijskog Zavoda JAZU* 8 (1977): 5–88.

Mesiarkin, Adam. "Examining the Slavic Identity in Middle Ages: Perception of Common Sense of Slavic Community in Polish and Bohemian Medieval Chronicles." *Studia Ceranea* 3 (2013): 83–100. https://doi.org/10.18778/2084-140X.03.06

Milošević, Ante. ed. *Hrvati i Karolinzi* [Croats and Carolingians], Vol. 2. Catalogue. Split: Muzej hrvatskih arheoloških spomenika, 2000.

Milošević, Ante. "Tko je Porin iz 30. poglavlja De administrando imperio?" [Who is Porin from the Chapter 30 of *De Administrando Imperio*]. *Starohrvatska prosvjeta* 40, no. 3 (2013): 127–34.

Milošević, Ante. "The Arrival of the Croats in Late Eighth-century Dalmatia: A K-type Sword from Koljane as Possible Evidence." In *Croatia at the Crossroads: A Consideration of Archaeological and Historical Connectivity*, edited by David Davison, Vincent Gaffney, Preston Miracle, and Jo Soffaer, 207–22. Oxford: Archaeopress, 2016. https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctv170x3p4.19

Mrgić Radojčić, Jelena. *Donji Kraji: Krajina srednjovekovne Bosne* [Donji Kraji: Borderland of Medieval Bosnia]. Belgrade: Filozofski fakultet, 2002.

Németh, András. *The 'Excerpta Constantiniana' and the Byzantine Appropriation of the Past*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018. https://doi.org/10.1017/9781108529068

Ostrogorski, Georgije. "Porfirogenitova hronika srpskih vladara i njeni hronološki podaci" [Porfirorgenet's Chronicle of the Serb Rulers and its Chronological Information]. *Istorijski časopis* 1–2 (1948): 24–29.

Pohl, Walter, *The Avars. A Steppe Empire in Central Europe 567–822*. 2nd ed. Ithaca–London: Cornell University Press, 2018. https://doi.org/10.7591/9781501729409

Popović, Marko. *Tvrđava Ras* [The Fort of Ras]. Archaeological Institute Monographies 34. Belgrade: Arheološki institut, 1999.

Popović, Marko and Svetlana Bikić. *Vrsenice – kasnoantičko i srpsko ranosrednjovekovno utvrđenje* [Vrsenice – Late Roman and Serbian Early Medieval Fortress]. Belgrade: Arheološki institut, 2008.

Popović, Svetlana. "Preispitivanja crkve svetog Petra u Rasu" [Reexamination of St Peter's Church in Ras]. In *Međunarodni naučni skup Stefan Nemanja – Sveti Simeon Mirotočivi* [International Conference Stefan Nemanja – St Simeon the Myrrhflowing], edited by Jovanka Kalić, 209–29. Belgrade: Srpska akademija nauka i umetnosti, 2000.

Premović-Aleksić, Dragica. "Istraživanje lokaliteta Kobiljka kod Sjenice u 1998. godini" [Excavations of the Site Kobiljka near Sjenica in 1998]. *Novopazarski zbornik* 22 (1998): 305–6.

Premović-Aleksić, Dragica. *Arheološka karta Novog Pazara, Tutina i Sjenice* [Archaeological Map of Novi Pazar, Tumin and Sjenica]. Novi Pazar: Muzej "Ras," 2014.

Profantová, Nad'a. "Cultural Discontinuity and the Migration Hypothesis. The »Slavic Migration« (6th Century) in the Light of New Archaeological Finds from Bohemia." In *The Very Beginning of Europe? Cultural and Social Dimensions of Early Medieval Migration and Colonisation (5th–8th Century). Archaeology in Contemporary Europe*, edited by Rica Annaert, Tinne Jacobs, Ingrid In't Ven, and Steffi Coppens, 255–64. Relicta Monografieën 7. Brussels: Flanders Heritage Agency, 2012.

Rački, Franjo. "Biela Hrvatska i biela Srbija" [White Croatia and White Serbia]. *Rad Jugoslavenske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti* 52 (1880): 141–89.

Rački, Franjo. "Hrvatska prije XII vieka glede na zemljišni obseg i narod" [Croatia before the Twelfth Century, in Regard to Its Territory and People]. *Rad Jugoslavenske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti* 57 (1881): 102–49.

Radišić, Milica. "Archaeological testimonies of Bulgarian presence in the Central Balkans during the ninth and tenth centuries." In *Emperor Symeon's Bulgaria in the History of Europe's South-east: 1100 Years from the Battle of Achelous*, edited by Angel Nikolov and Nikolay Kanev, 134–54. Sofia: St Kliment Ohridski University Press, 2018.

Ralph-Johannes, Lillie. "Reality and Invention: Reflections on Byzantine Historiography." *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 68 (2014): 157–210.

Raukar, Tomislav. *Hrvatsko srednjovjekovlje: prostor, ljudi, ideje* [Croatian Middle Ages: Space, People, Ideas]. Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 1997.

Shchavelev, Aleksei, S. "Treatise *De Administrando Imperio* by Emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus: Date of the Paris. gr. 2009 Copy, Years of Compiling of the Original Codex, and a Hypothesis about the Number of Authors." *Studia Ceranea* 9 (2019): 681–704. https://doi.org/10.18778/2084-140X.09.33

Sokol, Vladimir. *Medieval Jewelry and Burial Assemblages in Croatia. A Study of Graves and Grave Goods ca. 800 to ca. 1450*. East and Central Eastern Europe, 450–1450 36. Leiden–Boston: Brill, 2016. https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004306745

Šafařík, Pavel, J. *Slovanské starožitnosti. Od l. 476 před Kr. až do l. 988 po Kr.* [Slav Antiquities. From 476 BC to AD 986], Vol. 2, 2nd ed. Prague: B. Tempskéh, 1863.

Ševčenko, Ihor. "Re-reading Constantine Porphyrogenitus." In *Byzantine Diplomacy*, edited by Jonathan Shepard and Simon Franklin, 167–95. London: Variorum, 1992.

Špehar, Perica. *Centralni Balkan od 7. do 11. veka. Arheološka svedočanstva* [Central Balkans from the Seventh to the Eleventh Century. Archaeological Testimonies]. Belgrade: IP Booka, 2017.

Zhikh, Maksim I. "Migratsiya serbov i khorvatov na Balkany v kontekste mezhdunarodnykh otnosheniy 20–30-kh godov VII veka" [The Migration of the Serbs and the Croats to the Balkans in the Context of International Relations of the 620s–630s]. In *Ot Zalmoksis do Kettsalkoatl. Izsledvaniya v chest na 65-godishninata na dots. d-r Stefan Ĭordanov* [From Zalmoxis to Quetzalcoatl, Studies in Honor of 65th Anniversary of Prof. St. Yordanov], Leviathan – Studiorum socii et potestatis scripta 3, 493–512. Veliko Tărnovo: ITI, 2020.

Živković, Tibor. "The Origin of the Royal Frankish Annalist's Information about the Serbs in Dalmatia." In *Homage to Academician Sima Ćirković*, edited by Srđan Rudić, 381–98. Istorijski institut 25. Belgrade: Istorijski institut, 2011.

Živković, Tibor. *De Conversione Croatorum et Serborum. A Lost Source*. Institute of History Monographs 62. Belgrade: Istorijski institut, 2012.

Živković, Tibor. "O takozvanoj »Hronici srpskih vladara« iz spisa *De administrando imperio* cara Konstantina VII Porfirogenita" [On the So-called "Chronicle of the Serbian rulers" in Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus' *De administrando imperio*]. In *Vizantijski svet na Balkanu* [Byzantine World in the Balkans], edited by Bojana Krsmanović, Ljubomir Maksimović, and Radivoj Radić, Vol. 2, 313–32. Belgrade: Vizantološki institut, 2012.

HSCE | Historical Studies on Central Europe

Historical Studies on Central Europe 3, no. 1 (2023): 26–41
doi.org/10.47074/HSCE.2023-1.02

Turkic, Roman, or Iranian?

The Institution of the Six Great Boilades in Early Medieval Bulgaria

Tsvetelin Stepanov

Department History and Theory of Culture, St. Kliment Ohridski University, 15 Tsar Osvoboditel Blvd., Sofia 1504, Bulgaria; stepanov64@yahoo.com; stepanov@phls.uni-sofia.bg

Received 25 March 2023 | Accepted 12 June 2023 | Published online 31 July 2023

Abstract. The original, shorter, version of this paper [see below n. 26] on the so-called six great *boilades* known from the Bulgar(ian) early medieval past (after the 890s) as 'bolyars' (cf. also the late Rus' rendering as 'boyars') was published in 2002 but only in Bulgarian. That is why an English version with some *addenda* is proposed in the hope that colleagues might comment on it, elucidating important details concerning this institution. Thus, the paper intends to identify analogies with ancient and early medieval Iranian and (East) Roman/Byzantine statehood. However, similarities may prove to be purely formal rather than of a genetic (or causal) nature and, therefore, should not lead to final conclusions, especially in the absence of further unambiguous information coming from primary sources.

Keywords: Bulgars, *boilades*, bolyars/boyars, Sassanid Iran, Byzantium, Constantine Porphyrogennetos, kavkhan, ichirguboil

We have the information on the six great *boilades* ("hoi hex boliades hoi megaloi") in Bulgaria thanks to Byzantine Emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos (d. 959) and his '*De ceremoniis aulae Byzantinae*.'[1] Why was the number of the great *boilades* exactly six? The answer to this question does not seem clear at all, since we have no other source carrying the same information, and the notice itself dates back to the middle of the tenth century. Consequently, we do not know whether the institution of the 'six great *boilades*' had existed in this form in the Bulgar(ian) state in earlier times—say, from the end of the eighth or beginning of the ninth century, or whether it was constituted by six aristocrats only after the conversion of the Bulgars, i.e., after 864 A.D. In this particular regard, the same Constantine VII in his '*De administrando imperio*' explicitly notes that while on a march against the Serbs, the crown prince of the Bulgarian throne, Rasate, son of the knyaz Boris-Michael

1 Constantinus Porphyrogenitus, *De ceremoniis*, 681–83 = *Grutski izvori*, 221–22.

the Baptizer (852–889, d. 907) and future knyaz Vladimir Rasate (889–893), was captured by the Serbs along with "twelve great boilades" ("kai boiladon dodeka megalon").[2] This information is dated broadly between 852 and 860, or between 870 and 889.[3]

Thus, Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos mentions the above-cited "six great *boilades*," along with the so-called "inner and outer *boilades*" in the Bulgarian state in the mid-tenth century. Usually, Bulgarian historiography pays attention primarily to the total number of the great *boilades* and to the status of the six that were explicitly noted in the inquiry of the Byzantine *logothete*. More than forty years ago, the late Vesselin Beshevliev pointed out that most probably the *ichirguboil*, along with the *kavkhan*, were among these six great *boilades*, and that they "stood first" among them. According to Beshevliev, the six were "the highest dignitaries in the Bulgarian state."[4] Yurdan Trifonov, for his part, believed that "the number six did not refer to all the great inner bolyars [*boilades*], but only to those who performed special services"; in his words, they formed "the central government of the state, which was in the palace." According to Trifonov, the expression "six great *boilades*" was a kind of formula by which they were distinguished from "the other great bolyars, who did not hold special services in the central government."[5]

In historical scholarship, the idea that the Bulgars are of Turkic origin became predominant in the last century. At the same time, it is clear that in the vast geographical region known as 'Steppe Empire' and stretching from Mongolia, in the east, to the Hungarian plain, to the west, there were no 'pure'—in linguistic and ethnic terms—political formations.

This fact is especially valid for the period after the fourth century, when that same Bulgars inhabited lands in both Central Europe and along the border of Europe with Asia, living in agreement with, or in opposition to, Iranian-speaking Sarmatians and Alans, Germans (Goths, Gepids, Longobards, etc.), Huns or other Altaic-speaking tribes invading from Inner Asia. It is this historical context that has recently led to appear several attempts in Bulgarian historiography that drew attention to certain (northern and eastern) Iranian parallels in view of various phenomena in the early Bulgar state. Thus it seems that the analogy between the six great *boilades* and some data from the Iranian Empire deserve attention; therefore the following passages will be primarily devoted to the exploration of this issue.

---

2 Constantinus Porphyrogenitus, *De administrando*, 209; Venedikov, *Voennoto*, 20.

3 Bozhilov, *Istoriia*, 11–13.

4 Beshevliev, *Purvobulgarite*, 53.

5 Trifonov, "Kum vuprosa," 45.

There was an ancient custom in Sassanid Iran, according to which the leading positions in government were in the hands of seven main clans.[6] According to Theophylact Simocatta (III, 18.7–10), these seven clans filed cases requiring foresight and special attention. One clan, that of the Arsacids, had the right to kingship; the second provided the commander-in-chief; the third conducted state affairs; the fourth resolved disputes in cases of grievances against the leadership and was responsible for internal order; the fifth provided a leader for the cavalry; the sixth dealt with taxes and supervised the treasury, and the seventh clan oversaw the preparation of weapons and munitions.[7] Long before that, the Parthian priests had reworked the story of how the first Parthian king, Arsaces, came to power, in such a way that he too, like Darius the Great of the Achaemenid dynasty, would have six assistants of noble birth. Thus, the next Arsacid dynasty, like the Achaemenids before them, recognised six great families in their Empire.[8] The seventh family was the one that produced the *shahin-shah*, i.e., it was the so-called ruling family.

Strabo (XV, 3, 24) was one of the authors to mention that Darius was chosen as king by seven Persian clans. Thus, the "invention" of the Parthian priests fits perfectly into the so-called political mythology, which from one point onwards began to support the idea that every new dynasty in Iran came to power from a certain charismatic clan, but with the assistance and approval of six other noble families who were second in position to the shah alone.[9] Mary Boyce ties this concept to the ancient Indo-Iranian notions which were later developed into a coherent system by Zarathustra, namely, that Ahura Mazda created six lesser helper deities, and afterwards all of them jointly created the seven creations that made up the world. Thus, the idea of the Iranian *shahin-shah* and his six helpers on Earth had its divine archetype and primal image.[10]

---

6 Christensen, *L' Iran*, 107–8 and note 3; Theophylacti Simocattae, *Historiae*, 148; Feofilakt Simokatta, *Istoriia*, 98; Prokopii Kesariiskii, *Voina s persami* (I. 6, 13–14), 20, 381 (note 37), 421 (note 177).

7 Theophylacti Simocattae, *Historiae*, 148; Feofilakt Simokatta, *Istoriia*, 98 (note 83 of the same text cites the opinion that by the sixth century, that this information was dated to, it was already an anachronism, as it reflected the so-called clan period (of the Achaemenids and the Arsacids) in the development of Iranian statehood). For the six chief families of nobles in Achaemenid Iran who had special rights and privileges and, what is more, could transfer them to their successors, see Dhalla, *Zoroastrian Civilization,* 230.

8 Bois [Boyce], *Zoroastriitsy*, 107; Dandamaev, *Politicheskaia istoriia*, 77–82; Frai [Frye], *Nasledie Irana*, 246.

9 Dhalla, *Zoroastrian Civilization*, 230; Dandamaev, *Politicheskaia istoriia*, 81 also calls attention to this.

10 Bois [Boyce], *Zoroastriitsy*, 30–35, 107.

It is relevant to recall that a cult of seven gods was also practiced among the Iranian-speaking Scythians. This cult can also be found later, among the Alans, who even dedicated a city to it: Theodosia on the Crimean Peninsula was called "the city of the seven gods." According to Vasilii Abaev, however, the Scythian pantheon had nothing in common with the seven deities in Zoroastrianism in view of the notions embedded in them; rather, "the seven-god pantheon was an ancient all-Aryan trafaret."[11]

The information available thus far does not suggest the practice of a typical Zoroastrian cult in Bulgaria before the conversion to Christianity, at least not in the version known from Achaemenid, and especially from Sassanid Iran.[12] The prototypes of the Bulgar pagan temples, however, have long been sought among the Iranian and Middle Asian (here understood in territorial terms) temples of fire.[13] The Iranians, as well as a number of Altaic ethnic groups (in particular, the early medieval Turks) worshipped fire, water, earth, etc., leading Mircea Eliade, for example, to argue that "in general, the structure of the religiosity of Indo-Europeans is closer to that of the Proto-Turks than to the religion of any other Palaeo-Oriental or Mediterranean people."[14] Boris Litvinsky, however, is of a completely opposite opinion on this matter.[15] According to him, the beliefs of the ancient Turks and Mongols belonged to "completely different religious and mythological systems" compared to those of Central Asian Iranian ethnic groups. We should also recall the numerous reports from Arabic authors that the Khazars, Turks, the Ghuzz, and others professed "the religion of the *magi*," i.e., that they especially revered the cult of fire. This would indicate that there was some similarity between certain cultic actions and

11 Abaev, "Kul't »semi bogov«," 445–51; also see Raevskii, "Skifskii panteon," 198–213.

12 For details, see Stepanov, *Religii*, 47–64; Sztepanov, *Vallások*, 40–57.

13 On the temples of fire in Iran and Sogdiana, for instance, see Boyce, "On the Sacred Fires," 52–69; Boyce, "On the Zoroastrian Temple," 454–65; Rapen [Rapin], "Sviatilishcha," 128–39; Shkoda, "The Sogdian Temple," 195–206; Sarianidi, "Proiskhozhdenie," 319–29. On the pagan temples in the Bulgarian territory, see Vaklinov, *Formirane*, 111–14; Stanilov, "Eziecheskite tsentrove," 225–34; Ovcharov, "Prabulgarskite kapishta," 56–62; Boiadzhiev, "Arkhitekturata," 314–27; Bonev, "Za arkhitekturniia oblik," 328–37; Georgiev, "Golemiiat ezicheski khram," 338–53; Teofilov, "Nov opit," 298–306; Spasov, "Za prabulgarskite ezicheski khramove," 121–31; Stepanov, *Vlast i avtoritet*, 156–60; Doncheva, "Ezicheskite khramove," 73–94; Rashev, *Bulgarskata ezicheska kultura*, 124–25, 134–36, 138, 307, 324; Chobanov, *Sveshtenite dvortsi*; Chobanov, "Pagan Temples," 65–89; Stepanov, *Religii*, 58–61; Sztepanov, *Vallások*, 51–54. In particular, on the temples in the so-called Khumara Hill fort (now in Karachay-Chircassia) and in Maiatskoe gorodishche, which are also related to the Bulgars from the period between the eighth and the ninth century, see Bidzhiev, "Khumarinskoe gorodishche," 115–25; Bidzhiev, "Poselenie drevnikh bolgar," 34–45; Vinnikov and Afanas'ev, *Kul'tovye kompleksy*, 118–40.

14 Eliade, *Traktat*, 135.

15 Litvinsky, "Christianity, Indian and Local Religions," 429.

beliefs among the Iranians and the Turkic-speaking ethnic groups, at least in regard to those related to fire. In this aspect, a text dating from the 320s is noteworthy, as it is related to the rule of the Sassanid Shah Shapur/Sapor II (309–379). The latter began persecuting Christians in his empire because his *magi* complained that they could neither worship the Sun, nor purify the air, or maintain the purity of water and land because of Christians who "neglected the Sun, despised fire, and did not honour water."[16] This accusation practically enumerates the four inanimate creations according to Zoroastrianism, with the Sun representing fire, and the air replacing the sky (as in the case of the ancient Greeks).[17] Water was also worshipped in the pagan Bulgar temples (or at least, it was an essential part of the ritual action),[18] and, as is well known, the offerings of fire and water were the basis of daily worship in the most ancient, Indo-Iranian cult, i.e., before the reforms of Zarathustra.[19]

These ancient Indo-Iranian (or, in a geographical aspect, eastern and north-eastern) or Indo-European elements can also be supplemented with indirect data, such as the numerous Iranian 'royal' names among the Bulgar(ian)s (*cf*., for instance, Zabergan, Asparukh, Kardam, Krum, Malamir, Persian, Rasate, etc.), as well as those among the nobility (Negavon/Negabon, Ostro, Mostich, etc.).[20] Still in the same line of thought certain Iranian titles in the Old Bulgarian state can be

16 Braun, *Ausgewählte Akten*, 1 – quoted after: Bois [Boyce], *Zoroastriitsy*, 145.

17 Bois [Boyce], *Zoroastriitsy*, 145.

18 Vaklinov, *Formirane*, 112; Boiadzhiev, "Arkhitekturata," 318–22.

19 Bois [Boyce], *Zoroastriitsy*, 11.

20 For specific names and their etymology (strictly Iranian, Indo-European or Altaic, according to different authors), see Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*; Nemeth, "Proizhod," 169–77; Duichev, "Imia Asparukh," 353–56; Duichev, "Presiam–Persian," 479–82; Beshevliev, 'Iranski elementi," 237–47; Dzhonov, "Za imenata," 16–20; Priscus, *Excerpta de legationibus*, 126–27 and esp. 218, note 455; Mikhailov, "Prabulgarskoto ime," 69–71; Simeonov, "Proizhod," 540–42; Simeonov, *Prabulgarska onomastika*, 105–200; Beshevliev, *Purvobulgarski nadpisi*, 240, note 70; Dobrev, "Prabulgarskoto khansko ime," 65–83; Granberg, "Observations," 551–61. Cf. also such personal (Sarmatian?) names as Telesinos/Telesias, Sogos, Sisas, Sindokos, Mostios, Konos, Zarandos, Gastes/Gasteis/Gastion, etc., which can be found in the Bosporan Kingdom (on this, see *Korpus Bosporskikh nadpisei*, 860, 869, 879, 885, 897, 898, 900 etc.), in view of the Bulgar(ian) Telets, Tsok, Zizais, Sondoke, Mostich, Sarandi, Gostoun, etc. In this connection, Chureshki (see "Imenata," 27) accepts as the basis of the Bulgar(ian) nobility's name system "an old steppe tradition, probably belonging to the Bosporan Kingdom in the first years A.D." In general, on the Sarmatian heritage in the North Black Sea region and its reflection in the formation of the Bulgars in the period until the seventh century, see Angelova, "Sarmatski elementi," 5–12; Georgiev, "Za semantikata," 45–66; Pritsak, "Bulgaro-arabska korespondentsiia," 16–19; Stanev, "Bosporskoto nasledstvo," 25–34; Rashev, "Za proizhoda," 23–34; Rashev, "Dve grupi prabulgari," 29–34; Rashev, *Bulgarskata ezicheska kultura*, 335–37.

noted,[21] as well as the custom dating from the time of the Kayanids, this ancient legendary East Iranian dynasty, that the men would cut their hair short or would shave their heads.[22] Perhaps it is no coincidence that the so-called *Name List* of the Bulgar rulers explicitly emphasizes how, prior to the settlement of the Bulgars led by Asparukh on this side of the Danube River in the 670s, the Bulgars had been living "for 515 years" north of the Danube with their heads shaved.[23]

Returning to Sassanid Iran, we should also consider what al-Masoudi (tenth century) wrote: in the court of the Sassanids, the chief state officials were the high priest, the grand vizier, the commander-in-chief of the army, the secretary of state, and the head of trade and agriculture, i.e., of the empire's economic affairs.[24] The question, however, remains whether they also came from the above-mentioned six most noble clans.

It was the Bulgarian scholar Petur Goliiski who ten years ago has pointed out that among the Armenians there was the same practice of the seven noble clans running the state. In his view, the practice was inherited by the Parthians. He defines these offices according to the following scheme: 1) a man responsible for the finances of the state, the collection of taxes and construction work; 2) a man who, under the Arsacids, was the head of the cavalry, but from the fourth century was only responsible for running the royal protocol; 3) the head of the royal guard; 4) a guard of the royal treasure and of the queen and also responsible for the upbringing of the crown princes; 5) commander-in-chief of the Armenian armies; 6) the supreme judge, who in the pagan era was the supreme priest, and after the conversion to Christianity—the *katholikos* (the patriarch). At the head of them all stood the king.[25] In fact, Goliiski continued my paper about the six great bolyars/boyars in Bulgaria published in 2002, adding some important details regarding two of the closest western neighbors of the Parthians, the Armenians and the Masquts/Massagetae of modern Dagestan; both were subjugated by the Iranian-speaking Parthians and obviously were under their strong influence. Goliiski was inclined to see two possibilities about the paths and places of the possible Iranian influence in the Bulgars' state structure: 1) that of

21 Stepanov, "ΚΑΝΑΣΥΒΙΓΙ" 56; Stepanov, *Vlast i avtoritet*, 46, 76–84, 89, 91–92, 96; Stepanov, "The Bulgar Title," 1–19; Dobrev, *Bulgarskiiat ezik*, 65; Slavova, *Vladetel i administratsiia*, 210–16, 277–82, 285, 288.

22 Dhalla, *Zoroastrian Civilization*, 23.

23 Pritsak, *Die bulgarische Fürstenliste*, 76–77; Petkov, *The Voices*, 4; *Stara bulgarska literatura*, 39. On the 'Name List' and its different aspects, also see Tikhomirov, "Imennik," 81–90; Moskov, *Imennik*; Gorina, "Imennik," 93–96; Gorina, "Problemy »Imennika«," 10–29; Gorina, *Bolgarskii Khronograf*; Kaimakamova, "Imennik," 7–44; Peev, "Arkhivskiiat khronograf," 104–131; Muglov, *Imennikut*.

24 Dhalla, *Zoroastrian Civilization*, 312–13.

25 See Goliiski, "Paisii Khilendarski," 101–02, 112, 114–15.

the Parthians came to the Bulgars via Armenia and/or East Caucasus, most probably between the third and the seventh century, and 2) it could be connected to the old lands of the Bulgars in Middle Asia, in Sogdiana, and Tokharistan in particular, which neighbored both the Kushans and, later, the Sassanids.[26]

Most probably, the six great *boilades* in Bulgaria—if we assume that this institution existed in the same form long before the Christianisation of the Bulgars—included the figures of the *kavkhan*, the *ichirguboil,* and the supreme priest,[27] each of whom came from their respective clans (the *kavkhan*-, the *ichirgu* clan, and the priestly one). Such a 'clan' practice was inherent in many early states, and as a relic can also be found among the Bulgarians, who had the memory of the *kavkhan* family as late as the second half of the eleventh century. Scylitzes, for instance, explicitly notes that the leader of the aristocrats in Skopje, Georgi Voitekh, who stood at the head of the Bulgarian uprising against the Byzantine rule in 1072, was from "the family of the Komkhans"; and "komkhans" is usually and correctly translated as "kavkhans."[28] It seems that there was also a special *ichirgu* clan, as there is information[29] that the *ichirguboils* and the *kavkhans* were not replaced with the change of the supreme ruler, but performed their duties for life.

It is, however, difficult to say with absolute certainty who the other three great bolyars/boyars were and what functions they were entrusted with. In any case, the clans of the six, plus the royal family formed the "magnificent ruling seven" in early medieval Bulgaria, and, based on available sources, that seems to have been the system for quite a long time.

---

26 See Stepanov, "Zashto velikite boili," 6–12; Goliiski, "Paisii Khilendarski," 101–02, 112, 114–15.

27 Venedikov, *Voennoto*, 41. For the time being, however, it is difficult to unreservedly support this author's claim that the *kana boil kolobur*, along with the *kavkhan* and the *ichirguboil*, were "the greatest commanders in the army," as there is still some ambiguity regarding the origins, functions, and role of the *kolobur* priests in pre-Christian Bulgaria (cf. Slavova, *Vladetel I administratsiia*, 67–73, 190–91; Stepanov, *Religii*, 150–58; Sztepanov, *Vallások*, 139–46).

28 Cedrenus-Scylitzae, *Compendium Historiarum,* Vol. 2, 715; Scylitzes-Cedrenus, *Historiarum compendium*, 335. On the Bulgar(ian) *kavkhans*, see Giuzelev, *Kavkhanite*, 51–121; Slavova, *Vladetel i administratsiia*, 10–15, 184. It is worth mentioning that an unknown *kavkhan* led the Bulgarian armies revolting against the Byzantines in 1041 being second after the Bulgarian leader Peter Delyan. Following the orders of Delyan, he put on a siege *Dyrrachium* (See Ioannis Scylitzae, *Synopsis Historiarum*, 411; Giuzelev, *Kavkhanite*, 83). According to V. Giuzelev, the fact that *kavkhan* Dometian (captured by the Byzantines in 1015) was succeeded by his brother Theodor, in addition to the testimonies on the above-said unknown *kavkhan* of 1041 and those about the *kavkhan* Georgi Voitekh, suggests the possibility of "heredity in holding the kavkhan position" in Bulgaria (For details, see Giuzelev, *Kavkhanite*, 79, 86, 114, 120).

29 See Venedikov, *Voennoto*, 28–32. On the *ichirguboil* title and his functions, see in detail Giuzelev, *Kavkhanite*, 125–82; Slavova, *Vladetel i administratsiia*, 21–29, 184–85.

Another possibility for interpretation is found in the Byzantine sources and institutions. Undoubtedly, we must note the long-noticed similarity (parallelism?) in the inquiries of the Bulgarian envoys to Constantinople and those of the Byzantine *logothete* regarding the health of the Bulgarian tsar Peter (927–969; d. 970), his wife, his children, his closest bolyars/boyars, etc.[30] This similarity has led Ivan Venedikov to accept that "the six great *boilades* correspond to the two *magistroi* in the first redaction [of the "*De ceremoniis*"—my note, Ts. St.] or to the *magistroi*, *anthypatoi*, and *patrikioi* in the second redaction in general."[31] But in the so-called "first redaction of the address" (i.e., before the change in the Bulgarian ruler's title from *archon* to *tsar* in 927) to the Byzantine *basileus* preserved in "*De ceremoniis*," it is inquired thus: "…how are the two *magistroi*, how is also the whole senate? How are the four *logothetai*?" Therefore, in order to correspond to the number of great *boilades*¸ i.e., six, the two *magistroi* could be supplemented, for instance, with four *logothetai*.[32] The first certain mention of a *magistros* in the sense of a title is from the end of the ninth century (in Philotheos' '*Kletorologion*'). Their number was less than twelve at the beginning of the tenth century, but by the time of the mission to Constantinople of Bishop Liutprand of Cremona, they numbered twenty four.[33] It is clear that after the Christianisation of Bulgaria after 864, similarities with the Byzantine Empire were sought in a number of aspects, but whether they affected the institution of the *boilades* who stood closest to the Bulgarian ruler, cannot be said with certainty. We can accept as highly probable Venedikov's argument that "the six great *boilades* formed something like the government of the Bulgarian ruler."[34] In the Late Roman Empire and Early Byzantium, there was the so-called *consistorium*, which consisted of various people acting as advisers to the ruler. Towards the end of the fourth century, it consisted of two groups of members: the more important ones among them were the heads of the main services in the imperial administration (*magister officiorum*, *quaestor sacri palatii*, *comes sacrarum largitionum*, and *comes rerum privatarum*) and sometimes the praetorian prefect and certain military men, while the second group included those with lower rights and obligations. This *consistorium* never evolved into an independent institution, remaining merely a ceremonial and consultative body. As early as the end of the fourth century, the emperors did not take part in its work, as their "inner cabinet" began to play an

30 Constantinus Porphyrogenitus, *De ceremoniis*, 221–22; Trifonov, "Kum vuprosa," 44–46.

31 Venedikov, *Voennoto*, 19–20.

32 On the *magistroi, patrikioi, anthypatoi, logothetai* and the senate, see Bréhier, *Les institutions*, 89, 93, 101, 106–7, 113, 116–17, 149–51, 241, 389–90, 397; Kazhdan, ed., *The Oxford Dictionary,* Vol. 1, 111; Vol. 2, 1246–48, 1267; Vol. 3, 1600, 1868–69.

33 Kazhdan, ed., *The Oxford Dictionary,* Vol. 2, 1267.

34 Venedikov, *Voennoto*, 20.

increasingly important role as an advisory body.[35] Could the six great *boilades* be this "inner cabinet" of the Bulgarian ruler?

Here again, however, the same question arises again whether we can assert that no change occurred in the number of the khan's most trusted persons for the whole period after 680; and whether and to what extent we have the right to automatically transfer ain formation from the tenth century to situations and cases typical of pre-Christian Bulgaria. Indeed, the presence of *kavkhans, chergubils, zhupans, tarkans, comites,* and the like long after the conversion of the Bulgarians indicates conservatism in the field of state organisation and government in Bulgaria, but it still does not give any specific knowledge regarding the so-called six great *boilades*. Thus, in this aspect as well, the reasoning can only rely on indirect information and conjecture.

In conclusion, let me repeatedly emphasise that the purpose of this short paper is not to solve the problem, but above all, to present possible analogies of Iranian and Byzantine statehood with the institution of the six great *boilades* in early medieval Bulgaria.

Sources

Beshevliev, Vesselin. *Purvobulgarski nadpisi* [Proto-Bulgarian Inscriptions]. Sofia: BAN, 1979. (2nd revised and supplemented ed. Sofia: BAN, 1992).

Braun, Oskar, transl. *Ausgewählte Akten persischen Märtyrer*. Bibliothek der Kirchenväter, 1 Reiche, Vol. 22, Kempten–Munich: J. Kösler, 1915.

Cedrenus, Georgius et Ioannis Scylitzae. Compendium Historiarum, Vol. 2, edited by I. Bekkerus. Bonnae, 1839.

Constantinus Porphyrogenitus. De thematibus et De administrando imperio. In *Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae*, Vol. 3, edited by I. Bekkerus. Bonnae, 1840 = *Grutski izvori za bulgarskata istoriia* [Greek Sources for the Bulgarian History]. Vol. 5, edited by Ivan Duichev et al. Sofia: BAN, 1964.

Constantinus Porphyrogenitus. De ceremoniis aulae Byzantinae. In *Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae, vols 1–2*, Vol. 1, edited by I. Reiskii. Bonnae, 1829–1830 = *Grutski izvori za bulgarskata istoriia* [Greek Sources for the Bulgarian History]. Vol. 5, edited by Ivan Duichev et al. Sofia: BAN, 1964.

Feofilakt Simokatta [Theophylaktos Simocatta]. *Istoriia* [History]. Moscow: Arktos, 1996.

Ioannis Scylitzae. Synopsis Historiarum. Editio princeps, rec. I. Thurn. Berlin–New York: Walter De Gruyter, 1973.

35 For details, see Bréhier, *Les institutions*, 86; Kazhdan, ed., *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, Vol. 1, 496.

Korpus Bosporskikh nadpisei [Corpus of Bosporan Inscriptions], edited by V. Struve. Moscow–Saint-Petersburg: Nauka, 1965.

Priscus. Excerpta de legationibus. In *Grutski izvori za bulgarskata istoriia* [Greek Sources for the Bulgarian History]. Vol. 1, edited by Vesselin Beshevliev. Sofia: BAN, 1954.

Prokopii Kesariiskii [Procopius of Caesarea].*Voina s persami. Voina s vandalami. Tainaia istoriia. Izdanie vtoroe, ispravlennoe i dopolnennoe. Perevod s grecheskogo, vstupitel'naia stat'ia, kommentarii A.A. Chekalovoi* [The Wars with the Persians. The Wars with the Vandals. The Secret History. Translated from Greek, Introductory Chapter, Comments by A. A. Chekalova]. Moscow: Nauka, 1993. (2nd revised ed. Saint-Petersburg: Aleteiia, 1998).

Scylitzes-Cedrenus. Historiarum compendium. In *Grutski izvori za bulgarskata istoriia* [Greek Sources for the Bulgarian History]. Vol. 6, edited by Ivan Duichev. Sofia: BAN, 1965.

Stara bulgarska literatura. Vol. 3: Istoricheski suchineniia [Old-Bulgarian Literature, Vol. 3: Historical Writings], edited by Ivan Bozhilov. Sofia: Bulgarski pisatel, 1983.

Theophylacti Simocattae. Historiae, edidit Carolus De Boor, editionem correctiorem curavit Peter Wirth. Stuttgart: Teubner, 1972.

Literature

Abaev, Vasilii. "Kul't »semi bogov« u skifov" [The Cult of the 'Seven Deities' among the Scyths]. In *Drevnii mir (sbornik statei*) [Ancient World (Collection of Articles], edited by Nina Pigulevskaia et al., 445–51. Moscow: Izdatel'stvo vostochnoi literatury, 1962.

Angelova, Elena. "Sarmatski elementi v ezicheskite nekropoli ot severoiztochna Bulgaria i Severna Dobrudzha" [Sarmatian Elements in the Pagan Necropolises of North-Eastern Bulgaria and Northern Dobrudzha]. *Arkheologiia* 2 (1995): 5–12.

Beshevliev, Vesselin. "Iranski elementi u purvobulgarite" [Iranian Elements among the Bulgars]. In *Antichnoe obshtestvo (Trudy konferentsii po izucheniiu problem Antichnosti)* [Antique Society (Papers from the Conference in Studying the Problems of Antiquity)], 237–47. Moscow: Nauka, 1967.

Beshevliev, Vesselin. *Purvobulgarite. Bit i kultura* [The Bulgars. Way of Life and Culture]. Sofia: Nauka i izkustvo, 1981.

Bidzhiev, Hasan. "Khumarinskoe gorodishche (VIII–X vv.)" [Khumara gorodishche (Eighth–Tenth Centuries)]. In *Sbornik v pamet na prof. Stancho Vaklinov* [Collection of Studies in Memory of Prof. Stancho Vaklinov], 115–25. Sofia: BAN, 1984.

Bidzhiev, Hasan. "Poselenie drevnikh bolgar Severnogo Kavkaza VIII–X vv. (Po materialam Karachaevo-Cherkesii i Stavropol'skoi vozvyshennosti)" [Settlement of Ancient Bulgars of Northern Caucasus, Eighth–Tenth Centuries (On the Basis of Evidence in Karachay-Chircassia and the Hills of Stavropol')]. In *Rannie bolgary v Vostochnoi Evrope* [Early Bulgars in Eastern Europe], edited by Alfred Khalikov, 34–45. Kazan': Akademiia nauk SSSR – Kazanskii filial, 1989.

Boiadzhiev, Stefan. "Arkhitekturata na prabulgarskite khramove" [Architecture of the Bulgar Temples]. In *Problemi na prabulgarskata istoriia i kultura* [Problems of Bulgar History and Culture]. Vol. 1, 314–27. Sofia: BAN, 1989.

Bois, Mery [Boyce, Mary]. *Zoroastriitsy: Verovaniia i obychai. Perevod s angliiskogo i primechaniia I. M. Steblin-Kamenskogo* [The Zoroastrians: Beliefs and Rites. Translated from English, and with Notes by I. M. Steblin-Kamenskii]. Moscow: Nauka, 1987.

Bonev, Stoycho. "Za arkhitecturniia oblik na prabulgarskite ezicheski khramove" [On the Architectural Form of the Bulgar Heathen Temples]. In *Problemi na prabulgarskata istoriia i kultura* [Problems of Bulgar History and Culture]. Vol. 1, 328–37. Sofia: BAN, 1989.

Boyce, Mary. "On the Sacred Fires of the Zoroastrians." *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 31 (1968): 52–69. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0041977X00112789

Boyce, Mary, "On the Zoroastrian Temple Cult of Fire." *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 95 (1975): 454–65. https://doi.org/10.2307/599356

Bozhilov, Ivan. *Istoriia na srednovekovna Bulgaria, Vols 1–2*. Vol. 1: Varvarska Bulgaria. [History of Medieval Bulgaria. Vol. 1: Barbarian Bulgaria]. S.l.: Fondatsiia "Bulgarsko istorichesko nasledstvo," 2017.

Bréhier, Louis. *Les institutions de l'empire byzantin*. Paris: Albin Michel, 1970.

Chobanov, Todor. *Sveshtenite dvortsi na bulgarskite khanove* [The Sacral Palaces of the Bulgars' Khans]. Sofia: Agato, 2008.

Chobanov, Todor. "Pagan Temples of Danube Bulgaria." In *The Bulgars: The Discussion Continues*, edited by Tsvetelin Stepanov, 65–89. Sofia: Tsentur za izsledvane na bulgarite and Tangra TanNakRa, 2014.

Christensen, Arthur. *L' Iran sous les Sassanides*. Copenhague: E. Munksgaard, 1944.

Chureshki, Stefan. "Imenata na kniazete ot Imennika na bulgarskite kniaze – slavianski, tiurkski ili drugi?" [The Names of the Princes from the 'Name List of the Bulgar Khans' – Slavonic, Turkic, or Other?]. *Minalo* 3 (2001): 15–29.

Dandamaev, Magomed. *Politicheskaia istoriia Akhemenidskoi derzhavy* [Political History of the Achaemenid State]. Moscow: Nauka, 1985.

Dhalla, Maneckji. *Zoroastrian Civilization: From the Earliest Times to the Downfall of the Last Zoroastrian Empire 651 A.D.* New York–Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1922.

Dobrev, Ivan K. "Prabulgarskoto khansko ime Avitokhol" [The Bulgar Khan's Name Avitokhol]. In *50 godini spetsialnost Tiurkologiia v Sofiiskiia universitet 'Sveti Kliment Okhridski'. Iubileen sbornik* [50 Years of the Dept. of Turkic Studies in the St Kliment Ohridski University of Sofia], 65–83. Sofia: St Kliment Ohridski University Press, 2004.

Dobrev, Ivan D. *Bulgarskiiat ezik*. Sofia: Slavia Verlag, 2005.

Doncheva, Stela. "Ezicheskite khramove – opit za arkhitecturno-semantichen analiz." [The Heathen Temples – an Attempt at Architectural-Semantic Analysis]. In *Bulgarskite zemi prez Srednovekovieto (VII–XVIII v.). Mezhdunarodna konferentsiia v chest na 70-godishninata na prof. Aleksandur Kuzev, Varna 12-14 septemvri 2002 g.* [The Bulgarian Lands in the Middle Ages (Seventh–Eighteenth Centuries). International Conference in Honour of the 70th Anniversary of Prof. Alexander Kuzev, Varna, 12–14 of September, 2002], 73–94. Acta Musei Varnaensis 3. Varna: Regionalen Istoriceski Muzej, 2005.

Duichev, Ivan. "Imia Asparukh v novootkrytykh nadpisiakh Gruzii" [The Name Asparukh in the Newly-Found Inscriptions in Georgia]. *Archiv Orientalny* 21 (1953): 353–56.

Duichev, Ivan. "Presiam–Persian. Prinos kum onomastikata na bulgarskoto Srednovekovie" [Presiam–Persian. A Contribution to the Onomastics of the Bulgarian Middle Ages]. In *Ezikovedsko-etnografski izsledvaniia v pamet na akad. St. Romanski* [Linguistic-Ethnological Studies in Memory of the Academician St. Romanski], edited by Vladimir Georgiev, 479–82. Sofia: BAN, 1960.

Dzhonov, Boris. "Za imenata na purvobulgarskite khanove." [On the Names of the Bulgar Khans]. *Philologiia* 1 (1977): 16–20.

Eliade, Mircha [Mircea]. *Traktat po istoriia na religiite* [Study in the History of Religions], translated by T. Mineva. Sofia: LIK, 1995.

Frai, Richard [Frye, Richard]. *Nasledie Irana. Perevod s angliiskogo V. A. Livshitsa i E.V. Zeimalia*. [The Heritage of Persia. Translated from English by V. A. Livshits and E. V. Zeimal']. Moscow: Nauka, 1972.

Georgiev, Pavel. "Golemiiat ezicheski khram v Pliska" [The Big Heathen Temple in Pliska]. In *Problemi na prabulgarskata istoriia i kultura* [Problems of Bulgar History and Culture]. Vol. 1, 338–53. Sofia: BAN, 1989.

Georgiev, Pavel. "Za semantikata na sarmatskite znatsi v severnoto Chernomorie" [On the Semantics of the Sarmatian Signs in the Northern Black Sea Coast]. In *Bulgarite v severnoto Prichernomorie* [The Bulgars in the Northern Black Sea Coast]. Vol. 6, 45–66. Veliko Turnovo: Izdatelska kăshta Asta, 1997.

Giuzelev, Vassil. *Kavkhanite i ichirguboilite na bulgarskoto khanstvo-tsarstvo (VII–XI vek)* [The Kaukhans and Ichirgouboilades of the Bulgarian Khanate-Tsardom (Seventh–Eleventh Centuries)]. Plovdiv: Fondatsiia "Bulgarsko istorichesko nasledstvo", 2007.

Goliiski, Petur. "Paisii Khilendarski, drevnobulgarskiiat i irano-armenskiiat durzhaven model." [Paisii of Chilendar, the Bulgar and Iranian-Armenian State Model]. In *Bulgarskoto nachalo. Pogled ot 2012 godina* [The Bulgar Beginning. Glimpse from the Year 2012], 87–120. Sofia: Center for the Study of the Bulgarians–Tangra TanNakRa, 2013.

Gorina, Liudmila. "»Imennik bolgarskikh khanov« v sostave Ellinskogo Letopistsa pervoi redaktsii" [The 'Name List' of the Bulgar Khans in the Ellinskii Letopisets's First Redaction]. *Bulgarian Historical Review* 3 (1991): 93–96.

Gorina, Liudmila. "Problemy »Imennika bolgarskikh khanov« kak chasti Ellinskogo Letopistsa." [Problems of the 'Name List' of the Bulgar Khans as Part of the Ellinskii Letopisets]. *Bulgarian Historical Review* 1 (1995): 10–29.

Gorina, Liudmila. *Bolgarskii Khronograf i ego sud'ba na Rusi* [Bulgarian Chronograph and Its Destiny in Rus']. Sofia: Tsentur za izsledvaniia na bulgarite and Tangra TanNakRa, 2005.

Granberg, Antoaneta. "Observations on Bulgarian Clan Names in the 7th–9th Centuries." In *Civitas Divino-Humana (In Honorem Annorum LX Georgii Bakalov)*, edited by Tsvetelin Stepanov and Vesselina Vachkova, 551–61. Sofia: Tsentur za izsledvaniia na bulgarite–Tangra TanNakRa, 2004.

Kaimakamova, Miliiana. "»Imennik na bulgarskite khanove« – nachalo na bulgarskoto letopisno tvorchestvo" ['The Name List' of the Bulgar Khans – Origins of the Bulgarian Chronographical Works]. *Rodina* 1–2 (1997): 7–44.

Kazhdan, Alexander P., ed. *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*. New York–Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991.

Litvinsky, Boris. "Christianity, Indian and Local Religions." In *History of Civilizations of Central Asia, Vol. 3: The Crossroads of Civilizations, AD 250 to 750*, edited by Boris A. Litvinsky et al., 421–31. Paris: UNESCO Publishing, 1996.

Mikhailov, Stamen. "Prabulgarskoto ime na Omurtag" [The Bulgar Name of Omurtag]. *Istoricheski pregled* 10 (1992): 69–71.

Moravcsik, Gyula. *Byzantinoturcica. Die byzantinischen Quellen der Geschichte der Turkvolker.* Vols 1–2. Budapest, 1942–1943. (2nd ed. Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1958).

Moskov, Mosko. *Imennik na bulgarskite khanove (novo tulkuvane)* ['Name List' of the Bulgar Khans (A New Interpretation)]. Sofia: Izdatelstvo "D-r Petur Beron", 1988.

Muglov, Georgi. *Imennikut na bulgarskite vladeteli. Opit za tulkuvane* [The 'Name List' of the Bulgar Rulers. An Attempt at Interpretation]. Sofia: Media Rationis, 2021.

Nemet, Giula [Németh, Gyula]. "Proizhod na imenata »Kobrat« i »Esperikh«." [Origin of the Names 'Kobrat' and 'Esperikh']. *Izvestiia na Istoricheskoto druzhestvo* 11–12 (1931-1932): 169–77.

Ovcharov, Dimitur. "Prabulgarskite kapishta – proizhod i prednaznachenie" [The Bulgar Kapishta – Origin and Meaning]. *Vekove* 2 (1983): 56–62. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.2164-4918.1983.tb00122.x

Peev, Dimitur. "Arkhivskiiat khronograf i Letopisets Elinski i Rimski I redaktsiia" [The Archivskii Sbornik and the Ellinskii Letopisets – Fist Recension]. *Starobulgarska literatura* 39–40 (2008): 104–31.

Petkov, Kiril. *The Voices of Medieval Bulgaria, Seventh–Fifteenth Century (The Records of a Bygone Culture)*. Leiden–Boston: Brill, 2008. https://doi.org/10.1163/ej.9789004168312.i-574

Pritsak, Omeljan. *Die bulgarische Fürstenliste und die Sprache der Protobulgaren*. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1955.

Pritsak, Omeljan. "Bulgaro–arabska korespondentsiia ot IX vek" [Bulgar–Arab Correspondence of the Ninth Century]. *Minalo* 1 (2006): 16–19.

Raevskii, Dmitrii. "Skifskii panteon: semantika struktury" [The Scythian Pantheon: Semantics of the Structure]. In *Istoriko-etnograficheskie issledovaniia po fol'kloru (Sbornik pamiati Sergeia Tokareva)* [Historical-Ethnographic Studies in Folklore (Collected Papers in Memory of Sergei Tokarev)], edited by Vladimir Ya. Petrukhin, 198–213. Moscow: Vostochnaia literatura, 1994.

Rapen, Constantin [Rapin, Constantin]. "Sviatilishcha Srednei Azii v epokhu ellinizma (sostoianie voprosa)" [The Middle Asian Sanctuaries during the Epoch of Hellenism (State of the Art)]. *Vestnik drevnei istorii* 4 (1994): 128–39.

Rashev, Rasho. "Za proizhoda na prabulgarite" [On the Origin of the Bulgars]. In *Studia Protobulgarica et Mediaevalia Europensia (v chest na prof. Vesselin Beshevliev)* [Studia Protobulgarica et Mediaevalia Europensia (In Honour of Prof. Vesselin Beshevliev)], edited by Veselin Beshevliev, Vasil Giuzelev, and Kazimir Popkonstantinov, 23–34. Veliko Turnovo: Universitetsko izdatelstvo "Sv. sv. Kiril i Metodii", 1993.

Rashev, Rasho. "Dve grupi prabulgari i dve prabulgarski kulturi" [Two Groups of Bulgars and Two Bulgar Cultures]. In *Istoriko-arkheologicheski izsledvaniia v pamet na prof. Stancho Vaklinov* [Historical-Archeological Studies in Memory of Prof. Stancho Vaklinov], edited by Dimităr Ovcharov and I. Shtereva, 29–34. Veliko Turnovo: Universitetsko izdatelstvo "Sv. sv. Kiril i Metodii", 1994.

Rashev, Rasho. *Bulgarskata ezicheska kultura VII–IX vek* [The Bulgar Pagan Culture, Seventh–Ninth Centuries]. Sofia: Klasika i stil, 2008.

Sarianidi, Viktor. "Proiskhozhdenie iranskikh hramov ognia" [The Origin of the Iranian Fire Temples]. In *La Persia e l'Asia centrale da Alessandro al X secolo*, 319–29. Roma: Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, 1996.

Shkoda, Vladislav. "The Sogdian Temple: Structure and Rituals." *Bulletin of the Asia Institute* 10 (1996): 195–206.

Simeonov, Boris. "Proizhod, struktura i znachenie na lichnoto ime na khan Omurtag" [Origin, Structure and Meaning of the Personal Name of Khan Omurtag]. *Bulgarski ezik* 6 (1984): 540–42.

Simeonov, Boris. *Prabulgarska onomastika* [Bulgar Onomastics]. Plovdiv: Fondatsiia "Bulgarsko istorichesko nasledstvo," 2008.

Slavova, Tatiana. *Vladetel i administratsiia v rannosrednovekovna Bulgaria. Filologicheski aspekti* [Ruler and Administration in Early Medieval Bulgaria. Philological Aspects]. Sofia: PAM Publishing Company, 2010.

Spasov, Svetoslav. "Za prabulgarskite ezicheski khramove" [On the Bulgar Heathen Temples]. *Trudove na katedrite po Istoriia i Bogoslovie – Shumenski universitet* 1 (1997): 121–31.

Stanev, Kamen. "Bosporskoto nasledstvo na prabulgarite. Zashto Asparukh e nosil tova ime i proizhod na znaka IYI" [The Bosporan Heritage of the Bulgars. Why did Asparukh Bear this Name and the Origin of the IYI Sign]. *Minalo* 1 (2005): 25–34.

Stanilov, Stanislav. "Ezicheskite tsentrove v Purvata bulgarska durzhava" [The Heathen Centres in the First Bulgarian State]. In *Bulgaria 1300: Institutsii i durzhavna traditsiia, Vol. 2* [Bulgaria 1300: Institutions and State Tradition, Vol. 2], 225–34. Sofia: Bulgarsko istorichesko druzhestvo, 1982.

Stepanov, Tsvetelin. "ΚΑΝΑΣΥΒΙΓΙ, titlata na prabulgarskiia vladetel (Razmishleniia vurhu ideiata za vurhovnata vlast v predkhristiianska Bulgaria)." [ΚΑΝΑΣΥΒΙΓΙ the Title of the Bulgar Ruler (Thinking about the Idea of the Supreme Power in Pre-Christian Bulgaria)]. *Palaeobulgarica* 3 (1997): 54–59.

Stepanov, Tsvetelin. *Vlast i avtoritet v rannosrednovekovna Bulgaria (VII–sredata na IX vek)* [Power and Prestige in Early Medieval Bulgaria (Seventh–mid-Nineth Century]. Sofia: Agato, 1999.

Stepanov, Tsvetelin. "The Bulgar Title ΚΑΝΑΣΥΒΙΓΙ: Reconstructing the Notions of Divine Kingship in Bulgaria, AD 822–836." *Early Medieval Europe* 10, no. 1 (2001): 1–19. https://doi.org/10.1111/1468-0254.00077

Stepanov, Tsvetelin. "Zashto velikite boili sa bili shest na broi? (Nov iranski element v bulgrskata durzhavnost?)" [Why the Great Bolyars Numbered Six? (New Iranian Element in the Bulgarian Statehood?)]. *Bulgarski vekove* 4 (2002): 6–12.

Stepanov, Tsvetelin. *Religii v ezicheska Bulgaria (Istoriografski podhodi 1980–2015 g.)* [Religions in Pagan Bulgaria (Historiographic Approaches, 1980–2015)]. Sofia: Paradigma, 2017.

Sztepanov, Cvetelin. *Vallások a pogány Bulgáriában. Historiográfiai megközelítések 1980 és 2015 között*. Fordította Kovács Gergely Lajos [Religions in Pagan Bulgaria (Historiographic Approaches, 1980–2015). Translated from Bulgarian Gergely Lajos Kovács]. Ómúltunk Tára 15. Budapest: Napkút, 2019.

Teofilov, Teofil. "Nov opit za vnikvane v sushtnostta i funktsiite na prabulgarskite ezicheski khramove" [A New Attempt at Understanding the Essence and Functions of the Bulgar Pagan Temples]. In *1100 godini Veliki Preslav* [1100 Years of Great Preslav], edited by Toitu Totev, 298–306. Shumen: Izdatelstvo na Shumenskiia universitet "Konstantin Preslavski", 1995.

Tikhomirov, Mikhail. "Imennik bolgarskikh kniazei" ['Name List' of the Bulgar Princes]. *Vestnik drevnei istorii* 3 (1946): 81–90.

Trifonov, Yurdan. "Kum vuprosa za starobulgarskoto boliarstvo" [On the Question about Old-Bulgarian Bolyarship]. *Spisanie na BAN* 26, no. 14 (1923): 1–70.

Vaklinov, Stancho. *Formirane na starobulgarskata kultura VI–XI vek* [Formation of the Old Bulgarian Culture, the Sixth–Eleventh Centuries]. Sofia: Nauka i izkustvo, 1977.

Venedikov, Ivan. *Voennoto i administrativnoto ustroistvo na Bulgaria prez IX i X vek* [Military and Administrative Structure of Bulgaria in the Ninth and Tenth Centuries]. Sofia: Voenno izdatelstvo, 1979.

Vinnikov, Anatolii and Gennady Afanas'ev. *Kul'tovye kompleksy Mayatskogo gorodishcha* [Cult Complexes of the Mayatskoe gorodishche]. Voronezh: Izdatel'stvo Voronezhskogo universiteta, 1991.

HSCE | Historical Studies on Central Europe

Historical Studies on Central Europe 3, no. 1 (2023): 42–79
doi.org/10.47074/HSCE.2023-1.03

Surrounded by Ancestors

Depiction of Luxembourg and Plantagenet Genealogies in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries

Jakub Jauernig

Faculty of Arts, Charles University, nám. Jana Palacha 1/2, 116 38 Prague 1; Centre for Medieval Studies, The Czech Academy of Sciences; Jilská 1, 110 00 Prague 1, Czech Republic;
jauernig@flu.cas.cz

Barbora Uchytilová

Catholic Theological Faculty, Charles University, Thákurova 3, 160 00 Prague 6; Centre for Medieval Studies, The Czech Academy of Sciences; Jilská 1, 110 00 Prague 1, Czech Republic;
uchytilova@flu.cas.cz

Received 7 April 2023 | Accepted 31 May 2023 | Published online 31 July 2023

Abstract. The ruling dynasties literally surrounded themselves with their ancestors (real ones, as well as imaginary ones), creating galleries of their predecessors or artifacts, such as scrolls with genealogical diagrams. A lineage represented in such a manner could then be presented not only to the royal family but also to their courtiers and foreign diplomats, reminding everyone of the position of the dynasty depicted in contemporary political struggles and in the history of Christianity. This argument is underlined by the fact that within the portrayal of the family, the prophecies of the end of the world and the approach of the Kingdom of Heaven were also included. The paper examines the way the members of two great European dynasties (the Luxembourg and Plantagenet) used pedigrees, the actual members they emphasised in them, and the imaginary characters they incorporated into their lineage. The two case studies consist of an ancestral gallery of the Luxembourgs in Karlštejn Castle and a pedigree scroll of Edward IV from the Plantagenet dynasty. This project evaluates the material from geographically distant areas and detects common features of pedigree construction strategies.
Keywords: Genealogies, Luxembourg, Plantagenet, Royal Representation

Introduction

Genealogies emerged as a crucial aspect in the justification of royal authority during the Middle Ages. The practice of presenting one's lineage based on ancient forefathers was common for most noble houses. The purpose of portraying rulers in prominent

locations and sites of representation was not only to reconnect the ruling dynastic past constantly, but also to establish their succession in the future.[1] Pedigrees and lists of ancestors defined the relationships among individuals and groups, whose names and heroic deeds were meant to be remembered to enhance the dynasty's prestige. However, the incorporation of multiple groups into the overall dynastic structure was sometimes confusing and complicated.[2] From the eleventh century onwards, diagrams were utilised in monastic settings as a tool for memorisation and to represent abstract concepts. Genealogical diagrams that represented selected kin relationships functioned as mind maps and provided a tangible visualisation of the otherwise abstract family structure.[3]

Diagrammatic displays were usually employed to illustrate complicated family relationships, particularly Christ's genealogy.[4] Initially, they were highlighted by floral motifs and stressed only the significant lines of relations. However, over time, this evolved into the family tree or the so-called Tree of Jesse. These diagrams may take the form of a mere list of names, arranged linearly to indicate relationships (i.e., linear arrangement), or a more complex depiction with lines connecting various individuals.[5] In the case of complex genealogical diagrams, it is necessary to mark the relationships with clear lines. Conversely, in the case of a list of names, their order determines the continuity of relationships and serves as a simpler variant of the family diagram.

Gabriela Spiegel conceptualises genealogies as a genre that can be applied across a wide range of media, often employed side by side.[6] The multiplicity of uses suggests that the genealogical diagram was considered a means of refining the narrative of family history. The function of the display and the purpose of its message were conditioned by the medium chosen. The construction of the genealogical diagram was affected by the selection (and omission) of individuals or entire groups

---

1 This study was supported by Charles University grant scheme START CZ.02.2.69/0.0/0.0/19_073/0016935 sub-project n.START/HUM/057 "Surrounded by Ancestors. Depiction of Luxembourg and Plantagenet Genealogies in the 14th and 15th Centuries". Research team: Jakub Jauernig and Barbora Uchytilová.

Current research dealing with genealogies: Bartlett, *Blood Royal*; Bláhová, *Genealogy*; Holladay, *Genealogy*; Bloch, *Etymologies*; Radulescu and Kennedy, *Broken Lines*; Spiegel, *Genealogy*; Trevisan, *Ancestry*.

2 Holladay, *Genealogy*, 53.

3 Holladay, *Genealogy*, 28.

4 For a broader discussion on genealogical diagrams see: De Labordie, *A New Pattern*, 45–47.

5 Some medieval scribes noted a similarity between Peter of Poitiers' genealogy of Christ, as depicted in the scroll diagram, and the genealogies of the English kings. This observation suggests that the work was widely popular in the British Isles and was regarded as legitimate: Holladay, *Genealogy*, 28–30; *Genealogia Christi*.

6 Spiegel, *Genealogy*.

to correspond to the purpose of the work commissioned.[7] Some scholars suggest that the genealogical diagram could resemble a family photo album over which the family would gather to reminisce, each member contributing to a collective memory based on their recollections. In the case of ruling families, this process of collective memory formation takes on a constitutional structure dimension.[8]

The main goal of this study is to explore the possibilities of constructing and depicting genealogical diagrams. In order to understand the general principles of a dynastic strategy of pedigree compilation, we chose the Luxembourg and Plantagenet dynasties in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries to compare two noble houses. We assume that the selection of different media (chronicles, scrolls and ancestral galleries) and the choice of two distant geographical areas (Bohemia and England) enables us to find their general principles. It seems that one of the crucial features they share is the incorporation of mythical ancestors and dynastic founding fathers.

Chronicles are well-preserved media depicting pedigrees. In the British Isles, the most comprehensive works up to the fifteenth century are the so-called *Brut* chronicles,[9] whose mythical beginning is based on Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum Britanniae*. In the Bohemian context, several chronicles of world history were produced during the period, but we will focus on Giovanni Marignolli's work. Prophecies are an integral part of both chronicles and are reflected in the visual representation of the family trees.

Taking the form of sculptures and mural paintings, the ancestral gallery is the most common visual medium used to depict pedigree and is frequently employed as part of the iconographic programme decorating a representative site. The *Luxembourg genealogy* in Karlštejn Castle is presented in the first part of this study. Scrolls, on the other hand, are a specific medium more commonly used in the British Isles and are presented in the second part of this paper. Both of these media utilise a linear form of vertical genealogy, in which "genealogy reads like a stripped-down narrative in which the only verb is »begat« or »succeeded«."[10] (or *genuit* in the *Luxembourg genealogy*).

Genealogical diagrams emphasise dynastic continuity, often with a focus on royal succession. The composition of the pedigree is primarily based on blood relations, though some links may have been artificially created. Genealogical diagrams tend to have a dual or hybrid structure, but one of the two is often dominant:

7 Holladay, *Genealogy,* 32.

8 Coote, *Prophecy, Genealogy and History,* 28–29.

9 Definition of the *Brut* genre, Rajsic, *Looking for Arthur*, 449.

10 Holladay, *Genealogy,* 3.

- a consanguinity structure, which links the last depicted ruler to the founding father, thereby creating an unbroken kinship;
- a constitutional structure, emphasizing the continuity of rule, regardless of the kings' lineage.[11]

Most genealogies favour a bloodline that is not necessarily tied to a particular title, emphasizing the antiquity of the lineage of the last offspring, thus accentuating the primarily dynastic, rather than constitutional, nature of the diagram. However, a variation of the two types can be observed in the representation of Emperor Charles IV in the *Luxembourg genealogy*. The inspiration for the visual propaganda of this dynasty came from the French court where the Emperor grew up, but this paper does not aim to deconstruct that knowledge.[12] Conversely, in the English setting, the line of the state is often emphasised because of the numerous dynastic changes on the English throne.[13]

Current research on genealogical diagrams tends to rely on comparative evaluation that is limited to locally similar examples and does not usually identify general trends.[14] This study proposes an alternative approach that could lead to new research questions. It offers fresh interpretations of broader phenomena by focusing on two European courts—the Plantagenet and Luxembourg—located in geographically distinct areas. Our intention, however, is not to present an exhaustive survey of the genealogical representation of these dynasties, but rather to compare and contrast aspects and visual forms of their genealogies through two selected case studies. We aim to foreground the diversity of these two historical settings and to highlight elements and practices unique to each dynasty, rather than obscuring them due to their proximity. Through this analysis, we explore the differences and similarities between the two and consider the strategies employed in the construction of their pedigree.

I. The *Luxembourg Genealogy*[15]

In an attempt to support Charles IV's election as King of Romans, the first archbishop of Prague emphasised his dynastic continuity at the time when the Pope visited Avignon in 1346. Arnošt of Pardubice stressed his Luxembourg and Přemyslid

11 Maree Shirota describes the same phenomena with the term 'royal' dynasty: Shirota, *Unrolling History,* 33.

12 Rosario, *Propaganda;* Fajt, *Karls IV;* Holladay, *Genealogy;* Trevisan, *Ancestry.*

13 De Laborderie, *A New Pattern,* 55–57.

14 Exceptions are the works of Joan Holladay and Olivier De Labordie, which, together with those of Gabrielle Spiegel, we use as the main methodological framework of the paper.

15 We are aware that this term does not refer to this dynasty only, as will be shown. It refers to the ancestral gallery in Karštejn Castle and is also known as the *Karlštejn genealogy.*

origins.[16] The Prague Augustinian Nicholas of Louny also introduced Charles's ancestry on his father's side in a sermon he delivered to the clergy in the Prague Cathedral on the occasion of Charles's coronation as King of Bohemia on 2 September 1347.[17] In an attempt to legitimise his succession to the throne of Bohemia, Nicholas accentuated the proximity of Charles' names (he was baptised as Wenceslas) and the links to Charlemagne and St. Wenceslas. Fundamental was the interpretation of the king's anointing, thus, the emphasis that he was called to rule by God—an idea included in the Luxembourg representation.[18]

The visual representation of the Luxembourg dynasty ruling in the Bohemian environment in the fourteenth century was emphasised especially in the residential places associated with Emperor Charles IV, with Karlštejn Castle occupying a prominent place among them. This case study focuses on the visual dynastic representation in this residence; thus, certain spaces and their decoration are deliberately omitted.[19]

Karlštejn Castle

The interior decoration of Karlštejn Castle has been preserved mainly within the context of the surviving wall paintings. Still, the surviving written records or drawings from earlier centuries can give more clues to the overall reconstruction of the iconographic programme.[20] However, the original layout of the castle, famous for its sacred spaces for the collection of relics and the subsequent storage of the crown jewels of the Holy Roman Empire, did not initially envisage such ambitions. Therefore, most of the rooms were rebuilt during or shortly after the construction.[21] Tracing the iconography of the decoration is thus closely linked to the constructional changes of the entire castle, of which the earliest completed and habitable building was the Imperial Palace. This was the location of a representative mural ancestors' gallery of Emperor Charles IV, which was destroyed during the sixteenth

16 Kubínová, *Monumental mural painting.*

17 Kubínová, *Imitatio,* 157; Kadlec, *Die Werke* 23, 268. "…rex noster et ex paterna et materna linea processit ex altissimo sanguine non solum regum, sed et imperatorum" [Our king comes from the noblest bloodline of kings and emperors from both the mother's and the father's lineage]; Bláhová, *Genealogy*, 8. For the etymology, see Bloch, *Etymologies*.

18 Žůrek, *L'usage comparé des motifs*, 118–27; Žůrek, *Coronations,* 39–41.

19 This paper therefore does not aim to provide an overview of the research, but only refers to the most important and recent works. For the artistic decoration, see Fajt, *Theodoricus.*

20 Studničková, *Theological Metaphor.*

21 For the reconstruction, see Chudárek, *Building*, 128–38; Chudárek, *A contribution to the knowledge*, 106–38. Recently the thematic issue of *Zprávy památkové péče* 79 (2019) has focused on Karlštejn's Lesser Tower, especially Chudárek, *Constructional transformations*.

century.[22] It has survived only as a drawing record of the figures of the *Luxembourg genealogy* in two manuscripts *(Prague and Viennese manuscripts)* from the second half of the sixteenth century.[23]

This mural pedigree was placed on the Imperial Palace's second floor and was created just after the 1355—after the completion of the palace, which was built in the late 1340s.[24] While the mural gallery's exact layout is unknown, it can be reconstructed from the two manuscripts[25] and a list of names in the so-called *Wolfenbüttel manuscript* on fol. 16v.[26]

With some exceptions, the figures in the Prague and Viennese manuscripts are on separate sheets and stand or sit on pedestals with identifying inscriptions that indicate their family ties and lineage. Based on the layout of their gestures and direction of views, the gallery could begin with two rows above each other. Thus, a linear row of Emperor Charles IV's ancestors would emphasise the continuity leading to the imperial couple. The minimal information on the pedestals would then explain the couple's positioning in the most damaged part of the hall. The analogy of such a representation of linear continuity is the arrangement of the rulers' gallery with mythical ancestors, as seen in the example of *Pharamundus* in the Grand Salle in Paris.[27]

A key to understanding the gallery composition can be found in the universal chronicles, such as the one Giovanni Marignolli composed for Charles IV. The concept of this chronicle is in some aspects and structural arrangements derived from Godfrey de Viterbo, to whom the text makes direct reference.[28] Marignolli sets the history of the Bohemian lands in the context of world history, where he introduces the Bohemian rulers' ancestors.[29] The chronicle, which Marignolli divides into three parts, can be seen as an ideological system reflected in the structure of the *Luxembourg*

22 "The room is the palace in which the house of Emperor Charles was painted." A relation from 1598, Vilímková, *Survey*, 21–23.

23 *Prague manuscript* = Codex Heidelbergensis (cca 1574–1575, Archiv NGP, sign. AA 2015) and *Viennese manuscript* = Stammbaum Kaiser Karls IV. (cca 1571, ÖNB, sign. Cod. 8330). See Pokorný, *Manuscript*. The Viennese manuscript is available online: https://digital.onb.ac.at/RepViewer/viewer.faces?doc=DTL_2999728&order=1&view=SINGLE, accessed on 7 April 2023.

24 Chudárek, *Building*, 138.

25 See note 23.

26 Bibliothek Wolfenbuttel, Cod. 60.5. Aug. 2. The list bears the inscription "Linea Caroli III Imp. Et Regis Bohem(iae) … auf Carlstein daselbst Im Saal von altem zierlichen Gemald abgenommen)". Heinemann, *Die Augusteischen*, 319. Stejskal, *Attributions*, 347. Further reading: Stejskal, *Die Wandzyklen;* Stejskal, *Die Rekonstruktion*.

27 Bennert, *Propagande,* 50–51.

28 Žůrek, *Viterbo.*

29 Kubínová, *Figures*, 30–36.

genealogy.[30] The first part is described as a "divine or lawful natural guiding principle…" that progresses from Adam to Noah, who stood as the first genealogical figure within the *Luxembourg genealogy*.[31] The chronicle traces the lineage of the tribe of the Bohemians through Japheth (son of Noah), who is presented as the ancestor of the Slavs (and Přemyslids), placing them on a par with the Franks, Germans, and Italians.[32] From this lineage comes Charles's mother, Elisabeth of Bohemia.[33] However, Charles's lineage in the *Luxembourg genealogy* continues deliberately to the line of Ham, another son of Noah's, whose lineage continues through the French kings to the Luxembourg dynasty. Ham's descendants, Chus and Nimrod, became the first-world rulers, but they were not of blessed lineage.[34] Marignolli explains the presence of these evil and violent men in the chronicle,[35] stating that Charles's ancestors include not only heroes and bearers of sovereign virtues,

> "but since the rose is born of thorns, and Christ was born of both good and bad parents, even throughout the holy books he endeavours to describe two families or communities, namely, the good and the bad, of which the first, namely, the community of the bad, took its origin from his brother Cain to Lamech the murderer, and its line is continued after the flood by Nemprot [Nimrod]…".[36]

In the *Luxembourg genealogy*, this giant Nimrod was depicted on a larger scale, as can be seen from the following two figures (Belus and Ninus) looking up at him. This is followed by the incorporation of the pagan gods Saturn and Jupiter, described in St. Augustine's interpretation as the first rulers of Italy.[37]

Next is the group of Trojan ancestors both in the *Luxembourg genealogy* and in the chronicle. This passage is abbreviated, since, according to the chronicler, it is well known to everyone.[38] It was precisely this part of the genealogy that Wenceslas IV himself pointed out to the Brabant diplomat Edmund de Dynter during his visit to Karlštejn Castle, showing him the 'sua genealogia' tracing to the Trojan ancestors.[39]

30 Bažant, *The Function of Travelogue*; Kubínová, *Imitatio*.

31 Kubínová, *Imitatio*, 159–60.

32 Vojtíšek and Žůrek, *Entre idéal et pomémique*, 94–95.

33 For the interpretation of the origin of the Slavs and the etymology of the name of Elisabeth of Bohemia as a descendant of the House of Elisa (son of Japheth and ancestor of the Slavs), see Kubínová, *Imitatio*, 160–64.

34 Kubínová, *Imitatio,* 85–89; Hlaváčková, *The Idea of a Good Ruler*, 2.

35 Bažant, *The Function of Travelogue,* 7.

36 FRB III, 493.

37 Kubínová *Imitatio*, 87.

38 Kubínová *Imitatio*, 88.

39 Dynter, *Chronica*; Martindale, *Heroes,* 5.

The line was then led directly through Dardanus—brother of Troy, through whom the Trojan origin is proved, then through Herictonius and Ylus the founder of Troy to his grandson Priam.[40] In the *Wolfenbüttel manuscript's* list, the mythical ancestors from Noah to Priam is crossed out and separated from the rest by a line.

Furthermore, the *Luxembourg genealogy* follows the ancestral line of the French kings, through Marcomir (as a descendant of Priam) and Pharamund, the legendary king of the Franks, and furthermore Merovingian and Carolingian (Charlemagne). Further, the Dukes of Brabant, who also linked their origins to the Trojan–Merovingian–Carolingian line, were incorporated into the pedigree, as was reflected in their chronicling tradition in the late thirteenth century.[41]

Charles was related to the Brabant line through the marriage of his grandfather Emperor Henry VII with Margaret of Brabant—both of whom were depicted in the *Luxembourg genealogy*.[42] The Dukes of Brabant allowed the son of an erstwhile opponent of the Battle of Worringen (1288) to be related to the Brabant family and to share their status and reputation.

A number of historiographical and literary works were produced at the court of Henry's father-in-law, John I, glorifying the hero of Worringen and also attributing to his family a glorious origin from the Carolingians and the heroes of the Bible and antiquity.

The Luxembourg dynasty thus drew on a literary and historiographical fund that provided them with all-round legitimation for their new position. Besides the courtly tradition of chivalric epics, it also offered a genealogical construction of Carolingians and even mythical origins.

Such tendencies appeared in an abbreviated version of Jan van Boendal's Brabant genealogy, *Korte rijmkronijk van Braband*, which is regarded as the inspiration for the *Luxembourg genealogy*.[43] The pedigree was concluded by John of Bohemia with Elisabeth of Bohemia and the imperial couple Charles IV and Anne of Świdnica,[44] which corresponds to the dating of the creation of the genealogy to the period between 1355–1357. The exact figure type of the queen can be found in the figure of Anne of Świdnica on the lintel of St. Catherine's Chapel in the Lesser Tower of Karlštejn Castle.

40 Kubínová, *Imitatio*, 88; FRB III, 520 "Iohanes, rex illustris, descendens a Magno Karolo de Troyanis."

41 Cf. Bláhová, *Herrschergenealogie*, 383. For Brabant chronicle tradition, see Adde and Margue, "Luxemburg, Brabant und die Karolinger."

42 Adde and Margue, "Luxemburg, Brabant und die Karolinger."

43 Adde and Margue, "Luxemburg, Brabant und die Karolinger."

44 Even though the inscription on the pedestal in both manuscripts labels her as Blanka, most researchers have identified her as Anne of Świdnica.

The style of figures in the two manuscripts noted was linked with the figures in the murals of the *Relic Scenes* in the Lesser Tower and the figures in the *Adoration of the Twenty-Four Elders* in the Chapel of the Holy Cross, where the figure compositions of the Karlštejn genealogy were modified in various ways. Such variations and templates within a single commission were used due to time constraints. Thus, several workshops under the supervision of Master Theodoric operated side by side.[45] However, this variation also had a symbolic overlap and was used purposefully for some specific figures.

We argue that such use of figurative and compositional models can be found in the *Adoration of the Magi* mural (Figure 1) in the Chapel of the Holy Cross, where Charles IV was repeatedly identified in the figure of the second kneeling king. When comparing the figure types in the two manuscripts of the Karlštejn genealogy, we see not only the compositional pattern of Charles IV's figure in the third (most distant) king, but also the figure type of his father John of Bohemia in the figure of the second king and his grandfather Henry VII of Luxembourg in the figure of the first king. The intentional use of patterns for concrete figures of the Luxembourg rulers in the *Adoration of the Magi* can be interpreted not only as demonstrating the operation of the workshop but also as a glorification of the ruling dynasty and a manifestation of Charles IV's legitimate claim to the imperial throne, justified by the genealogical continuity with biblical ancestors.[46]

The mural paintings on the staircase of the Great Tower bear technological parallels and compositional variations analogous to other murals in the castle, and the use of these compositions facilitates the dating of the decoration of the Chapel of the Holy Cross.

Figure 1 Adoration of the Magi, Chapel of the Holy Cross, Great Tower, Karlštejn (Photo by Barbora Uchytilová, 2017)

45 Fajt, *Theodoricus*.

46 Dvořáková, *Court*, 499.

Figures in the staircase

The construction works related to the transformation of the second residential floor of the Great Tower into the Chapel of the Holy Cross were carried out in the years 1362–1363.[47] The original entrance to the chapel from the north was replaced by a staircase in the newly added tower from the south, and only when the masonry had dried out was it possible to proceed with the artistic decoration of the staircase.[48] The walls are covered by the legend of St. Wenceslas, which is proceeding from the bottom up (the outer part of the staircase), and the legend of St. Ludmila (the inner part of the staircase), which in turn is told from the top down. These mural paintings have a clear *post quem* date, since it is unlikely that materials for constructing the chapel and the roof should have been hauled upwards through the new staircase. Originally, the lower part of the walls contained an illusionary drapery with a motif of printed flower patterns, which is also noticeable in certain sketches by Professor Sequens, who documented the state of the paintings before the reconstruction at the end of the nineteenth century. This decor can be traced in the lower part of the Church of the Virgin Mary, and in the Royal Palace of the Prague Castle.[49]

The legends are replaced by kneeling figures situated in painted arcades in front of the chapel. The secondary construction of the staircase caused cracks in the upper part of the tower, in front of the Chapel of the Holy Cross entrance, which in some cases were up to half a metre wide, and thus affect the current state of the mural paintings.[50] The worst damage has been made to the figures at the top of the staircase, ravaged by the weather and inconsiderate overpainting in the nineteenth century.[51]

The kneeling figures on the staircase had previously been identified as the Emperor's ancestors, but their precise identification was possible only after the discovery of the drawing on fol. 17r of the *Wolfenbüttel manuscript* (Figure 2).[52] The folio is arranged in three tiers—the top one representing a scene from the lintel of

47 In 1360–1361, the rough construction progressed to the level of the third floor of the Great Tower. Chudárek, *Building*; Chudárek, *A contribution to the knowledge*.

48 See Chudárek, *Building*; Chudárek, *Contribution*.

49 The motifs of the stencil painting were used during the reconstruction of Karlštejn Castle in the nineteenth century. The pattern of the stencils can also be found on a transfer of a wall painting from the Old Royale Hall at Prague Castle, now in the archive of the Prague Castle Collections. The stencils preserved in situ in the Old Royal Palace of Prague Castle include more Chotěbor, *Prague*, 266.

50 Chudárek, *Building*; Vilímková, *Treatise,* 21–23.

51 During the reconstruction, sketches were made of the original fragments, according to which over-paintings were created, which were intertwined with the original medieval painting. Bareš and Brodský, *Problems*.

52 See above.

St. Catherine's Chapel. The imperial couple, Charles IV and Anne of Świdnica, are depicted, although the manuscript states 'Carolus IIII' and 'Blanca Valencia' above the figures. Charles's first wife Blanche of Valois is also listed in fragmentary inscriptions in the Church of the Virgin Mary, which also include Anne of the Palatinate and Anne of Świdnica.

In the middle tier, there is a row of eight kneeling figures facing right, and in the bottom tier, there are nine figures facing the opposite direction. The directions of the two rows match the coats of arms above the figures, which, however, are not present on the staircase today, probably as a consequence of damage and interventions in the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries.[53] Their interpretation follows the heraldic practice described by the Italian jurist Bartolo de Sassoferrato, who served as an advisor to Charles IV around 1355 and is also the author of the *Tractatus de insigniis et armis*, completed in 1358.[54] The treatise deals with heraldic insignia and presents a codification of the common practice of reading, displaying, and comprehending coats of arms and insignia.[55] The last chapter considers coats of arms on fabrics and walls and explains their appropriate positioning and orientation in the rooms where the ruler's figure is displayed.[56]

> "What if a figure of a prince or another preeminent person, or perhaps a royal coat of arms, has to be painted in the middle of a wall? In this case, the coats of arms depicted on the two sides of that figure should be turned toward the figure, thus disregarding left or right, as, for example, the ceiling of a room or a court; then, from what was said above one can determine the top and the bottom of the coat of arms".[57]

The usage and arrangement of coats of arms was a common feature of painted spaces. This practice must have been familiar to the painting workshops, which routinely handled such commissions for representative spaces with armorial galleries and knew how to produce this decoration.

---

53 The coats of arms could have been on the mural close to the figures (behind or below them)—this would reflect the use of marks specifying the colors and the orientation of the coats of arms respecting the rotation of the figures. Nevertheless, we must also consider the possibility that the coats of arms were created only in the manuscript, which, however, seems less likely for the reasons given above.

54 The treatise was disseminated only after Sassoferrato's death in 1358. Vrtel and Munková, *Treatise*, 7–29.

55 This seems to be a system that also describes the practice of displaying and laying out certain types of paintings which could be followed by both painters and scribes.

56 Bartolo's works with a system of representation in which he understands the coat of arms as the identification of its bearer.

57 Cavallar et al., *Grammar,* 156.

Figure 2 Figures in the staircase, Great Tower, Karlštejn, fol. 16v, Cod. 60.5. Aug. 2
Source: Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel

From the layout of the drawing in the *Wolfenbüttel manuscript,* it is apparent that these figures represent those on the walls in front of the entrance to the Chapel of the Holy Cross. The coats of arms in the manuscript above the figures are not rendered in colour; however, colours are indicated by marks that previous research has overlooked.[58] Most colours are marked with their first letter, except for green, which is given the symbol of a leaf. This system of marking was primarily used in armorials, where they are seen as an underdrawing of the completed arms and as an instruction of unfinished arms. By deciphering the colours, we were also able to determine the transposed orientation of the coat of arms corresponding to the directional orientation of the figures. These lead to the last mural painting in front of the chapel entrance, which will be described below. According to Bartolo's description of the layout of the coats of arms in the rooms (see above), it is easier to identify their bearers (Tables 1–2).[59] While from left to right, the upper row displays Emperor Charles with his wives and descendants, from right to left, the lower row features the descendants of John of Bohemia.

The paintings thus depict all the descendants, even those who died in childhood. The absence of Václav IV, son of Charles IV, would indicate that the paintings were created before his birth, i.e., before 1361, which seems unlikely given the constructional development of the castle as outlined above. The figures, however, point towards the last scene in front of the chapel, as the family offspring of John of Bohemia on the inner side and the descendants of Charles IV on the outer side of the staircase. This scene (not included in manuscripts), with seven figures, is dominated by the altar, to which Emperor Charles IV leans with an item in his hands (Figure 3). Similarly to the *Relic scenes*, the painting here also commemorates the historical event of the consecration of the chapel on 7 February 1365, or depicts the transfer of the relics of the Chapel of the Holy Cross.[60] This draws the recipients' attention to the sacred quality of the space behind the painting, the Chapel of the Holy Cross.[61] The scene shifts the date of the creation of the paintings to the time following the chapel's consecration.

To the left of Emperor Charles IV, there are Bishops Jan Očko, Jan of Středa, and Albert of Šternberk standing. The kneeling persons to the right of the Emperor depict his family at the consecration. In the foreground, there is his kneeling wife

58 Fajt and Hlaváčková, *Depiction*. The authors suggested the identification of some figures. Kubínová responded to them by considering placing the paintings in the Chapel of the Virgin Mary. However, the figures could not fit there in that order. Cf. Kubínová, *Figures*, 35–36.

59 The list corresponds to the reading of the characters from left to right, numbered according to the manuscript.

60 Kubínová, *Figures*, 28–29.

61 The Chapel of St Catherine has the same dedication as the Chapel of the Holy Cross, whose dedication was moved to the Great Tower. For further details, see Fišer, *Karlštejn*.

Figure 3 Scene in front of the Chapel of the Holy Cross, Great Tower, Karlštejn (Photo © Petr Zinke, Institue of Art History of the Czech Academy of Sciences)

—at this time Elisabeth of Pomerania, who features with the Bohemian crown (crowned in 1363). The figures behind her would then be Wenceslas IV and Elisabeth of Bohemia (Charles IV's daughter).[62]

These facts determine the time when the paintings were made, namely the period just before the consecration of the Chapel of the Holy Cross. The practical impossibility of the passage and operation of the Chapel of the Holy Cross, if the paintings had been created after its consecration, is another argument to consider in the dating. In fact, it was for such practical reasons that during the last restoration of the staircase paintings the operation of the castle was suspended.[63]

62 Wenceslas IV was earlier identified by Vítovský, who identified the figure next to him as Joanna of Bavaria and thus postponed the dating of the staircase paintings to the 1370s. Cf. Vítovský, *Notes*, 7.

63 Alternatively, the paintings could have been created at a short l time interval.

Genealogy as a pillar

In the pedigrees at Karlštejn Castle, in addition to rulers, we find their wives, saints, and other figures, contrary to other ruler cycles, such as the vanished cycle in the Prague Castle representing the catalogue of kings and emperors.[64] However, the intention of the *Luxembourg genealogy* was more related to underline the continuity of the dynasty. The line here joined individuals whose selection was conditioned by their glory, but they could also represent an entire family group.

Besides splendour, the dynasty members were to emphasise the redemptive element of legitimacy to the imperial crown. Thus, the imperial title was to be presented as a dynastic inheritance, not a matter of choice,[65] which was viewed as a family inheritance rather than an election. The naming the Castle after Charles underscores the incorporation of the Luxembourgs into the dynastic continuity of local rulers.[66]

Thus, the *Luxembourg genealogy* in the palace depicted those who had established themselves as pillars within the history of the dynasty—including the mythical ancestors upon whom the dynasty's splendour and majesty were built. The redemptive aspect was then reflected in the practical use of figural compositions in the mural paintings of the *Adoration of the Magi* in the Chapel of the Holy Cross, which referred to the dynasty's genealogical continuity bound together by artificial relationships with mythical ancestors going back to Noah.

II. The *Coronation Roll* of Edward IV of York

In 1461, Edward IV, a youthful king, assumed the English throne. Although his accession was triumphant, it was tainted by the possibility that the previous king, Henry VI, might break free from prison and regain the throne. Thus, it was not a straightforward succession, and the legitimacy of the new king's rule needed to be more secure. According to contemporary accounts, Edward was almost two metres tall, charismatic and capable, thus an imposing young man, particularly when compared to his predecessor who suffered from mental illness. However, Edward could not rely solely on his personal attributes to justify his right to rule. The most significant factor supporting his claim to the throne was his membership in the ruling Plantagenet dynasty. Nonetheless, as the son of the Duke of York, Edward belonged to the secundogeniture of the Plantagenet family, whereas Henry was the son and grandson of the English kings of the senior Lancastrian branch. Thus, it was necessary to establish an additional basis for Edward's claim to the throne.

64 Stejskal, *Die Wandzyklen;* Uličný, *Ploughman*.

65 This element was also closely related to the notion of the national, as Éloïse Adde shows.

66 Bartlová, *Reflections*, 50–57.

The House of York made extensive efforts and expended significant resources in legitimising their actions, which we would call propaganda.[67] The dispute centred around the intricate dynastic relationships within the Plantagenet dynasty during the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Edward III had eight sons, five of whom survived to adulthood, yet none of them ascended the throne after him. Instead, Richard II, Edward III's grandson and son of his eldest son, Edward the Black Prince of Wales, became king. Richard II was later deposed by Henry Bolingbroke, also a grandson of Edward III, and son of John of Ghent, Edward's third son. The primary argument for Richard II's deposition was his tyranny. John of Ghent's descendants held the English crown for three generations before they were challenged by the descendants of Edmund of Langley, Edward III's fourth son.[68]

In their propaganda, the Yorks depicted the Lancastrians as usurpers, contending that Richard II's deposition was illegal and that the principle of primogeniture had been violated. As John of Ghent was only the third surviving son of Edward III, his descendants had leapfrogged the right of the second-born Lionel of Antwerp and his descendants. Although Lionel had no male heir, his only daughter, Philippa, married Edmund Mortimer, the third Earl of March, and their son, Roger Mortimer, the fourth Earl of March, was Richard II's dedicated heir. However, for the Yorkist propaganda, this was more than just a denial of the right of a distant relative from the Welsh Marches. Roger's daughter, Anne Mortimer, was an important link between the descendants of Edward III, as she had married into the House of York and was the mother of Richard, third Duke of York, and grandmother of King Edward IV. This dynastic arc served as evidence for the Yorks that their right to the throne did not come from Edmund of Langley, the fourth son of Edward III, but from Lionel of Antwerp, the second son of Edward III. Therefore, they claimed that the House of Lancaster had violated the law of primogeniture.

The family structure and claim to the English throne began to be recorded in increasingly complex diagrams. The parchment scroll was the most common medium that captured the dynastic diagram in the British Isles. This medium offered several advantages over its contemporary competitors, the codices.[69] Even in their original length, these scrolls consisted of several equally wide pieces of parchment glued or sewn together to form one long strip of parchment.

One unique aspect of English pedigree rolls is that they stop tracking the ruler's line directly. They started to include collateral branches of the family on one side, and

67 For further details, see Allan, *Yorkist Propaganda*; Anglo, *British History*; Hughes, *Arthurian Myths*.

68 For further details about Edward IV and the War of the Roses, see Carpenter, *The War of the Roses;* Kleineke, *Edward IV.*

69 De Laborderie, *Histoire*, 47–79.

foreign dynasties on the other. This phenomenon emerged in the early fifteenth century, after the deposition of Richard II and the accession of the Duke of Lancaster's descendants. It seems that the complex dynastic situation associated with Edward III's descendants was the reason for this new, more complex type of diagram.

A scroll for the king

The *Coronation Roll* is a manuscript created at the beginning of Edward IV's reign,[70] possibly prior to his 1464 marriage to Elisabeth Woodville, who is not depicted in the scroll.[71] Its primary purpose is to detail the genealogy of Edward IV's family, with each member of the dynasty identified by name and accompanied by a brief description. Each figure is situated within a coloured square and connected to its relatives. What distinguishes the *Coronation Roll* from other genealogical diagrams of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries is its unique composition and layout. Typically, genealogical diagrams of this era position the main monarchical lineage down the centre of the scroll, tracing and reflecting the supremacy of the island of Britain, and consequently, the Kingdom of England.[72] In such cases, the line of British kings

70 Also known as the *Edward IV Roll*. Free Library of Philadelphia, Lewis, J. F., & Free Library of Philadelphia. Rare Book Dept. [The Edward IV Roll]. MS. Lewis E201. The complete scroll has been digitised and is accessible through the following link: https://libwww.freelibrary.org/digital/feature/medieval-edward-index, (accessed on 30 November 2022) which also provides a basic description of the manuscript and its contemporary context. However, a modern edition is not yet available partly due to the lack of established editing practices for this type of source, making it a challenging task. The study of genealogical diagrams in scrolls remains an area with limited research and literature. Despite its uniqueness, this manuscript has received little direct scholarly attention, and previous efforts have resulted in only brief descriptions of its content. The only notable analysis of the manuscript's contents is presented in the book "Arthurian Myths and Alchemy: The Kingship of Edward IV" by Johnathan Hughes. While Hughes presents interesting ideas and interpretations, some of his arguments about alchemy lack thorough development and rely heavily on speculation, particularly regarding certain sources, such as the *Coronation Scroll*. The limited scholarly literature available about the *Coronation Scroll* has prompted much of the interpretation in our research.

71 Tanis and Thompson, eds, *Leaves of Gold,* 228. The attributions to the titles of Edward's siblings previously led scholars to believe that the scroll was made after 1468, because of the use of Margaret of York's title as Duchess of Burgundy. https://libwww.freelibrary.org/digital/feature/medieval-edward-index, accessed on 30. 11. 2022.

72 E.g., Oxford, MS. Bodl. Rolls 5, *Genealogy of the Kings of England to Richard III*, a highly decorated scroll most probably commissioned by the House of Percy. There are more excerpts from the historiographical texts than in the *Coronation Scroll.* Another scroll used during the War of the Roses is the so-called *Canterbury Roll* (https://www.canterbury.ac.nz/canterburyroll/rolling.shtml). For further reading about the use of rolls in medieval propaganda, see Shirota, *Unrolling History.*

from the *History of the Kings of Britain*,[73] beginning with Brutus and ending with Cadwallder, usually occupies the central position. In contrast, the parallel line of Saxon leaders, beginning with Woden, is relegated to the margins and runs along one of the scroll's edges. Following the end of the Heptarchy and the ascension of King Egbert of Wessex, his Anglo-Saxon line became dominant and central until the reigns of Edward the Confessor and Harold Godwinson. Eventually, the line of the Norman dukes, with William the Conqueror as King of England, emerges as the central lineage which extends to the final ruler depicted on the scroll.

The *Coronation Roll* depicts the individual ruler arranged sequentially in ordered frames, even at the cost of omitting the chronological order common in other scrolls. Each noble house is designated with its own colour, and a square around each person is drawn in the colour of their family. Some individuals, particularly members of the Cambro-Norman Mortimer dynasty and the Plantagenets from the time of Edward II onwards are framed in multiple colours to indicate their mixed ancestry. Finally, with Edward IV, all the family lines depicted are mixed, signifying his ancestral claim to the English throne.

The scroll comprises three primary dynastical lines, namely the British/Welsh (green), the French (blue), and the Saxon (yellow), along with six subsidiary lines, including the Iberian (pale red), the Norman (deep red), the Mortimer (also deep red), the de Clare (white), the Plantagenet/Anjou (green), and the Dukes of Aquitaine (blue). As mentioned above, the genealogical scroll commences with the Fall of Man, leading to the first family branch of Seth, and subsequently to Noah and his sons, followed by the Flood of the world. Noah's three sons are presented, but only the branch of Japheth continues. The three main branches[74] at this point on the scroll begin, and each is labelled in golden letters. The first branch points from Japheth towards the left, and a green line is drawn from it, beginning with a list of the Trojan ancestors in the first green frame, and continuing with Brutus and the other British kings. A blue line of Frankish and French kings runs through the centre of the scroll, which, however, is not graphically linked to either the sons of Noah or the Trojan kings, contradicting classical tradition.

The third primary dynasty, the Saxons, denoted by yellow, were directly connected to Japheth with the British line. Notably, the scroll presents an uncommon depiction of Saxon pagan history compared to other genealogical manuscripts from the British Isles. Most manuscripts illustrate the Heptarchy by individual Anglo-Saxon kingdoms. In contrast, the *Coronation Roll* visually merges the Heptarchy into one unit. The entire opening frame concludes with a summary of the Anglo-Saxon

73 Wright, *HRB*.

74 Britons, the French, and Saxons.

monarchs and their unification under King Egbert. Alongside this lengthy section summarising Saxon history, the scroll displays 24 Frankish and 48 British kings.

This passage is positioned in the middle of the upper part of the scroll and is separated from the lower part by the inscription, "[… Jesus] passing through the midst of them, went his way".[75] It is followed by a row of seven rulers, arranged from left to right: the Prince of Wales, the Duke of Cornwall, the King of France, the King of England, the King of Castile and Leon, the Duke of Aquitaine, and the Duke of Normandy. From this point onwards, the remaining minor families of varying sizes gradually merge with the Saxon line. Some kings have their medallions framed in multiple colours, indicating mixed ancestry and the combination of hereditary claims.

Most of the remaining minor families are extinguished by the last female heir, who joins and perishes with the Saxon line. The exceptions consist of the line of the House of Mortimer—which joins the line of the British kings by a union between Gwladus Ddu and Ralph Mortimer, which is marked by a white and red dragon—and the blue line of the French kings, which ends with Charles IV Capet and his sister Isabella. Her marriage to Edward II gives a new dimension to the diagram, as their descendants in the next few generations are highlighted in equal amounts of yellow and blue.

The culmination of the colour scheme is in the person of Edward IV, whose medallion is bordered by an eight-pointed star formed by two large squares. The straight square is made up of the colours of Edward's ancestors in the maternal line, i.e., green (the British kings), white (the Cambro-Norman House of de Clare), and deep red (the Cambro-Norman House of Mortimer). The square placed on one of the corners represents Edward's paternal line, consisting of yellow (the Saxon/English kings), blue (the French kings), and pale red (the Castilian-Leon kings).

Hidden in colours and symbols

The colour markings found throughout the manuscript serve multiple levels of meaning. The first and most straightforward level of meaning is the simple indication of distinctions between different dynasties. This allows the reader to easily identify the dynastic membership of each particular ruler and the relations between dynasties.

The second, less apparent dimension of the colour scheme is ideological. The entire scroll is heavily influenced by *Matter of Britain* and prophecies derived from the *History of the Kings of Britain*. It should be noted that Geoffery of Monmouth's *History* narrates the struggle between the Britons and the Saxons, culminating in the

75 IHC autem transiens per medium illorum ibat. Luke 4:30.

defeat of the Britons. However, Merlin's prophecy about the two dragons promises a return of British sovereignty and the punishment of the Saxons. It is important to emphasise that in the fifteenth century, even more than in Geoffrey's time, the nations of the Saxons and the Britons were literary-historical designations of entities bearing both positive and negative qualities. Geoffrey's Britons are a mighty nation of brave heroes with the strongest claim to an insular realm, but they are also a nation of sinful and haughty people who must undergo repentance and redemption through their saints. On the other hand, the Saxons are portrayed as a nation of pagan traitors, perjurers, and tricksters who eventually convert to Christianity, unite, and gain control of the island. With this knowledge, we can analyse the symbolic meaning of the colour scheme of each ruler or group of rulers.

In this scroll, the British green line is depicted as the senior, unbroken line that through the Welsh princes traces back to Cadwallader the Holy King, then to King Arthur, and to Brutus, the first ruler, and last Trojan. It is worth noting that the green branch of the Britons continues beyond the last Welsh prince and is connected to the House of Mortimer, portrayed equally in green and red. Furthermore, the British-Mortimer union is symbolised by two rondels featuring a red and a white dragon, which are the primary symbols of Merlin's prophecy of the struggle between the Britons and the Saxons. These symbols signify that the Mortimers are the true heirs of British heritage, and through this bloodline, Edward IV is linked to the prophecy of the restoration of British sovereignty.

The line of English kings, identified at the very beginning as Saxons and depicted only in yellow, is linked to the French line through the marriage of Edward II and Isabella of France. Through this union, the English kings acquired a new blue-yellow frame. From Isabella of France onwards, the French line is marginalised. Its border remains blue but is marked by a thin line, and the connection of each of the kings of France with his successor is crossed out by a black hatched line. The members of the Valois dynasty are then marked by saying: "This line is closed and is an ungrateful divergent line by right of succession to the French crown."[76] A graphically similar marking is written below the medallion of Edward III with the inscription: "This is the direct bloodline for the succession to the crowns of England and France."[77] All the direct and indirect descendants of Edward III have medallions in blue and yellow framing, except for John of Ghent and the youngest Thomas of Woodstock, who are marked in pure yellow. For John of Ghent and his descendants (Henry IV–VI), once again an explanatory sentence is added: "This line is closed

76 Coronation Roll – Ista lineas clausa et ingrata est linea colaturalis in iure succendi que ad coronam ffrancie.

77 Coronation Roll – Ista linea est de recta linea consanguinitatis quo ad successionem coronarum Anglie et ffrancie.

and is an ungrateful divergent line by right of succession to the crowns of England and France."[78] Furthermore, the line of John of Ghent is cut off by black hatching, just like the dynasty of Valois for the claim to the French crown.

We consider the following point to be of utmost significance in comprehending the symbolic layer depicted in the scroll. Yorkist propaganda portrayed the descendants of John of Ghent primarily as usurpers and traitors, and even associated them directly with the Saxons and the white dragon in Geoffrey's *History*.[79] Accordingly, the portrayal of the Lancasters with a pure yellow frame is intended to signify their Saxon nature, which is characterised by deceit and treachery. Furthermore, this symbolic depiction not only establishes the traits of the Lancastrians but also highlights the historical significance of the Lancastrian–Yorkist struggle for the throne. The Yorkist King Edward IV is depicted as a descendant of the Britons, the island's indigenous inhabitants, whose sovereignty was lost but is prophesied to be restored. In contrast, his adversary, Henry VI, is believed to represent the descendant of the Saxon lineage. Although the text of the scroll does not explicitly state this, the colour scheme of the family lines implies a conflict between the Britons and Saxons predicted in Merlin's prophecies, along with the subsequent restoration of British sovereignty.

Several indications in the manuscript support the argument that the scroll was heavily influenced by both prophecy and the *History of the Kings of Britain*. Firstly, prophetic figures are ascribed to some individuals in the scroll, particularly kings. While these figures are first used for Edward I, they mostly appear among the descendants of Edward III and Edward IV. This section pertains to individuals whose kinship directly impacted English politics during the first half of the fifteenth century and at the outset of the War of the Roses. Individuals in the manuscript are identified with figures such as *sol, taurus, draco, rubeus draco, stella, vulpes,* or *talpa*. These designations are not directly explained in the text. However, when viewed in the context of other sources of Yorkist propaganda and political prophecies, they suggest an identification with prophetic figures from Merlin's prophecies, particularly *the Prophecy of the Six Kings*. The exegesis of this prophecy was widely employed during the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries.[80] Contrary to classical

78 Coronation Roll – Ista linea clausa et ingrata est linea colaturalis [collateralis] in iure succendi [succedendi] que ad corona(s) Anglie et Ffrancie.

79 Allan, *Yorkist Propaganda*, 188; British Library, Add. 18268 A. The scroll consists of three columns. The left one is composed of British kings, Welsh princes, and members of the House of York. The names of the monarchs are accompanied by the inscription *Rubeus Draco*. The middle column consists of the kings of France. The right-hand column consists of the Anglo-Saxon kings and members of the House of Lancaster. The inscriptions of this column are then *Albus Draco*.

80 Daniel, *Les prophéties*, 418–38, 474–78.

interpretation, the *Coronation Roll* frequently assigns more than one prophetic figure to a person.[81] The association of the figure of the proud mole *(talpa)* with the Lancastrian king who will bring suffering to the island demonstrates another connection to *the Prophecy of the Six Kings*.

The figure of *gallus* features in the scroll alongside the English kings and Yorkist pretenders to the throne. These individuals are framed in yellow and blue, as the manuscript author perceives them as the true and rightful descendants of Edward III and his mother, Isabella of France. In *The Prophecy of the Six Kings*, Isabella is described as the flower of life,[82] thereby providing a redemptive role for the English/Saxon kings.

The second prophecy is Merlin's and is recorded in the sixth book of the *History of the Kings of Britain*.[83] This is evidenced by the figure of the red dragon that corresponds to Edmund Mortimer. Notably, Edmund's depiction is the last medallion bordered in red and green, which marks the connection of the Mortimer family to the ancient line of British kings. Furthermore, the depiction of the red and white dragon is positioned at the intersection of these two family lines, further delineating an important bloodline that holds the potential for the fulfilment of Merlin's prophecy.

The coat of arms

The scroll is entirely bordered with fifty-four reflective coats of arms displayed on banners and shields. These emblems belong to noble families, territorial units, and rulers, whether real or mythical.[84] Most of the coats of arms are inscribed, making it easy to identify their respective owners,[85] even for those that are lesser-known or attributed. The selection of individual coats of arms reflects an effort to establish Edward IV as the rightful ruler of England. Alongside the emblems of noble houses, such as Mortimer and de Clare, there are also coats of arms associated directly with Edward's

81 *The Prophecy of the Six Kings* and its traditional 15th century exegesis: Henry III = the Lamb; Edward I = the dragon; Edward II = the goat with silver horns; Edward III = the lion or boar with tusks at the gates of Paris; Richard II = the donkey with lead hooves; Henry VI = the proud mole. The opponents of the last king, the proud mole, are to be a dragon (Owain Glyndŵr), a wolf (Henry Percy), and a lion (Roger Mortimer), who will divide the mole's kingdom. Taylor, *The Political Prophecy*, 138.

82 Taylor, *The Political Prophecy*, 48–51.

83 Wright, *HRB*, 144–47.

84 Their full enumeration and descriptions can be found in the description of the digitised scroll on: https://libwww.freelibrary.org/digital/feature/medieval-edward-history/ accessed 20. 1. 2023.

85 Only two coats of arms are not identified by inscriptions in the scroll, and four others were probably inscribed only secondarily.

closest relatives, including the arms of the Lord of Ireland, held by his father Richard of York. The coats of arms attributed to specific individuals can be divided into several categories. The first comprises the saints and patrons of England. The second category comprises the important heroes from whom Edward derives his legitimacy. Moreover, this group consists of real persons and their genuine coats of arms, such as Edmund of Langley or Llywellyn ap Gruffyd, real persons with attributed coats of arms, such as King Sebbi and Constantine the Great, and also fictitious characters with their emblems, including King Arthur, and above all, Brutus of Troy.

The genealogy of Edward IV of York, the King of England, traced back to the Expulsion from the Garden of Eden, is accompanied by the patron saint of England, St George, and his coat of arms (1), as well as the attributed coat of arms of St Sebbi, the Anglo-Saxon king associated with the vision of the Holy Trinity (2).[86] At the end of the manuscript, two similar arms are positioned adjacent to Edward IV's medallion. On the left, there is the coat of arms associated with Edward himself, which is a combination of the Castilian–Leonian arms, the Anglo–French arms, and a heart-shield bearing the arms of Brutus (3). On the other side, there is a banner inscribed with the title 'King of England and France', held by a white stag (4). How are we to interpret this armorial decoration? The beginning and the end of the pedigree are the most important parts, and the manuscript highlights the most important patron of England (1), a vision of the coming of the Holy Trinity (2), the English royal arms apparently alluding through the white stag to Richard II (3), who, according to Yorkist propaganda, was the last legitimate king of England, and finally the arms of King Edward himself, who is the final offspring of all bloodlines and depicts his claims to the various kingdoms in heraldic form (4). Therefore, the use of the coats of arms on the boundaries of the manuscript emphasises Edward's arrival as the legitimate and prophesied king of England.

The second important arm, integral to the interpretation of the scroll's heraldic system, is the coat of arms of Brutus of Troy, *Azure*, with three crowns in pale *Or*. These arms appear in four different variations throughout the scroll, with a prominent placement at both the beginning and the end as a heart shield within Edward IV's arms. In one instance, it is combined with that of King Pandras of Greece, Brutus's father-in-law. In another instance, Brutus's coat of arms stands independently to the left beside the middle row with depicted figures of rulers. Inscribed with *Invictissimi Bruti*, it is juxtaposed with the arms of the Saxon king of Kent,

86 The connection between St Sebbi, the coat of arms with three crowns and the vision of the divine trinity depicted in Bede's *Ecclesiastical History* of the English is highlighted by an anonymous description of a digitised scroll: https://libwww.freelibrary.org/digital/feature/medieval-edward-history/, The Banners and Shields of the Edward IV Roll, right 1: banner, accessed on 20.1.2023. See above for the importance of the Trinity and the visions associated with it within the Yorkist propaganda.

Figure 4 Middle part of Coronation Roll of Edward IV. Illustrative image with a row of seven kings and Coat of Arms of Brutus, Æthelberht, Prince of Wales and Cadwallader.
Source: Lewis E 201, Rare Book Department, Free Library of Philadelphia.

Æthelberht, inscribed with *Regis xpi Ethelbti*.[87] The author of Æthelberht's Coat of Arms had significant freedom in its creation[88] due to its unconventional composition. The white dragon in these arms probably signifies Æthelberht's descent from the mythical Hengist, the first Saxon leader. King Æthelberht is important because Bede claims he was one of the *Bretwaldas*, the seven Saxon kings of the entire island, and the first Saxon king to convert to Christianity.[89] Æthelberht's and Brutus's arms appear to function in conjunction with each other as a substitute for Merlin's dragon prophecy of the age-old conflict between Britons and Saxons. The placement of this pair of coats of arms is crucial, as they appear along with a row of depicted kings at points on the scroll's timeline when the balance of power shifts from Britons to Saxons. The next pair of coats of arms also highlights this same *translatio imperii*. Arms inscribed *The Principality of Wales* and *King Cadwallader* refer to the *History of the Kings of Britain* narrative about the last British king whose descendants ceased to be kings and became princes. That led to the important name change of 'Britons' to 'Welsh'.[90]

The coat of arms of Brutus of Troy, with three golden crowns, holds great symbolic importance as it represents the supreme authority over the entire and undivided island of Britain during Brutus's time. The incorporation of these arms into Edward IV's is intended not only to signify a consanguinity with the Trojans but also to identify Edward as the fulfiller of Merlin's prophecies about the restoration of British sovereignty, returning Britain to the order of Brutus's era. In this context, Brutus's coat of arms assumes the greatest significance among the depicted arms, serving as a powerful symbol of a universal island realm, a testament to both the continuity of the royal lineage and the validity of the prophesies.

The manuscript known as the *Coronation Roll* constitutes an utterly unique source of medieval royal representation and power propaganda, principally founded upon a genealogical framework. Although its textual content of historical arguments and prophecies is not dissimilar to other contemporary scrolls, its distinctive graphic design, colour structure, and armorial decoration, render it entirely exceptional. By associating Edward with the British kings, he imbues his claim with a veneer of

87 The Saxon line at the beginning of the manuscript consists of a description of the Anglo-Saxon heptarchy, with Kent listed as the first kingdom, and Æthelberht himself given a prominent place, including his conversion to Christianity at the hands of the missionary Augustine sent to Britain by Gregory the Great.

88 In a red field, there are two golden roundels and one golden mandorla. In the first gold rondel, there is a silver lion, in the second a silver dragon and in the mandorla, there is a standing king in red robes with all the regalia.

89 Sellar, *Bede's Ecclesiastical History*, 80.

90 Wright, *HRB*, 280–81. For further details, see Pryce, *British or Welsh*.

antiquity and continuity, situating him not only among the spiritual successors of Brutus's realm but also among his direct offspring with the utmost legitimacy.

Conclusion

As demonstrated by these case studies, the primary purpose of the sources utilised was to present the ruler with a distinguished and ancient lineage. The main goal of this study was to highlight the similarities in composition strategies of the presented genealogical diagram, despite being in different mediums. Both examples are unique representations of their standard type.

The first shared characteristic between the Luxembourg and Plantagenet court depictions is the principle of awe-inspiring splendor. Whether the recipient was standing in a representative place surrounded by a gallery of ancestors or regarded *the Coronation Roll* unfurled at its full length of several meters, adorned with numerous kings, the genealogical diagram was designed to impress. Notable ancestors were thus presented in the immediate proximity of the current ruler, the final link in the chain. It was crucial to impress the recipient at first glance, without requiring further examination.

The second shared trait is the historiographical background of the material. The recipient who commenced a closer examination of the diagrams probably required profound historical awareness to comprehend their meaning. An analysis of the *Coronation Roll* reveals that such comprehensive understanding of the symbolic significance was attainable through familiarity with the historical narrative of Geoffrey of Monmouth, which was principally rooted in the British Isles. In the *Luxembourg genealogy*, a deeper historiographical understanding was apparent in the selection of ancestors, which aligned with Giovanni Marignolli's chronicle interpretation.

The third feature common to both case studies is the blending of consanguinity and constitutional principles, which are intricately intertwined. The dynasty and genealogical diagrams depict a selective part of the ruling house and their ancestors, who are more or less kin. Consanguinity is one of the primary arguments for the continuity of medieval rulership. The examples presented show the demand for making false bonds or constructing mythical kinships.

These principles become intermingled, with the diagram emphasising a continuous line of rulers even at the cost of grafting kinship. This highlights the unbroken legitimacy of a given title. Although these false bonds tend to be few, they are crucial and can easily be misconstrued as being part of the lineage, which typically invokes the concept of kinship. Thus, during the Middle Ages, lineage was not viewed purely in terms of consanguinity but rather as a complex web of bonds.

The fourth point is the incorporation of biblical, ancient, or mythical ancestors with whom the kinship ties are entirely fictional. These fabricated kinship ties are accorded the same importance as real relationships. Such figures include the legendary founders of dynasties (Brutus and Faramundus), as well as rulers of famous fallen realms (Troy and Babylon), and even pagan deities portrayed as heroic figures (Saturn and Woden). Both types of genealogies share a common thread in the inclusion of Trojan ancestors, which lends antiquity and prestige to the entire lineage.

A fifth aspect that can enhance the prestige of a genealogical diagram is the presence of a redemptive element. Ancient ancestors add an aspect of the worldly glory of conquerors and rulers that is not sufficient in its own right. In both cases discussed, the bearer of the redemptive element is the queen, who is not a saint but plays a crucial role in prophecies. In the case of Edward IV's pedigree and the *Coronation Roll*, this role is fulfilled by Isabella of France, who brings redemption to the line of Saxon kings. In Marignolli's chronicle of Charles IV's lineage, it is his mother, Elisabeth of Bohemia, whose lineage is linked to descendants of the biblical Japheth. She thus adds this virtue to the Luxembourgs, who, on the other hand, are descendants of another son of Noah's, Ham. The redemptive role of both queens is symbolised in the prophecies by the lily flower[91] seen in 'Flower of Life' in Merlin's *Prophecy of the Six Kings* used in the *Coronation Roll*, and similarly, in Marignolli's chronicle, Elisabeth of Bohemia is named as the 'flores heliseos',[92] or 'Fleur de lys'.

These observations constitute a shared strategy for constructing genealogies. We consider the term 'genealogy' as a selection of kinship ties, and since it is a selection, genealogy can be regarded as a genre. This genealogical genre can be applied in the two non-bordering areas under examination. Genealogy and chronicle are both genres that convey the same narrative, but the difference is that the chronicle is typically more intricate, allowing for a more detailed account of the relationships and significant actions of important characters. On the other hand, genealogy presents a selection of characters and relationships from the narrative that is often more broadly described in chronicles. The selection may be presented in the form of a genealogical diagram, which could be depicted in a simple line on a mural or in a more elaborate version on a scroll. The genealogical diagram is a selection of ancestors the commissioner wanted to surround himself with.

91 Pastoureau, *History of Symbols*, 92–96.

92 FRB III, 521.

Sources

Prague, Národní Galerie v Praze, Archives, AA 2015.
Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel, Cod. 60.5. Aug. 2.
Bodl. Rolls 5 – Oxford, Bodleian Libraries, MS. Bodl. Rolls 5.
British Library, Add. 18268 A
Coronation Roll – Free Library of Philadelphia., Lewis, J. F., & Free Library of Philadelphia. Rare Book Dept. [The Edward IV Roll]. MS. Lewis E201.
Dynter, *Chronica – Chronica nobilissimorum ducum Lotharingiae et Brabantiae ac regum Francorum, auctore magistro Edmundo de Dynter, in sex libros distincta, Tome III,* edited by Pierre François Xavier de Ram and Jean Wauquelin. Bruxelles, 1857.
FRB – *Fontes rerum bohemicarum III*, edited by Josef Emler. Prague, 1882.
Genealogia Christi – *Compendium historiae in genealogia Christi, ca. 1220, England, Canterbury.* https://www.clevelandart.org/art/1973.5 accessed on 20. 01. 2023.
Vienna, Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek, sign. Cod. 8330 HAN MAG
Vilímková, Milada. *Stavebně-historický průzkum č.259* [Historical Building Survey], Archive of the National Heritage Institute, ÚOP Střední Čechy, SHP prosinec, 1975.
Wright, *HRB* – Neil Wright, *Geoffrey of Monmounth, The History of the Kings of Britain: An Edition and Translation of the De Gestis Britonum (Historia Regum Britanniae)*, edited by Michael D. Reeve. Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2007.

Literature

Adde, Éloïse and Margue, Michel. "Luxemburg, Brabant und die Karolinger. Zur Selbstdarstellung der beiden ersten Kaiser aus dem Hause Luxemburg, Heinrich VII und Karl IV." In *Ověnčený slávou, láskou i pohrdáním Jan Lucemburský a Karel IV. v historické paměti (21–23. 09. 2016, Prague)*, (forthcoming).
Allan, Alison. "Yorkist Propaganda: Pedigree, Prophecy and the »British History« in the Reign of Edward IV' in Patronage." In *Pedigree and Power in Later Medieval England,* edited by Charles D. Ross, 171–92. Gloucester: A. Sutton, 1979.
Anglo, Sydney. "The British History in Early Tudor Propaganda." *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 44 (1961): 17–48. https://doi.org/10.7227/BJRL.44.1.2
Bareš, Petr and Jiří Brodský. "Problematika a způsoby restaurovaní schodištních cyklů Velké věže hradu Karlštejna a restaurování nástěnných maleb kaple sv. Kateřiny" [Problems and Methods of the Restoration of the Staircase Cycles of the Great Tower of Karlštejn Castle and the Restoration of the Wall Paintings in St. Catherine's Chapel]. In *Karlštejn a jeho význam v dějinách a kultuře* [Karlstejn and Its Importance in History and Culture], edited by Petr Bareš,

Jiří Brodský, Petr Čornej, Tomáš Durdík, Zdeněk Chudárek, Naděžda Kubů, Jiří Kuthan, Dagmar Martincová, Markéta Novotná, Josef Štulc, David Venclík, and Zuzana Všetečková, 193–213. Prague: Národní památkový ústav, 2010.

Bartlett, Robert. *Blood Royal: Dynastic Politics in Medieval Europe.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020. https://doi.org/10.1017/9781108854559

Bartlová, Milena. "Úvahy o vyobrazení svatováclavské legendy na schodišti Karlštejna." [Reflections on the Depiction of the Legend of St. Wenceslas on the Staircase of Karlštejn]. In *Schodištní cykly velké věže hradu Karlštejna. Stav po restaurování. Sborník příspěvků z kolokvia uspořádaného Ústavem dějin umění AV ČR v refektáři kláštera na Slovanech ve dnech 5. 5.– 7. 5. 2004*, edited by Zuzana Všetečková, 50–57. Prague: Národní památkový ústav, 2006.

Bažant, Vojtěch. "Funkce cestopisných prvků v kronice Johanna Marignoly" [The Function of Travelogue Elements in Johann Marignola's Chronicle]. *Česká literatura: časopis pro literární vědu* 71, no. 1 (2023): 3–23. https://doi.org/10.51305/cl.2023.01.01

Bennert, Uwe. "Art et propagande politique sous Philippe IV le Bel, Le cycle des rois de France dans la Grand'salle du palais de la Cité" [Art and Political Propaganda under Philip IV the Fair: The cycle of the Kings of France in the Grand'salle of the Palais de la Cité]. *Revue de l'art* 97 (1992): 46–59. https://doi.org/10.3406/rvart.1992.348000

Bláhová, Marie. "Herrschergenealogie als Modell der Dauer des politischen Körpers des Herscherrs im mittelalterlichen Böhmen." In *Das Sein der Dauer*, edited by Andreas Speer and David Wirmer, 380–97. Miscellanea Mediaevalia 34. Berlin–New York: De Gruyer, 2008. https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110212204

Bláhová, Marie. "The Genealogy of the Czech Luxembourgs in Contemporary Historiography and Political Propaganda." *The Medieval Chronicle* 9 (2014): 1–32. https://doi.org/10.1163/9789401212120_002

Bloch, Howard R. *Etymologies and Genealogies: A Literary Anthropology of the French Middle Ages.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983.

Carpenter, Christine. *The War of the Roses: Politics and the Constitution in England, c. 1537–1509.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997. https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9781139163583

Cavallar, Osvaldo, Susanne Degenring and Julius Kirshner. *A Grammar of Signs: Bartolo da Sassoferrato's Tract on Insignia and Coats of Arms.* Berkeley: University of California, 1994.

Chotěbor, Petr. "Pražský hrad – Sídlo panonvíka: od Karla IV. k Zikmundovi." [Prague Castle – The Seat of Pannonianism: from Charles IV to Sigismund]. In *Imago, Imagines. Výtvarné dílo a proměny jeho funkcí v českých zemích od 10. do první třetiny 16. století, 2. díl,* edited by Kateřina Kubínová and Klára Benešovská, 260–77. Prague: Academia, 2021.

Chudárek, Zdeněk. "Příspěvek k poznání stavebních dějin věží na hradě Karlštejně v době Karla IV." [A Contribution to the Knowledge of the Building History of the Towers at Karlštejn Castle in the Time of Charles IV]. *Průzkumy památek* 13 (2006): 106–38.

Chudárek, Zdeněk. "Stavební dějiny a funkční proměny hradu Karlštejna ve 14. Století" [Building History and Functional Changes in Karlštejn Castle in the Fourteenth Century]. In *Karlštejn a jeho význam v dějinách a kultuře*, edited by Petr Bareš, 128–38. Prague: Národní památkový ústav, 2010.

Chudárek, Zdeněk. Stavební proměny Menší věže na hradě Karlštejně [Constructional Transformations of the Lesser Tower at Karlštejn Castle]. *Zprávy památkové péče* 79, no. 4 (2019): 387–494. https://doi.org/10.56112/zpp.2019.4.06

Coote, Lesley. "Prophecy, Genealogy and History in Medieval English Political Discourse." In *Broken Lines: Genealogical Literature in Late-Medieval Britain and France*, edited by Raluca L. Radulescu and Edward Donald Kennedy, Medieval texts and cultures of Northern Europe 16, 27–44. Turnhout: Brepols, 2008. https://doi.org/10.1484/M.TCNE-EB.3.1997

Daniel, Catherine. *Les prophéties de Merlin et la culture politique (XIIe–XVIe siècles)*. Paris: Brepols, 2007. https://doi.org/10.1484/M.CSM-EB.5.106610

De Laborderie, Olivier. *Histoire, mémoire et pouvoir: Les généalogies en rouleau des rois d'Angleterre (1250–1422).* Bibliothèque d'histoire médiévale 7. Paris: Classiques Garnier, 2013.

De Laborderie, Olivier. "A New Pattern for English History: The First Genealogical Rolls of the Kings of England." In *Broken Lines: Genealogical Literature in Late-Medieval Britain and France*, edited by Raluca L. Radulescu and Edward Donald Kennedy, Medieval texts and cultures of Northern Europe 16, 45–61. Turnhout: Brepols, 2008. https://doi.org/10.1484/M.TCNE-EB.3.1998

Dvořáková, Vlasta. "Dvorské malířství za Karla IV. z hlediska dobové teorie umění" [Court Painting under Charles IV from the Perspective of Contemporary Art Theory]. *Umění* 22 (1974): 473–503.

Fajt, Jiří, ed. *Magister Theodoricus: dvorní malíř císaře Karla IV.: umělecká výzdoba posvátných prostor hradu Karlštejna* [Magister Theodoricus: Court Painter to Emperor Charles IV: Artistic Decoration of the Sacred Spaces of Karlštejn Castle]. Prague: Národní Galerie, 1997.

Fajt, Jiří, Markus Hörsch, and Andrea Langer, eds. *Karl IV. Kaiser von Gottes Gnaden. Kunst und Repräsentation des Hauses Luxemburg 1310–1437.* Munich–Berlin: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2006.

Fajt, Jiří, Radovan Boček, and Milena Bartlová, eds. *Court Chapels of the High and Late Middle Ages and their Artistic Decoration: Proceedings from the International Symposium 23.9.–25.9. 1998, Convent of St. Agnes of Bohemia*, Prague: National Gallery in Prague, 2004.

Fajt, Jiří and Hlaváčková, Jiří. "Zobrazení rodiny Karla IV. na schodišti Karlštejnské Velké věže" [Representation of the Family of Charles IV on the Staircase of Karlstejn's Great Tower]. In *Court Chapels of the High and Late Middle Ages and their Artistic Decoration: Proceedings from the International Symposium 23.9.–25.9. 1998, Convent of St. Agnes of Bohemia*, edited by Jiří Fajt, Radovan Boček, and Milena Bartlová, 325–27. Prague: National Gallery in Prague, 2004.

Fajt, Jiří and Andrea Langer, eds. *Kunst als Herrschaftsinstrument. Böhmen und das Heilige Römische Reich unter den Luxemburgern im europäischen Kontext.* Berlin–Munich: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2009.

Fišer, František. *Karlštejn: vzájemné vztahy tří karlštejnských kaplí.* [Karlštejn: the Interrelations of the Three Chapels of Karlštejn.] Kostelní Vydří: Karmelitánské, 1996.

Heinemann, Otto von. *Die Augusteischen Handschriften 3. Cod. Guelf. 32.7Aug.2°—77.3Aug.2°*. Frankfurt am Main: Klostermann, 1966.

Hlaváčková, Hana. "Idea dobrého panovníka ve výzdobě Karlštejna" [The Idea of a Good Ruler in the Decoration of Karlštejn]. *Průzkumy památek* 13 (2006): 9–18.

Holladay, Joan A. *Genealogy and the Politics of Representation in the High and Late Middle Ages.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019.

Hughes, Jonathan. *Arthurian Myths and Alchemy, The Kingship of Edward IV.* Stroud: Sutton Publishing, 2002.

Kadlec, Jaroslav. "Die homiletischen Werke des Prager Magisters Nikolaus von Louny." *Augustiniana* 23 (1973): 242–70.

Kleineke, Hannnes. *Edward IV.* London–New York: Routledge, 2009.

Kubínová, Kateřina. *Imitatio Romae – Karel IV. a Řím.* Prague: Artefactum, 2006.

Kubínová, Kateřina. "Panovnické postavy v závěru schodištních maleb" [The Rulers' Figures at the End of the Staircase Paintings]. *Průzkumy památek* 13 (2006): 23–36.

Kubínová, Kateřina. "Monumentální nástěnná malba ve službě panovníka" [Monumental Mural Painting in the Ruler's Services]. In *Imago, Imagines. Výtvarné dílo a proměny jeho funkcí v českých zemích od 10. do první třetiny 16. století, 2. díl,* edited by Kateřina Kubínová and Klára Benešovská, 68–95. Prague: Academia, 2021.

Martindale, Andrew. *Heroes, Ancestors, Relatives and the Birth of the Portrait.* Groningen: University of Groningen Press, 1988.

Pastoureau, Michael. *Une histoire symbolique du Moyen Âge occidental.* Paris: Seuil, 2004.

Pokorný, Pavel R. "Vídeňský rukopis Cod. 8330" [Viennese Manuscript]. In *Court Chapels of the High and Late Middle Ages and their Artistic Decoration: Proceedings from the International Symposium 23.9.–25.9. 1998, Convent of St.*

Agnes of Bohemia, edited by Jiří Fajt, Radovan Boček, and Milena Bartlová, 351–353. Prague: National Gallery in Prague, 2004.

Pryce, Huw. "British or Welsh? National Identity in Twelfth–Century Wales." *The English Historical Review* 114, Issue 468, September 2001, 775–801. https://doi.org/10.1093/ehr/CXVI.468.775

Radulescu, Raluca L., Kennedy, and Edward Donald. *Broken Lines Genealogical Literature in Late-Medieval Britain and France*. Turnhout: Brepols, 2008. https://doi.org/10.1484/M.TCNE-EB.6.090708020500030502040805O6

Rajsic, Jaclyn. "Looking for Arthur in Short Histories and Genealogies of England's Kings." *The Review of English Studies* 68 (2017): 448–70. https://doi.org/10.1093/res/hgw143

Rosario, Iva. *Art and Propaganda: Charles IV of Bohemia, 1346–1378*. Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2000.

Seral, A. M. *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of England,* Oxford: Createspace Independent Publishing Platform, 2017.

Shirota, Maree. "Unrolling History: Fifteenth-century Political Culture and Perceptions on the Canterbury Roll." Unpublished thesis, University of Canterbury, New Zealand, 2015. https://doi.org/10.1353/pgn.2015.0118

Spiegel, Gabrielle. "Genealogy: Form and Function in Medieval Historical Narrative." *History and Theory* 22, no. 1 (1983): 43–53. https://doi.org/10.2307/2505235

Stejskal, Karel. "Die Rekonstruktion des Luxemburger Stammbaums auf Karlstein" *Umění* 26, no. 6 (1978): 535–63.

Stejskal, Karel. "Die Wandzyklen des Kaisers Karls IV. Bemerkungen zu Neudatierung und Rekonstruktionen der im Auftrag Karls IV. gemalten Wandzyklen" *Umění* 46, no. 1 (1998): 19–41.

Stejskal, Karel. "Ještě jednou o datování a atribucích karlštejnských maleb" [One More Time about the Dating and Attributions of Karlštejn Paintings]. In *Court Chapels of the High and Late Middle Ages and their Artistic Decoration: Proceedings from the International Symposium 23.9.–25.9. 1998, Convent of St. Agnes of Bohemia*, edited by Jiří Fajt, Radovan Boček, and Milena Bartlová, 343–50. Prague: National Gallery in Prague, 2004.

Studničková, Milada. "Karlstein Castle as a Theological Metaphor." In *Prague and Bohemia. Medieval Art: Architecture and Cultural Exchange in Central Europe*, edited by Zoë Opačić, 168–82. Leeds: British Archaeological Association, 2009.

Taylor, Rupert. *The Political Prophecy in England*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1911. https://doi.org/10.7312/tayl93968

Tanis, James and Jennifer A. Thompson, eds. *Leaves of Gold: Manuscript Illuminations from Philadelphia Collections*. Philadelphia: Philadelphia Museum of Art, 2006.

Trevisan, Sara, ed. *Mythical Ancestry in World Cultures, 1400–1800*. Turnhout: Brepols, 2018. https://doi.org/10.1484/M.CURSOR-EB.5.115417

Uličný, Petr. "Od císaře k oráči a zase zpět. Panovnické cykly ve Starém královském paláci na Pražském hradě" [From Emperor to Ploughman and Back Again. Ruler Cycles in the Old Royal Palace at Prague Castle.] *Umění* 66, no. 6 (2018): 466–88.

Vítovský, Jakub. "Několik poznámek k problematice Karlštejna." *Zprávy památkové péče* 19 (1992): 1–14.

Vrtel, Ladislav and Mária Munková. *Traktát o znameniach a erboch* [A Treatise on Signs and Coats of Arms], Bratislava: Veda, 2009.

Žůrek, Václav. "L'usage comparé des motifs historiques dans la légitimation monarchique entre les royaumes de France et de Bohême à la fin du Moyen Âge." PhD Dissertation, Charles University, Prague / L'École des hautes études en sciences sociales, Paris, 2014. https://doi.org/10.4000/acrh.6445

Vojtíšek, Jan and Žůrek, Václav. "Entre idéal et polémique. La littérature politique dans la Boheme des Luxembourg. *Médiévales* 67 (2014): 11–30. https://doi.org/10.4000/medievales.7365

Žůrek, Václav. "The Coronations of Bohemian Kings and Queens." In *Festivities, Ceremonies, and Rituals in the Lands of the Bohemian Crown in the Late Middle Ages*, edited by Martin Nodl, František Šmahel, and Václav Žůrek, 9–99. Leiden–Boston: Brill, 2022.

Žůrek, Václav. "Godfrey of Viterbo and his Readers at the Court of Emperor Charles IV." In *Godfrey of Viterbo and his Readers: Imperial Tradition and Universal History in Late Medieval Europe*, edited by Thomas Foerster, 87–102. Farnham: Ashgate, 2015.

Table 1 Description of figures with coats of arms in the middle tier of fol. 16v, Cod. 60.5. Aug. 2, Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel

Middle tier directed to the left: members of Charles´s IV family										
persone	*lifespan*	*number according to Wolfenbüttel ms.*	*coat of arms n 1*	*Title/House*	*coat of arms n 2*	*Title/ House*	*coat of arms n 3*	*Title/ House*	*relation to Charles IV*	*note*
Charles IV of Luxembourg	1316–1378	1	Gules, a lion rampant queue forchée Argent crowned	son of Bohemian king/ King of Bohemia	Or, an eagle Sable	King of Romans/ Roman Emperor	x	x	x	x
Anne of Świdnica	1339–1362	2	Party per pale Argent and Or, an eagle displayed per pale Gules and Sable armed with a crescent treflée Argent	daugther of duke of Świdnica	Gules, a lion rampant queue forchée Argent crowned	Queen of Bohemia	Or, an eagle Sable	Queen of Romans/ Roman Emperess	3rd wife	x
Elisabeth of Bohemia	1358–1373	x	Per fess indented Gules and Argent	betrothed to duke of Bavaria	x	x	x	x	daughter	betrothed until 1366 to Otto V of Bavaria
Anne of Palatine	1329–1353	3	Gules, a lion rampant queue forchée Argent crowned	Queen of Bohemia	Or, an eagle Sable	Queen of Romans	x	x	2nd wife	
Wenceslas	1350–1351	4	Gules, a lion rampant queue forchée Argent crowned	son of Bohemian king	x	x			son	

persone	*lifespan*	*number according to Wolfenbüttel ms.*	*coat of arms n 1*	*Title/House*	*coat of arms n 2*	*Title/ House*	*coat of arms n 3*	*Title/ House*	*relation to Charles IV*	*note*
Blanche of Valois	1317–1348	5	Azur, semé-de-lys Or	daughter of French king	Gules, a lion rampant queue forchée Argent crowned	Queen of Bohemia	x	x	1st wife	
Catherine of Bohemia	1335–1349	6	Gules, a lion rampant queue forchée Argent crowned	daughter of Bohemian king	Gules, a fess Argent	Duchess of Austria	x	x	daughter	married Rudolf IV of Austria until 1365, from 1366 married to Otto V of Bavaria
Margaret of Bohemia	1342–1395	7	Gules, a lion rampant queue forchée Argent crowned	daughter of Bohemian king	Per pale, I barry of eight Gules Argent II Azur, semé-de-lys Or	Queen consort of Hungary	x	x	daughter	

Table 2 Description of figures with coats of arms in the bottom tier of fol. 16v, Cod. 60.5. Aug. 2, Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel

Bottom tier directed to the right: members of the John of Bohemia's family										
persone	*lifespan*	*number according to Wolfenbüttel ms.*	*coat of arms n 1*	*Title/House*	*coat of arms n 2*	*Title/House*	*coat of arms n 3*	*Title/ House*	*relation to John of Bohemia*	*note*
Margaret of Luxembourg	1313–1341	8	Per fess indented Gules and Argent	Duchess of Bavaria	Gules, a lion rampant queue forchée Argent crowned	daughter of Bohemian king	x	x	daughter	
Bonne of Luxembourg	1315–1349	9	Azur, semé-de-lys Or	wife of Duke of Normandy, later French king	Gules, a lion rampant queue forchée Argent crowned	daughter of Bohemian king	x	x	daughter	John II of France became French king after Bonne's death, but he was king at the time of the creation of the paintings

persone	*lifespan*	*number according to Wolfenbüttel ms.*	*coat of arms n 1*	*Title/House*	*coat of arms n 2*	*Title/House*	*coat of arms n 3*	*Title/ House*	*relation to John of Bohemia*	*note*
Charles IV of Luxembourg	1316–1378	10	Or, an eagle Sable	King of Romans/ Roman Emperor	Or, a lion rampant queue forchée Sable	uniden-tified	Gules,a lion rampant Or	uniden-tified	son	There is the possibility that 2nd and 3rd arms are imaginary and they should represent kingdoms of Italy and Burgundy
Ottokar	1318–1320	11	Gules, a lion rampant queue forchée Argent crowned	son of Bohemian king	x	x	x	x	son	
John Henry of Luxembourg	1322–1375	12	Azure, an eagle chequé Gules and Argent	Margrave of Moravia	Gules, a lion rampant queue forchée Argent	son of Bohemian king	x	x	son	

persone	*lifespan*	*number according to Wolfenbüttel ms.*	*coat of arms n 1*	*Title/House*	*coat of arms n 2*	*Title/House*	*coat of arms n 3*	*Title/ House*	*relation to John of Bohemia*	*note*
Anne of Luxembourg	1323–1338	13	Gules, a lion rampant queue forchée Argent crowned	daughter of Bohemian king	x	x	x	x	daughter	
Elisabeth	1323–1324	14	Gules, a lion rampant queue forchée Argent crowned	daughter of Bohemian king	x	x	x	x	daughter	
Elisabeth of Bohemia	1292–1330	15	Gules, a lion rampant queue forchée Argent crowned	daughter of Bohemian king, Queen of Bohemia	x	x	x	x	1st wife	
John of Bohemia	1296–1346	16	Barry of ten Argent and Azure, a Lion rampant Gules	Count of Luxem-bourg	x	x	x	x	x	A coat of arms identifying him as the King of Bohemia is shared with Elisabeth or absents

HSCE | Historical Studies on Central Europe

Historical Studies on Central Europe 3, no. 1 (2023): 80–102
doi.org/10.47074/HSCE.2023-1.04

Nationalism in the Second Redaction of the Verse Chronicle by the So-Called Dalimil

Vojtěch Bažant

Center for Medieval Studies, Institute of Philosophy Czech Academy of Sciences; Jilská 1, 11000 Prague 1, Czech Republic; vojta.bazant@gmail.com

Received 31 March 2023 | Accepted 8 May 2023 | Published online 31 July 2023

Abstract. The paper examines literary aspects of the old Czech chronicle in verses by the so-called Dalimil. It inquires into various approaches to the chronicle by both medieval and (early) modern readers. The paper argues that medieval authors read and interpreted the chronicle from diverse perspectives and emphasized different dimensions of the narrative. The second redaction of the chronicle from the second third of the fifteenth century, known for stressing the chauvinistic nationalism of the text, was one possible way of reading the chronicle. Postmedieval editors and interpreters of the chronicle saw it, on the contrary, almost exclusively as a product of medieval anti-Germanism in Bohemia. While contemporary research considers the chronicle primarily as a political manifest, the paper develops the inquiry, approaching the chronicle and medieval historiography in general as multi-layered literature combining religious, identity-centred, political, and imaginative aspects of history writing.

Keywords: the chronicle by so-called Dalimil; medieval historiography; reading medieval historiography; nationalism; historical narratives

A poem retelling the history of the Czechs was created at the beginning of the fourteenth century. The verses were composed in Old Czech and were finished soon after John of Luxembourg took the Bohemian throne in 1310. In the chronicle, the poet claims he is assuming a task nobody had completed before: creating a conceptual history of his country and his people with the intent of explaining its meaning. The narrative covers the history of a language-based nation, beginning with the fall of the Tower of Babel through the Christianisation of Bohemia to current events following the end of the royal line in 1306. The poet's name is not known, but we are accustomed to calling him by the name invented by sixteenth- and seventeenth-century historians: the Old Czech Chronicle by the so-called Dalimil.[1]

1 Bláhová, "Dalimil", 504–5.

The academic discourse about the chronicle has mainly stressed the author himself, the former's social and cultural affiliation, and the political contexts of the chronicle's reception.[2] In addition, the narrative is generally known as a fierce anti-German treatise that aims its animadversion above all at the burghers. Expressed hyperbolically, the text could easily be read as a defamatory article rather than a historical narrative. Although the chronicle is a literary text with many semantic layers, the sharpened patriotism and chauvinistic nationalism are considered the most peculiar elements of the entire work to this day. In this paper, I research a history of the reading of the chronicle by the so-called Dalimil in the Middle Ages with a focus on the contexts and situations when the nationalistic reading of the chronicle dominated, as well as those contrasting cases when different layers of the text prevailed. I will pay special attention to the second redaction of the chronicle that emerged in the second third of the fifteenth century since it is narrowly connected with the nationalistic reading.

The verses of the original chronicle are often hostile towards "foreigners", especially "Germans". Even though the motif is repeated, the struggle with the "enemy" is not the sole characteristic of the nation's identity in Dalimil's construction.[3] In his view, the nation consists of people sharing a single language, origin, and history, as well as responsibility for the common good of the country. Instead of nation, Dalimil uses the term language *(jazyk)*, strengthening speech as the most important constituent sense of belonging. In Dalimil's vision of a nation, it is necessary to distinguish between origins and history. As he sees it, origins form only the primary conditions (the metaphor of the family is used), while history basically represents a collective fate (participating in events and sharing their impacts). Society shared a historical heritage in terms of experience, living space, happiness, difficulties, and in particular a collective care for the common good. Dalimil presents the nation as a bond between individuals sharing hardships while creating a homeland and its cultural landscape that led to a right to the country. The poet personifies this using the words of Forefather Čech, who brought his kinsmen to the unpopulated land:

> "Oh, woe betide my deed
> bringing you into such poverty
> and into deep forests as your homes."[4]

2 Adde-Vomáčka, *La Chronique*, 19–24.

3 Overview recently, Adde-Vomáčka, *La Chronique*, 77–132.

4 "Ach běda skutka mého, / že jste vy pro mě v tejto núzi / a jsú pro mě váši domové hustí luzi" Daňhelka et al., eds, *Staročeská kronika*, 1, 105.

Similarly, they strived to cultivate the land together to be deserving of its fruits, with reference to the apostles sharing their daily bread (Acts 2, 43–45).[5] Conflicts with the Germans *(Němci)* came only under later local rulers.

Even the prologue of the chronicle, a statement about the entire narrative, is not primarily a verbal anti-German attack but rather a call for identarian historicism. Similarly, the prophet and later Duchess Libuše advocates the priority of ducal power being kept in a closed community from others and threatens Czechs with a foreigner's reign. Her speech before the leaders of the Czechs demanding a male duke is generally understood as a substantial manifestation of fundamental concepts promoted in the chronicle, and it is again invoked in the final verses of the narrative as an essential moral for the newly elected king of Bohemia. On the other hand, the chronicle's early chapters discuss the community's endeavour to overcome the troubles that came after the fall of the Tower of Babel and leaving Croatia, where Forefather Czech originally lived. Here, the chronicle portrays a group of people helping each other and together creating a fertile homeland with references to the apostles sharing their bread when in difficulty.

The rivalry between Czechs and Germans begins just before the first duke of Bohemia became Christian. However, there were conflicts within the community leading to the so-called Maiden's War and the War with Lucko, a supposed rival duchy in Bohemia.[6] The long conflict between Prague and the people of Lucko ended with the victory of the Praguers. The Duke of Lucko was killed in battle, and the victor entrusted his infant son to the care of a German man called Thurigian *(Durynk)*. Thuringian murdered the child in an effort to be rewarded by the Prague Duke, but instead, he was decried as a traitor.[7] His story was remembered in the last part of the chronicle that describes the events after the death of Wenceslaus III, a contemporary from Dalimil's perspective. Wenceslaus III, an infant as well, was murdered by a Thuringian sent by the King of Rome, Albert:

> "Oh, Thuringian, evil man!
> What have you done, unfaithful!
> What had the kind child done?
> Did he give you too many gifts, maybe?
> It made you kill him
> and orphan the country?
> Is it a fate of your nation
> that another prince in Bohemia was killed by you?"[8]

5 "Ti lidé věrni biechu / a své sbožie obecno jmiechu" [Those people were loyal to each other / and all their goods were communal]: Daňhelka et al., eds, *Staročeská kronika*, Vol. 1, 106.

6 Geary, *Women at the Beginning*, 34–42; Šorm, "Reading," 165–69.

7 Daňhelka et al., eds, *Staročeská kronika*, Vol 1, 286–87.

8 Daňhelka et al., eds, *Staročeská kronika*, Vol. 2, 465–66.

The entire story is full of chauvinistic language, especially anti-German, and Dalimil praises those dukes of Bohemia who systematically acted against foreigners.[9]

The history of the community is basically a history of the nobility. Although non-noble members of the nation are present in the narrative, they are not actual historical players. It is the nobility that is constructed as a homogenous representation of the nation, and "the lower classes were part of the culture in so far as they were targeted by it."[10] Since the nobility is the leading guarantor of national existence, Dalimil devoted extensive space to the status of the nobility and a theory of relations between the ruler and nobility. A community, or more precisely, its leaders, triggered the designation of the first duke when they expressed discontent with feminine rule by the aforementioned prophet Libuše. Besides the role of the nobility in the overall narrative history of the Czechs, Dalimil also tells the stories of individual noble families. Distinctively, he reproduces tales about the founders of noble families where he explains motifs on their coats of arms throughout the entire narrative. These tales are generally celebrations of young male warriors who are treated as heroes when the Czechs were able to defeat their enemies thanks to them.[11]

The narrative of the chronicle is conservatively standoffish towards the current courtly culture and considers the contemporary generation corrupt. The narrator marks it as the product of a trend toward laziness. The lazy and negligent nobility bore the responsibility for the chaos in the kingdom after the Přemyslid dynasty (1306) died out at the end of the narrative. The moral lesson is here learned from the story of the ravaging war caused by lazy nobility and terminated only by recovering care for the "homeland" and by installing a new king, John of Luxembourg, in 1310, whose coronation takes place in the last chapter of the chronicle. The chronicle advocates for the interests of the nobility and the community and argues against the political activities of rich burghers, primarily German speakers. The chronicle is not merely a political and ideological pamphlet: it is a poem, a fully developed literary work presenting the history of Czechs as a meaningful story.[12]

The second redaction of the chronicle

In total, we have eight surviving manuscripts of the complete text of the chronicle as well as six fragment copies, including a section of the Latin adaptation. The

9 First of all, Duke Soběslav II is praised as an example, see below.

10 The statement by Jan Assmann is valid not only in relation to ancient cultures, but medieval ones as well. Assmann, *Cultural Memory*, 129.

11 Bláhová, *Staročeská kronika*, 232–39.

12 Lehár, *Nejstarší česká epika*, 12–29; Bažant, "Urození lenoši," 247–58.

Lobkowicz manuscript (known from here on as 'Manuscript L') from the turn of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries represents a link between the first and second redaction of the text: It contains interventions distinctive to the second redaction of the chronicle, but only to a lesser extent; incomparable with the number of alterations in second redaction manuscripts. The *Franciscan* copy ('Manuscript F') from 1440 preserves the text of the first redaction, while marginal notes comment on the narrative in the spirit of the second redaction. Finally, three copies testify to the second redaction of the chronicle: *Pelcl's* ('Manuscript P') and *Cerroni's* ('Manuscript Cr') are both from the middle of the fifteenth century, while the *Fürstenberg* manuscript ('Manuscript Fs') is from the turn of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.[13] By redaction, we mean there existed changes concerning not only individual linguistic modifications but rather ideological interventions within the text of the chronicle itself. At the same time, components of the second redaction are not a product of a single compact auctorial rewriting of the text but are outputs of a common approach to the chronicle by several unconnected scribes. There are, in total, one hundred and sixteen interventions and changes in the text of the chronicle that are viewed as products of the second redaction, but the number and composition of these alterations differ in individual manuscripts. The measure of variation is so large that we are unable to create any stemma between the second redaction manuscripts of the chronicle.[14]

The features of the chronicle's second redaction, i.e., the additions and changes, primarily underline moralizing attitudes, exalting glorifications of the 'language', misogynous insults, and rousing appeals to defend the country. The chronicle was already strongly anti-German in the first redaction, but there is a conceptual shift from "foreigners" to "Germans" in many places during the second redaction. After all, it is the escalated nationalism that is most often designated as a peculiar aspect of this redaction. A story about Duke Soběslav (d. 1180) can serve as a clear example. Many studies of the nationalism in the chronicle quote chapter 68 as representative material regardless of the chronicle's redaction.[15] In the first redaction of the chronicle, the Duke of Bohemia hates Germans to such a degree that he cuts their noses on sight. Also, he paid any man who brought him German noses. The poet shows Soběslav as a wise ruler:

13 Manuscripts descriptions in Daňhelka et al., eds, *Staročeská kronika*, Vol. 1, 14–44.

14 Table of variations in the second redaction of the chronicle in Daňhelka et al., eds, *Staročeská kronika*, Vol. 1, 56–61.

15 The entire chapter in Daňhelka et al., eds, *Staročeská kronika*, Vol. 2, 179–83; Uhlíř, "Národnostní proměny 13. století a český nacionalismus," 149–52; Nodl, *Tři studie*, 73; Pynsent, "Czech Nationalism," 27–28.

"A wise man finds him good
for he did not let foreigners into the country
saying: »A good one multiplies his own language
the unfaithful do not care for it«."[16]

Soběslav defended the country and won a battle where the emperor fell. In the narrative, Soběslav not only saved his kinsmen but also set an example for other rulers. Soběslav is juxtaposed with his father, Vratislav, who let himself be influenced by the emperor, forgoing Czech traditions. The exemplarity of Soběslav's deeds is strengthened in the fortune of his sons. In the chronicle, Soběslav is made to let the emperor raise his sons. They are given German names and are taught to speak German far from their homeland. Finally, after they return to Bohemia, Soběslav gives them a lecture about the destructive nature of losing one's natural national bonds. The entire chapter displays highly escalated and aggressive nationalism. Still, some authors thought there was space for improvement.

Those that modified the second redaction went even further. Generally, they deepened Czech-German antagonism by mocking Germans, glorifying the Duke of Bohemia, and moralizing about duties to the homeland. Germans are afraid to bring the emperor's message backed only by money.[17] Soběslav would rather die than run away from his country.[18] Germans cry in terror during battle and ask their wives to pray for them, but German women may only mourn the men killed in battle.[19] The emperor is unable to defeat the Duke of Bohemia, and therefore he resorts to tricks.[20] Ducal sons are under the influence of the emperor and ashamed of their Czech origin and customs.[21] And finally, the narrator encourages warriors to sacrifice their lives for the nation.[22]

The changes in the second redaction of the chronicle are overwhelmingly commentaries on historical events rather than transformations of the core story. Generally, the second redaction does not change the narrative but instead intensifies the above-mentioned features already present in the original redaction. Scholars often associate these escalated opinions distinctive to the second redaction with the sharpened attitudes taken by many authors writing during the Hussite wars. The argument is based on an anti-German stance present in the original chronicle and in

16 "Múdrý jemu za dobré jmieše, / že cizozemcě v zemi nepustieše / řka: "Dobrý svój jazyk plodí, / nevěrný o svém jazyku nerodí" Daňhelka et al., eds, *Staročeská kronika*, Vol. 2, 179.

17 Daňhelka et al., eds, *Staročeská kronika*, Vol. 2, 179, 190, addition after verse 32.

18 Daňhelka et al., eds, *Staročeská kronika*, Vol. 2, 180, 197, addition after verse 66.

19 Daňhelka et al., eds, *Staročeská kronika*, Vol. 2, 181, 200, addition after verse 78.

20 Daňhelka et al., eds, *Staročeská kronika*, Vol. 2, 182, 205, addition after verse 110.

21 Daňhelka et al., eds, *Staročeská kronika*, Vol. 2, 182, 209–10, addition after verses 132 and 134.

22 Daňhelka et al., eds, *Staročeská kronika*, Vol. 2, 182, 215, addition after verse 162.

the works of many Hussite intellectuals. Joseph Georg Meinert, a historian active at the turn of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, designated the original chronicle by Dalimil a "pack of lies" and "the bugle of the Hussite wars".[23] He understood the medieval Hussite movement as one primarily motivated by nationalistic antagonism, and, similarly to many of his contemporaries, he saw nationalism as omnipresent and a continuous historical feature in their own lives. Therefore, he willingly connected some Hussite opinions with much older anti-German manifestations preserved in the work originating from Bohemia and Moravia. From this perspective, the chronicle by Dalimil would basically not be an authorial historical poem but rather the product of the ongoing phenomenon of Bohemian anti-Germanism. This essentially means the medieval poet's opinions were reproduced by modern historians without proper reflection. We shall see in the second half of the paper more examples of attitudes of modern historians that are close to Meinert's approach.

Besides the second redaction, there is other evidence of treating the old Czech chronicle as an instrument for promoting chauvinistic opinions in the fifteenth century. The political pamphlet *A Short Collection of the Czech Chronicles to Warn the Loyal Czechs* was most likely composed in the context of the 1458 royal election.[24] The pamphlet is preserved in a codex together with Manuscript Cr of the Old Czech Chronicle (i.e., an example of the second redaction). However, what is more important is that the majority of the *Short Collection* consists of quotations from the Old Czech Chronicle. These are basically excerpts from the chronicle by Dalimil supposedly proving Germans to be fierce enemies of Czechs: "The Czech chronicle says that because of their innate character, the German people cannot be loyal to the Czech language."[25] Several verses reproduced here from the chronicle by Dalimil are introduced with similar statements. The pamphlet aims to warn royal electors against the German candidate. There is also a speech from the pre-Christian prophet and Duchess Libuše warning of foreign rule; the lesson of the three dukes of Bohemia murdered by German assassins; and the tragic rule of Stanimír, who was of German origin. There is also a reminder of Duke Oldřich, who appealed to Czechs to prefer the Czech language over German. Finally, the rule of Soběslav and his father Vladislav, who sought the emperor's support against his own 'nation', is extensively re-told. The speech given by Libuše here is also slightly updated. In the original redaction, Libuše warns of rule by a foreigner, but in the *Short Collection,* Libuše warns of rule by a German.[26]

23 Meinert, "Die böhmischen Geschichtschreiber," 38.

24 Bláhová, "Krátké sebránie," 980.

25 "Dále kronika česká svědčí, kterak též pokolenie německé nikdy z přirozenie svého nemóž býti věrno jazyku českému" Urbánek, ed., "Český anonymní spis," 33.

26 Urbánek, ed., "Český anonymní spis": the warning of Libuše on p. 33, about murdered dukes on p. 34, about Soběslav and Vratislav on pp. 35–36, on Oldřich p. 34, and on Stanimír on pp. 36–37.

The *Short Collection* not only utilizes examples from the chronicle by Dalimil, but it also changes the core story. The conflict between Czechs and Germans did not begin after the establishment of the community as conceptualized in the chronicle by Dalimil. In the *Short Collection,* it begins right after the fall of the Tower of Babel. The narrative, therefore, shifts its main focus from the history of a nation to the history of a conflict. For the unknown author of the pamphlet, the chronicle by Dalimil was a source of historical examples of how Czechs dealt with German aggression, and it is reduced to just this purpose. Besides the chronicle by Dalimil, two other texts were essential sources for the *Short Collection*. Some text was directly taken from *De Teutunicis bonum dictamen* (also known as *Curtasia contra Teutunicis* or *Diffamatio contra Teutunicos*). After the fall of the Tower of Babel, newly emerged nations (languages) divided the world into their own property. These nations were led by their own kings, dukes, counts, margraves, princes, or lords. Only Germans did not get their own land, and they had no German ruler. They were not settled and lived as servants to other nations, especially Slavs.[27] *De Teutunicis bonum dictamen* relies on *The Privilege of Alexandre the Great for the Slavs*, a product of fourteenth-century educational practice, claiming that Alexandre named the Slavs as the inheritors of Europe.[28] In addition, both the *Privilege of Alexandre the Great* and *De Teutunicis bonum dictamen* are preserved in a volume together with the *Short Collection* and with Manuscript Cr of the chronicle by Dalimil. The entire codex includes an aggressive chauvinism, with the chronicle by Dalimil an essential part. At the same time, the context of the royal election gives us a clear clue as to why the volume is the product of a particular political situation and not of an ahistorical phenomenon peculiar to a vaguely defined society, i.e., Bohemian anti-Germanism.

After all, there is a German prose translation of the chronicle by Dalimil that was created in the middle of the fifteenth century, and the text of the original chronicle had already been translated into German prior to that. A verse adaptation was composed before the middle of the fourteenth century, which I will return to below. Although the text of the prose adaptation has not been analysed in detail, scholars conclude it was written from a manuscript that underwent the second redaction.[29]

27 Wostry, "Ein deutschfeindliches Pamphlet", 193–236.

28 "…damus et conferimus vobis libere et in perpetuum totam plagam terre ab aquiline usque ad fines Ytalie meridionales, ut nullus sit ausus ibi manere, residere aut se locare nisi vestrates; et si quis alius ibi inventus fuerit manens, sit vester servus et posteri eis sint servi vestrorum posterorum" […we freely give and confer upon you in perpetuity the entire tract of land from the north to the confines of southern Italy; let no one dare to reside there or locate there unless those of your nation, and if some other will be found remaining there, let him be your slave and afterward of your nation's posterity]: Vidmanová, "Ještě jednou," 180. See also Odložilík, "The Privilege," 239–51.

29 Daňhelka, "Úvod," 21; Brom, "The Rhymed German Translation," 257–80.

All three known surviving manuscripts of this prose adaptation are preserved in contemporary German libraries, and they were the property of local institutions as early as the Middle Ages. One manuscript from Saint Emmeram's Abbey in Regensburg is now stored in Munich, and another specimen is preserved in the University Library in Leipzig. The third copy was created by Christophor Hofmann, a Benedictine at Saint Emmeram's Abbey, at the beginning of the sixteenth century.[30] For the translator of the prose German version, the text of the second redaction testifies to anti-Germanism flourishing in Bohemia.

Reading and adapting the chronicle in the fifteenth century

Several intellectuals indeed read the chronicle and more scribes modified its text during the fifteenth century, and they approached the chronicle with different interests. Except for the three (of five including the L and F manuscripts) that are examples of the second redaction, two manuscripts preserve the chronicle in a more literary way. The difference is mirrored in the composition of the codices that preserve the copies of the chronicle from the fifteenth century. While the surviving copies of the second redaction are bound together with moral, didactic, or political treatises,[31] other fifteenth-century copies are bound with historical or societal narratives—texts that explore moral and didactic issues without immediate political implications. The *Fragment of Strahov* of the Old Czech Chronicle survived in a codex with the vernacular adaptation of the *Historia Troiana* by Guido de Columna, the *Travels of John Mandeville,* and the Old Czech *Tristram*. The Chronicle by Dalimil is only partially copied here: The story ends at the beginning of chapter fifteen, "On Men's Tricks Against Maidens". Based on a codicological analysis, however, the text seems not to be a fragment, strictly speaking, but rather an intentionally created copy of part of the chronicle.[32] The copied text narrates the story of founding a new homeland in Bohemia and establishing law and ducal dominion. It includes the prologue and chapters 1–14 on the Tower of Babel, founding a new homeland and cultivating its landscape; Libuše, a female soothsayer and her

30 Jireček, "Úvod," 26.

31 The codices of Manuscripts P, C, Fr, F (belonging to the second redaction) were already bound in the fifteenth century and are of medieval origin. Composition of Pelcl's ms: Pseudo-Burley, Kniha o mudrcích (De vita et moribus philosophorum); John of Wales, Kniha o čtyřech základních ctnostech (Breviloquium de virtutibus antiquorum principum); The Chronicle by Dalimil; Treatise on Silence. Composition of Cerroni's ms: A Short Collection; The Privilege of Alexandre the Great; De Teutunicis bonum dictamen; the Chronicle by Dalimil. Composition of the Fürstenberg ms: The Chronicle by Dalimil, Pseudo-Burley, Kniha o mudrcích (De vita et moribus philosophorum), History of Alexandr the Great, Elucidarium. Composition of the Františkánský ms: the Old Testament, List of Rulers of Bohemia, The Chronicle by Dalimil.

32 Hádek, "Strahovský kodex," 79–83; Hádek, "Explicit," 69–74.

marriage to Přemysl, the first duke; and the Maiden's War after the death of Libuše. However, when Libuše chooses her future husband, she gives a long speech warning about the rule of a foreigner, but the narrative preserved in the *Fragment of Strahov* lacks the conflict with the Germans. It tells the story of an early society forming, constituting its rules, and dealing with conflicts and struggles within its community. Such a perspective contrasts with the one we saw in the *Short Collection,* where enmity with Germans begins right after the fall of the Tower of Babel. At the same time, the narrative about the pre-Christian past intensifies one feature of the original chronicle: a general lack of dating related to the intention of narrating a meaningful story rather than reconstructing past events. The *Fragment of Strahov*, therefore, goes well with the other texts in the codex, which are a historical novel about the Trojan War, an Arthurian verse romance, and a fantastic travelogue.

An idiosyncratic version of the chronicle, the Z manuscript, is preserved in the Codex of Jan Pinvička (a fifteenth-century scribe), also known as the Codex of Jan Zeberer (an eighteenth-century collector).[33] The text of the chronicle copied here was considered a third redaction of the chronicle by a few scholars. Although this opinion has lost popularity, it still brings our attention to the substantial number of interventions made in the verses of the chronicle. The update to the text was not performed by Jan Pinvička but most likely by someone beforehand, and Pinvička himself copied this version.[34] Generally, the verses in the Codex of Jan Pinvička are expanded in many places and not shortened. What is even more important is that the version in this codex does not interfere with the content of the narrative and does not change motifs important for the sense of the story. It seems the author of this version cared more for literary aesthetics than for the chronicle's political layers.

Cases such as the *Fragment of Strahov* and the copy of the chronicle preserved in the Codex of Jan Pinvička show us a variety of readings and adaptations of the original Old Czech Chronicle in the Middle Ages themselves. The chauvinistic approach to the text realized in the second redaction of the chronicle is thus only one potential approach. Moreover, the *Fragment of Strahov* and the copy preserved in the Codex of Jan Pinvička are not isolated cases. There are other versions of the chronicle that underline different layers of the text than those based on motifs attacking Germans. A German verse translation of the first redaction of the Old Czech Chronicle was created before the middle of the fourteenth century. The main feature of this adaptation, preserved in a single manuscript and known as *Tutsch kronik von Behem lant*, is an effort to moderate the aggressive nationalism. The German chronicle turns its attention to the distinction between German-speaking inhabitants of the Kingdom of Bohemia and foreigners. Chauvinistic assaults are also part of the narrative

33 KNM, sign. II F 8. For generally about the codex, see Šorm, "Reading," 164–65.

34 Daňhelka et al., eds, *Staročeská kronika*, Vol. 1, 41–43.

here, but they are reserved for foreigners, not Germans, as a vaguely defined social group. While German-speaking inhabitants of the Kingdom of Bohemia are called "tutschin"—that is, essentially Germans—, foreigners designated in the Old Czech Chronicle as Germans are systematically called "fromde" here—i.e., foreigners. This shift has a severe impact on the opinions promoted in the chronicle, and the image is no longer crystal clear. In the Old Czech Chronicle, the Czechs, sharing a single language and historical experience, and forming a metaphorical family, were supposed to care for the common good (i.e., a vague general idea of a prosperous society and its "homeland" combining religious and political criteria) and to defend their homeland against the greedy Germans who strove to seize power in the kingdom. In the German chronicle, on the other hand, a community of *regnicolaes* (dwellers in the kingdom regardless of their affiliation of language or origin) is placed in opposition to foreigners.[35] Interventions into Dalimil's identity constructions made in the *Tutsch kronik* are strengthened by shifting narrative perspectives from nation to ruler and kingdom. The author of the German adaptation of the Old Czech Chronicle accomplished this by creating an introduction where he summarised the reigns of Bohemian dukes and kings, including the reign of John of Luxembourg until 1342. After that, the *Tutsch kronik* begins with the story of the Tower of Babel. This introduction also replaces the chronicle's original sharply identity-centred prologue.[36]

Two different approaches to the Old Czech Chronicle might expose the similarities and differences between the manuscript of the *Tutsch kronik* and Manuscript L mentioned above as a connecting link between the first and second redaction. Both these testimonies were evidently created based on the same version of the chronicle as they share several particular variations. At the same time, the two have contradictory goals: Manuscript L contains many additions particular to the second redaction, while the *Tutsch kronik* dilutes the ethnic foundations of identities constructed in the chronicle. In 2005, a fragment of a fourteenth-century Latin adaptation of the Old Czech Chronicle was found in Paris. The preserved text is not lengthy, covering only eleven non-subsequent chapters. Nevertheless, a few repetitive features were detected. Modifications in the Latin text have, as Anežka Vidmanová pointed out, a similar spirit to those in the German text. The connection between the two is not methodical, nor does it prove a direct textual relation, but it probably shows that both versions draw from the same version of the text. As we saw in the German text, the author of the Latin adaptation substituted the word "German" for "foreigner" in several places.[37] The approach to the chronicle in the Latin version is thus contrary to that in the second redaction or the *Short Collection*.

35 For the entire paragraph see Brom, "The Rhymed German Translation," 257–80.

36 Zouhar, "Die Edition des so genannten Abrisses," 57–83.

37 Vidmanová, "Nad pařížskými zlomky," 25–67.

All these adaptations of the Old Czech Chronicle give us clues that there is no mainstream and alternative reading of the text but rather a wide range of medieval approaches. The manuscripts of the second redaction are particular for their linear reading of the original text, i.e., stressing its chauvinistic nature. Other adaptations cannot be defined that precisely. We see sharp ethnic nationalism repetitively moderated in some adaptations or even left aside, and the animosity towards ethnic Germans is shifted to foreigners, resulting in a more inclusive identity for the inhabitants of the kingdom. Besides that, the chronicle includes several layers of meaning closely related to the chauvinism presented therein, but these may stand out as essential features themselves, depending on the reader. One of them is the moral lessons drawn from historical events. The term advice *(rada)* is utilized very frequently in the narrative to stress the didactic meaning of the figure's speeches as well as the narrator's evaluation. Another is historical nostalgia seen throughout the chronicle. The narrative climaxes with Dalimil's proclamation of his disappointment in the present situation of society while the past reality is recalled as an ideal worthy of following, and past heroes are contrasted with contemporary figures. Still, the past is for Dalimil accessible through the narration as witnessed in the story about Duke Oldřich discovering an abandoned castle full of food and clothing. Oldřich himself never learned the story of the place, but Dalimil did, reading the story in "a German chronicle".[38] There are parallels between the fate of Oldřich and the one-time owner of the castle and the entire chronicle by the so-called Dalimil as well because the chronicle looked for parallels between the past and the present. The narrative by Dalimil is monumental and may arouse respect and awe, as well as astonishment and immersion.[39]

Postmedieval adaptations of the chronicle

I have argued that there were several approaches to the Old Czech Chronicle by the so-called Dalimil in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. One of them accentuated aggressive anti-German nationalism. Others rather emphasized different epic dimensions of a nostalgic historical narrative. The former chauvinistic interpretation is primarily represented by manuscript testimonies called the second redaction of the chronicle that appeared before the middle of the fifteenth century. The latter, in turn, were produced and disseminated in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Also, the second redaction of the chronicle is usually associated with intellectuals close to the Hussite movement, while other adaptations were disseminated more by various social groups in the Czech Lands. The difference between a strong and

38 Daňhelka et al., eds, *Staročeská kronika*, Vol. 1, 464.

39 Both these features were stressed recently by Šorm, "Vnímání a reprezentace intimity," 266–74. For the usage of parallels in the narrative, see Bažant, "Urození lenoši," 247–58.

aggressive interpretation on the one hand and a diverse reading interested in particular historical images on the other is produced artificially, however, by putting the second redaction into opposition to all the other specific adaptations of the chronicle. Rather than the opposition itself, I intend to underline the plurality of attitudes towards the chronicle throughout the Middle Ages.[40]

Presenting such a scene as opposition still serves to show the change in the use of the chronicle from the sixteenth century on. Since the previous analysis was based almost exclusively on manuscript testimonies from the text of the chronicle by Dalimil, I now turn my attention to other copies of the chronicle. However, there is no manuscript record of the chronicle from the sixteenth century onward. The first significant adaptation of the chronicle was created by humanist intellectual and editor Pavel Ješín (also Gessinius or Geschinius), who prepared an edition for print in 1620. The humanist approach applied by Ješín has the character both of scholarly criticism and national apology. Ješín created the edition during the uprising of Bohemian estates against Habsburg rule caused both by disagreement about the roles of the ruler and the estates in the administration of the country, as well as by confessional discord between Protestants and Catholics. Ješín and others understood and interpreted the case as a continuation of the old enmity between Czechs and Germans, or more precisely, as a continuation of the age-long German hatred of Czechs.[41] Both the content of the conflict and its nationalistic reading of the situation found their expression in Ješín, who pays homage to the "Bohemian" Přemyslid dynasty that died out 200 years prior. The chronicle by Dalimil ends with the extinction of that dynasty, followed by social chaos and the installation of a new dynasty. According to Dalimil, the last Přemyslid was murdered in 1306 on the order of the "German" king of the Romans.

Ješín compiled the edition out of several manuscript copies, respecting the individual variants and stressing them in the margins. To accomplish his task, he had examples of the two redactions, but also other, later lost manuscripts at his disposal.[42] Ješín put significant effort into reconstructing the original wording of the chronicle and defending himself against potential objections, claiming that nobody should express astonishment at the fact that someone cares for his own language,[43]

40 Similar conclusions were drawn by Adde, "Enviroment textuel," 169–91.

41 Mikulec, "Pavel Stránský of Zápy," 89–92.

42 As for the manuscripts, Ješín used Manuscript V (*Vienna* manuscript probably from the end of the fourteenth century, preserving text close to the original version), Manuscript C from 1448 with the second redaction, and Manuscript L from the turn of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries where some features of the second redaction appear.

43 Daňhelka, ed., *Die alttschechische Reimchronik*, 50.

that no one should hold Ješín responsible for writings created 300 years ago;[44] nor should anybody should blame Ješín for defaming Germans as he claims this was not his intention.[45]

On the other hand, Ješín published the chronicle by Dalimil as a unique testimony about "the extermination" of the Přemyslids as other chroniclers, according to Ješín, remained silent about it.[46] Ješín also accused Holy Roman Emperor Rudolf II of replacing Latin with German as the language of the Empire despite the Roman habit of installing Latin as the administrative language in the provinces. Therefore, Rudolf II lost part of his legitimacy in this respect. Moreover, using Latin was a supposedly fundamental constituent of being considered a Roman.[47] Ješín also warned his contemporaries about the fate of the Sorbs, who were barely surviving under harsh discrimination by the Germans.[48] After all, Ješín declares in the prologue:

> "I have no other goal or intention than to serve to my nation (…) Czechs look into the chronicle as if into a mirror to fortify themselves for a current pious and heroic stance, and brace themselves in faith, patience, and stability using the examples of their ancestors".[49]

Ješín's edition was printed in June 1620 during the Bohemian Revolt but was most likely never distributed, and it was perhaps destroyed soon after the Battle of White Mountain that ended the revolt. Only a few copies of the print survived.[50]

Another edition of the Old Czech Chronicle by the so-called Dalimil was prepared by František Faustin Procházka in 1786. Procházka based his edition on the print by Ješín, but he also worked with other manuscripts that did not factor into the edition by Ješín (Ješín did not have Manuscripts F, P, Fr, and Z at his disposal). The strong influence of Ješín's edition is mirrored in Procházka's preface, where entire excerpts from Ješín's preface are copied. The approach adopted by Procházka has something in common with the one embraced by Ješín: Procházka justified his edition for the censors both in the text of the chronicle by leaving some verses out and by clarifying the harmlessness of the chronicle in its preface. Procházka declared, just as Ješín did, that nobody should transfer the opinions of

44 Daňhelka, ed., *Die alttschechische Reimchronik*, 49.

45 Daňhelka, ed., *Die alttschechische Reimchronik*, 49.

46 Daňhelka, ed., *Die alttschechische Reimchronik*, 48.

47 Daňhelka, ed., *Die alttschechische Reimchronik*, 51.

48 Daňhelka, ed., *Die alttschechische Reimchronik*, 50–51. Sorbs are a West Slavic ethnic group living in Lusatia. The example of Sorbs is often given, supposedly proving the necessity of state independence for the survival of an ethnic group. Stone, *The Smallest Slavonic Nation*.

49 Daňhelka, ed., *Die alttschechische Reimchronik*, 47–48.

50 Daňhelka, "Úvod," 21.

Dalimil to contemporary times and vice versa. At the same time, Procházka not only quotes similar statements by Ješín, but he also argues that the chronicle is inspiring reading, just as Ješín did. Although Procházka claimed his edition was primarily intended for linguists, he simultaneously revealed a vision of the chronicle as an educational mirror for the kings of Bohemia as well as an emotional national historical connection:

> "I do not think anybody would not like to learn a language and the decaying customs of their old, bearded, and hairy forefathers, and to enjoy a moment with them."[51]

Different attitudes towards the chronicle by the so-called Dalimil were heavily influenced by the opinions of Josef Dobrovský, a prominent philologist and proponent of the Czech national emancipation movement at the turn of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. In *Geschite der böhmischen Sprache und Literatur*, originally published in 1791, Dobrovský reservedly described the chronicle by the so-called Dalimil as an extremely hateful text towards Germans that never again occurred to such an extent in literature produced in Bohemia.[52] Every subsequent researcher who interpreted the chronicle was basically obliged to adopt Dobrovský's attitude. This effect is illustrated by the efforts of Václav Hanka to have another edition of the chronicle by the so-called Dalimil printed, the first attempt taking place in 1823. Hanka, like other figures of the national emancipation movement, adopted a particular wariness in dealing with the censors,[53] who appreciated the literary quality of the chronicle, but were also aware of the statements by Josef Dobrovský.[54] At the same time, advocates of Hanka's work strived to disprove the legitimacy of Dobrovský's evaluation as exaggerated. Hanka and his proponents claimed the chronicle to be a national apology, not offensive hate.[55] While disproving Dobrovský's statement, historians usually closely connected the ideas of Dobrovský and Meinert. With Meinert, who emotionally rejected Dalimil, a strong expressivity was added to the argumentation because Dobrovský himself wrote about Dalimil without explicit emotion. František Palacký, a historian, politician, and one of the most influential individuals of the Czech national emancipation

51 "Neminim, že by kdo by, gemuž by nebylo milo, swých starých, bradatých a chlupatých tatiků, řeč, a gegi zwetsselé způsoby poznati, a gako s nimi na chwili obcowati" Procházka, ed., *Kronika Boleslavská*, not paginated.

52 "Nie hatte der böhmische Nationalhass gegen die Deutschen einen so hohen Graden erreicht," Dobrovský, *Geschichte*, 146.

53 Štaif, *Obezřetná elita*.

54 Gabriel, "Osudy," 161–62.

55 Such is the case of the apology in another attempt by Hanka to have the edition published in 1835. See Volf, "Dobrozdání," 453–59.

movement, was also involved in this case. In his *Würdigung der alten böhmischen Geschichtsschreiber* from 1830, Palacký defended Dalimil from Dobrovský and Meinert, asserting that Dalimil was not a hateful liar but rather a heartfelt patriot. Palacký, on the other hand, appreciated Hanka as a "wise man" contributing to knowledge about the chronicle. Moreover, Palacký refers to the edition by Hanka from 1823/1824, which in fact, had not been published yet.[56] Hanka failed to publish the chronicle until 1849. He did not introduce his own interpretation in the final version of his edition but instead used a commentary copied from Palacký's *Würdigung*. At the same time, Hanka omitted Dobrovský's opinions of Dalimil, and he only referred to Dobrovský as a critic of the sixteenth-century chronicle by Václav Hájek of Libočany, who was then believed to be a liar.[57]

Statements by Dobrovský and Meinert remained stepping stones in discussions about the Old Czech Chronicle. According to the mainstream evaluations by historians active in Bohemia during the nineteenth century, the chronicle by Dalimil should be read as a patriotic apology defending the nation against the German offences of the time. At the same time, they understood these offences as an ahistorical constant true in the Middle Ages as well as in their lifetimes. Historians attempted to disprove statements by Dobrovský and Meinert to reversely argue that Dalimil was rather a patriotic figure. Josef Jireček, who prepared the first modern critical edition of the chronicle in 1882, based his own argument on the explicit denial of the thesis by Dobrovský and Meinert, just like Palacký.[58] Particular attention was later paid to Meinert's idea of the chronicle as a product of ongoing Czech aggressive nationalism in the Middle Ages. On the other hand, many scholars observed similarities in nationalistic ideas in the chronicle by Dalimil and in texts from some Hussite authors. Although plenty of scholars did not primarily claim that Bohemian anti-Germanism was an objective ahistorical phenomenon, they still often gave credit to Meinert's statement as a fitting characteristic. These included philologists Roman Jakobsen and Jiří Daňhelka. Even though their research was consistently text-based, they appreciated Meinert's approach as pertinent. Both quoted Meinert's words about the chronicle as a "bugle of the Hussite wars". Jakobsen claimed Meinert was not far from historical truth, and Daňhelka stated that Meinert expressed his views "mercilessly and aptly".[59] Both supported the idea that Dalimil was a product of a homogeneous nationalistic society that had hardly changed throughout the Middle Ages, even though both Jakobsen and Daňhelka understood the constructiveness of the text and its ideological auctorial character well. Alfred Thomas, who

56 Palacký, *Würdigung*, 108. See also Píša, "Cenzura," 200–6.

57 Hanka, ed. *Dalimilova chronika*, IV.

58 Jireček, "Úvod," XVIII.

59 Daňhelka, "Úvod," 34; Toman, ed., *Angažovaná čítanka*, 201.

interpreted Meinert's idea of a description of political reality, went even further. While Meinert argued there was a universal national movement, Thomas wrote about the identity of Dalimil's political argumentation and the political environment at the beginning of the Hussite movement supposedly inspired by Dalimil.[60] The belief that the chronicle by Dalimil was indivisibly connected to an assumed national movement is defended to this day. For example, in 2011, Robert B. Pynsent formulated the opinion that Dalimil created an "ideological basis for Czech mass nationalism".[61]

Furthermore, there is also the conviction that the chronicle by Dalimil is inspiring for modern readers. We may associate such an argument with nineteenth-century historians from Bohemia, but it was repeated even later. This is the case of a handbook on the history of Czech literature by the Institute of Czech Literature at the Academy of Sciences published in 1959, where the so-called Dalimil is glorified as a defender of the "highest values of the nation and of humanity", and his nationalistic and xenophobic ideas are presented as inspiring.[62] Miroslav Ivanov, one of the most popular non-academic authors of historical non-fiction, introduces Dalimil not only as a patriot but also as a democrat in 1971, and his book was republished as an e-book in 2015.[63] Radko Štastný, who systematically studied manuscripts of the chronicle, strangely defended Dalimil's medieval opinions against contemporary researchers in 1989:

> "That what was and often still is labelled as a typical attribute of Hussitism, and what Dalimil was and still is blamed for, that is national hate and chauvinism, is a very inaccurate designation for the patriotism of defending the existence of a nation."[64]

60 "In looking for the forces that could change this situation, the author of the chronicle, much in advance of his time, is inclined to see salvation in Bohemia in an independent state governed by the lower nobility allied with the peasants (sic!). This is precisely (sic!) what happened in the Hussite period in the fifteenth century, when the Czech king Sigismund was removed from the throne (sic!) by an uprising of noblemen and peasants. There is, therefore, much justification in the comment of the German historian Joseph George Meinert, who in 1821 called the chronicle »the bugle of the Hussite Wars«." Thomas, *Anne's Bohemia*, 52–53.

61 Pynsent, "Czech Nationalism," 9.

62 Hrabák, ed., *Dějiny*, 121.

63 Ivanov, "Labyrint," 12.

64 "…to, co bylo a mnohdy dosud je označováno jako typický znak husitství a co bylo a je vyčítáno Dalimilovi, Totiž nacionální nenávist a šovinismus, je velmi nepřesné označení pro vlastenectví, patriotismus, obhajující národní existence" […what was and sometimes still is described as a typical feature of Hussitism and what was and is blamed on Dalimil, namely national hatred and chauvinism, is a very inaccurate term for patriotism, patriotism, defending national existence]: Štastný, "Dalimilovy ideje," 390–91.

Conclusion

The works of Jan Lehár represent an essential turn in the discourse about the Old Czech Chronicle by Dalimil. These were studies on the literary aspects of Dalimil's poem, but Lehár fully appreciated the complex literary interpretations of its history, including its placement in the context of other early Bohemian vernacular epic works from the turn of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The literary criticism revealed narrative patterns employed by the author and demonstrated the utility of such structures.[65] Lehár read the chronicle not as an inevitable product of a society at the end of the thirteenth century but primarily as a poem written by an author with his beliefs and opinions based on his life and interpreting his experiences. From this perspective, the chronicle is not a simple mirror of the time when it was produced, and the context of the period has only an auxiliary function in its interpretation. Political, economic, and social contexts are always fragmentary and depend on actual interpretations. These contexts can help us understand the narrative only after we understand its literary features, poetic figures, argumentation, narrative mediation, and the role of the narrator.[66] Acknowledging such features helps us better understand the socio-cultural functions of the chronicle as well as its political impetus associated with an emotional effect.

In this paper, however, the focus was the varying approaches employed by medieval (and modern) readers and authors to the chronicle. Manuscript adaptations of the chronicle stressed various layers of the poem: as a history of a nation as well as of a kingdom; as an epic narrative; as historical nostalgia; and as an aggressive nationalist polemic. We saw that some of these adaptations went in opposite directions to the original chronicle in systematically moderating chauvinistic elements in the original chronicle. The reception of the chronicle should therefore be considered a result of different authors' interests in stressing individual features of the original chronicle rather than a product of a persistent omnipresent tradition: A supposed permanent anti-Germanism in Bohemia. Similar conclusions were drawn by Jiří Daňhelka. Pointing out there is no substantial evidence of using the chronicle during the sixteenth century, he recalled that it was often adapted in particular situations and should thus primarily be read as an authorial ideological text. The surviving examples of the second redaction of the chronicle should consequently not be seen as evidence of unchanging anti-Germanism in Bohemia. The connection between the nationalism at the beginning of the fourteenth century and the second third of the fifteenth

65 Jakobson, "Old Czech Verse," 417–65; Hrabák, *Studie*, 51–60; Zdeňka Tichá, *Staročeské básně*, 12–17, 18–23; Lehár, *Nejstarší česká epika*, 12–29.

66 Following the research of Jan Lehár, I inquired about the digressions of the narrator, the usage of direct speech, and parallels between particular chapters as a part of historical conceptualisation in my Ph.D. thesis: Bažant, "Představy," 66–72, 115–25, 184–88.

century is not proven, but is a construction by the authors of the second redaction. František Šmahel correctly formulates the metaphor that the chronicle "*became* (italics by VB) a bugle only after the battle of Lipany."[67] Authors of the second redaction of the chronicle updated the text to meet their own needs, opinions, and political goals.

We saw there was a change in the discourse related to reading the chronicle after the fifteenth century. While the adaptations created during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries show us heterogenous approaches, later editions from 1620, 1786, and the nineteenth century were virtually solely displays of national apology that impacted our understanding of the chronicle and overshadowed the literary layers of the text. The controversy over Dalimil's patriotism and chauvinism is no longer relevant. There are many studies of the chronicle that I did not mention, but current research is focused on the opinions expressed in the chronicle, the relationship between statements advocated in the chronicle, and the politics and opinions in Bohemia at the turn of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. These include analyses of specific literary and cultural motifs utilized in the text.[68] Nevertheless, there is a shared conviction in mainstream research that the chronicle is a natural product of thirteenth-century society rather than a literary expression of opinions held by a particular author. Moreover, such a view petrifies our approach to the chronicle in terms of a political and ideological creation. We most often read individual pieces of medieval historiography separately as either political treatise, theological exposition, memorial record, or celebratory writing. Alternatively, we evaluate individual textual layers as tools serving the ultimate goal of the entire text—e.g., the theoretical construction of a pagan history introduced to support and legitimize ducal power with poetic figures used as ornaments around the core message. Most often, a political argument is considered the most important layer of the chronicle. The text must be ideologically criticized, but it still should cover not only the designation of a direct political goal but also an understanding of relations between all the layers of the text: salvational history; the role of the narrator; or sacred teachings about the history of the world; as well as claims of religious and worldly power and social opinions on the functioning of communities.[69]

67 Šmahel, *Idea*, 273.

68 See also Mezník, "Němci a Češi," 3–10; Bláhová, *Staročeská kronika*. Recently Adde-Vomáčka, *La Chronique*.

69 This study was supported by grant no. 19-28415X "From Performativity to Institutionalization: Handling Conflict in the Late Middle Ages (Strategies, Agents, Communication)" from the Czech Science Foundation (GA ČR) and coordinated by the Institute of Philosophy of the Czech Academy of Sciences in Prague. This study has been produced with the assistance of the Czech Medieval Sources online database provided by the LINDAT/CLARIAH-CZ Research Infrastructure (https://lindat.cz), supported by the Ministry of Education, Youth, and Sports of the Czech Republic (Project No. LM2018101).

Sources

Knihovna Národního Muzea v Praze (KNM)

Literature

Adde, Éloïse. Environnement textuel et réception du textemédiéval. La deuxième vie de la *Chronique de Dalimil*. *Médiévales* 73 (2017): 169–92. https://doi.org/10.4000/medievales.8227

Adde-Vomáčka, Éloïse. *La Chronique de Dalimil. Les débuts de l'historiographie nationale tchèque en langue vulgaire en Bohême au 14e siècle*. Paris: Sorbonne, 2016

Assmann, Jan. *Cultural Memory and Early Civilization: Writing, Remembrance and Political Imagination*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011. https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511996306

Bažant, Vojtěch. "Představy o počátcích národů v historické kultuře 14. a 15. století" [Notions About the Origins of Nations in Fourteenth- and Fifteenth-Century Historical Culture]. PhD dissertation, Charles University, 2020.

Bažant, Vojtěch. "Urození lenoši. Biblické rozměry Dalimilovy kroniky" [Noble Idlers. Biblical Dimensions of the chronicle by so-called Dalimil]. In *Oddech a zahálka. Čas bez práce ve středověké Evropě* [Leisure and Idleness. Time Beyond Work in Medieval Europe], edited by Vojtěch Bažant, Lucie Korecká, Martin Šorm, and Matouš Turek, 247–58. Prague: Nakladatelství Lidové Noviny, 2022.

Bláhová, Marie. "Dalimil (Staročeská kronika tak řečeného Dalimila)" [Dalimil. The Old Czech Chronicle of the So-Called Dalimil]. In *The Encyclopedia of Medieval Chronicles*, edited by Graeme Dunphy, 504–505. Leiden–Boston: Brill, 2010.

Bláhová, Marie. "Krátké sebránie z českých kronik k výstraze věrných Čechóv" [A Short Collection of Czech Chronicles to Warn the Loyal Czechs]. In *The Encyclopedia of Medieval Chronicles*, edited by Graeme Dunphy, 980. Leiden–Boston: Brill, 2010.

Bláhová, Marie. *Staročeská kronika tak řečeného Dalimila v kontextu středověké historiografie latinského kulturního okruhu a její pramenná hodnota* [The Old Czech Chronicle by the So-Called Dalimil in the Context of Medieval Historiography of the Latin Cultural Space and its Value as a Source]. Prague: Academia, 1995.

Brom, Vlastimil. "The Rhymed German Translation of the Chronicle of the So-Called Dalimil and its Strategies of Identification." In *Historiography and Identity, Vol. VI*, edited by Pavlína Rychterová, 257–80. Turnhout: Brepols, 2021. https://doi.org/10.1484/M.CELAMA-EB.5.121224

Daňhelka, Jiří, eds. *Die alttschechische Reimchronik des sogenannten Dalimil. Herausgegeben im Jahre 1620 von Pavel Ješín z Bezdězí*. Munich: Otto Sagner, 1981.

Daňhelka, Jiří et al., eds., *Staročeská kronika tak řečeného Dalimila* [The Old Czech Chronicle of the So-Called Dalimil]. 2 vols. Prague: Academia, 1988.

Daňhelka, Jiří. "Úvod" [Introduction]. In *Die alttschechische Reimchronik des sogenannten Dalimil. Herausgegeben im Jahre 1620 von Pavel Ješín z Bezdězí*, edited by Jiří Daňhelka, 7–37. Munich: Otto Sagner, 1981.

Dobrovský, Josef. *Geschichte der böhmischen Sprache und Literatur*. Prague: Franz Gerzabek, 1818.

Gabriel, František. "Osudy Hankova Dalimila z roku 1823" [The Destiny of Hanka's Edition of Dalimil from 1823]. *Listy Filologické* 60, no. 1 (1933): 157–68.

Geary, Patrick J. *Women at the Beginning. Origin Myths form the Amazons to the Virgin Mary*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006. https://doi.org/10.1515/9781400827084

Hádek, Karel. "Explicit Trojánské kroniky jako příspěvek k významu slova počtenie" [Explicit of Historia Troiana as a Contribution to the Meaning of the Word Reading]. *Listy Filologické* 103 (1980): 69–74.

Hádek, Karel. "Strahovský kodex D G III 7" [The Codex of Strahov Library D G III 7]. *Listy Filologické* 101 (1978): 79–83.

Hanka, Václav, ed. *Dalimilova chronika česká v nejdávnější čtení navrácena* [The Chronicle by Dalimil in its Original Version]. Prague: editor's edition, 1849.

Hrabák, Josef, ed. *Dějiny české literatury 1: Starší česká literatura* [History of Czech Literature 1: Older Czech Literature]. Prague: Academia, 1959.

Hrabák, Josef. *Studie o českém verši* [Study on Czech Verse]. Prague: State Pedagogical Publisher, 1959.

Ivanov, Miroslav. "Labyrint kolem Dalimila" [Labyrinth Around Dalimil]. In *Labyrint*, by Miroslav Ivanov. Ústí nad Labem: Publisher of North Bohemia, 1971.

Jakobson, Roman. "Old Czech Verse." In*: Selected Writings 6/2*, by Roman Jakobson, edited by Stephen Rudy. Berlin–New York–Amsterdam: Mouton Publishers, 1985.

Jireček, Josef. "Úvod" [Introduction]. In *Fontes Rerum Bohemicarum*, Vol. 3, edited by Josef Jireček, III–XXVIII. Prague: Foundation of František Palacký, 1882.

Lehár, Jan. *Nejstarší česká epika. Dalimilova kronika, Alexandreida, První veršované legendy* [The Oldest Czech Epic: The Chronicle by Dalimil, Alexandreis, First Rhymed Legends]. Prague: Vyšehrad, 1983.

Meinert, Joseph Georg. "Die böhmischen Geschichtschreiber des ersten Zeitraums bis 1400." *Wiener Jahrbücher der Literatur* 5 (1821).

Mezník, Jaroslav. "Němci a Češi v Kronice tak řečeného Dalimil" [Germans and Czechs in the Chronicle by the So-Called Dalimil]. *Časopis Matice Moravské* 112 (1993): 3–10.

Mikulec, Jiří. "Pavel Stránský of Zápy." In *Undaunted by Exile! To the Victims of Religious, Political, National, and Racial Persecutions in Central Europe between the 16th and 20th Centuries with a Focus on the Czech Lands*, edited by Zlatica Zudová-Lešková, 89–92. Prague: Institute of History CAS, 2015.

Nodl, Martin. *Tři studie o době Karla IV.* [Three Studies about the Time of Charles IV]. Prague: Argo, 2006.

Odložilík, Otakar. "The Privilege of Alexandre the Great for the Slavs." *Folia Diplomatica* 1 (1971): 239–51.

Palacký, František. *Würdigung der alten böhmischen Geschichtschreiber.* Prague: Borrosch, 1830.

Píša, Petr. "Cenzura v Čechách v kontextu předbřeznové habsburské monarchie" [The Censorship in Bohemia in the Context of the Habsburg Monarchy in the Vormärz Period]. PhD dissertation, Charles University, 2018.

Procházka, František Faustin, ed. *Kronika Boleslavská o posloupnosti knížat a králů českých etc* [The Chronicle from Boleslav on Succession of Princes and Kings of Bohemia]. Prague, 1786.

Pynsent, Robert B. "Czech Nationalism after Dalimil and before Huss" In *Confession and Nation in the Era of Reformations*, edited Eva Doležalová and Jaroslav Pánek, 9–34. Prague: Institute of History CAS, 2011.

Stone, Gerard. *The Smallest Slavonic Nation. The Sorbs of Lusatia*. London–New Delhi–New York–Sydney: Bloomsbury, 2015. https://doi.org/10.5040/9781474285742

Šmahel, František. *Idea národa ve husitských Čechách* [The Idea of the Nation in Hussite Bohemia]. Prague: Argo, 2000.

Šorm, Martin. "Reading About Men and for Men. Daughters Against Fathers, Violence and Wisdom in One Medieval Manuscript." In *Premodern History Through the Prism of Gender*, edited by Daniela Rywiková and Michaela Antonín Malaníková, 161–95. Lexington: Lexington Books, 2021.

Šorm, Martin. "Vnímání a reprezentace intimity ve středověké literatuře" [Perceptions and Representations and of Intimacy in Medieval Literature]. PhD dissertation, Charles University, 2021.

Štaif, Jiří. *Obezřetná elita. Česká společnost mezi tradicí a revolucí 1830–1851* [Cautious Elite. Society in Bohemia between Tradition and Revolution]. Prague: Dokořán, 2005.

Šťastný, Radko. "Dalimilovy ideje v husitství" [Dalimil's Ideas in Hussitism]. *Česká Literatura* 88 (1989): 385–97.

Thomas, Alfred. *Anne's Bohemia: Czech Literature and Society 1310–1420*. Minneapolis–London: University of Minnesota Press, 1998.

Tichá, Zdeňka. *Staročeské básně 14. a 15. století složené bezrozměrným veršem* [Old Czech Poems of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries Composed in Unbound Verse]. Prague: Academia, 1969.

Toman, Jindřich, ed. *Angažovaná čítanka Romana Jakobsona*. Prague: Karolinum, 2017.

Uhlíř, Zdeněk. "Národnostní proměny 13. století a český nacionalismus" [National Changes in the Thirteenth Century and Czech Nationalism]. *Folia Historica Bohemica* 12 (1988): 149–52.

Urbánek, Rudolf, ed. "Český anonymní spis agitační (»Krátké sebránie«)" [Czech Anonymous Campaigning Work ("Short Collection")]. In *O volbě Jiřího z Poděbrad* [About the Election of George of Poděbrady], edited by Rudolf Urbánek, 29–41. Prague: Academia, 1957.

Vidmanová, Anežka. "Ještě jednou k privilegiu Alexandra Velikého pro Slovany" [One More Time About the Privilege of Alexandre the Great for the Slavs]. In *Pulchritudo et sapientia. Ad honorem Pavel Spunar*, edited by Zuzana Silagiová, Hana Šedinová, and Petr Kitzler, 179–87. Prague: Institute of Philosophy of the CAS, 2008.

Vidmanová, Anežka. "Nad pařížskými zlomky latinského Dalimila" [About the Paris Fragment of the Latin Dalimil]. *Slovo a Smysl* 3, no. 5 (2006): 25–67.

Volf, Josef. "Dobrozdání prof. Františka Jana Svobody o Hankově zamýšleném novém vydání Dalimilovy kroniky z r. 1835" [Expert's Report by Prof. František Jan Svoboda on Hanka's Intended New Edition of the Chronicle by Dalimil from 1835]. *Časopis Musea království Českého* 87 (1913): 453–59.

Wostry, Wilhelm. "Ein deutschfeindliches Pamphlet aus Böhmen aus dem 14. Jahrhundert." *Mitteilungen des Vereins für Geschichte der Deutschen in Böhmen* 53 (1915): 193–236.

Zouhar, Jakub. "Die Edition des so genannten »Abrisses« aus dem 14. Jahrhundert. Ein Beitrag zur mittelalterlichen deutschsprachigen Literatur in Böhmen." In *Ad honorem Věra Němečková*, edited by Jana Kudrnová et al., 57–83. Hradec Králové: Pavel Mervart, 2015.

Historical Studies on Central Europe 3, no. 1 (2023): 103–121
doi.org/10.47074/HSCE.2023-1.05

HSCE | Historical Studies on Central Europe

The "Slovak Buddenbrooks"

Three Generations of the Makovický (1850–1945) and Pálka Family (1850–1921) from the Perspective of Economic Nationalism

Roman Holec

Faculty of Arts, Comenius University Bratislava, Gondova 2, 818 01 Bratislava; Institute of History of Slovak Academy of Sciences, Klemensova 19, 814 99 Bratislava, Slovakia; rh1918@yahoo.com

Received 4 May 2023 | Accepted 3 June 2023 | Published online 31 July 2023

Abstract. Rich banks and rich businesspeople were and still are the showcase of every nation, and the titular business-oriented families combined doing business with the tools of economic nationalism, as well as their love for art with the support of Slovak and Czech painters. The behaviour of the Slovak business elites of rural origin and from smaller towns was influenced by various stimuli (the example of contemporary cities, the way of life and behavioural strategy of the nobility, foreign influence, and the wish to obtain noble status), and they obtained a civic character only gradually.

The most important Slovak family banking and business house was created by members of the Makovický family. The Makovický family financially supported the national movement and all the Slovak national societies, too. On the other hand, no public activity, according to the Makovický family, could produce a loss. It was unclear where ethical idealism and material altruism began and ended.

One part of the current text explores the original business philosophies of two prominent individuals who are often associated with the families: Slovak Ján Pálka (a member of the tanning dynasty) and the famous world-class Moravian manufacturer Tomáš Baťa. Although they were both involved in leather processing, their environments were characterised by different cultures, traditions and opportunities. Jan Pálka drew on various socio-philosophical and utopian sources and relied on idealistic principles. In the spirit of economic nationalism, he strove to incentivise his workers to increase production efficiency by sharing the ownership of his factory and its profits in his own and the national collective interest. He went bankrupt and was, along with his theoretical model, relegated to the role of an admired visionary. In contrast, Tomáš Baťa was inspired by the American experience and the ideological impulses of Italian fascism. Even by 1914, he had pragmatically abandoned the use of all tools of economic nationalism and attempted to get as many state commissions as possible.

The continuity of many similar businesses and their representatives was either disrupted by the totalitarian decisions of the powerful during World War II or shortly after at the hands of the Communists.

Keywords: Slovak entrepreneurial dynasties, Pálka and Makovický families, economic nationalism, comparison with Baťa, business philosophies, philanthropy

Introduction: Business and Nation*

> "The task of ours will be regaining the Slovak coin back from foreigner[s'] hands and placing it in the midst of the service to our nation… Moreover, sooner than ever we should set the foundations of our businesses and industry by both establishing new firms and [taking over those] existing ones which have not [yet served] the Slovak nation. The activity of Slovak financ[ial] management will, of course, be given solid aid from the state and in return, financial institutions will be expected to help the success of state financial transactions." (Vladimír Makovický)
>
> "This era is great, and so will we be." (Ján Pálka)

The Hungarian historian Vera Bácskai analysed the first generation of Hungarian businesspeople. They were mainly tradesmen who came to Pest in the first half of the nineteenth century. It is noteworthy that from almost 300 researched names, two-thirds came from the territory of present-day Slovakia, especially from the German areas of Spiš (Zips, Szepes) county or from south-western Slovakia, thus from the triangle Vienna – Bratislava (Pressburg, Pozsony) – Pest. The majority of them were Jews, and according to the author, two-thirds of them were not ethnic Magyars but mostly German-speaking people. This corresponded to the economic importance of northern Hungary. On closer inspection, it is clear that this first generation of business people was already contributing to various public activities at the time of their development in Pest.[1] In the second half of the nineteenth century, the national issue was included in this context.

The relationship between a businessman and the national collective they identified with underwent a considerably complicated process of development in the nineteenth ('nationalist') century. This was predominantly true when it pertained to a non-dominant nation with little to no potential or opportunity for development that was forced to evolve in an environment of pressure for assimilation and reprisals by state administration. The latter used all methods of economic nationalism to maintain a national clientele, even at the cost of tolerating higher prices or worse quality, and redirected investments to businesses that were 'in national hands'.

* This work is a partial result of Project No. APVV-20-0526 Political socialization in the territory of Slovakia during the years 1848–1993 and of the project VEGA no. 2/0114/21 *From Charity to the State Social Policy: Ideas, Models and Praxis in the Period of State Interventions in Slovakia during the Nineteenth until the First Half of the Twentieth Centuries*.

ANBS, Slovenská banka 1879–1948, Book of minutes of the committee, executive committee, board of directors and general meetings of the Slovak bank (27. 07. 1919 – 16. 12. 1919), Box. 13, Inv. Nr. 10, Minutes from the bank committee meeting on 10. 01. 1919.

1 Bácskai, *A vállalkozók előfutárai*, 14–23.

The state reacted through reprisals, especially aimed at cooperation using Czech funding, and fought against such activities on territories inhabited by Slovaks.[2]

The Slovak business community was representative of the incomplete social structure of Slovak society and elites, dominated by priests, who comprised 20–40 percent of the national elite. The 16-member delegation that submitted the National Memorandum with the Slovak political programme to the Hungarian parliament on 27 June 1861 included only two businessmen: Peter Makovický (1824–1911) and Samuel Pálka (1817–1892), founder of the tanning dynasty from Liptovský Svätý Mikuláš (St. Nikolaus in der Liptau, Liptószentmiklós).[3]

The Slovak businessman, a producer or trader with Slovak identity, usually placed himself in the service of the national movement, which meant that all the activities he developed were oriented towards the benefit of the 'whole nation', whether this meant participation in or support for amateur theatres, the payment of sureties for the publications of the national press and society activities or their financial support; furthermore, support for various types of schools with Slovak instruction, and so on. In these areas, these individuals made up for the missing institutional network, cultural and social base, and the inadequate or deliberately absent support from the state (the lack of favourable loans and credit, transport-tariff concessions and state orders). In contrast, strict state control was implemented; officials were appointed by the state to the boards of directors or the supervisory authorities of Slovak companies and banks. In the case of societies and schools, they acted against the intentions of the state. As a result of the unpreparedness or unwillingness of the state to allow such public engagement, many societies and school projects failed to be implemented.

A degree of moral pressure was applied to many Slovak businesspeople by Slovak elites and society, and the whole community expected their participation in political activities. The more a businessman contributed, the more the expectations grew. Jozef Pozdech (1811–1878), Ján Nepomuk Bobula (1844–1903), Jozef Zarzetzky (1805–after 1875) and others represented the political group called the

2 Some examples of Hungarian state reprisals: against the Czech insurance company Slávie on Slovak territory (Holec, "Medzi slovanskou vzájomnosťou," 145–72), against the Slovak cellulose factory in Martin (Holec, "Zápas o martinskú celulózku," 49–72) and against the Slovak Bank Tatra (Holec and Hallon, *Tatra banka*).

3 The Memorandum of the Slovak Nation, accepted on 7 June 1861 at the great national assembly in Turčiansky Sv, Martin (Turócszentmárton, today Martin) demanded a separate administrative area to be governed exclusively for and by Slovaks, where the citizens would use Slovak as the official language of communication in all spheres of public life. This was the foremost attempt at emancipation by the Slovak public.

New Slovak School *(Nová škola slovenská)*[4] in the 1860s–1870s, while Rudolf Krupec (1840–1913) and Ján Milec (1847–1901) with connections to the Slovak National Party founded the nationally oriented *Tatra banka* (Tatra Bank)—the flagship of Slovak finance. At the end of the nineteenth century, the owners of the tanning business in Liptovský Svätý Mikuláš paid the surety for the political newspaper *Slovenské listy* (1897–1899) and indirectly influenced its content. Such activities aroused fears of discrimination by state authorities, for example, in connection with state orders and support. Hence, some businessmen avoided political activity and, as a result, became targets of criticism from the Slovak side.[5]

The main aim of this paper is to address the two Slovak business dynasties closely, highlighting their activities in the public sphere and showing how they supported the Slovak national movement. Furthermore, the focus is on analysing their business philosophy. As a result of industrialisation, population growth and urbanisation, social inequality was growing, which brought with it a whole series of problems. It was precisely in this environment that extensive space arose for the public engagement of the business elites, which did much to supplement or replace the role of the state and local authorities, especially in the communal sphere. The former became a product of civil society and an impulse for its further development at the same time. Philanthropy and patronage were among the most important areas of public activity.[6] They were offered to the Slovak national movement by the mentioned businessmen within the scope of economic and political nationalism. Thus more favourable conditions for influencing society according to these ideas arose.

4 The New Slovak School represented a liberal political direction from the 1860s and 1870s and represented an alternative or even opposition to the Old Slovak School of the former Štúr's generation. The New Slovak School was formed in 1868 by the members of the Slovak business and intellectual community in Pest and Buda. Their programme involved close cooperation with the Hungarian political elites.

5 For more details, see Holec, "Siege und Niederlagen," 38–54; Holec, "Podnikatelia a podnikanie," 165–74.

6 Philanthropy can be defined as one part of cultural capital. This also applies to patronage, under which we understand the use of private resources from aristocrats or businessmen for public purposes in fields where state bodies are also active in founding and financing institutions. It is especially art, culture, science and the social sphere that are involved. Every patron had the possibility to influence society according to their ideas in accordance with their financial resources. For more details see Kocka and Frey, eds, *Bürgerkultur und Mäzenatentum*, 7. For more details, see Gaehtengs and Schieder, eds, *Mäzenatisches Handeln*; Frey, *Macht und Moral*.

The "Slovak Buddenbrooks": the Makovický family

The most important Slovak family banking and business house was created by members of the Makovický family. It is tempting to consider them the Slovak Buddenbrooks due to the extent of their activities, and rightfully so. Their activities spanned three generations.

The first generation involved the brothers Peter Makovický (1824–1911) and Daniel Božetech Makovický (1828–1881), descended from an old family of Slovak Evangelics and craftsmen in Liptov (Liptó) County. They created a family business in 1850 (pulp and paper industry, trade in products made from sheep) and from 1879, the banking house Credit Association (following 1904, the Credit Bank in Ružomberok, and 1918 the Slovak Bank in Bratislava).

The founder of the Makovický business family was Peter Makovický, who had worked his way up, starting as a shop assistant in Bratislava (Pressburg, Pozsony), later promoted to head of sales in Terszt, and finally becoming the owner of a shop selling colonial goods in Ružomberok (Rosenberg, Rózsahegy). In 1879 he took a decisive and incredibly prescient step that would ensure his prosperity when he founded his financial institute and built his economic independence. His name and the names of his sons and grandsons are linked to numerous businesses in the Liptov (Liptó) region—a famous sheep-cheese factory, a timber company, and others. Due to his family's influence, Ružomberok became a true Slovak business centre.

Both the brothers, Peter and Daniel Božetech, were active in relation to all national events. They collected contributions for the Liptov scholarship; in 1860, they donated money to build a Ľudovít Štúr memorial; in 1863, they became the founders and later envoys of Matica slovenská, they were also the founders and donors of three Slovak gymnasiums and Peter Makovický took part in the Memorandum assembly in 1861 in Martin and was elected a member of the delegation which presented the Slovak National Memorandum to the deputy prime minister of the Hungarian parliament in Pest.

The second generation was represented by Peter's son, Vladimír Makovický (1862–1944), the most important Slovak businessman and banker until 1918 and a supporter of cooperation with the Czechs (Figure 1). He engaged in expansive business activities in Bratislava (Pressburg, Pozsony), although he tried to stay out of politics.

He studied at gymnasiums in Berehovo (Beregszász) and Ružomberok and earned his professional education at a business college in Hamburg. As a shop assistant, he had first been employed in a domestic company but later went on to complete a practical apprenticeship in Vienna, Budapest and Debrecen. He worked in family businesses until he transferred to the banking sector and started to become active in financial management. He dedicated more than 50 years of his life to the bank, and when it became the

strongest Slovak financial institute (with 3 million crowns of share capital) in 1911, he was at the helm. He also founded other banks and industrial firms while primarily focusing on the timber and paper-producing industry. Since his youth, he actively participated in all things national; he supported all Slovak political ambitions. What remained an open and unanswered but extensively discussed question was the degree to which businesspeople and banks should be altruistic and whether it was immoral if their priority was profit—the issue was characteristic of Slovak discourse before World War I. After 1918, members of the family became some of the key Slovak business representatives in Czechoslovakia. The dissolution of the state and the establishment of the Slovak Republic naturally did not win Vladimír Makovický`s approval, nor did its growing dependency on Nazi Germany.

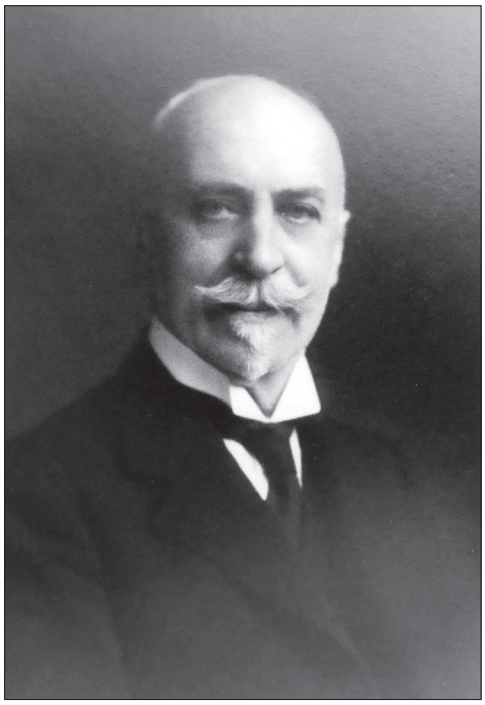

Figure 1 Vladimír Makovický
Source: Ďuriška, *Medzi mlynmi a bankami*, 144.

The third generation was represented by Vladimír's sons, Vladimír (1891–1918) and Igor Makovický (1892–1949). This generation had access to the best quality and diversity of education. Vladimír studied in Těšín, Székesfehérvár, Ružomberok and Miskolc and went to business academies in Brno and Prague, as well as at a Budapest university. There was certainly a bright future for this educated and thoroughly informed young man; sadly, at the war's end, he passed away after contracting the Spanish flu.

Igor also went to study in Těšín, Székesfehérvár, Ružomberok and at the universities in Budapest and Vienna; he also graduated from an accountancy course in Berlin. He was another supporter of the Czechoslovak state and later became a high state official and banker. During the existence of the Slovak Republic, he actively participated in the anti-fascist movement. He navigated the Slovak Bank until it was nationalised and later merged with other banks after the communist coup in 1948. That was also the end of his business career, bought about by communists. It was a heavy burden for him to see all the totalitarian assaults on the life's work of the three generations of his family, and the events even landed him in prison.

The continuity of many similar businesses and their representatives were either disrupted by the totalitarian-type power decisions made during World War II or shortly after at the hands of the communists.

Changes in social behaviour and way of life

We can assume that various stimuli influenced the behaviour and way of life of the Slovak business elites (incl. Makovický family).[7]

The first was the environment of the contemporary cities, where measures for limiting the worst forms of poverty had already existed for a long time. A diversity of forms of charity were also practised among the richest citizens. Bourgeois values gradually developed in very heterogeneous fields, and the closed autonomous community of the city became favourable soil for public activities, many of which had the common denominators of local patriotism, the constant influence of public spaces, the urgency of managing social problems, and so on. The system of 'virilism' through which each representative body was put together (half the members were the largest tax-payers and those appointed to specific functions, while the other half were elected) enabled the first generation of businesspeople to become members of town and county councils. There, they could directly influence decisions, and as part of the town and county institutions and sometimes their elite, they engaged in rich public activity. The towns in northern Hungary did not meet the size criteria, and urban life there suffered from various deficits and had a rural character. This is why the influence of city life came predominantly from Vienna, Budapest and Prague as well as from abroad (the business families of Országh in Warsaw, Polónyi in Bucharest, Samuel Zachej and entrepreneur Jozef Capko in Sofia, etc.).

The second stimulus was the way of life and behavioural strategy of the nobility, which were imitated by members of the prosperous city and business communities. This included the public activities of the nobility: patronage and charity, the establishment of various supporting funds, foundations, and so on. By purchasing property in towns and obtaining town citizenship rights, the nobility was also increasingly active in the framework of the towns. Having aristocrats at the head of any society was a universal phenomenon, useful for protection and enhancing prestige.

The social behaviour and way of life of the nobility became a model for the business class. The creation of a family portrait gallery for the banking and business family Makovický of Ružomberok is an example. Culture gradually became a prominent part of the lives of the more cultivated business families.

7 See more Holec, "On the Problems of Public Engagement," 25–35.

A third stimulus was foreign influence. When the first child of the businessman Emil Stodola (1862–1945) died, his wife (from the wealthy Slovak Polónyi family, active in Bucharest) established a home for abandoned children in Liptovský Sv. Mikuláš. Acceptance was in no way conditioned by the children's ethnicity, which criterion was not received without protest in Slovak society. Kornel Stodola (1866–1946) was active in business in Vienna, where his wife, one of the Polónyi sisters, closely cooperated with the Red Cross and charities with the wife of the heir to the throne and later Empress Zita.[8] Similar things can be said of the Országh family in Warsaw. These were isolated cases in which Slovak women engaged in public activity and thus disrupted the traditional family model and the role of women within it.

A fourth stimulus was the wish to obtain noble status and achieve a high social position. A review of those granted noble status in the Kingdom of Hungary in the period 1867–1918 in terms of their profession shows that 15 percent were businesspeople; not a small proportion.[9] And it was precisely public activity in the field of charity that became a decisive criterion for the ennoblement of business people. Clearly, this only applied in the case of non-Slovak (German, Hungarian, and Jewish) businesspeople, and it was unimaginable that individuals such as members of the Makovický or Stodola families would be awarded a noble title for their public activities, charity or business success.

In the case of a few business families, it is possible to identify the motives for individual decisions, which were derived directly from their private lives. The death of a small child led to the establishment of a foundation for poor and sick children by the family of Emil Stodola. The death of a student's son led to the creation of a foundation for Slovak university students by the family of Vladimír Makovický. Artistic patronage was not similarly institutionalized in Slovak conditions and supported personal inclinations, Slovak and Czech artists, and was a way for business people to advertise their products.

Here it is worth mentioning a noteworthy case of how a commission can be used for commercial purposes. In 1887, the Czech painter Jaroslav Věšín (1860–1915), later recorded as a court painter to the King of Bulgaria Ferdinand I., exhibited his pictures in Martin (Turčiansky Svätý Martin, Turócszentmárton). The Makovický family visited the exhibition and successively ordered three pictures with Slovak motifs from Věšín. The first was put on posters, the company's headed paper, labels and Secession-style stickers. A second picture of a shepherd later appeared on the cover of the *Calendar of the Úverná banka*—a bank in which the

8 Krajčovičová, *Emil Stodola,* 27; Holec, *Poslední Habsburgovci,* 269–72, 279.

9 Lengyel, *The Hungarian Business Elite,* 33.

Makovický family had a decisive influence. The descendants of the family used the picture of a shepherdess on labels and stickers of their restituted sheep cheese-producing business after 1989 (Figure 2).[10]

Figure 2 Painted by Jaroslav Věšín and used for advertising and commercial purposes of Vladimír Makovický´s company
Source: Ďuriška, *Medzi mlynmi a bankami,* 162, 163, 165.

When the purchase of the pictures was approved by the board of the *Úverná banka* (Credit Bank), they were hung in its offices. This was the destiny of pictures of Slovak castles painted by important artists based on other orders from the bank. Interestingly, other banks did not develop similar artistic activities. The influence of the Makovický family, as founders and chief shareholders of the *Úverná banka*, was decisive when such decisions were concerned. If they bought pictures themselves, they were hung in the family's private flat.

The goal of philanthropy is to advance society by supporting necessary social, cultural and educational services not provided by the state or the market for political or economic reasons or provided by the state but not in a way that satisfies the philanthropists.

The altruism of the small Slovak elite worked: their financial gifts, collections, foundation work, and other activities created some degree of pressure on the not-very-numerous Slovak business community, and this led to them not becoming shut off in their affairs but contributing to and supporting the national emancipation

10 Ďuriška, *Medzi mlynmi a bankami,* 160–67.

movement in the most varied ways. The Hungarian government's deliberate refusal to support non-Magyar science and culture created huge space for the public activities of the business elites.[11] A whole series of examples exist in this area. Financial support for the Slovak national cultural and scientific organisations like *Matica Slovenská* (1863–1875) in the sixties and seventies and the *Slovak Museum Society* (established 1893) in the nineties and later further collecting activities, numerous gifts, financial support and the collecting of money were everyday activities for the narrow group of Slovak businessmen. Vladimír Makovický, businessman and banker in Ružomberok, excelled among them. His family was accurately described as the "Slovak Buddenbrooks". This family combined a love of art with support for Slovak and Czech painters, from whom they commissioned portraits of all the generations of the family.[12] The gallery of ancestors and living members of the Makovický family followed the example of aristocratic families. It is necessary not to underestimate this activity in the case of the Slovaks. The closely connected idea of monarchism and loyalty to the regime and its representatives was Slovak-specific and paradoxically survived in rural Slovakia for a long time, even after the Czechoslovak Republic came into being. It was a reaction to the feeling of a nation without history and roots and the unavoidability of constructing its own national story.

Vladimír Makovický financially supported all the Slovak societies and materially assisted in the renewal of the Slovak grammar school in Turčiansky Svätý Martin. In 1899, under the framework of the *Úverná banka,* he established the *Peter and Daniel Makovický Foundation*, which supported many talented Slovak students, such as Cyprián Majerník, Ján Mudroch, Daniel Rapant, Andrej Mráz and a whole series of other later academic painters and university professors. The *Vladimír Makovický Foundation* was established in 1918 to commemorate Vladimír's son, who died young. It was given 100,000 crowns to support Slovak students and was administered by the Evangelical Seniorate of Liptov (Liptó) county. Foundations for supporting Evangelical orphans in Liptovský Svätý Mikuláš and Modra (Modor) also bore the name of Vladimír Makovický.[13]

Foundations were among the most widespread forms of public social activity in the nineteenth century. While the period of absolutism associated with Metternich before 1848 and of neo-absolutism in the 1850s was hostile to such activities, the liberal environment of Hungary under dualism did not impose any restrictions and understood the former as means of replacing or supplementing the activities of the state. Participation in foundations was definitely a civil phenomenon, and it became an expression of the civil community and the emancipation of the Jews. Secular and

11 Cieger, "Az állami kultúrpolitika," 51–77.

12 Holec, "On the Problems of Public Engagement," 27–28.

13 Ďuriška, *Medzi mlynmi a bankami*, 148–50.

non-church foundations already prevailed.[14] In the Slovak case, this was political activity to some degree.

Like the Makovický family, other multi-generation business families gradually developed and expanded their public activities. Jozef Kováč (1831–1898), the owner of a leather-producing factory in Liptovský Svätý Mikuláš, was well-known as an amateur actor and administrator of the local Slovak Club (*Slovenská beseda*). He served for many years as mayor of the village of Hušták (part of Liptovský Svätý Mikuláš). He also undertook the following public activities and functions: administrator of a craft school (1893–1895), member of the Chamber of Commerce and Industry (1875–1898), member of the county council of Liptov (Liptov county), member of a taxation committee (1877–1889), health committee (1887–1897), industrial council (1884–1897), member of the Commission for Granting Loans (1885–1889), commercial jury (1872–1876), member of the board of a health insurance company (1892–1893), member of the committee for the national exhibition of 1885, member of the county committee for the millennium celebrations of 1896, and so on.[15]

Tanning dynasty: the Pálka family

The second example of Slovak business Buddenbrooks is the Pálka family from Liptovský Sv. Mikuláš. While the Makovický family may be described as followers of a conservative business strategy involving caution and maximum risk elimination, the Pálka family entrepreneurship evolved into a notable experiment which ended tragically for the family.

Their close connection to the Moravian Baťa family and very similar early beginnings, as well as the parallel development of doing business, enable comparison of the two families and shows that it was not the diversity of business conditions and environment in Austria and Hungary but a different philosophy of business leadership that led to success and the Baťa family creating a big empire. It remains questionable to what degree the fates of both families may be generalized.

A member of the important Slovak tanning dynasty, Ondrej Pálka (1800–1877) founded the family business tradition. He inherited the family tanning workshop after his father died, and became the owner jointly with his younger brother Samuel, mentioned above as a participant in the 1861 deputation. He gradually extended his business, penetrated foreign markets and invested in other fields of business. He supported the national press and was a member of several delegations. He strove to gain Vienna's support for separating Slovakia from the Kingdom of Hungary and introducing Slovak

14 Hein, "Das Stiftungswesen," 76–77.

15 LA SNK, sig. 112 KK 1 – 8a, 112 KK 35, 112 KK 38, 12 JJ 12, 112 JJ 16, 112 JJ 17.

as the official language. He supported Slovak schools and was a member of local and county councils. His son Ondrej (1826–1892), with his brother, took over the management of the workshop and transformed it into a factory. Public activities included membership of the local and county council, school and society activities, membership of the Town Club (Meštianska beseda) and an enthusiasm for amateur theatre.

Figure 3 Ján Pálka
Source: Ďuriška, *Pálkovci,* 246.

Member of the next generation and the owner of a leather factory in Liptovský Svätý Mikuláš, Ján Pálka (1869–1935) had obtained practical work experience in the tanning factories in Vienna, Rijeka and many German towns after finishing his studies (Figure 3).[16] He also independently studied economic and social theories, including those of Marx, Proudhon, and the anarchists Bukharin and Kropotkin. He gradually developed his own utopian social theory. On the basis of Marx's theory of surplus value and his own Christian humanism, he decided not to appropriate the surplus value he gained from employing labour. After deducting sums for operational capital, the depreciation of machines and a reserve fund, he sought to pay the workers a share of the annual profit. However, the means of production remained in his hands. In 1919, he began a great socializing project. In 1920, the workers were to receive 20-25 percent of the profit and more if they used their capital to become shareholders in the company. With a whole series of social measures, he anticipated the social legislation of the Czechoslovak Republic, not only in terms of time but also of content. The workers were to participate in the company's management through their committee.[17] However, due to the economic crisis and marketing difficulties, he eventually had to admit that his social experiment had ended in failure.

Comparison of Pálka and Baťa

The life of Ján Pálka permits comparison with his much more successful counterpart, Moravian businessman Tomáš Baťa (1876–1932).[18] The two men—both

16 Ďuriška, *Pálkovci*, 234–63.

17 Pálka, *Socializácia v mojej továrni*.

18 See more, Holec, "Ján Pálka a Tomáš Baťa," 11–26.

entrepreneurs—were very much alike and had numerous things in common. First, they had a vision they followed, yet each took a different approach. Hence, they also achieved different results.

Tomáš Baťa, a successful Moravian entrepreneur, the founder of a family-owned business and a shoe-making empire with a world-known brand, was allegedly the fourth wealthiest man in Czechoslovakia. The second man in the comparison was Baťa's peer, a Slovak businessman Ján Pálka, whose reputation reached parts of Slovakia at best but did not ring a bell outside that narrow scope. He came from a well-known family dynasty of tanners. Regarding his age, family business, broad spectrum of cultural interests and unique business philosophy, he was not very dissimilar to Baťa. They both stood out in their use of their special strategies and processes as well. While Baťa succeeded and gained worldwide fame, Pálka and his philosophy failed.

Pálka had a strong family business background and received a high-quality high-school education. He loved to read and educate himself; he was a thinker who looked for solutions. Prepared for the role he was to follow after finishing his studies, he returned to his family business in Liptovský Sv. Mikuláš, and in 1904 took over the company.

Both towns where the two men operated—Baťa's Zlín and Liptovský Sv. Mikuláš—were almost the same size before World War I, with approximately three thousand inhabitants. In the Pálka family, it has been claimed for generations that their contacts with Baťa started as early as during the period of war prosperity, which enabled Pálka to grant Tomáš Baťa a loan. This theory seems very unlikely, and there is no evidence to prove it unless we would like to use this to explain the reason for the unusually close relations between both families.

Tomáš Baťa was a pragmatic man who kept his eyes on the prize and never wavered.[19] The fact that he had to build his dream from the bottom up numerous times and overcome various obstacles doubtlessly pushed him forward. Baťa quickly let go of the idea of economic nationalism and, from the beginning, strove to develop close cooperation with Vienna and obtain state commissions. After he had stabilized his factories, he left for the United States of America for six months and identified the sources of his pre-war entrepreneurial philosophy there. These practical findings from America later translated into new production halls, more modern American machines, and a raise in workers' performance standards.

Ján Pálka had the advantage of entering a functioning and well-run family business, which, however, in that town and that particular region did not have significant development and production potential for several reasons. Pálka was already

19 See more Pokluda, *Baťovi muži*; Marek, *Středoevropské aktivity*.

an important member of Slovak national and cultural elites before the war. Probably those were the reasons for his efforts to put his businesses into the 'service of the nation' from the beginning.

He studied many of the philosophical and theoretical works of the natural scientists and Darwinists Ernst Haeckel and Ludwig Büchner with great intensity. First and foremost, though, he focused on social issues, which is why his desk was covered with the theoretical essays of Marx as well as the socialists Kautsky and Blanc, the anarchist Kropotkin and utopian Proudhon, and even included the reformative visions of the writer Tolstoy.

So, while Baťa modernized, grew and expanded his business, Pálka's facilities prospered on a considerably smaller scale during the war, mainly due to the limited possibilities for growth and the more intense competition in the tanning industrial field.

Each of the factories followed a different development pattern after the establishment of the Czechoslovak Republic. For Baťa, the post-war economic and demand crisis signalled a beginning of production-oriented abroad, which was supposed to compensate for the economic problems in the young state. A huge corporate concern was developed with core capital of 135 million crowns and expansion into other industrial production zones.

Quite in contrast to this, after a few profitable wartime years, Pálka's factory entered a complicated post-war crisis due to the conditions of the new state and the destruction of old markets. It was then, during a period of general social radicalisation, that Pálka concluded it was the best time to attempt to solve the social issues associated with the new state, to eliminate wrongdoings and injustice, and for this to be done in the spirit of the teachings of Christ. At the end of 1919, he naively and idealistically tried to make his workers become real co-owners of the factory and share his profits with them.

The fair distribution of profits and many other social measures were meant to strengthen the loyalty and interest of the workers concerning the economic results of the factory. Moreover, the workers were given the right to supervise its management. Pálka did not see Marxism as a valid option since, despite its valuable theoretical findings, he disliked the class and party malignancy which would lead to a Bolshevik dictate of the proletariat.

His sources of inspiration are intriguing – the above-mentioned theoretical works and practical demonstration examples like the London gas company, the Zeiss company in Jena, and the Parisian department store Bon Marché. The vast number of social measures of its owner Aristide Boucicat that favoured the store's employees, became the essential inspiration for Émile Zola's novel and Pálka.

Pálka's socializing project included his famous letters to workers. However, the third announcement to the workers in December 1921 was merely a collection of all the problems which had led to the ultimate failure of the attempts at socialisation. After two years of trying, the company registered substantial losses.

The gullible ideas of Ján Pálka, with his immeasurable idealism, could not possibly turn an unprepared attempt at socialisation into a success. He blamed the workers' immaturity and the economic crisis for the failure. In contrast to Baťa's successes, the major economic crisis conclusively wiped out Ján Pálka's business. He could not pay his debtor's accounts and had to go to auction, which cost him his factory premises and family residence. His first-born son later took over the remains of the family business, and in 1937, he agreed to sell the Pálka factory to Baťa.

In parallel during this period, Tomáš Baťa was a creator of an original management system that created solidly growing prosperity. He developed his manufacturing and social intentions with intensity, fulfilling the utopian vision of a humane society grounded on remarkable principles. They can be summed up in a number of points.[20]

First and foremost, his philosophy revolved around protestant ethics and fundamental values, which he especially expected of young men in their private and public life, at work and in their visions of life. Baťa's visit to America was clear inspiration for this.

Second, he used 'bio-power' and 'bio-politics' as a progressive means of controlling his employees via sophisticated techniques meant to subdue their bodies.

Third, a part of his philosophy was closely related to Italian fascism. In the frame of Baťa's utopian visions, Italian fascism offered a peek into the society he strove for in Zlín.

Another principle he projected in his work was individualism and collectivism existing side by side. The former was meant for the 'big men' and the elite Baťa school graduates, the latter for workers who developed strong loyalty to the company. Collectivism found inspiration in the Italian class-defined state and its corporate-like division. However, everybody was qualified for the big Baťa dream; one could climb sky-high in the hierarchy if one had the skills. Here is where American influence can be unmistakably seen again.

And last, his philosophy was in line with the all-powerful drive for modernisation. Both Baťa brothers were the so-called 'apostles of modernisation'; their visions were part of one stream of the rhetoric of the period that contributed to the creations of, for example, Bernd Kellermann's novel *Tunnel*, the film *Metropolis*, constructivism as an art form and functionalism as an element of modern architecture.

20 Holubec, "Silní milují život," 30–35.

The fascination with technology and machines, the belief in human invention, the town of Zlín seen as a modernisation lab, the highways, river channels and especially aviation as significant milestones of the period and the conditions of progress—this was the language of Baťa's Zlín and its representatives. It was truly an "authoritarian utopia of a radicalized modernism" (Stanislav Holubec).

The ideas behind many of Baťa's modernisation plans were rooted in Fordism (the production of standardized goods via rational production technology) and Taylorism (work organisation based on the rationalized movement of workers). A fascination with time and using it most effectively was also a part of his inspiration for life itself.

All the above-listed principles set Baťa and Pálka apart, the latter being more traditional and more Slovak, if not regional; less ideological yet more idealistic. The only comparable quality here is utopianism since there was no lack of this in Zlín either, even though its practical implementation was more likely to happen there. Simply put, utopian ideas could potentially be turned into reality in Zlín while in Liptovský Sv. Mikuláš they remained in the category of wishful thinking:

> "Mister factory owner will have to step down a notch and become a custodian; a worker should step up a notch and become a co-owner, and only then—as partners and comrades—they can shake hands; this is how the proletariat and bourgeoisie divide will come to an end; let them work sensibly and diligently then, and all else will be granted to them."[21]

Baťa and Pálka fought the image of the typical exploitative capitalist. Both argued that the common interests of business people and employees were involved; that a thriving business was a common goal involving unlimited possibilities for the individual with the elimination of third parties (unions and political organisations), which could drive a wedge between the two sides (businesspeople and employees) and criticism that could undermine mutual relations.

One can contemplate whether the traits of Czech versus Slovak business style may be generalized based on this research—the former being significantly more rational and assertive, the latter rather emotional, idealistic and less ambitious. The Czech style was inspired by all that the wide world offered; the Slovak one was more intuitive and subject to much worse conditions. The first was more concentrated and pragmatic, the second rather proclamation-like, without foundations, built as a greenfield venture and perhaps a bit boastful. And far more relatable. This is why it was Baťa who was usually admired (and for good measure, also the one who was despised and gossiped about) and Pálka the one who was liked. Tomáš Baťa tended to raise and shape his people first, or rather in parallel and according to his own interests. Pálka tried to raise and educate his workers in retrospect, which obviously did not work.

21 Pálka, *Zápisky*, 37.

Both of these men could be described as people living in a world that was too conflicted, mentally behind, imperfect and not rational enough for them to be content in. Baťa wanted to manage his world as an industrial company with a maximum of rationality even though putting technology, modernisation, and related projects on a god-like pedestal often crossed the lines of protestant rationality. However, he was certainly not guilty of such a level of idealism as Ján Pálka.

To put the researched historical phenomena in a less black-and-white perspective, much of Pálka's idealism may be seen in the project of an ideal utopian society as brought to life by Jan Antonín Baťa (1898–1965) after World War II in a distant region of Brazil. While his project won him respect and recognition around the world, Pálka's project undeservedly slipped into oblivion. The motivation of this essay was not only to highlight the place of the latter individuals in the socialisation atmosphere in the new Czechoslovakia but also to showcase their inspiration, uniqueness and courage.

Conclusion

The first part of the text about two Slovak business dynasties encourages an extensive discussion of the degree to which businesspeople and banks should be altruistic and whether it was immoral if their priority is profit, as was characteristic of the Slovak discourse before World War I. Rich banks and wealthy businesspeople (for example, the Makovický family) were and are showcased by every nation. This family combined doing business with the tools of economic nationalism and their love for art with the support of Slovak and Czech painters. On the other hand, public activities could not be allowed to produce losses, according to the Makovický family. It was unclear where ethical idealism and material altruism began and ended.

The second part explores the original business philosophies of two prominent individuals who are often associated: Slovak Ján Pálka (a member of a tanning dynasty) and famous Moravian world-class manufacturer Tomáš Baťa. Although they were both involved in leather processing, their environments were characterised by different cultures, traditions and opportunities. Jan Pálka drew on various socio-philosophical and utopian sources and relied on idealistic principles. He strove to incentivize his workers to increase production efficiency by sharing the ownership of his factory and its profits. In this way, he wanted to connect his business activities with the nation's development and improve its quality of life. He went bankrupt and was, along with his theoretical model, relegated to the role of an admired visionary. By contrast, Tomáš Baťa was inspired by the American experience and the ideological impulses of Italian fascism. The ideas of economic nationalism did not resonate with him.

Sources

Archív Národnej banky Slovenska (ANBS) [Archive of the Slovak National Bank] Bratislava
Slovenská banka 1879–1948 [The Slovak Bank]
Literárny archív Slovenskej národnej knižnice (LA SNK) [Archive of Literature of the Slovak National Library] Martin
Pálka, Ján. *Socializácia v mojej továrni* [Socializing in my Factory]. Praha: Jednota přátel MAP, 1920.
Pálka, Ján. *Zápisky* [The Notes]. Liptovský Sv. Mikuláš: YMCA, 1932.

Literature

Bácskai, Vera. *A vállalkozók előfutárai* [Forerunners of Entepreneurs]. Budapest: Magvető, 1989.
Cieger, András. "Az állami kultúrpolitika kibontakozása Magyarországon a dualizmus első negyedszázadában" [The Development of State Cultural Policy in Hungary in the First Quarter of a Century of Dualism]. In *A Lajtán innen és túl. Elektronikus ünnepi tanulmányok Somogyi Éva 70. születésnapjára* [Leitha from Here and Beyond. Commemorative Publication for Éva Somogyi's 70th Birthday], edited by Imre Ress and Dániel Szabó, 51–77. Budapest: MTA TTI, 2007.
Ďuriška, Zdenko. *Medzi mlynmi a bankami. Dejiny rodu Makovickovcov* [Between Mills and Banks. History of the Makovický-Family]. Martin: SGHS, 2007.
Ďuriška, Zdenko. *Pálkovci. Príbeh rodu garbiarskych podnikateľov z Liptova* [The Palka´s. The Story of a Family of Tannery Entrepreneurs from Liptov]. Martin: SGHS, 2013.
Frey, Jürgen. *Macht und Moral des Schenkens*. Berlin: Bostelmann et Siebenhaar, 1999.
Gaehtengs, Thomas W. and Martin Schieder, eds. *Mäzenatisches Handeln. Studien zur Kultur des Bürgersinns in der Gesellschaft*. Berlin: Fannei & Walz, 1998.
Hein, Dieter. "Das Stiftungswesen als Instrument bürgerlichen Handelns im 19. Jahrhundert." In *Stadt und Mäzenatentum,* edited by Bernhard Kirchgässner, and Hans-Peter Becht, 75–92. Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1997.
Holec, Roman. "Zápas o martinskú celulózku ako najväčší projekt česko-slovenskej hospodárskej spolupráce pred I. svetovou vojnou" [The Battle for the Martin´s Cellulose Factory as the Largest Project of Czech-Slovak Economic Cooperation before World War I]. *Historické štúdie* 35 (1994): 49–72.
Holec, Roman. "Medzi slovanskou vzájomnosťou a podnikateľskou aktivitou (Pražská banka Slávia v Uhorsku v druhej polovici 19. storočia)" [Between Slavic

Reciprocity and Entrepreneurial Activity (Prague bank Slávia in the Kingdom of Hungary in the Second Half of the Nineteenth Century)]. *Hospodářské dějiny – Economic History* 21 (1995): 145–72.

Holec, Roman. "Siege und Niederlagen: Der slowakische Wirtschaftsnationalismus vor 1918." *Bohemia* 37, no. 1 (1996): 38–54.

Holec, Roman. "Podnikatelia a podnikanie na Slovensku pred rokom 1918" [Entrepreneurs and Business in Slovakia before 1918]. *Historické štúdie* 41 (2000): 165–74.

Holec, Roman. *Poslední Habsburgovci a Slovensko* [The Last Habsburgs and Slovakia]. Bratislava: Ikar, 2001.

Holec, Roman and Ľudovít Hallon. *Tatra banka v zrkadle dejín* [The Bank Tatra in the Mirror of History]. Bratislava: AEP, 2007.

Holec, Roman. "On the Problems of Public Engagement of the Slovak and Hungarian Business Elites in the 19th Century." In *The Involvement of Businessmen in Local and Regional Public Life in Central Europe 1800–1914,* edited by Aleš Zářický, 25–35. Ostrava: University of Ostrava, 2009.

Holec, Roman. "Ján Pálka a Tomáš Baťa – dve podnikateľské filozofie, ich zdroje a výsledky" [Ján Pálka and Tomáš Baťa – Two Business Philosophies, their Origins and Outcomes]. *Česko-slovenská historická ročenka* 23, no. 2 (2021): 11–26. https://doi.org/10.5817/cshr.2021.23.2.1

Holubec, Stanislav. "Silní milují život. Utopie, ideologie a biopolitika baťovského Zlína" [The Strong Love Life. Utopia, Ideology and Biopolitics of Baťa's Zlín]. *Kuděj* 11, no. 2 (2009): 30–35.

Kocka, Jürgen and Manuel Frey, eds. *Bürgerkultur und Mäzenatentum im 19. Jahrhundert*. Berlin: Fannei & Walz, 1998.

Krajčovičová, Natália. *Emil Stodola. Džentlmen slovenskej politiky* [Emil Stodola. Gentleman of the Slovak Policy]. Bratislava: Kalligram, 2007.

Lengyel, György. *The Hungarian Business Elite in Historical Perspective*: Career Patterns and Attitudes of the Economic Leaders in the Nineteenth and the First Half of the Twentieth Century. New York: Columbia University, 1987.

Marek, Martin. *Středoevropské aktivity Baťova koncernu za druhé světové války* [Central European Activities of Baťa's Concern during World War II]. Brno: Matice moravská, 2017.

Pokluda, Zdeněk: *Baťovi muži* [Baťa's Men]. Zlín: Kovárna Viva, 2012.

HSCE | Historical Studies on Central Europe

Historical Studies on Central Europe 3, no. 1 (2023): 122–143
doi.org/10.47074/HSCE.2023-1.06

"Erased from the Face of God"

Slovene Economic Nationalism in Press Reports on A. Kajfež & Co. in Kočevje

Ivan Smiljanić

Institute of Contemporary History, Privoz 11, 1000 Ljubljana, Slovenia; ivan.smiljanic@inz.si

Received 26 March 2023 | Accepted 13 June 2023 | Published online 31 July 2023

Abstract. The paper looks into how influential the ideology of economic nationalism was in Slovene lands and in what contexts it appeared. This is explored through a case study of an entrepreneur and landowner, Anton Kajfež, and his sons, owners of one of the largest Slovene companies in Kočevje (Gottschee) before World War I and in the interwar period. The company focused primarily on timber trade and became a significant shareholder in many regional companies and banks. Kajfež was a promoter of the local Slovene economy and used his wealth to strengthen it with a series of projects designed to attract Slovene labour, with the goal of overtaking the influence of the Gottscheers, a local group of German origin. The Kajfež family ran up a deficit of several million dinars, so bankruptcy had to be declared in 1928. Because of the close ties the Kajfež company established in the region, the collapse was a major blow to the entire local Slovene economy and politics. The Gottscheers celebrated the company's demise and its negative impact on Slovenes. The affair is an example of a late interwar national struggle between Slovenes and Germans, much more common in the Austro–Hungarian period.

Keywords: Anton Kajfež, economic nationalism, Slovene economy, bankruptcy, Kočevje, Gottscheers, Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes

The economy is political. Individual and collective political, ideological, cultural, and other beliefs can have a considerable influence on economic systems and, in some cases, run counter to established economic laws. A typical example, known from nineteenth and twentieth-century European economic history, is the separation of entrepreneurs and customers according to their nationality, an ideology closely called economic nationalism. Simply put, its "overarching agenda is to promote economic policies in the name of the nation."[1] While it is difficult to define it with precision,[2] we may broadly claim that it promotes the economic benefits of a national

1 Koch, "The political," 14.

2 For a discussion of the definition of the term, see Helleiner, "Economic," 308–11; Schultz, "Introduction," 12–14.

community instead of an individual, the protection of national rights and benefits on account of others, and the national ownership of business entities. The main policy used to achieve that goal is protectionism; however, economic nationalism cannot be simply equated with protectionism: while both use similar principles, the former has a not strictly rational but mythical and emotional side rooted in nationalist views.[3] Economic nationalism was a companion of the nineteenth-century European nationalist movements, especially in agricultural states seeking protection from the influence of economically stronger countries,[4] but also among (peripheral) ethnic groups in multiethnic states, such as Austria–Hungary. Therefore, economic nationalism is not necessarily limited to promoting one country's economy above others: it can also be a matter of internal nationalist struggles between different groups.[5] This could bring about the establishment of a multitude of competing economic systems (such as stores, banks, savings banks, cooperatives, etc.) within the same territory that try to avoid contact with or outright boycott each other.[6]

Due to economic nationalism being an ideology rather than a policy, it is not surprising that it is often not internally coherent. Opinions on who constitutes a part of the national community and who does not were often arbitrary, changeable, and not based in reality. For example, the Carniolan Savings Bank *(Kranjska hranilnica)* in Ljubljana, the oldest savings bank in the Slovene lands, was considered by Slovenes to be one of the pillars of the German part of the Carniolan economy and a target of widespread Slovene boycotts after nationalist tensions in 1908–1909, even though the savings bank was far from exclusively German and operated with considerable Slovene capital.[7] At the same time, the national economic interest could paradoxically extend outside of Slovene circles; an influx of Czech capital was always welcomed by Slovenes who considered it to be supportive of their national cause,[8] mainly on the basis of the nationalist narrative of Slavic brotherhood. This shows that the community often decided about the national identity of its companies and entrepreneurs independently of what kind of identity they wanted to project or whether they wanted to avoid promoting it altogether. Another element which further undermined the simple binary perception of 'Us' versus 'Them' was internal divisions, usually along political lines; for example, a well-developed network of Slovene cooperatives became divided among Catholic and liberal camps.[9]

3 Lazarević, *Plasti*, 307.

4 Berend, "Economic," 2.

5 Lazarević, *Plasti*, 309–10.

6 Lazarević, "Economy," 266–68.

7 Henig Miščič, "Carniolan."

8 Lazarević, *Plasti*, 317.

9 Lazarević, *Plasti*, 319.

A vivid example from Slovene economic history, which highlights the main elements of the Slovene-German economic struggle (in the period after the breakup of Austria–Hungary!), is the case of A. Kajfež & Co., a large family company from Kočevje (Gottschee) in what is now southeastern Slovenia, whose collapse triggered a political and economic crisis at the regional level.

The discussed case must be understood in the specific national context of the Kočevje region, where Slavs—later Slovenes—and German immigrants, known as Gottscheers, have cohabitated for centuries. Gottscheers were originally workers who mostly settled in the area in the fourteenth century, mainly from Carinthia, at the initiative of the Ortenburg noble family—owners of vast wood-covered estates in the region, due to the lack of Slavic inhabitants. This process of colonisation continued in several waves in the following decades.

Due to the relatively compact settlement and sparsely populated territory, Gottscheers avoided assimilation into the Slavic environment so that in the nineteenth century, they represented the largest cohesive German community in Carniola. In the second half of the century, national identity among Slovenes and Germans strengthened across Slovene lands; consequentially, national antagonism increased. This national struggle became a part of virtually every aspect of political, economic, and cultural life which spanned from political debates on what language should be used for public inscriptions to drunken fights in bars. Antagonism was well established in the economy, too, particularly in the form of Slovene and German shoppers boycotting buying from merchants of a different nationality than themselves according to the widespread motto "Each to their own" (in Slovene "Svoji k svojim" and in German "Hie Deutsche, hie Slowenen").[10] Despite the national struggle being most pronounced in Lower Styria, which encompasses most of the eastern parts of modern-day Slovenia, the phenomenon was well established in Carniola, with the Kočevje region being one of the main powder kegs. Gottscheers benefited at this time from their numerical superiority since Slovenes in Kočevje and the surrounding area comprised only one-tenth of the population. Political power was largely based on the economic development of Gottscheers and the establishment of basic industries (steam sawmills, glassworks), with which local Slovenes could not compete.[11] In this context, the appearance of Anton Kajfež in the economic life of Kočevje was a new phenomenon because he was one of the first Slovene industrialists to use his influence to support the Slovene side and its national struggle against the Gottscheers.

The presentation of Kajfež's path will be primarily based on newspaper articles from the period under discussion. This decision was partially made because the press was extremely open, not to say biased, with its ideological, political, and

10 Čuček, *Svoji*, 8–9, 79–80.

11 Simonič, "Zgodovina," 8–47.

national rhetoric; therefore, the discourse it used is a valuable source when researching economic nationalism and links between politics and the economy in general. Another, perhaps more important, reason is much more banal: virtually no other sources are available. This is a problem common to (not just) Slovene economic historiography. Archival sources often prove to be scarce, and many resources necessary for reconstructing a company's history, from minutes of the board of directors to chronicles and balance sheets, are either incomplete or missing entirely. Even though it seems reasonable to expect that documentation for large, important companies would have been well preserved, this is often not the case. A. Kajfež & Co. is one of these examples: it was a company which, despite its unquestionable importance for the history of the local economy, 'fell through the cracks,' and no other documentation about it is yet known of.

The early years of Kajfež's entrepreneurship

Anton Kajfež was born on 13 June 1875 in Nova Sela in the Kostel region south of Kočevje, the second child and first son of a total of ten descendants of Jožef Kajfež (1835–1923) and Neža Pogorelec (1852–1936). The Kajfež house was a meeting place for the local Slovene and Croatian intelligentsia, and the relatively wealthy family was also known to support housewives and the poor in the area.[12] In 1902, the family took over the post office in nearby Banja Loka.[13]

Anton Kajfež began to engage in business at a young age. As he himself claimed, he inherited a business that had been in the family since about 1858. He soon became known as a shrewd entrepreneur who profited from every project he undertook. In the 1890s, despite his young age, he made it to the top of the Kočevje economy as a landowner, wine merchant, and restaurateur; according to some accounts, he was already trading wine in 1890 when he would have been 15 years old,[14] but the lack of sources does not allow us to confirm or expand upon these claims. At the beginning of the twentieth century, his company had branches in Ljubljana, Črnomelj, Nova Sela and Vienna. In around 1908, he bought the equipment of the Kočevje steam sawmill, which had burned down two years earlier. Kajfež had the sawmill rebuilt and installed equipment in it. In 1910, he built a three-story building for the sawmill workers, which was given the name Skyscraper *(Nebotičnik)*. The influence of the Kajfež family in the Kočevje region grew further when Anton's brother Josip (1881–1943), a postal worker, was elected mayor of Banja Loka in 1912.[15] During

12 Jutro, "Smrt."

13 Južnič, *Dvig*, 197, 202.

14 Šobar, "Razvoj," 79.

15 Slovenski narod, "Burne."

this period, Anton married Marija Briški (1870–1921) from the village of Ajbelj, with whom he had four children: Marija (1900–1982), Anton Jr. (1901–1973), Milan (1903–1982) and Ivan (1905–1926).

Kajfež often wrote to the press. He advertised his wares numerous times, but even more often, he became embroiled in controversy with political and commercial opponents, who accused him of various types of fraud. (Again, due to the lack of other sources, it is impossible to say whether these claims had a basis in reality.) His strongest opponents were the Gottscheers, who regularly criticized and attacked Kajfež's activities. During one of these disputes, Kajfež claimed that he was being attacked only because he was Slovene and that no one would care how much he sold and to whom if he were a German Jew.[16] This is an interesting proposition for its time, given that Antisemitism was a normalized sentiment across Europe, including in Austria–Hungary; Slovene newspapers of the time confirm that the stance was common to the vast majority of the population, no matter the ideological differences. In this context, Kajfež seems to have been a man of his time by accepting these views, yet also paradoxically furthering the old stereotype of Jews as an influential group, scheming in the background.

In 1908, when the newspaper *Deutsche Stimmen* called on Kočevje locals to boycott shopping at Kajfež's because of his business scams, by which he was enriching himself at the expense of the poor, the merchant countered that these allegations were not true. He claimed that he had not come to Kočevje as a poor man since the Kajfež company had already existed for half a century and that he did business with both Germans and Slovenes from Kočevje. He also claimed that he supported the local economy by having the equipment for his Viennese inn made in Kočevje. In conclusion, he advised the author of the boycott "that in the future you should inform yourself better about the economic situation in Kočevje because, with such stupid letters, you are hitting your own brothers in the teeth the most."[17] Later, in another response, he added: "To all those who have directed a boycott against me, remember that I am a rock in the sea, and you are waves. The waves disperse, and the rock remains."[18] Nevertheless, Kajfež did not seek for the Gottscheers to leave the region entirely. Instead, he advocated for as peaceful coexistence as possible: "One must live with the other, but each should peacefully keep his character to himself."[19]

During World War I, Kajfež showed loyalty to the Austrian authorities. He donated linden and maple wood for the statue of the giant Austrian eagle that was

16 Kajfež, "Poslano (1)."

17 Kajfež, "Iz Kočevja."

18 Kajfež, "Poslano (2)."

19 Kajfež, "Poslano (2)."

placed on the facade of the Kočevje gymnasium and into which nails were hammered during a military charity campaign.[20] In advertisements, he offered help to refugees from the Gorizia region who had had to leave their homes because of the opening of the Isonzo Front between Austria–Hungary and Italy. Kajfež made his houses, stables, and land available to the refugees so that they could also bring livestock and take free firewood for the winter.[21] Nevertheless, the war apparently did not harm Kajfež's business much because, in August 1918, he expanded his business to the timber trade.

In late 1918, Kajfež joyfully welcomed the establishment of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes and was the first to raise the national flag in Kočevje. He had a large barrel of wine transported to his yard and called out to the passing Slovene miners: "Men, rejoice today! Let everyone who is Slovene and sincerely rejoices in the resurrection of our young country come here and drink to its health and happy future!"[22]

We may note that Kajfež dramatically changed political allegiances at the war's end. There are not enough preserved sources to know exactly what changed; either Kajfež switched his loyalty from the Habsburg empire to a new South Slavic kingdom—certainly not a rare occurrence among Slovenes in 1918—or he was never a true Habsburg loyalist at all, merely acting in accord with his own interests. In any case, while his loyalty to the state may have switched, his national identity firmly stayed the same. He was and remained a staunch Slovene, and under the new state, he was about to be rewarded for his proud national stance at a time when this was far from encouraged.

Rise to power

With the disintegration of Austria–Hungary and the establishment of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes (later the Kingdom of Yugoslavia), the situation in the Kočevje region changed fundamentally. The Germans became a minority in the South Slavic country and, at the same time, lost many of the privileges they had enjoyed under Austrian rule. Many, including the Gottscheers, emigrated to Austria, Germany, or the United States so that by 1931 Slovenes (who, according to the 1910 census, made up one-fifth of the population in Kočevje) constituted two-thirds of the town's population.[23] Slovene influence was strengthened by the establishment of new

20 Staatsgymnasium, *Jahresbericht*, 5.

21 Slovenec, "Za goriške."

22 Zupanc, "Kočevska," 58.

23 Južnič, *Dvig*, 219.

institutions, which were largely based on Kajfež's capital. In 1919, Kajfež donated a plot of land to construct the Slovene National Home.[24] In the same year, he also played an important role in founding the Kočevje Reading Society, which formed a counterweight to the Gottscheer *Leseverein*. Over time, he played several roles within the Reading Society, providing it with fuel, wood for equipment, and furniture. As Kajfež emphasized, the equipment was intended "exclusively for national and non-partisan purposes and the development of Slovenes of Kočevje."[25] Through skilful manoeuvring, the members of the Reading Society forced him to give them even more generous gifts. It was obvious that the functioning of the Reading Society depended mainly on Kajfež's generosity.[26]

Under the new political conditions, Kajfež's efforts to expand the Slovene economy in the region achieved much better results than before the war. It must be pointed out that establishing the new state was considered a new era for the Slovene economy. Under Austria–Hungary, the Germans had the most significant economic influence in Slovene lands (factories, trade companies, etc.), while Slovenes were mostly agrarians and owners of smaller companies and shops. This caused plenty of complaints among Slovenes who believed they should strengthen their economic position. The problem they constantly faced was the comparatively small class of Slovene bourgeoisie which lacked the necessary capital to finance large economic enterprises. The 1918 political break was therefore seen as a historic chance for Slovenes and other Yugoslavs to finally take matters into their own hands and achieve the Slovenisation and Yugoslavisation of the economy. The ideology of economic nationalism was heavily promoted, and foreign influence was limited or suppressed via state protectionism (which was the case for the entirety of Central and Eastern Europe at the time).[27] The state sequestered (seized) companies in foreign hands, and if the owners wanted to resume operations, they had to follow strict rules, such as moving the company's seat to Yugoslav lands. It later became clear that the results of sequestration were disappointing since many companies found legal loopholes by which they could avoid the demands, and many Slovene entrepreneurs thought more about their personal gain than the common good.[28] Yet the

24 Domovina, "Pismo." National Halls (*Narodni dom*) were institutions which housed a number of Slovene cultural, economic and sport societies under one roof. These societies included theatres, libraries, Sokol gymnastics societies, banks … The most important National Halls were the ones in border regions where they became the cornerstones of Slovene identity against foreigners. The most (in)famous was the National Hall in Trieste, built in 1904, which was burned down by the fascists in 1920.

25 Južnič, "Razvoj," 177.

26 Južnič, "Razvoj," 178.

27 Kofman, *Economic*; Berend, "Economic," 7–9.

28 Marn, "Nacionalizacija," 368–69; Lazarević, "Economy," 270–73.

idea of prevalent Yugoslav influence stayed an ideal to which the state adhered to: namely, that the Yugoslav economy should be financed with Yugoslav capital, owned by Yugoslav entrepreneurs and operated by Yugoslav workers—only with a strong economy could Yugoslavia be strong as a political entity too.

This ideology was also followed by Kajfež. In the afterwar years, he constantly stressed the importance of economic development in Kočevje with Slovene, not foreign, capital, and the employment of Slovene, not Gottscheer, workers, and wanted to ultimately wrest domination from the hands of the Gottscheers. In the post-war years, he systematically employed hundreds of Slovene workers in his steam sawmill and the wood industry. "Our people can get good bread at home," he emphasized,[29] hinting that the Slovenes should not need to move abroad to find work. Because of the many projects he implemented in the following years, sympathetic observers credited him with the booming of the Slovene economy in the region, which he, it seemed, had generated with his own hands.

Kajfež declared timber to be the most important natural resource of the region and stressed that the wood trade should not be left in the hands of foreigners, as was the case before World War I. He advocated this in his capacity as chairman of the Timber Section of the Industrialists' Association *(Zveza industrijalcev)* in Ljubljana.[30] The most ambitious project of that time related to wood supply was the idea of the construction of the Kočevje–Rijeka railroad line, which was already under discussion in Austria–Hungary, but became even more tempting after the Rapallo border was established, with which the Slovene-populated Littoral land became part of Italy. In 1921, the company Dolenjska Railway *(Dolenjske železnice)* was founded, and Kajfež became a member of the board of directors. He was also a promoter of the idea in the business circles of Ljubljana,[31] but the construction project was never carried out.

In order to further accelerate the immigration of Slovenes to the region, Kajfež launched a series of projects to make Kočevje even more inviting to migrant workers, such as establishing new industrial plants and banking institutions. In July 1922, the founding of Textilana, a textile company with a limited partnership, was completed in the commercial register. The beginnings of the company were modest. In 1920, it was established in an abandoned warehouse in Kočevje,[32] which Kajfež had bought from the Auersperg noble family. When the Ministry of Trade and Industry approved the registration in October 1923 to attract foreign capital, the factory

29 Kajfež, "Naš les."

30 Kajfež, "Naš les."

31 Slovenec, "Železniška zveza."

32 O. R., "65 let."

was expanded and transformed into a joint-stock company with capital of six million dinars,[33] managed by a merchant and the president of the local City Savings Bank *(Mestna hranilnica)*, Josip Röthel,[34] in addition to Kajfež. Later, they acquired Czechoslovak capital in Textilana, with the help of which the plant was expanded to employ about 120 workers.[35] In addition to Kajfež and his son Anton Jr., the company's board included Czechoslovak investors, the president of the Trbovlje Mining Company, Rihard Skubec, and the influential Slovene banker and vice president of the Slavenska Bank from Zagreb, Avgust Praprotnik. Since Kajfež insisted that the money should not flow out of Kočevje, close ties between the savings bank and the newly established Mercantile Bank *(Merkantilna banka)* in Kočevje were established early on. Apart from Textilana, the bank was Kajfež's most important economic project. He co-founded the bank and chaired the board of directors at the founding general assembly in March 1922, when it opened its headquarters in Kočevje[36] and later a branch in Ribnica. Throughout its existence, the bank remained relatively small, as its founding capital amounted to a modest 1.25 million dinars, which was later increased to 3 million dinars.[37] Thanks to his considerable influence, Kajfež ensured that two of his brothers-in-law were appointed to the management of the City Savings Bank: Kočevje mayor and lawyer Dr. Ivan Sajovic and landowner Josip Ilc.[38] Due to the significant influence of Kajfež in the Mercantile Bank, the name Kajfež Savings Bank became established among the locals.[39]

In addition, Kajfež participated in one way or another in the creation or construction of a number of other projects in the local area. For example, he was the head of the Kočevje Purchasing Cooperative *(Nakupovalna zadruga)*, founded in 1923; a partner in Carbonaria, a charcoal export company; and a co-financier of the construction of the Kočevje student dormitory. He was no stranger to positions in central Slovene financial institutions either. He participated in the founding meeting of the Ljubljana Stock Exchange, became a member of the board of directors of Slovenska Bank in Ljubljana and was active in the aforementioned Carniolan Savings Bank.

Kajfež did not become a popular figure among his workers. On the one hand, he was considered the central and visionary initiator of the revival of the regional Slovene economy, whom the grateful working class—according to some

33 Kresal, "Tekstilana," 15, 22.

34 Trgovski list, "Preosnova."

35 O. R., "65 let."

36 Radikal, "Merkantilna banka."

37 Lazarević and Prinčič, *Zgodovina*, 63.

38 Slovenec, "Propad dveh (1)."

39 Slovenec, "Propad dveh (2)."

newspapers—"loved like their father";[40] on the other hand, in the socialist newspapers of the first half of the 1920s, one can read a number of criticisms of Kajfež's behaviour towards the working class and his allegedly fraudulent business practices. At the end of World War I, the businessman allegedly procured large quantities of grain at low prices. Although he considered himself a democrat, he behaved in a decidedly hard-hearted manner toward his workers: "Kajfež is a man who does not regard the worker as a human being. With him, the worker must be a dead machine that does not register the constant rough blows, the crude curses, and the rude insults that, given the poor education of our people, can be expected from a drunken horse-servant, but certainly not from an employer who wants to be respected as a millionaire in public life."[41] Kajfež is said to have dismissed his burned-out and starving workers, who lived in extremely poor conditions[42] in the middle of winter, sometimes slapping them and initiating legal proceedings with those who had allegedly insulted his honour. He is claimed to have immediately rejected all demands for increases in wages on the grounds that the workers were already costing him too much money[43] and to have been hostile to socialism. If one believes the newspaper *Naprej* [Forward], "Mr. Kajfež would have preferred to have gallows made for the socialists at his own expense."[44] The working press also drew attention to the (too) close relations between Kajfež and the local Slovene associations, which were almost entirely dependent on the entrepreneur's donations, and to the absolute devotion with which the clubs had to treat him and his family. When the representatives of the local gymnasts of the all-Slavic Sokol [Falcon] organisation allegedly began to object to some of Kajfež's demands, "suddenly his always wide-open wallet closed […] and […] Sokol's wings were broken."[45]

Kajfež's commercial competitors were also hostile to him. When Kajfež had a notice published in the newspapers stating that he was not to be confused with a merchant of the same surname from Kočevje with whom he had no family or business ties,[46] his competitor announced in the press a few days later "that I have neither stinking bargains nor fragrant millions from deals of war businesses and am proud that my company is not identical to yours."[47]

40 Zupanc, "Kočevska," 59.

41 Lesni delavec, "Kajfež."

42 Lesni delavec, "Iz Kočevja."

43 Narodni socijalist, "Kočevje."

44 Naprej, "Kočevje – Banjaloka."

45 Jugoslavija, "Kočevje."

46 Kajfež, "Opozoritev."

47 Kajfež, "Poslano (3)."

Dramatic downfall

In the postwar years, Kajfež's wine and timber trading business flourished, expanding abroad (exporting timber to Italy, Spain, Egypt, and South Africa, among others),[48] and Kajfež enjoyed a good reputation among Slovene customers. In 1926, he bought a large estate with a timber mill in Crni Lug near Delnice in Croatia for 4 million dinars (he probably counted on additional profit on the sale, as the Kočevje–Rijeka railroad line would also run through there), expanding his already extensive lands around Kočevje. Until 1925 he managed the company himself, then it was informally taken over by his sons Anton Jr. and Milan. Both the father and the sons had to take out large loans to run the large enterprise, which from the early 1920s onwards, began to crush the seemingly well-established company. In 1923, debts exceeded the company's assets for the first time. In 1926, debt reached almost 20 million dinars. The Kajfež family borrowed the money mainly from the Mercantile Bank, over which they naturally had great influence. Although the management of the City Savings Bank in Kočevje decided in 1923 that it could not invest more than 3 million dinars in the Mercantile Bank, it broke this rule when Kajfež became influential in the Kočevje municipality and thus in the Savings Bank. In the end, the bank received 7 million dinars from the Savings Bank, which it invested in the business projects of Kajfež and his sons.[49] When the first cracks appeared in Kajfež's empire in the mid-1920s, the members of the bank's board began to demand that Kajfež settle his debts. The situation worsened in 1927 when the Mercantile Bank ran into financial difficulties.[50] It was not (yet) Kajfež's debts that were responsible for this, but the Zagreb-based Slavenska Bank's significant influence over the bank through the aforementioned Avgust Praprotnik. Slavenska, which for much of the 1920s had been one of the strongest banks in the country, ran into serious problems—so much so that it had to declare bankruptcy in 1927, to the dismay of Yugoslav business circles. Along with it, many banks that depended on it got into trouble, including the Mercantile Bank.

When problems appeared in the timber trade in 1926 and 1927, the first doubts arose about the liquidity of the Mercantile Bank; at that time, Kajfež owed it 14 million dinars. This, as its creditors believed, was not yet a problem, as they estimated the value of A. Kajfež & Co. to be at least 25 million dinars. Mercantile Bank's largest creditors—mainly other banks—formed a consortium and entered into an agreement with the bank's administration to liquidate the bank. At the same time, Kajfež's company was also to be saved, as Kajfež assured them that he had only temporary

48 Nova samouprava, "Konkurz."

49 Slovenec, "Propad dveh (1)."

50 Slovenec, "Proces."

financial problems, although he realized that true extent of his debts is far worse. In order to reorganise A. Kajfež & Co., the consortium planned to sell part of the entrepreneur's assets, close the unprofitable branches of the company, and make a profit from the wine and timber trade that would cover the debts. Things became complicated because Kajfež demanded extremely high prices for his land, and the entrepreneur's sons generously paid themselves 600,000 dinars from their father's fortune for their help with the work.[51] According to another statement, at the end of 1927, the surprised creditors discovered that information in the company's books was falsified.[52] One way or another, an unpleasant realisation came to light that no one had really considered possible until then: A. Kajfež & Co. did not have enough assets to cover its debts.[53]

Unfortunately, based on the available sources, it is difficult to determine the main reason for the fall of A. Kajfež & Co. It seems likely that it was caused mainly by the unbridled overspending of the appropriated company's assets and speculation by Kajfež and his sons, who did not closely pay attention to the company's balance sheet. The crisis in the timber trade seems to have acted as the catalyst for the downfall, exposing the true extent of the company's financial problems. Although no newspaper brings this up, the influence of the so-called deflationary crisis of the mid-1920s was probably a vital factor too. This was a transition period after a time of inflation of the Yugoslav dinar that had caused an upsurge in small firms and shops. The Yugoslav government then started introducing a politics of deflation and austerity, which had a dramatic effect on the flourishing, yet underfunded economy. The number of bankruptcies rose dramatically during the crisis; it is possible that these unfavourable conditions influenced Kajfež's company. In any case, we may claim that the downfall was caused mainly by the bad management of the company but hastened by economic conditions. While the theory that the Gottscheers were responsible for the downfall was, as we will see, popular at the time, there is little evidence to support it.

After the true extent of Kajfež's debts became known, events unfolded quickly. In early 1928, outraged creditors petitioned the Novo Mesto District Court to declare A. Kajfež & Co. bankrupt, but the court denied the proposal. Bankruptcy proceedings were opened only after the Ljubljana District Court issued a decision on 24 February 1928. The liberal newspaper *Jutro* [Morning], which was Kajfež's political ally and thus his defender, and the Catholic newspaper *Slovenec* [Slovene], which sharply criticised Kajfež, debated for several days the reasons for (not) introducing bankruptcy proceedings. *Jutro* thought that initiating proceedings had a political background, as some creditors had the desire to destroy the company, even though this was not in

51 Slovenec, "Propad dveh (2)."

52 Slovenec, "Proces."

53 Jutro, "Odmev (2)."

their financial interest.[54] *Slovenec* countered that the Novo Mesto court had refused to open bankruptcy proceedings because the official data showed that Kajfež's company was liquid, but the newspaper estimated that the value of the company's assets was significantly overestimated;[55] therefore, it said, the company was in reality indebted. The newspaper stressed that it made no sense to attribute a political background to the affair since the creditors, who unanimously approved the petition for bankruptcy, were of various parties, including sympathisers of Kajfež. The creditors were thus behaving purely pragmatically, with the intention of preserving their claims, regardless of political considerations, and they were rightly concerned because Kajfež's debts exceeded his assets.[56] *Jutro* closed the debate by emphasising that, contrary to sensationalist reports, A. Kajfež & Co. did not have payment difficulties and that *Slovenec* was deliberately distorting the truth, adding that the creditors were "victims who want to be victims only by force, although there are ample opportunities for rescue."[57]

In parallel with the first bankruptcy proceedings, a criminal investigation into Kajfež's responsibility for falsifying accounting books was launched in March 1928. As a result of the events, Kajfež was forced to resign from most of his positions on the boards of local companies: Mercantile Bank, Dolenjska Railway and Textilana.[58] Nevertheless, A. Kajfež & Co. appealed against the initiation of bankruptcy proceedings. The appeal to the highest judicial body, the Table of Seven *(Stol sedmorice)* in Zagreb, was successful, and the bankruptcy proceeding was terminated as unfounded on 16 April 1928. The company's creditors did not accept this and again applied for bankruptcy to the court in Novo Mesto. This time, the court agreed with them, and on 5 May, Kajfež's bankruptcy was reopened. Only four days later, Kajfež officially resigned from the management of his company, so that A. Kajfež & Co. was from then on managed by his sons Anton Jr. and Milan. At the same time, the headquarters of A. Kajfež & Co. was moved to the coastal town of Sušak (near Italian-controlled Rijeka), while only a branch remained in Kočevje. By the end of 1928, the bankruptcy administrator had calculated that Kajfež's company had just under 10 million dinars in assets and 33 million in debts, which meant that creditors would, at best, receive less than 30 percent of their claims.[59]

The collapse of A. Kajfež & Co. in 1928 had enormous consequences for Kočevje. Even at the outbreak of the affair, *Jutro* reported with concern:

54 Jutro, "K otvoritvi konkurza nad."

55 Slovenec, "K otvoritvi (1)."

56 Slovenec, "K otvoritvi (2)."

57 Jutro, "K otvoritvi (2)."

58 Kresal, "Tekstilana," 18.

59 Slovenec, "Proces."

> "As for the political background of this bankruptcy, our informant tells us that only members of one party are enthusiastic about this bankruptcy, and they give free rein to their joy even in public places. Otherwise, the bankruptcy has caused a great depression in the city and its surroundings, especially among the workers. When the factories come to a standstill, more than 120 people will be without work in the wood industry alone."[60]

The Gottscheers, especially their peasant party *(Gottscheer Bauernpartei)*, celebrated the bankruptcy as a great victory over the Slovene community. With the demise of A. Kajfež & Co., the central financier of the local Slovene economy, Slovene influence in Kočevje declined. Because of the interconnectedness of all economic institutions in Kočevje, both the weakened Mercantile Bank and the City Savings Bank were hit hard by Kajfež's demise. Even Kočevje Slovenes admitted that "we have lost the large-scale industry in the town, which was our hope and pride" and that "the Slovenes in Kočevje are actually just colonists again, almost worse off than before the war."[61] As the Gottscheers repeatedly pointed out the dire economic consequences of the bankruptcy in the newspapers, especially in the *Gottscheer Zeitung*, Slovenes responded with a popular rally at which Ivan Sajovic explained in detail to the assembled crowd the complex circumstances that had led to the bankruptcy, blaming, of course, not himself or Kajfež, but the Gottscheers.[62] The conviction that the Gottscheers, with their clandestine activities and systematic agitation against Slovene institutions, were the main culprits in the collapse, driven by the desire to suppress the local Slovene economy and thus politics, was firmly established among the Slovenes of Kočevje. "Our town will pay a damn high price for these infernal plans of a small clique of people in Kočevje who seek only their own advantage and do not consider themselves part of the community," a journalist of the local Slovene newspaper *Nova samouprava* [New Self-Government] assessed.[63] In June 1928, another hit to Kočevje Slovenes followed, as the City Savings Bank, which had been operating since 1882, stopped paying out savings deposits.[64] An even worse blow followed in July in the municipal elections, in which German nationalist candidates managed to win the leadership of the municipality. *Nova samouprava* linked the defeat to the demoralizing consequences of the severely depressed Slovene economy and portrayed it as the final act of the Gottscheers' hellish plan.[65] The newspaper judged:

60 Jutro, "K otvoritvi (1)."

61 Nova samouprava, "Konec."

62 Nova samouprava, "Javni."

63 Notus, "Križi."

64 Slovenec, "Hude reči."

65 Nova samouprava, "Vprašanje."

> "It is obvious that the Germans are in favor of the destruction of the Slovene enterprises in Kočevje. Some of them are even so bitter that they want state offices to disappear as well, especially from the Kočevje gymnasium […]. So it is no wonder that the constant cry of the die-hard supporters was: »Die Firma Kajfež muss von Gottes Erdboden verschwinden!« [The Kajfež company must be erased from the face of God!]"[66]

The Slovene accusations of the Gottscheer camp benefited Kajfež somewhat, as the suspicions about his falsification of trade books faded into the background so that he appeared more and more like a victim of Gottscheer machinations.

In the spring and summer of 1929, Kajfež's property was sold. The press criticized the alleged undervaluation of the property, especially the timberworks, so suspicion arose that the initiators of the bankruptcy wanted to take financial advantage of the situation.[67] In addition to the timber and forest properties, Kajfež's villa was auctioned off with all its furnishings and sawmill.[68] Finally, the municipality of Kočevje (which was still in the hands of Gottscheers) bought from the City Savings Bank all the buildings that were for sale, including the villa and the sawmill[69] (which, however, was closed in 1931 due to the economic depression that hit the timber industry particularly hard), which the Slovene press disappointedly described as a new defeat.

The finale of the affair

At the end of October 1929, the Novo Mesto District Court began proceedings against Josip Ilc, the former authorised signatory of the Kajfež company, who was accused of falsifying commercial books. The prosecution accused Ilc of selling the company's timber stock to various buyers in April 1928 when the company was already insolvent and on the verge of bankruptcy, causing damage to creditors to the amount of 571,000 dinars and also trying to delay payment.[70] As Anton Kajfež Jr. testified in court, he and his brother Milan knew nothing about these events. They had worked at the company until the bankruptcy manager dismissed them a month after the bankruptcy proceedings were opened.[71]

The proceedings were then suspended and resumed only in March 1932, when the Kajfež brothers appeared before the judge as the owners of A. Kajfež & Co. They

66 Nova samouprava, "Konec."

67 Notus, "Križi."

68 Slovenec, "Okrog."

69 Jutro, "Kočevsko pismo."

70 Slovenec, "Odmevi."

71 Slovenec, "Novomeški proces."

were charged with false bankruptcy and fraud. Their father was also under suspicion but was able to avoid trial due to bad health.[72] After the reading of the 61-page indictment, the brothers were interrogated and assured the court that they had in no way influenced the misrepresentation of the company's financial situation.[73] The questioning of two court experts resulted in conflicting opinions as to exactly when the company became insolvent.[74] After a week-long discussion, the verdict was announced: the brothers were acquitted. The court assumed that the company was solvent at least until 1926, so there could be no question of criminal liability before that year. Nor could it be proven that false entries were made in the trade books since all the books had been preserved or that the brothers had in any way induced the father to 'correct' the books.[75]

In 1936, the liquidation of the City Savings Bank began, during which time angry small creditors demanded in vain the payment of their claims. The large creditors included the bankruptcy estate in the (second) bankruptcy of Kajfež,[76] which finally ended on 20 November 1936 with the distribution of the estate to the creditors.

However, the court proceedings were not yet over. In June 1937, a court hearing began on the collapse of the City Savings Bank and the Mercantile Bank. Both institutions were in liquidation and thus in poor financial condition. At the end of Kajfež's bankruptcy, Mercantile Bank received only 960,000 dinars from the bankruptcy estate of the 16 million it had requested,[77] and City Savings Bank, which had accumulated a debt of 26 million dinars, had only two to three million dinars left. The dramatic collapse of the Slovene economy in Kočevje was at the time still reflected in the high prices of all services: the cost of electricity in Kočevje was the highest in the region, and water became so expensive that even the railroad preferred to buy it in Ortnek, more than 20 kilometres north of Kočevje. As the liquidators of the City Savings Bank claimed, the entire disaster resulted from exceeding the limit on the amount of Savings Bank funds in the Mercantile Bank, which, as mentioned, had grown from three to seven million dinars in size under Kajfež's influence. The liquidators filed a lawsuit against four employees of City Savings Bank (not including Kajfež), from whom they claimed 1.5 million dinars.[78] The defendants tried to prove that the bankruptcy of A. Kajfež & Co. should be avoided, as its continued operation would eventually bring in enough money to pay all debts, but

72 Slovenec, "Proces."

73 Jutro, "Velika sodna razprava."

74 Jutro, "Kajfežev proces."

75 Jutro, "Oprostilna razsodba."

76 Jutro, "Likvidacija."

77 Slovenski dom, "Kdo."

78 Slovenec, "Propad dveh (1)."

the plaintiffs insisted that the company was extremely unprofitable.[79] In July 1939, the court ruled that the four had to pay compensation of 1.4 million dinars because they should have been aware that they were breaking the regulations by investing excessively in a single bank.[80]

The history of the Kajfež company officially ended on 21 April 1939, when it was deleted from the commercial register due to the abandonment of trade. The following month, a public auction of real estate owned by the town of Kočevje took place, which included a large part of Kajfež's bankrupt estate. As mentioned above, the municipality bought the property from the bankrupt estate but had to take out a loan of 4 million dinars for the purchase and did not repay the sum in time, so the property was auctioned again. It was sold for a good 3.2 million dinars.[81] Thus, after the collapse of the Kajfež company, the City Savings Bank, and Mercantile Bank, the last domino fell: the municipality of Kočevje.

Conclusion

The period from the beginning of the economic problems in 1927 until World War II was difficult for the Slovenes of Kočevje; the fact that the Yugoslav regime favoured Slavs over Germans was not enough to protect the Slovene community from trouble. With the decline of A. Kajfež & Co., the political influence of the entrepreneur in local politics and the capital with which he financed nearly all Slovene institutions in the region, also disappeared. Kajfež's withdrawal occurred at the beginning of the great economic crisis, so the locals experienced mass unemployment, often leading to shortages and hunger. Contemporaries claimed that hardship led many to submit to the Gottscheers, who once again dominated the local economy. Germanisation was not an uncommon phenomenon in the 1930s.[82] After World War II,[83] Anton Kajfež's property was expropriated by the new authorities, but he was allowed to keep an inn he owned in Ljubljana.[84] He died in 1954 and is buried in Ljubljana.

79 Slovenec, "Propad dveh (2)."

80 Jutro, "Odmev (1)."

81 Slovenski dom, "Premoženje."

82 Zupanc, "Kočevska," 59.

83 It should be noted that during the World War II and the occupation of Slovenia by Germany, Italy, Hungary and the Independent State of Croatia, Gottscheers were relocated from the Kočevje region, which fell to Italy, to the Reich. At the end of the war, they were forced to leave Slovenia under the new socialist regime; the rest were expropriated, and some of them were killed. Today there are virtually no Gottscheers left in Slovenia, and their villages around Kočevje lie abandoned and ruined.

84 Južnič, *Dvig*, 198.

The case of A. Kajfež & Co. is an example of an economic affair that illustrates the influence of economic nationalism in Slovenia, albeit at a time when it was no longer prevalent. It is a relatively rare example of tension among Slovenes and Germans after the breakup of Austria–Hungary due to the specific ethnic structure of the environment where it took place. The motives that led Kajfež to establish his company were influenced by the nationalist ideal of promoting the Slovene economy in his home region. He proved that this was his ideal not just by claiming so in the press but also materially by establishing and financing various projects to strengthen the Slovene economic structure of Kočevje, with which he wanted to make it stronger than the competing Gottscheer system. While these efforts were not successful in the Austro–Hungarian period, the 1918 political changes and a solid country-wide movement of taking the economy into Yugoslav hands made it possible for Kajfež to achieve much more. Despite managing to transfer the economic power in the region from Gottscheer to Slovene hands, he created, along the way, an overly tightly-knit Slovene economic community, which stood or fell with his financing.

When the Kajfež company experienced financial problems—likely primarily due to the bad management of the owners, not to unfavourable market conditions—and eventually went bankrupt, this brought about the break up of the entire Slovene economic system in Kočevje. The Kajfež bankruptcy was therefore viewed by contemporaries through nationalistic lens: his compatriots deflected the blame to the other ethnic group. Even though the Gottscheers probably did not cause the downfall of their competitor, they still celebrated it—partially for economic reasons, but mainly as a political victory connected to the seemingly never-ending national struggles. In the difficult times that Kočevje faced in the 1930s, an image of Kajfež as a nationally progressive entrepreneur who systematically and thoughtfully used his considerable capital for Slovene economic progress—until the Gottscheers prevented him from doing so—remained present among Kočevje Slovenes as an almost nostalgic memory. This image conveniently omitted many controversial accusations of the former entrepreneur's practices: the abuse of his (excessive) influence in the local environment, business fraud, the exploitation of workers, war profiteering, and irresponsible company management … A look at the press reports shows a more nuanced picture beyond simple nationalist opposition. The press shows Kajfež being loyally supported only by the liberal Slovene group (to which he belonged), while Slovene members of the Catholic and socialist camps made far more criticisms. The same goes for Kajfež's Slovene business competitors, who openly accused him of illegal practices and did not want to be associated with him. And last but not least, the same is true even for Kajfež himself. His support for the Slovene national cause was not unconditional. He demanded compensation for his benevolence, such as

being shown gratitude or respect, symbolic gifts and high positions in companies and institutions. If he did not receive them, this support could be withdrawn. Non-ethnic identities, in practice, often overruled the 'each to their own' nationalist appeal.

In short, when the Kajfež affair is observed through the lens of economic nationalism, the situation looks like a simple binary struggle between Kočevje Slovenes and Gottscheers, but a closer look reveals a more complex picture. Due to missing sources, the presented image is lacking in some regards, but it at least shows that it does not always take an opponent to run an ambitious economic enterprise built on nationalist values into the ground.

Sources

Domovina. "Pismo iz Kočevja" [A Letter from Kočevje]. *Domovina*, March 21, 1919.
Jugoslavija. "Kočevje." *Jugoslavija*, August 17, 1919.
Jutro. "K otvoritvi konkurza A. Kajfež, Kočevje (1)" [On the Opening of A. Kajfež Bankruptcy, Kočevje]. *Jutro*, March 7, 1928.
Jutro. "K otvoritvi konkurza A. Kajfež, Kočevje (2)" [On the Opening of A. Kajfež Bankruptcy, Kočevje]. *Jutro*, March 13, 1928.
Jutro. "K otvoritvi konkurza nad tvrdko Anton Kajfež v Kočevju" [On the Opening of the Bankruptcy of Anton Kajfež Company in Kočevje]. *Jutro*, March 3, 1928.
Jutro. "Kajfežev proces končan" [Kajfež Proceedure Finished]. *Jutro*, March 19, 1932.
Jutro. "Kočevsko pismo" [A Kočevje Letter]. *Jutro*, July 13, 1929.
Jutro. "Likvidacija kočevske hranilnice" [The Liquidation of the Kočevje Savings Bank]. *Jutro*, February 25, 1936.
Jutro. "Odmev kočevske gospodarske katastrofe (1)" [Echoes of the Kočevje Economic Disaster]. *Jutro*, June 4, 1939.
Jutro. "Odmev kočevske gospodarske katastrofe (2)" [Echoes of the Kočevje Economic Disaster]. *Jutro*, July 13, 1939.
Jutro. "Oprostilna razsodba v Kajfeževem procesu" [Acquittal in the Kajfež Process]. *Jutro*, March 22, 1932.
Jutro. "Smrt plemenite žene" [Death of a Noble Woman]. *Jutro*, January 15, 1936.
Jutro. "Velika sodna razprava v Novem mestu" [Great Court Hearing in Novo Mesto]. *Jutro*, March 15, 1932.
Kajfež, Anton. "Iz Kočevja" [From Kočevje]. *Slovenski narod*, March 4, 1908.
Kajfež, Anton. "Naš les. I" [Our Wood]. *Slovenski narod*, July 29, 1920.
Kajfež, Anton. "Opozoritev" [Notice]. *Jugoslavija*, July 8, 1921.
Kajfež, Anton. "Poslano (1)" [Received]. *Slovenski narod*, August 17, 1904.
Kajfež, Anton. "Poslano (2)" [Received]. *Slovenski narod*, December 29, 1908.

Kajfež, J. "Poslano (3)" [Received]. *Slovenec*, July 12, 1921.
Lesni delavec. "Iz Kočevja" [From Kočevje]. *Delavec*, June 26, 1920.
Naprej. "Kočevje – Banjaloka." *Naprej*, February 17, 1920.
Narodni socijalist. "Kočevje." *Narodni socijalist*, July 26, 1919.
Notus, "Križi in težave mesta Kočevje" [Problems of the City of Kočevje]. *Nova samouprava*, April 15, 1929.
Nova samouprava. "Javni ljudski shod o gospodarskih prilikah v Kočevju" [A Public Gathering on Economic Situation in Kočevje]. *Nova samouprava*, June 15, 1928.
Nova samouprava. "Konec največje slovenske tvrdke na Dolenjskem" [End of the Largest Slovene Company in Dolenjska]. *Nova samouprava*, May 15, 1929.
Nova samouprava. "Konkurz veletvrdke A. Kajfež Kočevje" [Bankruptcy of the A. Kajfež Company Kočevje]. *Nova samouprava*, March 15, 1928.
Nova samouprava. "Vprašanje kočevskih Slovencev" [The Question of Kočevje Slovenes]. *Nova samouprava*, July 15, 1928.
O. R. "65 let Tekstilne tovarne »Tekstilana« Kočevje" [65 years of the Textile Factory »Textilana« Kočevje]. *Kočevske novice*, December 16, 1986.
Radikal. "Merkantilna banka" [Mercantile Bank]. *Radikal*, March 25, 1922.
Slovenec. "Hude reči" [Terrible Things]. *Slovenec*, June 22, 1928.
Slovenec. "K otvoritvi konkurza A. Kajfež, Kočevje (1)" [On the Opening of the A. Kajfež Bankruptcy, Kočevje]. *Slovenec*, March 4, 1928.
Slovenec. "K otvoritvi konkurza A. Kajfež, Kočevje (2)" [On the Opening of the A. Kajfež Bankruptcy, Kočevje]. *Slovenec*, March 9, 1928.
Slovenec. "Novomeški proces" [The Novo Mesto Procedure]. *Slovenec*, October 27, 1929.
Slovenec. "Odmevi Kajfeževega konkurza" [Echoes of the Kajfež Bankruptcy]. *Slovenec*, October 26, 1929.
Slovenec. "Okrog 180 parcel na dražbi" [Around 180 Plots on Auction]. *Slovenec*, April 6, 1929.
Slovenec. "Proces o Kajfeževi imovini" [Process on Kajfež Property]. *Slovenec*, March 15, 1932.
Slovenec. "Propad dveh kočevskih denarnih zavodov pred sodiščem (1)" [Collapse of Two Kočevje Financial Institutions at the Court]. *Slovenec*, June 16, 1937.
Slovenec. "Propad dveh kočevskih denarnih zavodov pred sodiščem (2)" [Collapse of Two Kočevje Financial Institutions at the Court]. *Slovenec*, June 17, 1937.
Slovenec. "Za goriške begunce" [For Gorizia Refugees]. *Slovenec*, September 13, 1916.
Slovenec. "Železniška zveza Kočevje-Reka" [Kočevje-Rijeka Railway Connection]. *Slovenec*, January 12, 1921.
Slovenski dom. "»Kdo bo plačal 26 milijonov?« Resnica v zadevi Mestne hranilnice v Kočevju" [»Who Will Pay 26 Millions?« The Truth in the Case of the City Savings Bank in Kočevje]. *Slovenski dom*, April 24, 1937.

Slovenski dom. "Premoženje mesta Kočevja je bilo na dražbi prodano za 3,225.000 din" [Estate of the City of Kočevje was sold at an Auction for 3,225.000 Dinars]. *Slovenski dom*, May 4, 1939.

Slovenski narod. "Burne občinske volitve" [Turbulent Municipal Elections]. *Slovenski narod*, August 12, 1912.

Staatsgymnasium. *Jahresbericht des k. k. Staatsgymnasiums in Gottschee veröffentlicht am Schlusse des Schuljahres 1915–16 durch den Direktor Dr. Franz Riedl*. Gottschee: K. K. Staatsgymnasium, 1916.

Trgovski list. "Preosnova tekstilne tovarne" [Rearrangement of the Textile Factory]. *Trgovski list*, November 8, 1923.

Zupanc, Lojze. "Kočevska ob rojstvu Jugoslavije in danes …" [Kočevje Region at the Birth of Yugoslavia and Today …]. In *Vodnikova pratika 1939* [The Vodnik Calendar 1939], 57–60. Ljubljana: Vodnikova družba, 1939.

Literature

Berend, Ivan T. "Economic nationalism in historical perspective." In *Handbook of Economic Nationalism*, edited by Andreas Pickle, 2–13. Cheltenham, Northampton: Edward Elgar Publishing, 2022.

Čuček, Filip. *Svoji k svojim: na poti k dokončni nacionalni razmejitvi na Spodnjem* Štajerskem *v 19. stoletju* [Each to Their Own: on the Path to Final National Division in Lower Styria in Nineteenth Century]. Ljubljana: Inštitut za novejšo zgodovino, 2016.

Helleiner, Eric. "Economic Nationalism as a Challenge to Economic Liberalism? Lessons from the Nineteenth Century." *International Studies Quarterly* 46, no. 3 (2002): 307–29. https://doi.org/10.1111/1468-2478.00235

Henig Miščič, Nataša. "Carniolan Savings Bank and Slovenian–German Relations in 1908 and 1909." *Prispevki za novejšo zgodovino* 60, no. 1 (2020): 47–70. https://doi.org/10.51663/pnz.60.1.03

Južnič, Stanislav. *Dvig iz pragozda in zaton vanj: razvoj Kočevske in sosednjih dolin (Osilniška, Dragarska in Poljanska) (1498–2009) = From Wildwoods and Back: The Development of Gottscheer Land and Nearby Valleys (Ossiunitz, Suchen, and Polland) (1498–2009)*. Kostel: self-publication, 2009.

Južnič, Stanislav. "Razvoj kočevske čitalnice med letoma 1919–1941" [The Development of the Reading Society in Kočevje Between the Years 1919–1941]. *Knjižnica* 48, no. 3 (2004): 175–92.

Koch, Natalie. "The political geography of economic nationalism." In *Handbook of Economic Nationalism*, edited by Andreas Pickle, 14–28. Cheltenham, Northampton: Edward Elgar Publishing, 2022.

Kofman, Jan. *Economic Nationalism and Development: Central and Eastern Europe Between the Two World Wars*. Oxford: Westview, 1997.

Kresal, France. "Tekstilana tovarna sukna v Kočevju 1921–1941" [Tekstilana Cloth Factory in Kočevje 1921–1941]. In *Tekstilana Kočevje: 50 let* [Tekstilana Kočevje: 50 Years], edited by Vinko Rakovič et al., 3–60. Kočevje: Tekstilana, 1971.

Lazarević, Žarko. "Economy and Nationalism in Yugoslavia." In *History and Culture of Economic Nationalism*, edited by Helga Schultz and Eduard Kubů, 265–77. Berlin: Berliner Wissenschafts-Verlag, 2006.

Lazarević, Žarko. *Plasti prostora in* časa*: iz gospodarske zgodovine Slovenije prve polovice 20. stoletja* [Layers of Space and Time: From the Economic History of Slovenia in the First Half of the Twentieth Century]. Ljubljana: Inštitut za novejšo zgodovino, 2009.

Lazarević, Žarko, and Jože Prinčič. *Zgodovina slovenskega bančništva* [History of Slovene Banking]. Ljubljana: Združenje bank Slovenije, 2000.

Marn, Rudolf. "Nacionalizacija in sekvestracija tujih podjetij" [Nationalisation and Sequestration of Foreign Companies]. In *Spominski zbornik Slovenije: ob dvajsetletnici Kraljevine Jugoslavije* [Memorial Collection of Articles of Slovenia: on the Occasion of the Twentieth Anniversary of Kingdom of Yugoslavia], edited by Jože Lavrič, Josip Mal and France Stele, 368–69. Ljubljana: Jubilej, 1939.

Simonič, Ivan. "Zgodovina mesta Kočevja in Kočevske" [History of the City of Kočevje and Kočevje Region]. In *500 let mesta Kočevje 1471–1971* [500 Years of the City of Kočevje 1471–1971], edited by Herman Kotar et al., 5–51. Kočevje: Skupščina občine, [1971].

Schultz, Helga. "Introduction: the double-edged sword of economic nationalism." In *History and Culture of Economic Nationalism*, edited by Helga Schultz and Eduard Kubů, 9–25. Berlin: Berliner Wissenschafts-Verlag, 2006.

Šobar, Peter. "Razvoj delavskega razreda v Kočevju" [Development of the Working Class in Kočevje]. In *500 let mesta Kočevje 1471–1971* [500 Years of the City of Kočevje 1471–1971], edited by Herman Kotar et al., 73–91. Kočevje: Skupščina občine, [1971].

HSCE | Historical Studies on Central Europe

Historical Studies on Central Europe 3, no. 1 (2023): 144–162
doi.org/10.47074/HSCE.2023-1.07

Children's War Games and Toys in Hungary, 1914–1918

Boldizsár Vörös

Institute of History, Research Centre for the Humanities, Tóth Kálmán utca 4, 1097 Budapest, Hungary; voros.boldizsar@abtk.hu

Received 11 April 2023 | Accepted 5 June 2023 | Published online 31 July 2023

Abstract. Children's games are accurate reflections of a community's culture with its values, norms and expectations. The Hungarian games of the World War I period were also such expressions both in regard to children's play activities (which they were able to pursue without toys, with toys they made themselves, or with those produced by official manufacturers) and the products of toy manufacturing companies. In this study, numerous games (for example, group battles, board games produced by manufacturers and put into commercial circulation, etc.) are discussed and analysed. At the same time, the various views on games by pedagogical experts and contributors to children's magazines published at the time are also discussed. My research has revealed that not only do these games demonstrate some peculiarities of the World War I (for example, the war's impact upon the most diverse areas of life) but that the War itself brought into prominence certain features of such games and carried into effect their latent possibilities (for example, war games becoming especially brutal). Beyond the scope of research on games and toys, on a more general note this study shows that cultural phenomena can react to radical historical changes.

Keywords: World War I, Hungary, children, games, toys, education

"Adults think that a toy is something that is smaller than its counterpart in reality, of cheaper material and more perishable. However, toys are actually symbols of reality. A cane with a piece of string tied to it is the symbol of a gun because it can be hoisted onto the shoulder," teacher and arts writer Pál Nádai wrote in his work of 1911 *Könyv a gyermekről* [Book about Children].[1] Over eight decades later, anthropologist Garry E. Chick appraised games in a similar way: "Games are functionally related to and reflect the values of the cultures of which they are a part. As such, they are neither trivial nor random in design or distribution."[2]

On the subject of children's games, and war games in particular, László Nógrády, a teacher and psychologist, wrote in his 1913 book *A gyermek és a játék* [Children and Play]:

1 Nádai, *Könyv a gyermekről*, Vol. 1, 36. About Pál Nádai, see for example: "Nádai, Paul," 292.

2 Chick, "Games," 515.

> "Playing at soldiers has always been a popular game among children and it remains so. Regardless of all the anti-military movements, behaving in a masculine way is an instinct boys are born with. This instinct comes alive when a child sees a soldier in little wood shavings and when in the dream of its dreams the child is able to hold an army of lead soldiers and then enters the field to pursue the Russo–Japanese war, only to quickly enter the fray of the Turkish–Balkan War […] children's games faithfully follow those of adults. There can be no modern army of lead soldiers without warships and aircraft."[3]

According to this exposition, at the beginning of the twentieth century, children's war games and toys were modelled on the prevailing global historical situation. This was reflected in the choice of participants in actual war conflicts and the integration of the latest products of military engineering into toys and games. Yet, at this time it was not only children or toy manufacturers that created and proliferated toys of war but pedagogical professionals as well. In his book entitled *100 gyermekjáték* [100 Games for Children], Jakab Barna, a gymnastics teacher, recommended to boys a game called *Playing at Soldiers*.

> "We know how much already six-to-eight-year-old children like to pretend to be soldiers. So why isn't this made into a game at school? And in this case, the teacher would take on the leadership role. This would make it easy to train children in a few simple military drills too. Furthermore, this game can be linked to sloyd teaching, as for the game, children need to make their own little shakos, swords, and flags. Exercises should be practised with these [hand-made objects], and marching should be accompanied by singing. The cleverer children can be promoted to non-commissioned officers and officers in some kind of small ceremony. From grade three onwards, this playful framework can be replaced by more discipline. Therefore, marching should often take place to the accompaniment of a song, drums, or trumpets."[4]

This text clearly shows that Barna recommended the game to his colleagues as a kind of early preparation for the boys' military training.

During the period of the World War I, Hungarian children's games were linked to these phenomena, both in regard to children's play activities (which they were able to pursue without toys, with toys they made themselves, or with ones produced by official manufacturers) and the products of toy manufacturing companies.

---

3 Nógrády, *A gyermek és a játék,* 286, for more on László Nógrády, see for example: "Nógrády, Ladislaus," 320–21. For more on Hungarian children's toys at the turn of the Ninteenth-Twentieth centuries, see for example: Tészabó, "1904 Toy Competition," 93–101.

4 Barna, ed., *100 gyermekjáték*, 134. The date of the foreword: June 1906. See: 4.

It transpires from literary works dealing with foreign children's games at the time of the World War I that there were similar phenomena inside and outside Hungary. Thus, for example, according to Mike Brown, in war games played in England "[t]he problem was that nobody wanted to play the Germans,"[5] while authors writing about games in Hungary noted that children were averse to taking on the role of the Russian enemy.[6] Brown also states that in England "[w]ar-related toys proved most popular in 1914, but by 1917 they were losing favour as war-weariness and disillusionment spread throughout the civilian population."[7] We read of a similar trend in Hungarian accounts from the end of 1916 and in 1917.[8] In his review of children's games during the years of the World War I, the American Andrew Donson notes that "[a]s the war continued, adults remarked that the war play became rougher and often downright violent."[9] Likewise, in the spring of 1915, a Hungarian article warned of the danger that war games of children were becoming rougher.[10] However, further research is required to establish if there were 'executions' in the games in Hungary, or if there were 'burials' related to the high casualty rates among soldiers, in the same way as there were, according to Rebecca Heinemann, in Germany.[11] Yet, as Donson shows, "[g]ames like cops and robbers and cowboys and Indians transformed overnight into battles of France or Great Britain against Germany and other contests."[12] In studying developments in Hungary, we should note László Nógrády's 1913 observations that the military conflicts of the given period (the Russo–Japanese and Turkish–Balkan wars) also appear in children's clashes.[13] It transpires from a diary and the contemporary press, sources that foreign researchers also use when studying the war games of 1914–1918,[14] that children in Hungary played the Greco–Turkish War in 1897, the Boer–English War in 1900, and the Russo–Japanese War in 1904. This series continued with the clashes between "Hungarians" and "Russians" during the World War I. Indeed, some Hungarian recollections inform us that at the turn of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries young people played out the historical conflicts from earlier centuries that they had learned about at school, such as the ancient

5 Brown, *Children*, 27.

6 About this element of the games, see notes 22 and 23 of this study and the main body of the text connected to it.

7 Brown, *Children*, 28.

8 For details, see notes 39 and 40 of this study and the main body of the text connected to it.

9 Donson, "Children," 6.

10 For further details, see note 44 of this study and the main body of the text connected to it.

11 Heinemann, "Kinder," 352.

12 Donson, "Children," 6.

13 For further details, see note 3 of this study and the main body of the text connected to it.

14 Ganaway, *Toys*, 240–42; Donson, *Youth*, 170–75, 291–92; Donson, "Children," 6; Zollinger, "Spiele," 245–46, 252–56.

Peloponnesian War between Athenians and Spartans, and the Punic Wars between Rome and Carthage.

Descriptions of these pre-1914 war games reflect fairly balanced power relations between the warring sides, making genuine struggles possible.[15] Besides the overviews of children's games available from the period of World War I, written by foreign authors,[16] an examination and detailed analysis of certain games seems worth making[17] to explore the phenomena of war that are manifest in them. This study undertakes just that in the case for both team games and the products of toy companies. Contemporary texts published specifically by professionals dealing with children, such as pedagogical writers and the staff of newspapers for young people in 1914–1918, are particularly useful for this kind of research.

Before a more detailed description and analysis, it is necessary to point out that at that time children and adults had different definitions of what constituted a game. As a secondary school teacher from Esztergom describes activities in 1915, "The agile head of grade two divided pupils into groups, who carried out all kinds of free exercises, but chiefly and with the greatest enthusiasm military close order drills, initially under his direction, and later under that of appointed group leaders." When studying the outcomes of a survey, it struck the teacher that when the boys had to answer the question "Do you play at being soldiers?" in the first grade, 18 out of 30 answered 'no', while 10 out of 40 in grade two gave the same reply, meaning that 'no' was given as an answer by 28 out of 70 boys, representing over one third, and this included pupils who 'exercised' the most enthusiastically. In relation to all of this, the teacher expressed the following opinion: "The only way I can explain this strange phenomenon is to say that children regard these soldierly exercises, marches, »assaults« and others as a serious thing and they do not in fact »play« at being soldiers since real soldiers do it in exactly the same way as them."[18] In the rest of my study, I will only discuss activities and tools that adults of the period regarded as children's games or toys.

The reports made by educational institutions in Budapest for the 1914–1915 academic year demonstrate that both kindergarten and school age children played war games. According to a report by a nursery school:

> "On one occasion we witnessed the following: the boys divided into two camps consisting of a group of Hungarians and one of Russians. The

15 Vörös, "»Athéniek« és »spártaiak«," 319–24. In contrast with these, see notes 19 and 22 of this study and the main body of the text connected to it.

16 See for example: Donson, "Children," 6; Levsen, "War Toys," 1–2; Zollinger, "Spiele," 231–59.

17 See for example to this: Ganaway, *Toys*, 237–39.

18 Obermüller, "Egy vidéki iskola," 261, 262.

> Hungarians attacked and fired away, and some of the Russians fell on the ground, while the others began to run away. They were then pursued by the Hungarians. Next, stretcher bearers gathered together the fallen; treating them as wounded, they carried them off and laid them on little benches. Then the doctor came to examine them. The light casualties were entrusted to the care of nurses, while the seriously wounded were taken to hospital, and the little girls stroked the patients, giving them drinks, laying them down, and dressing their wounds with the most amazing tenderness."[19]

The report of another school reads as follows:

> "The school pupils of various ages (7–11 years) make weapons or have them made from wood and, copying the various formations executed by the soldiers at the nearby military parade ground, carry out formal skirmishes completely similarly to soldiers. Equipped with weapons and small spades, they form into extended order either dividing into two opposing groups, or just as if they were facing an imagined enemy. They dig ditches and take cover, hiding well. In even stretches of 20–30 steps at a time they come closer and closer to one another, all the while digging new ditches with the greatest skill and speed. Reaching the goal sometimes takes two or three hours, but ignoring their exhaustion they carry out their work with continuous exertion. Coming close to one another or charging right up to their imagined enemy, they deal out death through a symbolic blow or take one another prisoner. They usually select the commanders in the school and, there as well, organise themselves into groups."[20]

In addition to serving as a basis for *bringing up to date* already existing types of games, i.e., the struggle between groups, the selection of participants in the conflict (Hungarians vs. Russians), and methods applied in the engagement (digging ditches), the World War I may have *radically changed* the way in which games

19 *A Budapest-székesfővárosi községi iskolák évkönyve,* 249. Date of Ferenc Déri's introduction: 16 June 1915, see: 8. It is remarkable that, according to this description, the "Russians" do not even defend themselves but rather "fall" or "flee"—the rules of this game presumably set that the "Russians" must "suffer defeat". It was a difference from the pre-1914 war games (about these, see note 15 of this study and the main body of the text connected to it) because a real struggle did not happen in this case. For more about this element of the game, see note 22 of this study and the main body of the text linked to it.

20 *A Budapest-székesfővárosi községi iskolák évkönyve*, 248. In the games described here, the fictitious enemy was presumably necessary because in the given case neither of the groups of children wanted to take on the role of the "enemy." For more about this element of the game, see notes 22 and 23 of this study and the main body of the text linked to it.

already known at the beginning of the twentieth century and directed by a teacher according to set rules were played. According to a teacher's account dated to May 1915, a game called *Who is Stronger?*[21] published in Jakab Barna's book, was played by elementary school pupils as follows:

> "With a line drawn across the middle of the room I [i.e., the teacher] arranged them seeing who could pull another across to their side. Of course, some would be Hungarians, and the others Russians. However, the group declared that they *would not* be Russians. Even though I explained that they would later exchange roles, they insisted that they would not be the Russians. When using my authority as their teacher I ordered them that they should indeed be the Russians, and every one of them who played *a Russian let himself be pulled across the line just so that the Hungarians would win.*"[22]

However, not only the types of games originating from before World War I were adapted to reality or modified when they were played out. Some games appeared modelled on the current historical-political events, and instructions were provided to children by those who devised the games. In a compilation entitled *Gyermekjátékok* [Children's Games], published in the 9th of January 1916 issue of the *Jó Pajtás* [Good Pal] children's magazine, a game referred to as *Playing at Soldiers* is explained. This is how it is played:

> "The children choose a captain, who is given a shako and a sword.
> The captain goes over to one of the children and says:
> »Come for a soldier, pal.«
> »Not I for they'll butcher me.«
> »Of course, they won't, of course they won't,
> they do nought but throw dumplings at us.«
> »If they throw dumplings,
> then I'll go for a soldier.
> Instead of a sword I'll take a fork,
> and with that I'll eat dumplings.«
> *Captain*: »Salute! Line up!«

21 "Two rows stand opposite each other. Every boy has his own partner. The partners standing opposite each other clasp hands on the word »hold«, »one« or another code word. Upon the game leader giving the command »pull«, each boy tries to pull his partner from their position." Barna, ed., *100 gyermekjáték*, 127–28.

22 Urhegyi, "Egy kis beszámoló," 4. Before the case description, the author introduces this type of game in the following way: "Who is stronger? is the name of the game."

> The child then stands behind the captain, and the captain goes up to every child until they are all conscripted. Naturally, if there are enough shakos and swords, every enlisted soldier is given one of each.
> The captain now gives the command:
> »Attention! Fall in!«
> The captain then appoints a lieutenant, a corporal, a drummer, and so forth. He then stands before the group and gives the command:
> »Attention! We're off to the Straits of Uzhok against the Russkies.«
> However, there are not always Russkies as the children do not like playing them. At such times, benches and chairs are appointed as Russkies, and the captain gives the loud command:
> »Attention! Commence!«
> »Attention! Fire!«
> At this point, they would keep shooting at the Russkies and finally break out into a victory song".

The two verses of the song complete the description of the game.[23]

It is noteworthy that in essence this "playing at soldiers" is a game where the children play out an entire war, as it contains the elements of recruitment, training, the organisation of the army, the battle, and a victorious peace. In addition to the depiction of current historical-political episodes (battles against Russian units, hopes for peace at the beginning of 1916), several other elements can be traced back to earlier origins: the details of Jakab Barna's *Playing at Soldiers* game (the descriptions of both games have the same title, both include the elements of marching, the distribution of titles, the drills, the use of the tools of battle and the singing),[24] as well as the 1910s version[25] of the nineteenth-century recruitment song starting with the line "Come for a soldier, pal."[26] The makers of the 1916 "playing at soldiers" utilised the experience of teachers relating to the war—i.e., the children did not want to play "Russkies"[27]—and thus the furniture at hand replaced them in the role of the enemy. Some peculiar two-way feedback thus emerged between wartime propaganda and children's games: anti-Russian propaganda proved effectual among young people in the games they played, while the experience gained from their games was used in the new, propagandist *Playing at Soldiers* game of 1916 aimed at ensuring that the propaganda elements of the time (enthusiasm for war, hostility to Russians, and hopes for a victorious peace) would sink into the minds of the target users.

23 "Gyermekjátékok," 30.

24 For more details, see note 4 of this study and the main body of the text connected to it.

25 "Mit mond a magyar nép?" 813.

26 Kálmány and Dégh, eds, *Történeti énekek*, 280–81.

27 For more details, see note 22 of this study and the main body of the text connected to it.

The following description of a children's game was also published in the 30 January 1916 issue of *Jó Pajtás*:

> "Several children stand in a circle, and one in the middle to put the questions.
> Whoever the child points at must answer the question.
> »What do Italians like?«
> *Answer*: Macaroni.
> »What do Russians like?« (Vodka.)
> »What do Serbs like?« (Meat and rice.)
> »What do the French like?« (The Germans, but not very much.)
> »What would the English like to have?« (The Dardanelles.)
> »What would the whole world like to have?«
> *Everybody replies*: Peace!"

Whoever gives the wrong answer or does not give an answer to the last question has to forfeit something and at the end redeem the forfeit in a specific way."[28]

Similarly to *Playing at Soldiers*, this game is also linked to the prevailing historical situation through its allusion to England's aspirations and the desire for peace characteristic of the period. In the series of questions about the enemies of the Austro–Hungarian Monarchy, the game introduces the Italians, the Russians, and the Serbs with only one type of food or drink[29] each (and by doing this, throws in the stereotypes connected to them so that they take root in the players' minds). Gradually progressing from definite to more abstract concepts, they describe the French by naming their enemy, and the English by specifying one of their war objectives. At the same time, in addition to this progression, we can observe another similar method in this game: while only one participant must answer each of questions 1–5 relating to the various nations, all the players are expected to give the same answer to the last question about the whole world. This solution was aimed at highlighting the significance of peace, while demonstrating that among children's games with war as their theme, we find one taking a pacifist approach.

The effect of the World War I can also be observed in toy manufacturing and distribution. For example, the business brochure published at the time by the Késmárky and Illés shop advertised eleven objects: of these eight were connected in some way with war (e.g. battleship with clockwork, shotgun with a rubber end, field gun, shako, trench cap) (Figure 1).[30] However, in the 27 December 1914 issue of *Az*

28 "Játék," 76. I was unable to find information about the method in which the forfeit was redeemed.

29 The Hungarian description of the game contains the wrong version of the word "vodka;" for more details, see: "Vodka," 929.

30 For the brochure, see: OSzK, PKt, Any, 1916/30. no inv. nr.

Én Ujságom [My Magazine] children's magazine, we read the following advertisement: "an ingenious war board game has come out to entertain youth. The title of the game is 'DUM DUM' and its basis is a map of Europe on which all of the belligerents have a role. The aim of the game is to occupy the enemies' capital cities. The small-scale version of the game represents the eastern front and the large-scale version the entire World War. Both sizes come in two editions, costing 1, 1.50, 3 and 5 crowns."[31] The different quality editions of the game clearly demonstrate that their makers did their utmost to take into consideration the market opportunities and wanted their products to reach people of diverse financial means.

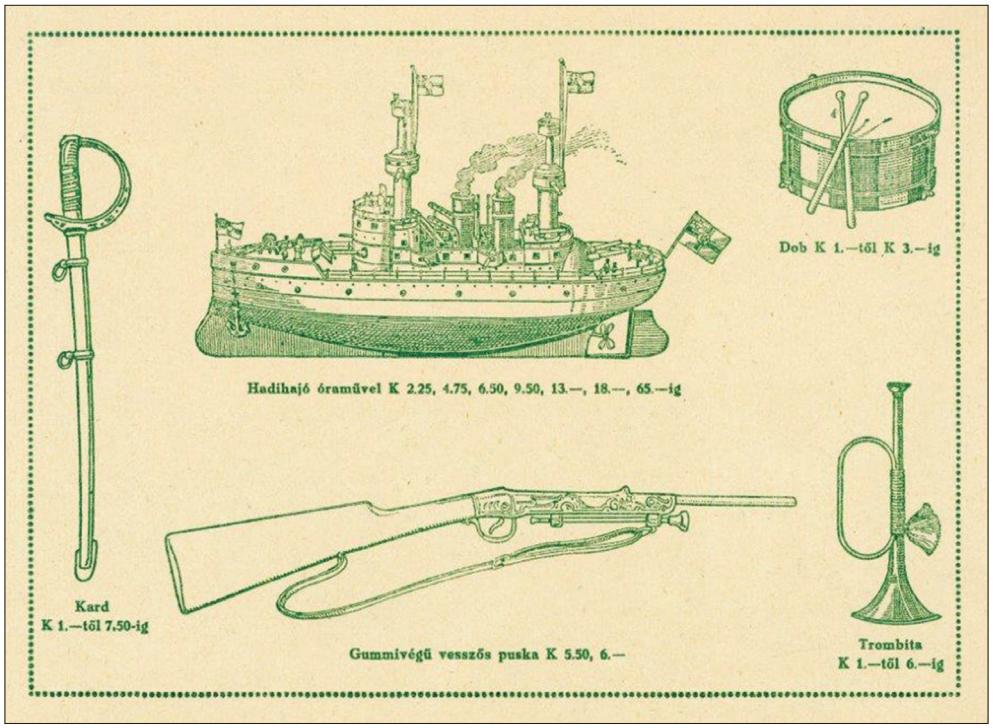

Figure 1 Késmárky és Illés brochure
Source: Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, Plakát- és Kisnyomtatványtár [National Széchényi Library, Collection of Small Prints]

In the large-scale version of *DUM DUM*, according to the text on the inside of the top of the box containing the board with a map depicting a global battle field, the figures representing the divisions necessary for the conflict, and the little dices (Figure 2), the game is a "Mock battle meant for patriotic youth and the future soldiers of the motherland." Written in the same place was "The manifesto of the oldest member of the company" in which, among other things, we read the following:

31 "Új háborús társasjáték," 19.

Figure 2 DUM DUM board game with figures and dices
Source: Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, Plakát- és Kisnyomtatványtár, I. Világháborús Gyűjtemény [National Széchényi Library, Collection of Small Prints, World War I Collection] (Photographer: Zoltán Bakos)

"Our loved ones will return from a victorious war, and we will be able to proudly tell them that we know the entire battlefield soaked with precious Hungarian blood! […] We have also fought! We have also been victorious!" Next to this text, also on the inside of the top of the box, are the rules for *DUM DUM*, according to which there could be two or more players, each representing nations (Hungary, Austria, Germany, France, Belgium, Russia, England, Serbia, Montenegro). The sides are allocated by drawing lots, which shows that the makers of the product were probably aware that children were not happy to take on the role of Hungary's enemies,[32] but since without enemies the game could not be played, they left the choice to chance. The players were to form two alliances whose members could help each other by supplying soldiers, money and by passing on the right to throw the dice. Each of the allies receives 18 divisions, i.e., 18 small figures, which they use to try to break into the enemies' capitals, advancing along designated routes on the board. The players throw the dice and make as many moves as the dice shows, while each of the routes is marked by various signs alluding to various military events (battles, bombing from aeroplanes, running into a mine, etc.) that may cause losses to the warring sides. The game comes to an end when one of the allies has no more movable divisions; the winning ally is the one that occupies the enemy capitals with more divisions. The loser pays twice the number of the victorious divisions with toy money.

Examining the battle conditions applicable to the players in this game, we see that they are fairly balanced: for example, nine roads lead from the capital of the Central Powers to the capitals of the enemy, from which 8.5 roads lead to those of the Central Powers; the number of stations to pass through is 157 on the nine routes and 149 on the 8.5 routes; the sign "Division destroyed by bombing from aeroplanes"—which means that the player who lands on this is out of the game—can be found eight times on the routes of the Central Powers, and ten times on those of their enemies. The sign meaning "Ran into a mine"—which also means any player who reaches it

32 For more details, see notes 22 and 23 of this study, and the main body of the text connected to it.

is out of the game—can be seen three times on each side's routes.[33] Hence, the rules and conditions of this game made it possible for the enemies of the Central Powers to attain victory, this being indispensable for a truly competitive struggle between the two sides to develop, i.e., for *DUM DUM* to be playable as a board game. However, this was in stark contrast with those parts of the manifesto that clearly predicted victory for the Central Powers; written on the top of the box, the lines addressed to young players encouraged them to identify with the aspirations of the World War I. *DUM DUM*, therefore, clearly illustrates the clash between the interests of war propaganda and the toy manufacturing business: while the former's objective was to predict victory for the Central Powers, the latter was interested in devising a product that made true competition possible, since businessmen clearly did not regard a one-sided board game as marketable.

The June–November 1916 issues of the illustrated *Tolnai Világlapja* [Tolnai's World Magazine] weekly magazine introduced a war game both for children and adults, and advertised a free colour supplement of one, two, or four pages in length every week that would present pictures of the most important battlefields that readers could set up as a game, thus "providing entertainment for six-year-old children and old people alike." The publishers also made the promise that "those who can collect all the parts and assemble this war game will have a valuable and pleasant memento for decades to come."[34] According to a description published later, the war game consisted of two parts: the battlefield where the war could be played out and a series of movable figures (soldiers, cannons, the Red Cross, etc.), that had their allocated places on the battlefield. The text claimed the following: "this entertaining game that at the same time will educate you can be played as often as you wish."[35] In the multi-functional war game (serving as a memento, entertainment, and education), the figures that could be stood up on the battlefield against colour backgrounds represented the siege of Belgrade, then the front at Gorizia (Figure 3), followed by the front in South Tyrol,[36] and at the end of 1916 the continuation of the game was also advertised.[37] The editor's note published in the 3rd of August 1916 issue of *Tolnai Világlapja* reported a huge success of the game, mentioning that it

33 See: *DUM DUM*, manufactured by KATÓ-KISZL [István Kiszlingstein], Budapest, 1914, see: OSzK, PKt, IVGy, no inv. nr. The box also contains the German version of the Hungarian manifesto quoted in this study, although somewhat deviating from it, and the rules in German. The toy money was not included in the box. I was unable to find additional copies of *DUM DUM*, nor did I find information on its reception or its popularity.

34 "Hadijáték," 15.

35 "Tolnai hadijátéka," 15.

36 See the June–November 1916 issues of *Tolnai Világlapja,* with its advertisements of a different version of the game.

37 "Fontos tájékoztatás," 17. I was unable to find details of the war game mentioned here.

was played not by children but by "grown-ups."[38]

Some months later, in the middle of December 1916, an article in the *Pesti Napló* [Pest Gazette] daily reported that "the noise of war has now died down in children's rooms. *Children have become bored with playing at soldiers.* They have learned to dread it." The editor quoted the manager of a large toy shop who said that "[i]n the first two years of the war, a great many war games and toys were sold. […]. For a long time, war games were very popular but this Christmas it seems that much of the stocks will remain in the shops. Very few war games and toys are being sold and children are returning to games of peace."[39] The protracted conflict at the front and the effects of the deteriorating situation on the hinterland undoubtedly contributed to war games losing their former popularity, as we read in a report published in the 1916–1917 academic year by the state elementary school for boys and girls in Karánsebes (now: Caransebeş, Romania): "However, their state of mind [i.e. that of the children] has been debilitated by the long war, they are generally depressed and they play fewer war games. This is because in most cases it is not only a brother but also the father who is away from the family for months; many have died as heroes or are languishing in prisoner-of-war camps on foreign soil, and

Figure 3 A görzi front I [The front at Gorizia I]. Detail from the war game in Tolnai Világlapja
Source: Hadtörténeti Intézet és Múzeum, Múzeumi Könyvgyűjtemény [Institute and Museum of Military History, Museum Collection of Books]

38 "Szerkesztői üzenetek," 33.

39 -olt-, "A gyermekszoba békét kötött," 5. I was unable to establish the author's identity.

making ends meet is hard for their mothers."[40] Naturally, over the following months as well, children played war games.[41]

Educators and writers for children's magazines proposed various opinions in regard to children's war games. In a letter of September 1914, the editor of *Az Én Ujságom* took the following position against "playing at soldiers": "That you [the writer of the letter sent to the periodical and his peers] all play at soldiers is something I can imagine. But I would like to suggest to you: playing should be replaced by studying. Work has begun everywhere. If you do this with the same enthusiasm as you play at soldiers, then you will become a real soldier."[42] Clearly with the intention of putting this approach into practise and supplanting "playing at soldiers," between 1914 and 1918 several literary works in the columns of the periodical's volumes depicted children's war-like activities with irony, emphasising their flippant nature.[43] The writer of the editorial in the 11 March 1915 issue of *Néptanítók Lapja* [School Teachers' Journal], the official organ of public education, warns of the looming danger posed by the increasing violence manifested in playing war games. "Youth, as we know, are by nature selfish and especially predisposed to coarseness and cruelty without wanting or being able to account for this and its incorrect nature." He argues that representatives of this age group are susceptible to the effects of events in the war and that "if we do not intervene in good time with well-intentioned warnings or strict cautioning, it could result in damaging repercussions or indeed serious accidents […]. We know of cases when children from decent middle-class families have been playing 'Petar' and 'the Russki tsar' and the chair was pulled from under one of the Petars in such a way that he fell to the ground and broke a leg, while the others gave the tsar a sound thrashing to the point where, alerted by the sound of wailing, panic-stricken parents rushed onto the scene of the drama." In his article, the writer also points out that "we are doing our utmost to balance with emotional but mainly intellectual means" the damaging effects of the World War.[44]

We witness a different approach in one of the December 1915 issues of *Jó Pajtás:* an article gives an account of war games and gymnastic exercises directed by a teacher in a fencing school, underlining their positive role in raising young people to become soldiers. In the writer's view, "life [in the fencing school] is cheerful.

40 The report is quoted by Géza Földes in: "Elemi iskolák beszámolója," 9.

41 For more details, see for example: "Háborusdit játszottak," 6; "(A háborusdi vége.)," 9.

42 "Szerkesztő bácsi postája," 207.

43 See, for example: Lantos diák, "Kis vitéz dala," 340. (The identity of the author has not been established); Zsoldos, "Lurkó generális," 214–15; "A hős védők," 325 (I was unable to establish the author's identity); Pósa, "A vitézek," 294.

44 Kemény, "Erős hatások," 1–2. "Petár" mentioned in the text is Petar I Karađorđević: Peter I, 1903–18: Serbia, 1918–21: the ruler of the Serbian–Croatian–Slovenian Kingdom.

There are war games, and I am convinced that when these young children grow up, they will all become fine soldiers fighting valiantly for the homeland!"[45]

Utilising the findings of long-term research into pedagogical and children's psychology, the Child Study Museum announced a competition in January 1915 to collect works by 3-to-18-year olds on the theme of war, including war games and toys they made themselves. The reasoning is: "In compiling children's works related to the war and their appropriate exhibition not only do we intend to demonstrate the influence of these great times upon the generation now growing up but also wish to pass on lessons to future generations."[46] Seeing war toys made by children displayed at the *Schule und Krieg* exhibition[47] in Berlin, Dániel Répay, an instructor at the Budapest teacher training college, discovered the business potential in them for the toy manufacturing industry. In his study in issues 9–10 of the 1915 volume of the pedagogical journal *A Gyermek* [Children], he points out the following, giving some guidance to readers: "Many toys can serve as models for toy manufacturers, as they were conceived in children's souls and thus are genuinely intended for children."[48]

In the second half of World War I, a study was published in the January–February 1917 issue of the *Magyar Paedagogia* [Hungarian Pedagogy] journal addressing the issue of educating children about peace, with the author categorically taking a position against young people owning war toys:

> "There are no new materials required for peace-loving education, nor should old concepts be upturned. All that needs to be altered is the spirit of education and the choice of material. A change is starting in educating children in the family; poems and illustrated books on the theme of war should be done away with, as well as toys like swords, rifles, shakos, cannons, and lead soldiers—and the uniform, which not only evokes and strengthens the delusion of grandeur in little ones but is also distasteful."[49]

The article of the *Pesti Napló* and the previously quoted texts of the reports[50] made by the Transylvanian school show that in 1916–1917, children were less frequently engaged in play activities related to war, which may have contributed to the success of the anti-war games views…

---

45 Gyula bácsi, "Háborus játékok," 804. I was unable to establish the identity of "Uncle Gyula."

46 Ballai and Nagy, "Gyűjtsük össze a gyermekek háborus játékait," 46.

47 For details, see: *Schule und Krieg*, 118–26.

48 Répay, "Háborús vonatkozású pedagogiai s gyermektanulmányi kiállítások," 344. For more on Dániel Répay, see, for example: "Répay, Daniel," 424–25.

49 Nánay, "A békére való nevelés," 17. For this, see: "Itt a vásár!," 3.

50 For more on these, see notes 39 and 40 of this study, as well as the related parts of the main body of the text.

Conclusion

In conclusion, children's war games and toys in Hungary during the period of World War I were in many respects linked to those already known before 1914, even though they were modified and updated in several ways. Of the contemporaneous pedagogical views concerning World War I games and toys, the opinion that such games were useful for training boys to become soldiers had already been present in the early twentieth century in Jakab Barna's work quoted[51] (and connected to the opinions in pre-1914 Hungary about the necessity of young people's military education[52]). The fact that participants were personally concerned with the given conflict is likely to have influenced the trends in Hungarian war games. The conflicts in the pre-1914 war games described (Greco–Turkish, Boer–English, Russo–Japanese, Athens–Sparta, and Rome–Carthage) did not concern Hungarian children as members of a community, a nation, or a family. Thus, fairly balanced power relations could be built between the warring parties, which made genuine struggles possible. But in the World War I games (Hungarians vs. Russians), Hungarian children felt personally involved in the conflict, both as members of the nation, and as members of a family whose members may have been fighting as soldiers. Therefore, obviously the wish for Hungarian victory and the worry about relatives changed the setup of war games: the "Hungarians" were regular winners, without suffering (considerable) losses. Although several details (the popularity of games and toys made by toy manufacturers; the connection between children's toys that had and did not have a war theme between 1914 and 1918; children's games played by adults in these same years[53] etc.) require further research, the above examples and analyses demonstrate that these games and toys, albeit in different ways, were reflections of the World War I period (justifying the conclusions of Pál Nádai and Garry E. Chick quoted in the introduction to the present paper[54]). At the same time, in addition to these games

51 For more on Jakab Barna's work, see note 4 of the present paper and the main body of the text connected to it.

52 For military education, see for example: Tangl, "Katonás nevelés," 45–67.

53 While in my work there are several examples and analyses demonstrating how in their games children tried to adopt and imitate adults' and soldiers' actions, during World War I there were also accounts of how adults: soldiers played children's games: "War, which kills men, resurrects children from the dead. Old foot-soldiers are playing with buttons by the only wall left standing from a shot-up house, hussars are playing on swings tied to trees on the edge of a forest. Hussars standing in a circle, holding on to each other: they are playing »outside the wolf, inside the lamb«, dancing to the music of an accordion. Here, amidst two deaths—one that they escaped the day before and is imminent the next day—they found in »the now« the carefree childhood through its cheerful games." Text quoted in Quint, "A háború," 197–98.

54 For more on the work of Nádai and Chick, see notes 1 and 2 of this study and the main body of the text related to it.

and toys reflecting some of the peculiarities of the war (for example, the extensive effect the war had on the most diverse areas of life), the World War also highlighted several characteristics of these games and toys and helped realise their latent potential (for example, war games becoming especially brutal). Pointing beyond itself, this study of games and toys, therefore, also assumes a broader meaning, indicating how cultural phenomena may react to radical historical changes.[55]

Sources

Országos Széchényi Könyvtár (OSzK) [National Széchényi Library], Budapest
Plakát- és Kisnyomtatványtár (PKt) [Collections of Small Prints]
Aprónyomtatványok (Any) [Postcards and Papers]
Késmárky és Illés brochure
I. Világháborús Gyűjtemény (IVGy) [World War I Collection]
DUM DUM board game

Ballai, Károly and Nagy, László. "Gyűjtsük össze a gyermekek háborus játékait" [Let's Collect Children's War Toys]. *A Gyermek* 9, no. 1–2 (1915): 45–47.

Barna, Jakab, ed. *100 gyermekjáték* [100 Games for Children]. Budapest: Lampel R. Könyvkereskedése-Wodianer F. és Fiai Részvénytársaság, no year.

A Budapest-székesfővárosi községi iskolák évkönyve. Évi jelentés az 1914–1915. iskolai évről [Capital City of Budapest Community Schools Yearbook. Annual Report of the Academic Year 1914–1915]. Budapest: Budapest Székesfőváros Tanácsának Közoktatási Ügyosztálya, no year.

"Elemi iskolák beszámolója. — A harmadik háborús esztendő munkásságáról. —." [Elementary School Reports. — About the Work Carried out during the Third Year of the War], reviewed by Géza Földes. *Néptanítók Lapja* 50, no. 35 (1917): 8–13.

"Fontos tájékoztatás hadijátékgyüjtők figyelmébe!" [Important Information for the Attention of War Game Collectors!] *Tolnai Világlapja* 16, no. 47 (1916): 17.

"Gyermekjátékok" [Children's Games]. *Jó Pajtás* 8, no. 2 (1916): 30.

Gyula bácsi [Uncle Gyula]. "Háborus játékok" [War Games]. *Jó Pajtás* 7, no. 50 (1915): 804.

"(A háborusdi vége.)" [(The End of the War Game.)]. *Budapesti Hirlap* 38, no. 223 (1918): 9.

"Háborusdit játszottak" [They Played a War Game]. *Népszava* 46, no. 54 (1918): 6.

55 For more examples supporting these conclusions, see: Vörös, "»Ha gombóccal hajigálnak, / El is megyek katonának«," 67–79, with further literature. I hereby express my gratitude for their help rendered for this study to Tünde Császtvay, Katalin Kóthay, Andrea Kreutzer, Ildikó Landgraf, Éva Mikos, Emese Szoleczky, Gergely Romsics, Dániel Szabó and to the reviewers.

"Hadijáték" [War Game]. *Tolnai Világlapja* 16, no. 23 (1916): 15.
"A hős védők" [The Heroic Defenders]. *Az Én Ujságom* 27, no. 21 (1915–16): 325.
"Itt a vásár!" [Here the Market is!]. *Kecskeméti Ujság* 9, no. 169 (1918): 3.
"Játék" [Game]. *Jó Pajtás* 8, no. 5 (1916): 76.
Kálmány, Lajos and Dégh, Linda, eds. *Történeti énekek és katonadalok* [Historical Songs and Marching Songs]. Budapest: Közoktatásügyi Kiadóvállalat, 1952.
Kemény, Ferenc. "Erős hatások" [Strong Effects]. *Néptanítók Lapja* 48, no. 10 (1915): 1–2.
Lantos diák [Lutenist pupil]. "Kis vitéz dala" [The Song of a Little Valiant Soldier]. *Az Én Ujságom* 25, no. 48 (1913–14): 340.
"Mit mond a magyar nép? — Példabeszédek, szólásmondások" [What Do the Hungarian People Say? — Parables, Proverbs]. *Jó Pajtás* 9, no. 51 (1917): 813.
Nádai, Pál. *Könyv a gyermekről. Munka, játék, művészet* [Book about Children. Work, Play, Art]. Vol. I. Budapest: Franklin Társulat, 1911.
Nánay, Béla. "A békére való nevelés" [Education for Peace]. *Magyar Paedagogia* 26, no. 1–2 (1917): 10–21.
Nógrády, László. *A gyermek és a játék* [Children and Play]. Budapest: Magyar Gyermektanulmányi Társaság, 1913.
Obermüller, Ferenc. "Egy vidéki iskola háborús pedagógiája" [A Rural School's Wartime Pedagogy]. *A Gyermek* 9, no. 7–8 (1915): 255–68.
-olt-. "A gyermekszoba békét kötött" [The Children's Room made a Peace]. *Pesti Napló* 67, no. 349 (1916): 5.
Pósa, Lajosné. "A vitézek" [The Valiant Soldiers]. *Az Én Ujságom* 29, no. 19 (1918): 294.
Quint, József. "A háború és a testi nevelés" [War and Physical Education]. In *A háború és az iskola. Háborús előadások az Országos Paedagogiai Könyvtárban és Tanszermúzeumban* [War and School. Lectures on War in the National Pedagogical Library and Educational Tools Museum], 165–205. Budapest: Franklin Társulat, 1915.
Répay, Dániel. "Háborús vonatkozású pedagogiai s gyermektanulmányi kiállítások" [Pedagogical and Child Study Exhibitions Related to War]. *A Gyermek* 9, no. 9–10 (1915): 329–55.
Schule und Krieg. Sonderausstellung im Zentralinstitut für Erziehung und Unterricht Berlin. Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1915.
"Szerkesztő bácsi postája" [Uncle Editor's Post]. *Az Én Ujságom* 25, no. 39 (1913–14): 207.
"Szerkesztői üzenetek" [Notes from the Editor]. *Tolnai Világlapja* 16, no. 31 (1916): 33.
"Tolnai hadijátéka" [Tolnai's War Game]. *Tolnai Világlapja* 16, no. 24 (1916): 15.
"Új háborús társasjáték" [New War Board Game]. *Az Én Ujságom* 26, no. 1 (1914–15): 19.

Urhegyi, Alajos. "Egy kis beszámoló" [A Brief Account]. *Néptanítók Lapja* 48, no. 21 (1915): 3–4.

"Vodka." In *A Pallas Nagy Lexikona. Az összes ismeretek enciklopédiája tizenhat kötetben* [The Great Pallas Encyclopaedia. The Encyclopaedia of All Knowledge in Sixteen Volumes], Vol. XVI, 929. Budapest: Pallas Irodalmi és Nyomdai Részvénytársaság, 1897.

Zsoldos, László. "Lurkó generális" [Kid General]. *Az Én Ujságom* 26, no. 40 (1914–15): 214–15.

Literature

Brown, Mike. *Children in the First World War*. Stroud: Amberley, 2017.

Chick, Garry E. "Games." In *Encyclopedia of Cultural Anthropology*, Vol. II, edited by David Levinson and Melvin Ember, 513–15. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1996.

Donson, Andrew. "Children and Youth." In *1914–1918-online. International Encyclopedia of the First World War*, edited by Ute Daniel, Peter Gatrell, Oliver Janz, Heather Jones, Jennifer Keene, Alan Kramer, and Bill Nasson, 1–12. Berlin: Freie Universität Berlin, 2014-10-08. https://doi10.15463/ie1418.10265

Donson, Andrew. *Youth in the Fatherless Land. War Pedagogy, Nationalism, and Authority in Germany, 1914–1918*. Cambridge, MA–London: Harvard University Press, 2010. https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctv22jntzw

Ganaway, Bryan. *Toys, Consumption, and Middle-class Childhood in Imperial Germany, 1871–1918*. Oxford–Bern–Berlin–Bruxelles–Frankfurt am Main–New York–Vienna: Peter Lang, 2009.

Heinemann, Rebecca. "Kinder und Krieg im Blick deutscher Pädagogen, Psychologen und Kinderärzte 1914 bis 1918." *Paedagogica Historica* 57, no. 4 (2021): 345–62. https://doi.org/10.1080/00309230.2019.1631360

Levsen, Sonja. "War Toys." In *1914–1918-online. International Encyclopedia of the First World War*, edited by Ute Daniel, Peter Gatrell, Oliver Janz, Heather Jones, Jennifer Keene, Alan Kramer, and Bill Nasson, 1–2. Berlin: Freie Universität Berlin, 2014-10-08. https://doi10.15463/ie1418.10252

"Nádai, Paul." In *Das Geistige Ungarn*, Vol. II, edited by Oskar von Krücken and Imre Pallagi, 292. Vienna–Leipzig: Wilhelm Braumüller, 1918.

"Nógrády, Ladislaus." In *Das Geistige Ungarn*, Vol. II, edited by Oskar von Krücken and Imre Pallagi, 320–21. Vienna–Leipzig: Wilhelm Braumüller, 1918.

"Répay, Daniel." In *Das Geistige Ungarn*, Vol. II, edited by Oskar von Krücken and Imre Pallagi, 424–25. Vienna–Leipzig: Wilhelm Braumüller, 1918.

Tangl, Balázs. "Katonás nevelés és a militarizmus kérdése a dualizmus-kori Magyarországon" [The Question of Military Education and Militarism in Hungary during the Dual Monarchy]. *Aetas* 32, no. 1 (2017): 45–67.

Tészabó, Júlia. "1904 Toy Competition, Artists and Toy Design at the Turn of the Century." In *The Fabric of Modern Europe. Studies in Social and Diplomatic History. Essays in Honour of Éva Haraszti Taylor on the Occasion of Her 75th Birthday*, edited by Attila Pók, 93–101. Nottingham: Astra Press, 1999.

Vörös, Boldizsár. "»Athéniek« és »spártaiak«, »magyarok« és »oroszok«. Háborús gyerekjátékok Magyarországon a 19–20. század fordulóján és az I. világháborúban" ["Athenians" and "Spartans", "Hungarians" and "Russians". Children's War Games in Hungary at the Turn of the Nineteenth–Twentieth Centuries and during the World War I]. In *Tanulmányok Pollmann Ferenc tiszteletére* [Studies in Honour of Ferenc Pollmann], edited by György Domokos, Mihály Krámli and Kálmán Mészáros, 319–24. Budapest: Authors, 2019.

Vörös, Boldizsár. "»Ha gombóccal hajigálnak, / El is megyek katonának«. Háborús gyermekjátékok Magyarországon 1914–1918" ["If they throw dumplings, / then I'll go for a soldier." Children's War Games and Toys in Hungary 1914–1918]. In *Eszmék, eszközök, hatások. Tanulmányok a magyarországi propagandáról, 1914–1919.* [Ideas, Means, Effects. Studies on the Hungarian Propaganda, 1914–1919], 67–79. Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, Bölcsészettudományi Kutatóközpont, 2018.

Zollinger, Manfred. "Spiele mit Kriegssignatur." In *Kindheit und Schule im Ersten Weltkrieg*, edited by Hannes Stekl, Christa Hämmerle, and Ernst Bruckmüller, 231–59. Vienna: New Academic Press, 2015.

Historical Studies on Central Europe 3, no. 1 (2023): 163–166
doi.org/10.47074/HSCE.2023-1.08

HSCE | Historical Studies on Central Europe

Being a Historian of Central Europe: The Survey of HSCE

The main goal of *Historical Studies on Central Europe* is to provide an interdisciplinary and international platform for disseminating new findings on Central Europe and enhancing the dialog on it. In this spirit, the editors have decided to launch a series asking prominent scholars of the region: their personal motivations for choosing Central Europe as their field; their view on central questions of methodology, trends, and definition, as well as their opinion on the status of the field.

Our first discussant is Pieter M. Judson,[1] who currently holds a chair in Nineteenth and Twentieth Century History at the European University Institute in Florence. He is the author of numerous prize winning books on fundamental aspects of Habsburg Central Europe, including *Exclusive Revolutionaries. Liberal Politics, Social Experience, and National Identity in the Austrian Empire,* 1848–1914 (1996), *Guardians of the Nation. Activists on the Language Frontiers of Imperial Austria* (2006), and *The Habsburg Empire. A New History* (2016), with the latter translated into twelve languages. For ten years, Professor Judson has been one of the editors of the *Austrian History Yearbook*, and currently serves as President of the Central European History Society of North America.

A Response from Professor Pieter M. Judson

HSCE: *The historian's interests may have very different origins: they may be inspired by the scholar's family background, personal experiences or even certain dilemmas concerning their own era which they seek to comprehend through studying the past. What is your motivation for studying Central Europe?*

My motivations for studying this region extend back to my childhood. My own family does not come from the region (My roots are in Russian Kaunas and England) but as a child I was fortunate to travel to Vienna (and in the 1970s to Budapest) where I learned a bit about the region's fascinating history. Later, as a student I wanted to study the history of modern Germany, but it seemed that everyone who studied Europe in the USA at the time wanted to study Germany (thanks to the Nazi

1 Pieter.Judson@eui.eu; European University Institute, Villa Salviati – Via Bolognese 156, 50139 Florence, Italy; ORCiD: orcid.org/0000-0001-6679-9482

regime). I was persuaded by my supervisor at Columbia University, István Deák, that if I wrote about East Central Europe, I could choose a bigger topic. (If I stayed with Germany, I would have to choose a narrow topic.). He was correct. I was able to choose for my dissertation an enormous and broad topic in Austro-Hungarian history that no one else was studying (a social and political history of the German liberal political movement in the nineteenth century). As I learned and researched more about the region in the nineteenth century, I began to see that the way most historians treated the region (as an almost non-European, pathological Orient) was problematic and that most of the important questions in modern European history could be studied quite successfully there. As a US American I also had to learn other languages in order to study the Habsburg Monarchy, but this was easier when I was a student because during the Cold War the US government paid students to learn languages from the region. Later, during the Yugoslav wars in the 1990s, I renewed my interest in studying the region, this time focusing my research on conflict in language frontier regions for the book *Guardians of the Nation*. Finally, I should add that for US Americans, once you have learned new languages and done the hard work of learning about the institutions, laws, social structures, economy, etc. of East Central Europe, you would not change fields but would stay with this field because of the investment of time and research energy.

HSCE: *Perhaps it is no exaggeration to state that the notion of 'Central Europe' is one of the most disputed terms in historiography. To recall but only a few from the diverse definitions: in the Anglo-Saxon milieu, they often refer to Germany as Central Europe, while others mean the Danubian region of the Habsburg Empire; in the meantime, there are still other definitions that integrate the Baltic states into the notion. Some consider that the German notion of 'Mitteleuropa' should not be used as it is ideologically charged, implying a German hegemony. Certain thinkers believe that Central Europe is simply undefinable. Moreover, inspired by cultural studies, some scholars aim to break with the traditional geographical approaches and conceive Central Europe as a space of communication. Which of these definitions do you agree with? Have you created a new definition for Central Europe which is more adequate to your own research?*

In my work, I generally use the term 'Habsburg Central Europe' to characterize the region which I write about. I do not define this region too specifically. I am also sympathetic with those who understand Central Europe as a space of communication. Since the 1980s, I have worked to convince US Americans that Central Europe is more than Germany. (This was a problem more specific to historians in the USA than perhaps to those in Europe). I served as president for two years of the Central European History Society of North America (CEHS). Our organisation publishes the journal *Central European History* (CEH). Now, after many years of work, our journal publishes articles

on topics about all regions of Habsburg Central Europe (the Empire and its successor states), as well as on Germany. We regularly make certain that we elect to our Board and as our officers, historians not only of Germany but also of other parts of this broader Central Europe. In Germany, I found early in my career that there were either historians of Germany or of Russia but almost none of the Habsburg Monarchy or the regions we called 'East Central Europe' in those days. This was a problem. Today, the situation is different. In the USA Habsburg Central Europe is seen as a region where one can profitably apply transnational methods of study, therefore, it has become very popular, and now competes with studies of Germany.

HSCE: *As every field of history, Central Europe has its influential scholars whose thoughts and approaches have inspired researchers or even a whole generation. Who are the scholars that you consider as your masters? Whose oeuvre and approach has influenced your work?*

All my work has been greatly influenced by my PhD supervisor and dear friend, István Deák. He has always been my greatest inspiration. Because I started in the field of German history in the early 1980s, I was also influenced by the (then) quite new approaches of David Blackbourn and Geoff Eley, who questioned the German *Sonderweg* and whose approach I sought to adapt to Habsburg history. I was also tremendously influenced by the remarkable first book of Gary Cohen on the Prague Germans, and by John Boyer. Most of these are in the Anglophone world. But I was also lucky to take a class with György Ránki at Columbia and to meet Peter Hanák, thanks to István Deák. Later, in the 1990s and 2000s my work (especially on nationalism and national indifference) was highly influenced by the brilliant Gerald Stourzh. Waltraud Heindl's research has also been an ongoing inspiration. Today, there are many younger historians whose work inspires me.

HSCE: *The researcher of Central Europe has to face numerous difficulties which are not present in the case of other subjects—the most evident being the multi-lingual makeup of the region. For you, what has constituted the greatest difficulty in your research on Central Europe?*

The greatest difficulty as a US American was the issue of languages because I came to the field only with German and Czech. Czech helped later with the little bit of Slovene I learned to read for some newspaper research. For other reasons, I also knew French, Dutch, and Latin, but these were not very helpful for the post-1848 Habsburg Monarchy. My single greatest regret in retrospect is that I did not have the time or opportunity to learn Hungarian. Another difficult challenge was the financial constraints of traveling to Europe to do archival research as regularly as

possible. In those days, no sources were digitized, of course, and there was no online possibility to learn new languages.

HSCE: *What do you think of the current state of research on Central Europe's history? In your view, how does research into Central Europe fit into the major trends of European historiography? What do you consider the most debated questions? What do you think the most pressing issues are in the field? Where do you detect deficiencies?*

On the whole, I am optimistic about our field, even in an era of renewed methodological nationalism, which poses a threat to the field. I am of course worried about the general diminishing importance of history at universities everywhere, and the diminishing funding for historical projects and students. This situation is probably worse in the USA for students of European history than it is in Europe. On the other hand, I am extremely happy and excited about how 'central' the field of Central European history has become to the general field of European history in the past thirty years. Central Europe has become a premiere site for developing new methodologies, new approaches, and new narratives. As I mentioned above, today, international students looking for transnational topics look to Central Europe as a site for their research. The best and most interesting European history dissertations are now being written about Central Europe, and the decline of national approaches among professionals has strongly benefitted our field. Central Europe must now be taken into account much more seriously when people write about the general history of Europe, and it is no longer as ghettoized and limited as it once was. This is true in the history of science, of knowledge, of culture, of gender, of politics, economics, social movements, etc. It is quite a different situation from when I was a student. In the field of empire studies, for example, or in the field of migration history, the Habsburg Monarchy is now taken more seriously as a laboratory of critical European developments. However, I should also mention that, ironically, these initiatives have often come from outside of Central European institutions, and often scholars in Central Europe face more challenges to have their cutting-edge work accepted in these fields. But the most exciting development for me has been the gradual internationalisation of the history of Central Europe so that today I work with scholars from all the 'successor states' as well as with scholars from the USA, Britain, France, and Japan, who are also researching the history of this region. Obviously, the issue of languages remains a critical one, and it is not easy to solve because one wants to maintain multi-lingual traditions, and not to impose a single language (English) on scholarship, as has happened in other fields like Economics.

Historical Studies on Central Europe 3, no. 1 (2023): 167–196
doi.org/10.47074/HSCE.2023-1.09

HSCE | Historical Studies on Central Europe

"On Trying to be a Historian of Eastern Europe."

An Interim Review Heavy with Wanderings

Stefan Troebst

Leibniz-Institut für Geschichte und Kultur des östlichen Europa (GWZO), Specks Hof, Reichsstrasse 4–6, D-04109 Leipzig; Global and European Studies Institute, Universität Leipzig, Emil-Fuchs-Strasse 1, 04105 Leipzig, Germany; troebst@uni-leipzig.de

Received 5 May 2023 | Accepted 16 June 2023 | Published online 31 July 2023

Intro: Two attempts to become a historian of Eastern Europe

"On Trying to be a Historian of Eastern Europe" was the title of the 1988 essay[1] in which the prominent British historian of Russia and Eastern Europe, Hugh Seton-Watson, offered a kind of balance sheet of his long professional life at the School of Slavonic and East European Studies (SSEES) at the University of London—in a volume edited by his students as a commemorative publication to their mentor. The essay begins with the following sentence: "I have been trying for more than thirty years to find out, but I am still not at all sure, what is meant by a historian or by eastern Europe."[2] He mentioned, among the reasons for these doubts, the influence that the dramatic events of the twentieth century in Europe had had on his thinking as a historian and the increasing vagueness or even emptiness of the Slavic paradigm itself, i.e., the questions surrounding the precise meaning of the adjective Slavonic in the name of his institute.[3]

I myself have striven to become or be an Eastern European historian, following in Seton-Watson's admittedly large footsteps, but I can understand his doubts about the Slavic paradigm, though I am a Slavicist myself.[4] I do not, however, share his uncertainties concerning the profession of the historian. That the historian is responsible for the past and analysis of the past, and in a certain way also for interpretation

1 Translation of Troebst, "On Trying to be a Historian of Eastern Europe." For a translation into Russian see Troebst, "O popytkah stat' istorikom," Čast' 1; Troebst, "O popytkah stat' istorikom," Čast' 2.

2 Seton-Watson, "On Trying to be a Historian of Eastern Europe," 1; Seton-Watson, "Reflections of a Learner."

3 Seton-Watson, "On Trying to be a Historian of Eastern Europe," 2–3, 5–6.

4 Troebst, "Slavizität," 7–19; Troebst, "Post-Pan-Slavism."

Figure 1 Prof. Dr Stefan Troebst in his office of the Leibniz Institute for the History and Culture of Eastern Europe (GWZO) in Leipzig

of the past, is, in my assessment, hardly in question. In recent decades, however, the professional profile of this guild has expanded considerably, as the historian has also been tasked, in the meanwhile, with providing analyses of contemporary cultures of remembrance and the politics of history of governmental and parliamentary bodies, as well as of enterprises, trade unions, churches, cultural actors, civil society, and last but not least, the media, including bloggers. This has enabled the science of history to regain, first and foremost, its interpretative authority over the past, which was being continuously eroded, in the face of the instrumentalisation of history by the aforementioned competitors, at least in part.[5] Seton-Watson, who was born in 1916, passed away in 1984, probably too early to realize this.

Eastern Europe versus Osteuropa

Seton-Watson's problems with regional terminology, here in particular, in the vernacular of his British academic and political environment, 'Eastern Europe' are also not surprising. Unlike the German term *Osteuropa*, the Anglo-Saxon equivalent is only a putative one, since it generally excluded the Muscovite, Russian, and Soviet

5 Diner, "Von Gesellschaft zu Gedächtnis."

empire-building projects of his lifetime, or in other words, it corresponded more to the German notion of *Ostmitteleuropa* [East-Central Europe] or the Austro-Post-Habsburg term *Zentraleuropa* [Central Europe], at most including *Südosteuropa* [Southeastern Europe]. During Seton-Watson's time as a formative instructor (and publicist), the Soviet Union was assigned to the 'Northern Department' in the organisational chart of the Foreign & Commonwealth Office of the United Kingdom, while the region stretching from Poland to Albania was assigned to the departments for 'Central Europe' and 'Southern Europe', and the 'Eastern Department' focused on the Middle East. Seton-Watson's own concept of 'Eastern Europe,' however, included the Tsarist Empire and the USSR, as one might well have expected from the historian who had held the SSEES Chair of Russian History since 1951.[6] Thus, with a bit of a time lag, he followed the German model, which meant a "migration" of the perception of "Russia" from the "north" of Europe (as a cardinal direction) to the "east."[7]

However—and this is a weighty "however"—Hugh Seton-Watson's students and journeymen gave the book, which was arguably a gesture of homage to their mentor, the title *Historians as Nation-Builders*. In other words, it was a matter not of transnational frames of reference of a historical-mesoregional kind (the keyword 'Eastern Europe') or of cultural and linguistic provenance (the label 'Slavic'), but rather of clearly national, even nation-state concepts, in the shaping of which, according to the subtitle of the book, the profession of the historian played a defining role. The 'invention' by German-language historical scholarship of Eastern Europe as a "historical region" did not play any role in this.[8] 'Eastern Europe' or, as it is called in the title of the commemorative book, 'Central and South-East Europe' was merely a generic term for a patchwork of small to medium-sized and usually rival nation-states which emerged in the wake of the collapse of empires.

No impressions from early childhood—but then…

Why did I ever set my mind on becoming a historian of Eastern Europe like Seton-Watson (who at the time was quite unknown to me[9]), and why so soon, in 1974, in

6 For a detailed biographical account, see Obolensky, "George Hugh Nicholas Seton-Watson," and for a bibliographical one Daly, "Bibliography of the Works of Hugh Seton-Watson."

7 Lemberg, "Zur Entstehung des Osteuropabegriffs."

8 This epistemologically revelatory and also globally transferable innovation has recently met with a positive response first and foremost in the social sciences, not, as one might have assumed, in the humanities: Delanty, "The Historical Regions of Europe," and Giordano, "Interdependent Diversity." See also Troebst, "Sonderweg zur Geschichtsregion."

9 It was not until 1983 that I had the opportunity to meet Hugh Seton-Watson, at least from a distance, when he gave a lecture at the Russian and East European Institute *(Osteuropa-Institut)* of the Free University of Berlin: Seton-Watson, "Nationalbewußtsein als historisches Phänomen."

the first semester of my studies at Eberhard-Karls-Universität in Tübingen? I should begin by mentioning a few autobiographical push-and-pull factors. For generational reasons, I had no clear family and certainly no personal ties that might have influenced my decision. I had no claim to status as a late Danube-basin Swabian, Transylvanian, Russian, or Kazakh German emigrant or expellee, and I certainly was not a former prisoner of war in the USSR or a survivor of the Gulag, as was the case with many German historians of Eastern Europe who belonged to the older generation.[10] I did have a Russophone Baltic German great-aunt, Marie von Lueder, called May, the daughter of a landowner and timber wholesaler from near the city of Reval (pronounced "Refal," not "Reval," as she herself told me), now Tallinn, the capital of Estonia, but she left little impression on me apart from some details concerning phonology. True, my parents and paternal grandparents possessed numerous heirlooms which had belonged to my great-great-grandfather Gottlob Tröbst from Apolda, who had studied Russian at the University of Jena and had taken part in the first translation of Pushkin's novellas into German (together with Stepan K. Sabinin, the archpriest of the Russian Orthodox Church in Weimar)[11] and who, in 1840, like many other unemployed university graduates of his generation, had gone to the Tsarist Empire as a tutor.[12] He had not gotten along terribly well with his first Moscow housemaster, retired Major General Otto Friedrich op dem Hamme aka von Schöppingk, so he had taken a position instead with the family of Count Alexander Nikolaevich Soymonov, where he had been tutor to the son of the house, Nikolay Alexandrovich, and the daughter Ekaterina Aleksandrovna. As it so happens, he had more than a simple tutor-student relationship with Ekaterina, and when this came to light, he had had to leave the Russian Empire *tout de suite* in 1846 for his native Thuringia. This did not set him back professionally. He became the director of the Realgymnasium in Weimar and corresponded intensively with Ekaterina until the end of his life in a mixture of French, Russian, and German. Indeed, she once visited him in Weimar, an occasion which, unsurprisingly, met with only modest applause from his wife Elisabeth, my great-great-grandmother. When Leo Tolstoy, whom Gottlob Tröbst had met in Russia as a thirteen-year-old on the Soymonov manor in Teploe, paid a visit on him in Weimar during the course of his 1861 trip to Baden-Baden, he was shown a warmer welcome.[13] I have inherited from Gottlob a collection of tobacco tins made of Tula silver, a gold-colored samovar from this same city, his decades-long correspondence with 'Catherine de

10 Exemplary are Geyer, *Reußenkrone, Hakenkreuz und Roter Stern*, and Markov, *Wie viele Leben lebt der Mensch?*

11 Cappeller, "Erste deutsche Übersetzung."

12 Troebst, *Gottlob Tröbst*.

13 Tolstoy, *Tagebücher*, 279; Seifert, "Leo Tolstois Besuche in Weimar."

Soymonoff,' and a large portrait of him and one of his wife. Thus, I suppose I may have had an affinity with things from the eastern half of Europe in my childhood or early adulthood, but this was hardly something decisive in my professional life.

Things were very different, however, when I was in the ninth grade in my secondary school in Göppingen in northern Württemberg, for here I had to choose between either French or Russian as my third foreign language after Latin and English. This was, it is worth noting, in 1970, when the Minister President of the state of Baden-Württemberg was Hans Filbinger, a right-winger from the Christian Democratic Union (CDU), and the Minister of Education was his party colleague Wilhelm Hahn, who shared Filbinger's fierce conservatism. For the students who had been protesting in 1968 in Heidelberg, Freiburg, and Tübingen, Hahn was the hated figure at the time, not Filbinger.

As vehemently as Filbinger (who, it is worth noting, was outed by playwright Rolf Hochhuth as an obdurate Nazi naval judge who had handed down death sentences even as late as the spring of 1945) fought the new eastern policy of Willy Brandt and Egon Bahr towards the Soviet Union, Poland, and the GDR, his comrade-in-arms Hahn nonetheless seems to have found reasonable the idea of setting up an educational experiment with parallel classes in Russian at five state grammar schools. Though I have no documentary evidence in support of the following conjecture, I cannot help but wonder if this decision was influenced at least in part by his own biography. Wilhelm Hahn was born in 1909 in Dorpat, which at the time was part of the empire of the Tsar and today is the city of Tartu in Estonia. He only came "home to the Reich" when he was ten years old.[14] As the child of a Baltic German family, he was taught some Russian in elementary school, and may well have thought that knowledge of this language might serve the metal industry in northern Württemberg, which was already closely intertwined with the all-union state holding companies in the USSR, especially the machine tool industry. But this is, as I say, only a hunch.

Looking back now from the vantage point of a good half century, I can confidently state that Minister Hahn had a decisive influence on my professional career, since I chose Russian over French. At our grammar school, we initially had a strict and somewhat distant Russian instructor whose Russian, however, was fluent. (He may well have been a former soldier of the Wehrmacht and then a prisoner of war in the USSR.) He successfully pushed us through the standard textbook for Russian, including the volume on grammar, in two years of school with a mere five hours a week. At the time, it was recommended that German universities set aside the same amount of time, i.e., four semesters, for this task. Unfortunately, after his retirement, we had a Russian instructor who had been trained in the GDR and had no active

14 Hahn, *Ich stehe dazu.*

knowledge of Russian. She did little more than have us take dictation and torture us endlessly with tapes on intonation patterns in the language lab. Since almost all the parents of the kids in our class (and quite possibly also the school administration) feared that under these circumstances none of us would actually pass our final exams in Russian, in the summer of 1973, most of us were "sent" to a Russian language course at the State Pedagogical Institute A. S. Serafimovich in Volgograd, formerly Stalingrad.

The language classes there were so lamentably poor that, like many of my classmates, I started skipping them after the second day, though I was still given a certificate. But we quickly made friends with the Kalmyk, Russian, Ukrainian, and other students at the institute. We would get together almost every day to swim in the shallow waters on the eastern bank of the Volga (presumably polluted with heavy metals and other unpleasant additives), to visit the Mamayev Kurgan Memorial Complex (where it turned out that our local friends thought that 'fascists' were Martians of some sort and certainly not creatures who could have any connection with us 'West Germans'), and to cook, eat, and listen to music (and, of course, drink), always in the evenings in their apartments, since for the most part their parents were on vacation.

The institute also organised excursions to the Don River, which did indeed seem quiet (as Russian writer Mikhail Sholokhov's famous novel *And Quiet Flows the Don* suggests), but which, because of its shallowness, was quite rapid when trying to swim from one side to the other. As it so happens, we were right across from the famous battlefield of 1942/43, but we didn't know that. We were also put in a student construction brigade for ten days in a tent camp on a mosquito-infested island in the Volga near Astrakhan. There, together with Komsomol members, we dug trenches in the morning, which we then had to fill in again in the afternoon. We ended up having a great deal of fun and forming good friendships, despite the terrible meals, the poor sanitary conditions, and, worst of all, the mosquitoes and other insects. When we returned to Württemberg, we spoke passable Russian (and also knew an array of jokes and swearwords), but we could not communicate with our teacher in Russian. We still managed to pass our finals, however, though perhaps not with the best grades, as we had no idea when to use the perfective or the imperfective aspect, and certainly not when or where to use a soft sign…

From Tübingen to (West) Berlin

Once I had passed (if just barely) my finals in 1974, I had to confront the unavoidable question: "what now?" The obvious answer was, "no idea." So, I picked up a job as an unskilled worker in the sawmill in our village to get the money together for a hitchhiking tour through France, Italy, Malta, Greece, Bulgaria, Romania, and

Hungary. That was an economically sound venture at the time. I spent altogether an average of two Deutschmarks per day (not including trips on ships), perhaps four Euros or so in today's currency. Those were good times!

Since most of my classmates from the Russian class had enrolled in the state examination course "Russian for teaching purposes" at the University of Tübingen, I did the same, admittedly somewhat halfheartedly. The haunting uncertainties concerning my professional aspirations were finally dispersed on the first day of the 1974–75 academic year. We first-year students were gathered in the auditorium of the *Neuphilologikum*, also known as the "Bert-Brecht-Bau," where the director of the Slavic Department, the linguist Ilse Kunert, who had been born in Danzig, now Gdańsk, told us in no uncertain terms that the demand for Russian teachers in Baden-Württemberg was covered for years to come, and no new hires would be made in the foreseeable future.

That hit me like a thunderbolt. Suddenly, I realized that I didn't *have to* become a Russian teacher at all, but could now do whatever I *wanted*, and this was a prodding towards academic freedom beyond compare. I immediately switched to the master's program in 'history' with a second major in 'Slavic Studies,' and I attended my first lecture, which was held by the exceedingly erudite but utterly unapproachable Russian historian Dietrich Geyer. Things were quite different in Slavic literary studies, where the exceedingly approachable Ludolf Müller from Western Prussia procured for each of us first-year students an anthology of Russian poetry from Penguin Press (the original texts and line-by-line translations in English) and patiently instructed us in the art of interpreting poetry.[15] Ilse Kunert also gave her best in the matter of Old Church Slavonic, which was exotic for us. Kunert used the grammar book of 1909 by August Leskien, a Slavicist and Indo-European scholar whom I was to meet again later as the comparative linguist who was searching (as it turned out in vain) for an ancient, 'originary' Slavic language and who was also the founder of the neogrammarian school of linguists in Leipzig.

In my second semester in Tübingen, I decided to leave the charming little idyllic town in Swabia and applied to the Freie Universität in West Berlin, where there was a large Institute for Russia and Eastern Europe with eleven departments and twenty-five professors. (Today, there are five.) I was prompted in part by my newly awakened interest in the history of the Balkans, which was represented at the university by the only professor who specialized in the history of Southeastern Europe at German universities at the time: Mathias Bernath. Bernath was an impressive post-Habsburg grand seigneur from a family of Lorraine settlers in the multi-ethnic region known as Banat, most of which lies today in Romania. In addition to his "four mother tongues" (German, Romanian,

15 Obolensky, ed., *The Penguin Book of Russian Verse*.

Hungarian, and Serbian), he also spoke fluent French, Italian, and, amazingly, Russian.[16] After the first consultation with him at the institute in Garystraße in Dahlem, it was clear to me that whatsoever you wanted to learn, you could learn it from him. And so I began to do just that, though initially only for two semesters, because at the same time the 'Drang nach Osten' in me grew stronger, which meant that I spent three years traveling (Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, the United States), interrupted by four more semesters in West Berlin (the city most on the frontline of the Cold War), including opportunities to visit the communist eastern part, what at the time was the 'capital of GDR.'

From West Berlin via Bad Godesberg to Sofia and Skopje

Alas, my plans to spend a year doing study abroad in the Soviet Union, which at the time was faltering along in its "golden age of stagnation," came to nothing because the German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD) stipulated that scholarships were only available for graduate students. Students who had not yet graduated could however apply for scholarships in the East-Central and Southeast European satellite states of the allegedly "unbreakable union of free republics" known as the USSR. I sorted the states of the region in my head according to the following logic: Poland and the Czechoslovakia were Central Europe, i.e., not exotic enough; Hungarian and Romanian are not Slavic languages, so Hungary and Romania were out of the question; I had already been on vacation in Yugoslavia, i.e., had already checked that country off my list; the DAAD did not offer scholarships for Albania (also not a Slavic language) as there was no cultural agreement between the two; and this left only one country: Bulgaria. As I mentioned earlier, I had already spent two weeks in Bulgaria after having finished high school, in Sofia, Plovdiv, and Vidin, but also, for reasons that are no longer entirely clear, in Tolbukhin (which today again is Dobrich, after having born the name of Soviet General Fyodor Tolbukhin from 1949 until 1990), Karnobat, and Knezha, and I had managed to get by reasonably well with Russian. So now my goal was Bulgaria or, more precisely, Sofia University Kliment Okhridski, in the Bulgarian capital.

The interview at the DAAD in Bad Godesberg took place in front of a committee of about twenty people, headed by Alfred Rammelmeyer, a Slavic scholar from the Johann Wolfgang von Goethe University in Frankfurt am Main, who had been born in Russia in the days before the revolution. I knew ahead of time that the scholarship applicants would be greeted by him upon entering in the language of the country they wanted to go to and would be expected to respond in that language. What I did not know was that Professor Rammelmeyer had marked up the candidates'

16 Troebst, "Südosteuropäische Geschichte."

standardized DAAD application forms top to bottom with different colored pens. On my form, I could see that one spot in particular was covered with red. It was the 'professional goals' section. Not surprisingly, he then posed rather pointed questions about this. In my youthful naiveté, I had scribbled the words 'university instructor' on the form, and in my reply to his question (which only made matters worse), I said that, on the basis of my profound university experience (which came to no less than three long semesters), I had determined that the position of high school instructor was, after all, a rather attractive and even passably paid profession. I failed to notice the smirks and sneers of the other nineteen or so committee members in the room, much as it also escaped me whether this was due exclusively to my hubris or also to the ill-tempered-professorial conduct of the good Herr Rammelmeyer.

Although it took a while before the final decision on the scholarship was made, at the time I regarded the invitation to the interview itself as a success. For applicants from West Berlin, this included a plane ticket from Berlin-Tegel to Cologne-Wahn and back (the first time I had ever been in an airplane) and—even more sensational—a per diem allowance of fifty Deutschmarks provided by DAAD. I spent most of this on a grilled beef filet at an Argentine restaurant in downtown Bonn together with a fellow Freie Universität student, also a first-time and, clearly, unforgettable experience.

As it so happens, the Japanologist Dierck Stuckenschmidt, who at the time was the DAAD Country Officer for Southeastern Europe and who came to Sofia in October 1976, shortly after my arrival in Bulgaria, to "check up on things" (as he told me), informed me that I would have gotten the scholarship for which I had applied no matter how stupid I had been during the interview. The explanation for this was simple. As a result of the 1973 West German–Bulgarian Cultural Agreement, several hundred Bulgarians wanted to come to the Federal Republic on exchange, but they were unable to come, because the exchange was based on principle of reciprocity. I was the first West German who had wanted to go to this Balkan country, which in the eyes of the average West German was still a gray Stalinist dictatorship.

My one year of study abroad, first at the Faculty for Foreign Students, then at the Philosophical-Historical Faculty at Kliment Okhridski University, had a formative influence on me and lifelong consequences. One grows up quickly living alone in a foreign country at the age of twenty-one and wrestling with a (still) foreign language. I discovered the topic of my master's thesis here,[17] which later, in an expanded form, became the topic of my dissertation. I also realized that for me, as someone who was not entitled to payments under the Federal German Vocational Training Assistance Act ("Berufsausbildungsförderungsgesetz," or BAföG), the DAAD was the best solution to the problem of financing my studies. And finally, I made friends

17 Troebst, "Die »Innere Makedonische Revolutionäre Organisation«."

for life, from Bulgaria, France and Romania, but above all from the former GDR. It is not by chance that some of them appear as informants in the dossier on me kept by the Committee for State Security in the Ministry of the Interior of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, the 700 pages of which I received in 2016. The dossier bears the thematically extremely appropriate case designation "Makedonets," or "the Macedonian."

At the Faculty of Philosophy and History, the Institute of History of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, and the Bulgarian Communist Party Central Committee Institute of History I was supported by numerous renowned historians, despite the fact that I came from a "non-socialist foreign country." Perhaps the two most prominent figures among these scholars were Nikolay Todorov and Ilcho Dimitrov, but I should also mention Tsvetana Todorova, Milcho Lalkov, Vasil At. Vasilev, and Kostadin Paleshutski. They took risks on my behalf which were considerable, given the omnipresence of the Committee for State Security, which always had me in its sights, and not a single one of them is identifiable in my file as an informer. I should note, however, that this does not apply to several other historians and fellow students with whom I had close contact.

As helpful as these leading Bulgarian historians were, the management of the relevant archives, which was subordinate to the Main Office for Archives at the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, was every bit as obstinate. My request for the use of ten archives, officially submitted in 1977 through the Faculty of Philosophy and History, was answered after a delay of seven years in 1984 with a curt reply to the effect that only a few archival records had been found in the Central State Historical Archives that might be relevant to my inquiry. The fact that, soon after having received this news, I was standing in the reading room of the archives was obviously a less than pleasant surprise which caused a noticeable moment of panic. Nevertheless, only a few things were handed over. The situation was completely different in the fall of 1989, shortly before the Bulgarian variation on the 'Wende,' when a new message arrived from Sofia. Now that some twelve years had passed since I had first submitted my request, everything was clear, and all the archival holdings, including inventory lists, would be made accessible to me without restriction. On site, things again looked completely different, because the head office stonewalled as usual. But the news reached me in a roundabout way that the Central Party Archives of the Bulgarian Communist Party would now grant me access to all the archival records there, a claim which I only believed when, after a conversation over coffee, cigarettes, and aniseed schnapps in the reading room with director of the archives Slavi Georgiev, I found a voluminous stack of documents of breathtaking content prepared for me. When I asked why I had been given access to the party archives when the state archives continued to deny me access, Director Georgiev

replied with a wink: "Because the party is always at the forefront of social progress!" He had instinctively anticipated the "winds of change" that would blow through the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party a few days later and sweep away the longstanding head of party and state Todor Zhivkov.

But to return to the 1970s, the DAAD was, as I mentioned, the solution to my financial problems during my time as a student because of the bilateral treaties entered into by the Federal Republic on matters of culture and science. While I was in Bulgaria spending my lavish stipend of 120 lev, which at the time was the average monthly income (students from the GDR got only 40 lev), the monthly DAAD stipend of 650 DM was piling up in my West Berlin account, without me actually needing it or, for that matter, actually being able to access it from Sofia. In other words, when I returned from Bulgaria, I had a fat bank account that kept me comfortably afloat for an entire academic year in Berlin.

Thus again, perhaps not surprisingly, I decided I might as well give the study abroad thing another go, and I applied, now as a graduate student, for another scholarship, though not for the Soviet Union, but for the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, or more precisely for its southernmost constituent republic, Macedonia. And lo and behold, again, it worked, not only with the promise of new gains in the world of scholarship but also with the financial benefits I had hoped to secure. The year I spent at the Institute of National History in Skopje had lasting consequences for me, both from a professional point of view and from a personal one. This was due in no small part to the support I was given by the heads of department there, Aleksandar Matkovski and Blazhe Ristovski, with whom my interactions were primarily informal (by which I mean that they took place over a cup of coffee or a cigarette or two by the institute's "bife" or snack bar), and especially by Ivan Katardzhiev, director at the time of the State and University Library. I had already known Katardzhiev, and I remained in close contact with him and his wife Nada over the course of the following decades. One of the consequences of the time I spent in Skopje was that, after having completed my unpublished master's thesis in 1979 and before having submitted my dissertation in 1984, I published a monograph in 1983, also on a Macedonian/Yugoslav–Bulgarian topic.[18] It was published in 1997 in Macedonian translation. As it so happens, a Germanist from Skopje who had worked as a translator for the Yugoslavian secret service had illegally set aside a copy and later left it to the Institute for National History. The translation costs were thus eliminated, so the book could be published inexpensively.[19] One sees the many uses of the secret services!

18 Troebst, *Die bulgarisch-jugoslawische Kontroverse.*

19 Troebst, *Bugarsko-jugoslovenskata kontroverza.*

…westward bound for the United States

Clearly, the two DAAD scholarships I had managed to acquire went to my head, because I then applied for a graduate scholarship in the United States, and I did so with Columbia University in New York at the top of my list, followed by Stanford University in California and Indiana University in third place. Against all expectations, I again was granted a scholarship, though for my third choice, Indiana University in Bloomington. In retrospect, this turned out to be quite fortuitous, as the aforementioned Mathias Bernath, who in the meantime had become my dissertation supervisor, was well connected there, especially with the U.S.-Croat historian of Southeastern Europe Charles Jelavich and his wife Barbara Jelavich, who was also a professor of Russian, Soviet and Eastern European history at IU. When I arrived at what is unquestionably one of the most beautiful university campuses in the United States, I was given a kind of VIP treatment, though this of course did not induce the Jelaviches to show me any lenience when grading the numerous essay tests and map quizzes in their courses on "Habsburg History" and "Soviet History." I did however win the History Department's "Dan Armstrong Award for the best graduate paper of the year 1981" (an award which came with $100) for a term paper in a course taught not by the Jelaviches but by Todd Endelman, professor of Jewish Studies, under whose direction I did an extensive study of the beginnings of anti-Semitism in Bulgaria.[20] The Herman B. Wells Library, which is the main library at IU, was a surprisingly valuable treasure trove for this purpose.

The two scholars who made the most lasting impression on me in Bloomington, however, were a Turk and a Hungarian. İlhan Başgöz, professor in the Department of Central Eurasian Studies and lecturer in Turkish, was at first glance an unassumingly friendly gentleman whose *s*eminar reading, a folklore anthology which he had edited and which he used as a textbook, for the most part contained Bektaşi anecdotes with sarcastic jabs at the Sunni variant of Islam.[21] As a pedagogue, he was brilliant. Within a few months, he had taught me to write postcards in Turkish on my own. Unfortunately, later, I was never really put in the potentially embarrassing position of having to use this knowledge, even in partially Turkophone West Berlin, so alas, my modest knowledge of Turkish today is exclusively passive.

The other impressive embodiment of scholarship at IU was Budapest economic historian and Auschwitz survivor György Ránki, the first holder of the newly established Bloomington Chair in Hungarian Studies, who arrived for the spring 1981 semester.[22] Since his seminar on the history of Hungary from the Battle of

20 Troebst, "Some Aspects of Anti-Semitism in Bulgaria." Expanded as Troebst, "Antisemitismus."

21 Başgöz, *Turkish Folklore Reader*.

22 On György Ránki (1930–1988) and his formative influence on Hungarian and international historiography, see Pach, "Hommage à György Ránki."

Mohács in 1526 to the 1956 Revolution was attended (apart from me) only by my fellow student polyglot the late James (Jim) Niessen, who served as chief librarian at Rutgers University in New Jersey, the visiting professor from Budapest suggested that the class be moved from Ballantine Hall (the largest building of classrooms at IU) to his campus apartment. This had one remarkable advantage for us: his wife and daughter prepared sumptuous Central European dinners for each class meeting, which were then enjoyed by the Ránki family, Jim, and me as part of private discussions on the history and present of the Danube-Carpathian region. I don't remember exactly what wine we drank to complement the meals. Certainly not a Hungarian Kékfrankos (or Blaufränkisch), but perhaps the California equivalent, Zinfandel.

At Ránki's suggestion, I wrote a seminar paper on academic relations between Nazi Germany and Admiral Miklós Horthy's Hungary, in which the DAAD, which had provided my scholarship, had played a prominent role. Somewhat to my surprise, the aforementioned main library at IU also had extensive holdings on this subject, including all DAAD periodical publications from 1933–1945.[23]

In retrospect, I can say that this single year abroad in the American Midwest gave me an intellectual boost that equaled and indeed surpassed what I had gotten out of three years of study in Germany and two in the Balkans put together. In the cornfields of the Midwest, I first discovered the seminal works of Carl E. Schorske (*Fin-de-siècle Vienna*), Fritz Stern (*Gold and Iron. Bismarck, Bleichröder and the Building of the German Empire)*, Eugen Weber (*Peasants into Frenchmen),* and Robert K. Merton (*On the Shoulders of Giants. A Shandean Postscript*), and these writings exerted a formative influence on me both personally and as a budding scholar.[24] This was due, on the one hand, to the committed professors (who were always open to discussion) and the body of highly motivated and also numerically manageable local and international fellow students in the master's program. It was also due to the trove of resources I found at the local landmark Howard's Bookstore (which has since gone out of business), the newspaper and magazine display at Runcible Spoon café (still thriving), the Lilly Library on the IU campus (which specializes, among other things, in the Cold War and is funded the pharmaceutical company whose name it bears), and, of course, the main library on the IU campus, which at the time was open day and night with its freely accessible stacks (this is, alas, no longer the case). In other words, "scholarship 24/7" was the order of the day in Bloomington, together with occasional excursions to Fred's Beerhouse, billiards at Bullwinkle's, and jogging, which had not yet taken off in Europe at the time.

23 Troebst, "Some Observations" Reprinted as Troebst, "Hungary's Academic Relations"; Troebst, "»Braune« DAAD-Geschichte."

24 Troebst, "Kryptomnesie, Koinzidenz und Kelvin-Diktum."

From the slopes of the Swabian Alps back to Dahlem, with a few detours

Back in Germany, I received a letter from the German National Academic Foundation with the good news that I had been awarded a doctoral fellowship. My short-lived euphoria was abruptly dispelled by a letter which arrived two days later from the same sender: due to the dramatic worsening of the circumstances vis-à-vis the Foundation's budget, the scholarship would only be available after a delay of one year. As devastating as this message was, its consequences were instructive. I submitted numerous evasive applications for all kinds of possible (and impossible) jobs, and I was offered a position by a U.S. army helicopter site in southern Germany as a food inspector. In response to my objection that I was a historian, not a food technician, I was told that my master's degree and my knowledge of English gave me all the necessary qualifications, and that I would be put in a relatively high salary bracket. In the end, I did not sign the contract, because a state surveying office in northern Württemberg also offered me a position as a so-called measuring assistant. The work was not well paid, and it involved physically strenuous labor in wind and bad weather, but since I, as a regional (hobby) historian, knew that in 1818 the Kingdom of Württemberg had become the first state in the world to carry out systematic land surveys, including the setting of trigonometrical points using stones, I jumped at the chance. The geodetic experience that I gained through this work proved immensely useful, financially, in the later phase of my work as a doctoral student, because back in West Berlin, I was able to supplement my doctoral scholarship (which by then was being paid out) by working for a surveyor and thereby got to know corners of the 'old' West Berlin into which I otherwise would never have ventured.

A positive late consequence of my year of study in the United States and the one-year break that I was forced to take by the Foundation was the completion of the aforementioned monographic research report, originally conceived as an essay, on the subject of a Macedonian nation (including language, history, church organisation, etc.), a topic of impassioned debate between the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. I pursued this within the framework of a project of the Volkswagenwerk Foundation on the connection between ideology and historiography in the Soviet realm, the funding for which had been obtained by Günther Stökl, Chair of Russian and East European History at the University of Cologne.[25] In the end, instead of required 40 manuscript pages I handed in 300, got a proper honorarium, and ultimately my research report was published as a book.[26] I have enjoyed a close relationship with Stökl ever since, our age difference

25 Troebst, "Die Interdependenz von Politik."

26 Troebst, *Die bulgarisch-jugoslawische Kontroverse.*

notwithstanding, and I have come to know him as a historian of Eastern Europe with a flabbergasting breadth of knowledge, a conscientiously reliable and professional manager in the world of scholarship, and a Viennese Protestant with an admirable sense of humour.

After extensive travels to archives in Rome, London, Bonn, Sofia, and Skopje, I submitted my dissertation on Mussolini's Balkan policy in 1984, published in 1987.[27] I enjoyed not only the support of my doctoral advisor Mathias Bernath, who provided innumerable letters of recommendation and the guidance and advice of a seasoned expert, but also the assistance of several individuals at the archives I visited. I am thinking, for instance, of Jens Petersen at the German Historical Institute in Rome and Renzo de Felice at the University La Sapienza (also in Rome), Elizabeth Barker, Stephen Clissold, and Heather Yasamee at the Public Records Office in Kew Gardens near London, Richard J. Crampton at the University of Canterbury, and in particular Maria Keipert at the Political Archive of the Federal Foreign Office, which at the time was still in Bonn.

I did not have a job at first when I finished my doctorate, but then, thanks to an admittedly cryptic job advertisement in the Berlin daily *Tagesspiegel*, I was invited to an interview with the British occupation forces, more precisely the "Slavic Unit of the British Military Government of Berlin," as a translator of Russian and Bulgarian, with an employment contract from the Administrative Office for Occupation Burdens of the Berlin Senate. The experience I had gleaned at a job I had had earlier during the breaks between semesters in a Württemberg machine factory, which had played an important role in the construction of a prestigious mammoth project run by the then Soviet head of state and party Leonid I. Brezhnev, helped. The project had involved the truck, tank, and engine plant Kamskii Avtomobilnyi Zavod (or KamAZ) in the new city of Naberezhnye Chelny on the marshy banks of the Kama River in what is now the Republic of Tatarstan within the Russian Federation.[28]

I didn't stay with the British for long, despite the fact that my monthly pay slip was handed to me in a large brown envelope with the Queen's coat of arms and the inscription "On Her Majesty's Service," which from time to time made my heart beat faster. It was fascinating to have the opportunity, during the lunchbreak, to use the former Nazi Reichssportfeld, the sports complex which served as the Olympic Park for the 1936 Summer Olympics. It was of course now under British administration, but it was architecturally unchanged and still had, for instance, several statues by Arno Breker. In the indoor swimming pool that was part of the complex, the rallying

27 Troebst, *Mussolini, Makedonien*.

28 Meier, *Breschnews Boomtown*, and on the business relationship of the engineering company TRAUB AG in Reichenbach/Fils with KamAZ in Soviet times the autobiographical: Troebst, "My Globalization."

cry "Ewig mahnt vom Anbeginn des Werdens das heilige Wort Vollkommenheit" had been emblazoned on the front side by the Deutscher Reichsbund für Leibesübungen (the German Reich Association for Physical Exercise). This mantra could be roughly or 'poetically' translated as, "from the dawn of time, the holy word perfection has always urged us onward," whatever that was supposed to mean.

I soon submitted my resignation to the British Empire and Commonwealth, and my decision was accepted without complaint and was also perfectly justified. I had been offered a position as a research assistant *(Wissenschaftlicher Mitarbeiter)* in the Contemporary History Section of the Institute for Eastern European Studies at the Free University of Berlin, and I was promoted to research associate *(Wissenschaftlichen Assistent)*. Those were good times: minimal teaching obligations, a decent salary (plus eight percent as an allowance for living in Cold War West Berlin, the so-called 'Zitterprämie,' meaning, roughly, "bonus for trembling in the shadows of Soviet tanks," and exemption from compulsory military service), and enough research freedom to write a postdoctoral thesis. I was even able to travel to pursue research in archives and libraries in the USSR, UK, the Netherlands, Sweden, and other parts of Northern and Western Europe, and these trips were financed by the university, as were excursions with my students to Bulgaria, Albania, and the Arctic parts of Europe, including the Kola Peninsula, home to the port city Murmansk.

And then came perestroika in the Soviet Union, which captivated many of our students, some of whom today figure prominently in the German media landscape (Gerhard Gnauck, Stefan Scholl, Michael Thumann, and Markus Wehner) and in historical scholarship (Martin Schulze Wessel, Jochen Hellbeck). The Russian and East European Institute at the Freie Universität Berlin became a magnet for regional experts from all over the world, especially from the United States, who came as visiting scholars and with whom close personal contacts were established. I am thinking of scholars like Andrew Janos, Mark von Hagen, and especially Norman Naimark, with whom I have remained friends to this day.

From Berlin to Uppsala

The fact that Hans-Joachim Torke, head of the history department at the institute, was an expert on the early modern Muscovite State and its 'state-centered society' also proved a great advantage. After a few tentative attempts to arrive at a topic for my habilitation, I decided on something early modern (the Middle Ages were too foreign to me). The guiding principle was the 'rule' (at the time) in the subdiscipline of Russian and East European History, according to which the topic of one's habilitation had to differ from that of one's dissertation in four respects: (a) epochal, (b) historical-regional, (c) thematic, and (d) one of the two qualifying papers had to be

about the Rus', Muscovy, the czarist empire, or the Soviet Union. In my case, this meant that the Balkans and twentieth century were out, and I would have to come up with something East Slavic before 1900. But what?

This is where, unbeknownst to him, Wilhelm A. Kewenig, Senator for Science and Research in the Berlin State Government, came into play. Contrary to previous practice, Kewenig appointed several new professors directly to the Friedrich Meinecke Institute for History at the Freie Universität Berlin, i.e., without advertising the positions. Among the new appointees was Jürgen Kocka, the Bielefeld luminary of German social history, and Klaus Zernack, leading historian of Eastern Europe who until then had worked at Justus Liebig University in Giessen. A new chair for the history of East-Central and Northeast Europe was created for Zernack.[29] I had been friends with Zernack's colleague and assistant in Giessen Fikret Adanır, one of the few Turkish historians with knowledge of South Slavic languages, since 1978 (and with Jeanne, his U.S. wife of German-Jewish origin), since, like me, he was intensively involved in the history of the (post-)Ottoman region of Macedonia. Fikret gave me access to Zernack, who initially seemed very stern and professorially distant to me. This changed significantly when my wife Inga and I helped the Adanırs move from Frankfurt am Main to Berlin. Professor Dr. Dr. h. c. Zernack was another one of Fikret's friends who lent a hand lugging boxes of books, furniture, household appliances, etc. to the fifth floor of the building. Once we had finished the laborious work, he took out a Leitz binder labeled 'Schmierstoffe' (lubricants). The contents turned out to be a bottle of schnapps along with several shot glasses. That definitely helped break the ice.

In the intensive consultations that followed with Zernack regarding a possible topic for my habilitation, he suggested that I consider the subject of relations between Moscow and Sweden in the seventeenth century, in particular their mercantile-trade relations (he was, after all, someone who had maintained close ties with leading historians of Sweden since a study visit to the University of Uppsala in the mid-1950s). He considered the topic suitable in part because relations between the two were one of the essential factors in the rise of this peripheral and sparsely populated kingdom to a major European power in the early modern period and partly because there was more than adequate source material. The USSR and Sweden had exchanged archival materials on a large scale both in the 1920s and in the 1950s on the history of their respective relations since the Middle Ages. This suggestion turned out to be a veritable bull's-eye, both with regards to the Moscow source holdings available on microfilm in the Stockholm Imperial Archives and with regards to the extensive Swedish archival holdings both there and in the Carolina

29 Müller-Lissner, "Berlin als Logenplatz; Troebst, "Klaus Zernack als Nordosteuropahistoriker"; Troebst, "The Nordic Connection."

Rediviva Library at Uppsala University. Another stroke of luck came when I made the acquaintance (initially only by letter) with Örjan Sjöberg, a postdoc from the Institutionen för Öststatsstudier of his Alma Mater Upsaliensis, today Professor of Economic Geography at the Stockholm School of Economics, who opened all the doors on site for me—literally—though I was a stranger to him at the time. I also had the opportunity to establish personal contacts with Swedish experts of the early modern modern. Tragically, economic historian Artur Attman,[30] the most relevant among them for me, died two months before a meeting scheduled in Gothenburg, but the early modern experts Sven A. Nilsson and Stellan Dahlgren in Uppsala were extremely helpful, as were the staff of the research department of the Stockholm Imperial Archives, the archivists who worked there, and other members of the archive staff. After six months as a—formally—visiting scholar at the Institutionen för Öststatsstudier, I returned to Berlin with an enormous stash of sources. Now I had to turn these sources into a qualification paper.

I was also encouraged in this undertaking by two Soviet colleagues with whom I consulted on site: Igor' P. Shaskol'skij, section head at the Leningrad Department of the Institute of History of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR (LOII), and his colleague Valerij E. Vozgrin, who later came to the Freie Universität as a visiting scholar. I received the most committed professional support, however, from Elisabeth Harder-Gersdorff, professor of economic history at Bielefeld University and an expert on early modern Baltic trade. Unfortunately, though we maintained intensive correspondence (by written letter, of course), we never met in person.

Skopje again, then Chişinău, Tiraspol, and Comrat

As positive, from the perspective of unrestricted access to archives, as my experiences in Sweden were in comparison to the restrictive practices in communist Bulgaria, the switch from the Balkans to northeastern Europe was difficult, thematically, linguistically, and paleographically, but first and foremost in terms of current events. As was becoming increasingly clear to the outside world as of 1984, the upheavals that were underway in Bulgaria in its so-called 'process of rebirth' included the brutal repression of the country's large Turkish-speaking Muslim minority, and this, alongside the revolutionary changes which swept across the entire eastern half of Europe in the epochal year 1989, made it difficult for me to turn away from the present and immerse myself in the study of the seventeenth century. Added to this were the tragic events in the disintegrating Yugoslavia in 1991, where I had many colleagues and friends. Accordingly, my progress on my habilitation thesis was slow. Indeed, this work came

30 Troebst, "Artur Attman."

to a temporary standstill when, in 1992, I received an offer from the German Foreign Office to go to the young Republic of Macedonia as a German member of the first long-term mission of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE, now OSCE). Obviously, I could hardly resist. In 1993, soon after I had arrived back in Berlin, I received another offer, this time for the CSCE Mission to the former Soviet Republic of Moldova, where in 1994 and 1995 I was mainly responsible for the two separatist conflict regions in the Dniester Valley (Trans-Dniestria), where I was stationed in the 'capital' Tiraspol, and in Bugeac (Budzhak, Gagauzia), in the provincial town of Comrat, which similarly functioned as the local 'capital.' I did not accept a third offer to go to Chechnya, where a bloody civil war was raging at the time. It only would have been possible to leave the OSCE office in Grozny, the capital of the Chechen Republic, with bulletproof vest and Kevlar helmet in a BTR armored personnel carrier of the Russian armed forces, which would have made it virtually impossible to carry out the mission mandate.

The experience I gained in this international organisation, which stretched from Vancouver to Vladivostok, was comparable with a second area study program of a completely different kind: integration into a hierarchical structure, continuous reporting obligations, careful preliminary assessment of potentially dangerous situations, subsequent analysis of cases of conflict and investigation of incidents (some of which had fatal consequences), prophylactic and retrospective information-gathering by fostering a basis of trust among government, police, and military functionaries (who tended otherwise to remain tightlipped) and, above all, civilians from a wide variety of professions, such as shepherds, foresters, hunters, lumberjacks, farmers, winegrowers, priests, monks, nuns, cabdrivers, bus drivers, and, last but not least, journalists. My knowledge of the Macedonian and Russian languages and (in a broader sense) culture helped me a great deal, especially since my mission colleagues usually did not have either. I was able to rely, however, on their practical, technical, and military skills, and learned a great deal from them. I now know what the arcana of a state are and where the cybernetic 'nerves of government' run, and that, alongside Georg Jellinek's three essential elements of the state (as both social entity and legal institution), there is a third, similarly indispensable element: a functioning, nationwide, bug-proof radio network.

I also gained immensely valuable experience working as a member of a team of diplomats, military personnel, local forces, regional experts (like me) with relevant language skills. In acute conflict situations, crises, and incidents, everyone had to be able to rely on one another, and we had to use our different skills and fields of knowledge in a coordinated, goal-oriented manner. I learned a lot in this process; In Macedonia, first and foremost from the head of mission, the U.S. diplomat Robert H. Frowick, and his righthand man Marshall F. Harris (who, though a comparatively young man, effectively

steered his boss, at his boss's request, depending on the situation), and Major (ret.) of the Danish Air Force Pál Tersztyánszky; in Moldova, from the head of mission there, the Russophone Briton Richard Samuel (who for a diplomat had a notable phobia of neckties) and the Dutch Captain Jelle Marseille. From their "Letters to Whom It May Concern" issued for me, I gather that they may also have learned something from me.

The CSCE/OSCE missions were civilian in nature, i.e., unarmed, but we nonetheless sometimes found ourselves in extremely critical situations. In Skopje in December 1992, for example, we were in the middle of a prolonged firefight between police and organised crime in the Serava slum district, and in November 1994, we were involved in a violent confrontation between Trans-Dniestrian separatists and parent representatives of one of the last schools to retain the Latin alphabet in the city of Bendery by its Russian name or Tighina by its Romanian name (it lies within the borders of Moldova but is under the control of the unrecognised Pridnestrovian Moldavian Republic). A man garbed in camouflage leapt on the hood of our car with a (presumably real) gun and told me through the windshield, "Ja tebe daju pulu," or "I'll put a bullet in you," and I confess, this threat seemed quite real. An encounter with a pack of wolves howling around the off-road mission vehicle when we found ourselves stuck in high snow in the Macedonian Baba Mountains near Bitola prompted us to ask whether it might sometimes not be wise to have a handgun at our disposal for self-protection. The replies we got to our inquiries on the matter from the CSCE headquarters in Vienna and the Foreign Office in Bonn were the same: forget it! The most formative experience for me, however, was a tragic one. Late in the afternoon, on 5 March 1993, Major Tersztyánszky and I were recruited *ad hoc* by the Norwegian UNPROFOR contingent in Macedonia to assist in the recovery efforts for a Dutch Fokker passenger plane which had just crashed on the grounds of Skopje's Petrovec Airport, with 89 fatalities. The airport was already shrouded in darkness, but those were images one does not forget.

But I also have not forgotten the many positive developments of these dramatic years. On 7 April 1993, for instance, when the Republic of Macedonia was admitted to the United Nations, as members of the CSCE Spillover Monitoring Mission to Skopje we popped champagne to celebrate the occasion. And on 23 December 1994, the parliament of the Republic of Moldova, in a session attended by the leaders of the self-proclaimed Gagauz Republic in the south of the country, adopted in Russian a law on the territorial autonomy status of Gagauz Yeri (Gagauz Land) in the first and last reading, against, as it so happens, the advice of the CSCE/OSCE and the Council of Europe. To have been personally present in the visitors' gallery at this impressive act was a privilege that offered rich insights: ethno-political conflicts can be regulated, provided that both sides are willing, through internal self-determination and territorial autonomy, i.e., not only through external self-determination, or

put more bluntly, secession. The hope that, in the meantime, this might have served as a blueprint for a solution to the conflict with the eastern part of the country, the self-proclaimed "Moldovan Dniester Republic," has not been fulfilled.

From the Zauche via Hamburg to Southern Schleswig

Back in Berlin, it was becoming increasingly clear to me that I either had to finish my habilitation thesis or I would do better to abandon it altogether. I decided on the first option and started the final lap in a dacha far from civilisation in Zauche (from Slav. *sucho*, meaning dry) in the Potsdam-Mittelmark district. Thanks to the lack of postal and telephone connections there (fortunately, the internet, email, and cell phones had not yet become as omnipresent as they are today), the twelve months I had set aside for the task turned into only five. In the course of a long night in June 1995, I printed out the final version on a screeching dot matrix printer and then copied it, submitted it to the Freie Universität, and heaved a heavy sigh of relief. [31]

I had already gotten two pieces of positive news: first, the offer of a one-year professorship at the University of the Federal Armed Forces in Hamburg (now named after Helmut Schmidt), and second, the approval of the German Research Foundation for a five-year Heisenberg fellowship. However, I was only able to make use of this for a few months, as I was appointed founding director of the Danish-German European Center for Minority Issues (ECMI) in Flensburg in 1996. This gave me the opportunity to continue to work intensively on my previous regions of interest, Macedonia and Moldova, as well as Ukraine, Georgia, Estonia, Latvia, and Kosovo.[32]

There were, however, three prerequisites for this. First, I needed the political support of the three founders of the new center, i.e., the Kingdom of Denmark, the Federal Republic of Germany, and the state of Schleswig-Holstein. But while Copenhagen and Kiel were fully behind the new foundation, Bonn put the brakes on in several respects, administratively, thematically, and legally. Second, and of immense importance, was the committed support shown by the three 'founding fathers,' all Danes: Lorenz Rerup, prominent historian and Consul General of Denmark in Flensburg; H. P. Clausen, his successor in this office and also a historian, minister several times, and parliamentary president; and Bent Rold Andersen, Social Democrat and likewise a former minister. Rerup and Clausen died soon after the founding of the institute, however, and Andersen resigned as chairman of the board of trustees shortly thereafter because of a controversy with his party. This put me in a difficult situation, but (and this was the third factor) a job advertisement

31 Troebst, *Handelskontrolle*; Zernack, "Dominium Mercaturae Ruthenicae."

32 Troebst, "Starting ECMI."

in the London *Economist* drew the attention of an array of highly qualified international experts to the center in the Danish–German border region, and this gave the whole undertaking a kind of vertical launch the positive effects of which can still be sensed today. The fact that the newly founded ECMI filled a serious lacuna in the now 'larger Europe' was proven by the extremely positive response shown by the OSCE and the Council of Europe, as well as by states such as Ukraine, Georgia, Ireland, Norway, Estonia, Sweden, the Netherlands, Switzerland, Finland, and many others. Only the European Union was limited in its cooperation by member states such as Spain, Greece, France, etc., as the legal foundations were missing in these states for the participation of minorities.

But even the idyllic situation of the minorities on both sides of the Danish–German border was from time to time overcast by clouds on the bilateral horizon. This was due in part to the border, which had been determined on the basis of a referendum held under the aegis of the League of Nations in 1920, and in part, of course, to the memory of the German occupation of Denmark in 1940–1945, which continued to exert a strong influence. Here, the past intruded profoundly into the present, and this threw into question the notion that the relationship between Northern Schleswig, i.e., the Danish Sønderjylland with its (small) German (linguistic) minority on the one hand, and Southern Schleswig, the northern part of the federal state of Schleswig-Holstein, with its Danish and Frisian minorities, on the other, might serve as a model that could be used in other sub-regions of Europe with ethnopolitical conflicts. The usefulness of this model appeared even less convincing when one remembered that the high standard of living on both sides of the border was (and still is) incomparably higher than the standards of living in conflict regions in the Balkans, the Caucasus, and elsewhere in the eastern half of Europe.

From Flensburg to Leipzig

In Flensburg, I then received an offer for a full professorship at the University of Leipzig, which I immediately accepted. As exciting as I found practical conflict prevention, the exclusive focus on the present was increasingly limiting me as a historian. My dual functions at the Alma Mater Lipsiensis and the Humanities Center History and Culture of East Central Europe (GWZO), which in 2017 was renamed the Leibniz Institute for the History and Culture of Eastern Europe, gave me the opportunity to pursue my historical interests again and indeed to expand them. My research on nation-building and region-building met with a phenomenal infrastructure here, supported in more than generous ways institutionally first by the German Research Foundation, then by the Federal Ministry of Education and Research, but also project-wise by the Volkswagen Foundation, the German Peace

Research Foundation, the Thyssen Foundation for the Advancement of Science, and others. Though I had already fulfilled the formal criteria to qualify as a 'historian of Eastern Europe' in my career 'before Leipzig' (i.e., master's thesis, dissertation, and postdoctoral thesis), it was only here that I became a 'real' historian of Eastern Europe in the sense of covering the sub-discipline 'in (almost) its entire breadth.'

This was due not least to the fact that the funding for research projects at the GWZO was provided with tight time limitations, which meant frequent changes of project topics and research groups, and this in turn compelled us periodically to develop innovative research questions and quickly present results in the form of publications. Findings were presented for the most part not only in the form of articles and collected volumes, but also and especially in dissertations and postdoctoral theses, i.e., monographs, and sometimes even in new thematic book series, such as "Visuelle Geschichtskultur" [Visual historical culture], "Armenier im östlichen Europa / Armenians in Eastern Europe," and "Leipzig Studies on the History and Culture of East-Central Europe." And I would be remiss not to mention the literally 'transnational' cooperative series, such as "Moderne europäische Geschichte" [*Modern European history,* edited together with Hannes Siegrist, a colleague of mine at the University of Leipzig], and the continuation of the series "Gesellschaften und Staaten im Epochenwandel" [*Societies and states in transformation*, edited with Dittmar Schorkowitz from the Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology in nearby Halle an der Saale]. There were also the GWZO innovations of the brochure series "Oskar Halecki Vorlesung – Jahresvorlesung des GWZO" [Oskar Halecki Lecture – Annual Lecture of the GWZO] and the popular-scientific GWZO annual booklet "Mitropa" (named after *Mitteleuropäische Schlafwagen- und Speisewagen Aktiengesellschaft*, founded in 1916 and operating sleeping and dining cars), as well as the significant thematic expansion of the GWZO main book series "Forschungen zur Geschichte und Kultur des östlichen Mitteleuropa" [Publications on the History and Culture of East-Central Europe].

Genuine GWZO 'inventions' from this period include the innovative combination of the research fields of historical culture and visual culture (in the aforementioned book series "Visuelle Geschichtskultur"), the (re)discovery of the highly politicized and ideologized Slavic paradigm after nineteenth-century Pan-Slavism in the form of a 'post-Panslavism,'[33] the focus on the presence (along with Jews, Germans, and Roma) of Armenians which was a defining feature of Eastern Europe (in the form of the aforementioned book series), and, last but not least, the meticulous examination of the influence of the history of conflicts in Eastern Europe on modern international law, as well as the considerable impact by practitioners and theorists from the eastern half of

33 Gąsior, Karl, and Troebst, eds, *Post-Panslavismus*; Gąsior and Troebst eds, *Gemeinsam einsam*.

Europe on international law.[34] Similarly, a project on *lieux de mémoire* in East-Central Europe with religious associations (*antemurale Christianitatis*, Cyrillomethodiana, and the cult of the Virgin Mary) has had an impactful reception.[35]

The hectic project cycle of three to a maximum of six years, however, did not leave me time to do another monographic study myself, but I have regularly published collections of the various essays I have written as a member of various projects.[36] Also, a parallel biography in the Plutarchian sense of two prominent twentieth-century Balkan protagonists, one from the left camp, one from the right, the Macedo-Bulgarian communist Dimitar Vlahov and the extreme right-wing Bulgaro-Macedonian terrorist Ivan Mikhailov, who were direct adversaries from 1924 to 1944, is still in progress (and has been announced, with a touch of excitement, a bit prematurely). The opening of numerous previously inaccessible Bulgarian, post-Yugoslav, Russian, and other archives since 1989–91 and the renewed temporary closure of some of them in the course of the events that have unraveled since have caused a massive delay here. I have another plan for a monograph based on an examination of my aforementioned Bulgarian state security file, thus following a bit in the footsteps of my U.S. colleague Katherine Verdery, who analysed the materials kept on her by the Romanian Securitate.[37]

Coda: On the usefulness of secret services for historians

The concerns at which Hugh Seton-Watson hinted, with regards to himself and his career, with the title of his essay "On Trying to be a Historian of Eastern Europe" are in my case documented in detail in the Bulgarian volume of files mentioned for the years 1976–1989. These materials, of course, were compiled under the incorrect assumption that I was already a full-time employee of the West German Intelligence Service, despite my youth at the time, and that after my DAAD year in the United

34 Programmatically: Troebst, "Eastern Europe's Imprint"; Troebst, "Speichermedium der Konflikterinnerung," and also the exemplary work by Skordos, *Südosteuropa und das moderne Völkerrecht*; Trültzsch, *Sozialismus und Blockfreiheit.*

35 Kenneweg and Troebst, eds, *Marienkult, Cyrillo-Methodiana und Antemurale*; Halemba, *Negotiating Marian Apparitions*; Gąsior, ed., *Maria in der Krise*; Gąsior, Halemba, and Troebst, eds, *Gebrochene Kontinuitäten*.

36 Troebst, *Kulturstudien Ostmitteleuropas*.; Troebst, ed., *Das makedonische Jahrhundert*; Troebst, *Erinnerungskultur*; Troebst, *West*-östliche *Europastudien*; Troebst, *Zwischen Arktis, Adria und Armenien*; Troebst, *Gewaltmigration, Globalisierung und Geschichtsregion(en)*; Troebst, *Europa* Środkowo-Wschodnia; Troebst, *The Other Lung.* See also Jorek, ed., *Bio-Bibliographie Stefan Troebst*.

37 Verdery, *My Life as a Spy*; Verdery, *Secrets and Truths.*

States, I was also a full-time employee of the Central Intelligence Agency. During the Cold War, it was a common occupational risk for all 'Western' historians of Eastern Europe to be suspected of working as some kind of agent or informant or spy when pursuing archival research in the field or, worse, attempting to conduct field research as ethnologists. Also archaeologists, Byzantinists, Ottomanists, linguists, folklorists and religious scholars, Slavicists, and even Bulgarianists, including those from the 'socialist brother states,' were considered suspicious from the outset. The fact that the secret service dossiers created at the time in Bulgaria, Romania, the GDR, and elsewhere in the Eastern Bloc are accessible today (though unfortunately not those in the post-Soviet Russian Federation or in the tattered remains of the imploded federal Yugoslavia) is a stroke of luck for contemporary historians who deal with the East-West conflict of the time. This applies to me personally in a special way, since events and episodes from my post-adolescent years of wandering are recorded in these materials in a manner that sometimes clearly outstrips my own memories. For this, the meticulous officers of the Bulgarian State Security forces and their many unknown but then partly known unofficial collaborators deserve the belated profound thanks of someone who, despite the adversities created not least by this very group of people, tried to become 'a historian of Eastern Europe.'[38]

Literature

Başgöz, İlhan. *Turkish Folklore Reader.* Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1971.

Cappeller, Fritz. "Erste deutsche Übersetzung von Puschkins Novellen. Eine deutsch-russische Gemeinschaftsarbeit aus Jena-Weimar 1850." *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Friedrich-Schiller-Universität Jena. Gesellschafts- und sprachwissenschaftliche* 8, no. 1 (1958/59): 161–76.

Daly, John C. K. "Bibliography of the Works of Hugh Seton-Watson." In *Historians as Nation-Builders: Central and South-East Europe*, edited by Dennis Deletant and Harry Hanak, 216–37. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 1988. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-1-349-09647-3_13

Delanty, Gerard. "The Historical Regions of Europe: Civilizational Backgrounds and Multiple Routes to Modernity." *Historická sociologie* 3, nos 1–2 (2012): 9–24. https://doi.org/10.14712/23363525.2014.35

Diner, Dan. "Von Gesellschaft zu Gedächtnis. Überlegungen zu einem Paradigmenwechsel." In *Veränderte Weltbilder,* edited by Detlev Claussen, Oskar Negt, and Michael Werz, 152–66. Frankfurt am Main: Neue Kritik, 2005.

38 The translation of this study was supported by the Leibniz-Institut für Geschichte und Kultur des östlichen Europa (GWZO), Leipzig.

Gąsior, Agnieszka, ed. *Maria in der Krise. Kultpraxis zwischen Konfession und Politik in Ostmitteleuropa*. Visuelle Geschichtskultur 10. Cologne–Weimar–Vienna: Böhlau, 2014. https://doi.org/10.7788/boehlau.9783412212025

Gąsior, Agnieszka, Agnieszka Halemba, and Stefan Troebst, eds. *Gebrochene Kontinuitäten. Transnationalität in den Erinnerungskulturen Ostmitteleuropas im 20. Jahrhundert*. Visuelle Geschichtskultur 13. Cologne–Weimar–Vienna: Böhlau, 2014. https://doi.org/10.7788/boehlau.9783412216948

Gąsior, Agnieszka, Lars Karl, and Stefan Troebst, eds. *Post-Panslavismus. Slavizität, Slavische Idee und Antislavismus im 20. und 21. Jahrhundert*. Moderne europäische Geschichte 9. Göttingen: Wallstein, 2014.

Gąsior, Agnieszka and Stefan Troebst, eds. *Gemeinsam einsam. Die Slawische Idee nach dem Panslawismus*. Berlin: Berliner-Wissenschafts-Verlag, 2009.

Geyer, Dietrich. *Reußenkrone, Hakenkreuz und Roter Stern. Ein autobiographischer Bericht*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1999.

Giordano, Christian. "Interdependent Diversity: The Historical Regions of Europe." In *Europa und die Grenzen im Kopf,* edited by Karl Kaser, Dagmar Gramshammer, and Robert Pichler, 113–35. Klagenfurt–Celovec: Wieser, 2003.

Hahn, Wilhelm: *Ich stehe dazu. Erinnerungen eines Kultusministers*. Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlagsanstalt, 1981.

Halemba, Agnieszka: *Negotiating Marian Apparitions. The Politics of Religion in Transcarpathian Ukraine*. Leipzig Studies on the History and Culture of East-Central Europe 2. New York–Budapest: Central European University Press, 2015. https://doi.org/10.1515/9789633861455

Jorek, Susanna, ed. *Bio-Bibliographie Stefan Troebst 1979–2019*. Working Paper Series. Global and European Studies Institute of Leipzig University 9. Leipzig: Leipziger Universitätsverlag, 2019.

Kenneweg, Anne C. and Stefan Troebst, eds. *Marienkult, Cyrillo-Methodiana und Antemurale. Religiöse Erinnerungsorte in Ostmitteleuropa vor und nach 1989*. Marburg: Herder-Institut, 2009.

Lemberg, Hans: "Zur Entstehung des Osteuropabegriffs im 19. Jahrhundert. Vom 'Norden' zum 'Osten' Europas." *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas* 33 (1985): 48–91.

Markov, Walter. *Wie viele Leben lebt der Mensch? Eine Autobiographie aus dem Nachlaß*. Leipzig: Faber & Faber, 2009.

Meier, Esther. *Breschnews Boomtown. Alltag und Mobilisierung in der Stadt der LKWs*. Paderborn: Schöningh, 2016. https://doi.org/10.30965/9783657781935

Müller-Lissner, Adelheid. "Berlin als Logenplatz für den Blick nach Osteuropa. The historian Klaus Zernack gives his farewell lecture." *Der Tagesspiegel* 760, no. 16, July 23 (1999): 28.

Obolensky, Dimitri. "George Hugh Nicholas Seton-Watson 1916–1984." *Proceedings of the British Academy* 73 (1987): 631–42.

Obolensky, Dimitri, ed. *The Penguin Book of Russian Verse with Plain Prose Translations of Each Poem*. Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin Books, 1974.

Pach, Zsigmond Pál. "Hommage à György Ránki." *Acta Historica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 34, no. 4 (1988): 353–57.

Seifert, Rita. "Leo Tolstois Besuche in Weimar und Jena 1861." W*eimar – Jena. Die große Stadt* 5, no. 3 (2021): 170–81.

Seton-Watson, Hugh. "Nationalbewußtsein als historisches Phänomen." *Südost-Forschungen* 43 (1984): 271–85.

Seton-Watson, Hugh. "On Trying to be a Historian of Eastern Europe." In *Historians as Nation-Builders. Central and South-East Europe,* edited by Dennis Deletant and Harry Hanak, 1–14. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 1988. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-1-349-09647-3_1

Seton-Watson, Hugh. "Reflections of a Learner." *Government and Opposition* 15, nos 3–4 (1980): 512–27. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1477-7053.1980.tb00294.x

Skordos, Adamantios Theodor. *Südosteuropa und das moderne Völkerrecht. Eine transregionale und globale Geschichte im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*. Moderne europäische Geschichte 19. Göttingen: Wallstein, 2021. https://doi.org/10.5771/9783835346291

Tolstoy, Leo. *Tagebücher. First volume: 1847–1884*. Berlin (East): Rütten & Loening, 1978.

Troebst, Cord C. *Gottlob Tröbst. Gelehrter zwischen Weimar und Moskau*. Weimar: Weimarer Verlagsgesellschaft, 2011.

Troebst, Stefan. "Antisemitismus im »Land ohne Antisemitismus«: Staat, Titularnation und jüdische Minderheit in Bulgarien 1878–1993." In *Juden und Antisemitismus im östlichen Europa*, edited by Mariana Hausleitner, and Monika Katz, 109–25. Multidisziplinäre Veröffentlichungen des Osteuropa-Instituts der Freien Universität Berlin 5. Berlin–Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1995.

Troebst, Stefan. "Artur Attman 1910–1988. Internationell ekonomihistoriker." In *Svenska historiker. Från medeltid till våra dagar,* edited by Björk, Ragnar and Alf W. Johansson, 554–62. Stockholm: Norstedts, 2009.

Troebst, Stefan. "»Braune« DAAD-Geschichte im Land der Rotnacken. Zum akademischen Frühwerk eines exzessiven Stipendiaten." In *Johanni Golombek Servitori Scientiarum Nobilissiomo,* edited by Krzysztof Ruchniewicz and Marek Zybura, 90–95. Wrocław: CSNE im. Willy'ego Brandta UWr, 2013.

Troebst, Stefan. *Bugarsko-jugoslovenskata kontroverza za Makedonija 1967–1982. Prevod od germanski jazik Slobodanka Popovska*, edited by Ivan Katardžiev and Novica Veljanovski. Skopje: Institut za nacionalna istorija, 1997.

Troebst, Stefan, ed. *Das makedonische Jahrhundert. Von den Anfängen national-revolutionärer Bewegung zum Abkommen von Ohrid 1893–2001. Ausgewählte Aufsätze*. Südosteuropäische Arbeiten 130. Munich: R. Oldenbourg, 2007.

Troebst, Stefan. *Die bulgarisch-jugoslawische Kontroverse um Makedonien 1967–1982*. Untersuchungen zur Gegenwartskunde Südosteuropa 23. Munich: R. Oldenbourg, 1983.

Troebst, Stefan. "Die »Innere Makedonische Revolutionäre Organisation« als Objekt der Einheitsfrontstrategie von Komintern und sowjetrussischer Diplomatie in den Jahren 1923/24." MA Thesis, Fachbereich Geschichtswissenschaften der Freien Universität, 1979.

Troebst, Stefan. "Die Interdependenz von Politik und Historiographie in Osteuropa. Ein vergessenes Forschungsprojekt der westdeutschen Osteuropageschichtsschreibung (1976–1983)." *Jahrbuch des Bundesinstituts für Kultur und Geschichte der Deutschen im östlichen Europa* 19 (2011): 9–24.

Troebst, Stefan. "Eastern Europe's Imprint on Modern International Law." In *History and International Law: An Intertwined Relationship,* edited by Annalisa Ciampi, 22–42. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing, 2019. https://doi.org/10.4337/9781788977494.00009

Troebst, Stefan. *Erinnerungskultur – Kulturgeschichte – Geschichtsregion. Ostmitteleuropa in Europa*. Forschungen zur Geschichte des östlichen Mitteleuropa 43. Stuttgart: F. Steiner, 2013.

Troebst, Stefan. *Europa Środkowo-Wschodnia, Polska i Niemcy w Europie. Wybrane studia i eseje*. Polonica leguntur 24. Kraków: Wydawnictwo Universitas, 2020.

Troebst, Stefan. *Gewaltmigration, Globalisierung und Geschichtsregion(en) in europäischer Perspektive Aufsätze und Essays 2015–2021* [Forced Migration, Globalisation and Historical Meso-Region(s) in European Perspective. Articles and Essays, 2015–2021]. Transnationalisierung und Regionalisierung vom 18. Jahrhundert bis zur Gegenwart 13. Leipzig: Leipziger Universitätsverlag, 2022.

Troebst, Stefan. *Handelskontrolle – "Derivation" – Eindämmung. Schwedische Moskaupolitik 1617–1661*. Forschungen zum Ostseeraum 2. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1997.

Troebst, Stefan. "Hungary's Academic Relations with the »Third Reich«." *Mitropa. Jahresheft des Leibniz-Instituts für Geschichte und Kultur des östlichen Europa* (2017): 16–23.

Troebst, Stefan. "Klaus Zernack als Nordosteuropahistoriker." *Zeitschrift für Ostmitteleuropa-Forschung* 50, no. 4 (2001): 572–86.

Troebst, Stefan. "Kryptomnesie, Koinzidenz und Kelvin-Diktum: Korrespondieren mit Robert K. Merton. Eine Autoedition." *Rocznik Centrum Studiów Niemieckich i Europejskich im. Willy Brandta Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego* 3 (2005): 223–44.

Troebst, Stefan. *Kulturstudien Ostmitteleuropas. Aufsätze und Essays*. Staaten und Gesellschaften im Epochenwandel 11. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2006

Troebst, Stefan. *Mussolini, Makedonien und die Mächte 1922–1930. Die "Innere Makedonische Revolutionäre Organisation" in der Südosteuropapolitik des faschistischen Italien.* Dissertationen zur neueren Geschichte 19. Cologne–Vienna: Böhlau, 1987.

Troebst, Stefan. "My Globalization – eine späte Erkenntnis." In *Vom Tod des Vaters der Völker bis zum Ende des Adlers der Karpathen. Festschrift für Jerzy Kochanowski zum 60. Geburtstag*, edited by Włodzimierz Borodziej, Maria Buko, Raphael Utz, and Zofia Zakrzewska, 388–93. Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Scholar, 2020.

Troebst, Stefan. "On Trying to be a Historian of Eastern Europe. Eine migrationslastige Zwischenbilanz." In *Abschiedsvorlesung 2021: Leipzig, die DDR und ich*, 27–62. Leipzig: Leipziger Universitätsverlag, 2022.

Troebst, Stefan. "O popytkah stat' istorikom Vostočnoj Evropy. Pro-mežutočnyj itog s migracionnymi osložnenijami. Čast' 1. [On trying to become a historian of Eastern Europe. An Intermediate Outcome with Migration Complications. Part 1]." *Slavjanskij mir v tret'em tysjačeletii* 16, nos 1–2 (2021): 243–65.

Troebst, Stefan. "O popytkah stat' istorikom Vostočnoj Evropy. Pro-mežutočnyj itog s migracionnymi osložnenijami. Čast' 2. [On trying to become a historian of Eastern Europe. An Intermediate Outcome with Migration Complications. Part 1]. *Slavjanskij mir v tret'em tysjačeletii* 16, nos 3–4 (2021): 165–88.

Troebst, Stefan. "Post-Pan-Slavism? Political Connotations of Slavicness in 21st Century Europe." In *Approaches to Slavic Unity. Austro-Slavism, Pan-Slavism, Neo-Slavism, and Solidarity Among the Slavs Today,* edited by Krzysztof Makowski and Frank Hadler, 169–75. Poznań: Instytut Historii UAM, 2013.

Troebst, Stefan. "Slavizität. Identitätsmuster, Analyserahmen, Mythos." In *Gemeinsam einsam. Die Slawische Idee nach dem Panslawismus,* edited by Agnieszka Gąsior and Stefan Troebst, 7–19. Berlin: Berliner-Wissenschafts-Verlag, 2009.

Troebst, Stefan. "Some Aspects of Anti-Semitism in Bulgaria, 1878–1912." Term paper, Indiana University, 1980.

Troebst, Stefan. "Some Observations on Hungary's Academic Relations with the Third Reich." Term paper, Indiana University, 1981.

Troebst, Stefan. "Sonderweg zur Geschichtsregion. Die Teildisziplin Osteuropäische Geschichte." *Osteuropa* 63, nos 2–3 (2013): 55–80.

Troebst, Stefan. "Speichermedium der Konflikterinnerung. Zur osteuropäischen Prägung des modernen Völkerrechts." *Zeitschrift für Ostmitteleuropa-Forschung* 61, no. 3 (2012): 404–31.

Troebst, Stefan. "Starting ECMI." *European Centre for Minority Issues: Annual Report 2006. Ten Years ECMI 1996–2006.* 17–19. Flensburg: ECMI, 2007.

Troebst, Stefan. "Südosteuropäische Geschichte als gesonderte Disziplin: Mathias Bernath in Berlin und München." *Südosteuropäische* 1, no. 2 (2012): 19–23.

Troebst, Stefan. "The Nordic Connection: Klaus Zernack, Uppsala und die schwedische Geschichtswissenschaft." In *Album amicorum. Klaus Zernack zum 80. Geburtstag am 14. Juni 2011,* edited by Michael Müller and Martin Schulze Wessel, 149–58. Halle–Leipzig: Privatdruck, 2011.

Troebst, Stefan. *The Other Lung – Europe's Eastern Half. Collected Essays.* Leipzig Studies on the History and Culture of East-Central Europe 7. Budapest–New York: Central European University Press, forthcoming.

Troebst, Stefan. *West-östliche Europastudien. Rechtskultur, Kulturgeschichte, Geschichtspolitik* [West-Eastern European Studies. Legal Culture, Cultural History, Politics of History]. Transnationalisierung und Regionalisierung vom 18. Jahrhundert bis zur Gegenwart 7. Leipzig: Leipziger Universitätsverlag, 2015.

Troebst, Stefan. *Zwischen Arktis, Adria und Armenien. Das östliche Europa und seine Ränder. Aufsätze, Essays und Vorträge 1983–2016*. Forschungen zur Geschichte und Kultur des östlichen Mitteleuropa 53. Cologne–Vienna–Weimar: Böhlau, 2017. https://doi.org/10.7788/9783412508401

Trültzsch, Arno. *Sozialismus und Blockfreiheit. Der Beitrag Jugoslawiens zum Völkerrecht 1948–1980/91.* Moderne europäische Geschichte 20. Göttingen: Wallstein, 2021. https://doi.org/10.5771/9783835346307

Verdery, Katherine. *My Life as a Spy. Investigations in a Secret Police File*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2018. https://doi.org/10.1215/9780822371908

Verdery, Katherine. *Secrets and Truths. Ethnography in the Archive of Romania's Secret Police*. Budapest–New York: Central European University Press, 2014. https://doi.org/10.1515/9789633860519

Zernack, Klaus. "Dominium Mercaturae Ruthenicae. Neues über Schwedens Ostseevormacht im 17. Jahrhundert." In *Mare Nostrum – Mare Balticum. Commentationes in honorem Professori Matti Klinge*, edited by Paul Raudsepp, 129–37. Helsinki: OY Raud Publishing, 2000.

Historical Studies on Central Europe 3, no. 1 (2023): 197–212
doi.org/10.47074/HSCE.2023-1.10

HSCE | Historical Studies on Central Europe

Towards a New—and Broader—History of Hungary's Troubled Peacemaking

A Research Report on the Trianon 100 Research Group

Balázs Ablonczy

Institute of History, Research Centre for the Humanities, 4 Tóth Kálmán utca, 1097 Budapest; Department of Cultural History, Faculty of Humanities, Eötvös Loránd University, 6–8 Múzeum körút, 1088 Budapest, Hungary; ablonczy.balazs@abtk.hu

Gergely Romsics

Institute of History, Research Centre for the Humanities, 4 Tóth Kálmán utca, 1097 Budapest; Department of Modern and Contemporary World History, Faculty of Humanities, Eötvös Loránd University, 6–8 Múzeum körút, 1088 Budapest, Hungary; romsics.gergely@abtk.hu

Abstract. This research report presents the endeavors and findings of the Trianon 100 Research Group, which was founded with the support of the *Lendület* [Momentum] program of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. Based on a survey of over a dozen volumes published by the group and another ten collaborative volumes, as well as numerous essays and articles, the report argues for the possibility of using newer instruments in the historian's toolbox to tackle controversial issues in modern history from new perspectives. The Trianon 100 Research Group focused in particular on the history of mentalities, the interactions among bodies and individuals at different levels of societal organisation (local/regional/national/imperial), and an array of under-researched areas, such as the history of population movements after 1918. The essential aim was to suggest that it might be possible to (re-)write the history of post-World War I peacemaking from a less Westphalian perspective, informed in particular by historical political sociology and social history.

Keywords: Trianon, Momentum grant, World War I aftermath, population movements, border change, history, and public remembrance

Introduction

What would constitute a methodologically and topically relevant historical investigation of a Central European problem that has been discussed all too often from various high politics perspectives inflected by national bias? Is it even possible to discuss a divisive moment in modern history through novel approaches and thereby move beyond some of the unproductive controversies that have often plagued the

non-dialogues between national historiographies in the region? Revisiting the question of the Trianon peace treaty certainly constitutes such a moment and offers a good case study with which to test some of the more recent additions to the historian's toolbox, holding out the promise of untangling the multiple stories around the impossibly complex referent object of 'Trianon'. From the perspective of Hungarian historiography, it is difficult not to approach these questions with the desire to reestablish a 'moral order of the past' by retelling the story or stories of the peace.[1] Conversely, non-Hungarian historical research in the East Central European region has often focused on establishing the justice of the peace and highlighting the dangers of seeking to portray it as fundamentally flawed or immoral.[2]

While discussions of the relationship between the past and the present (in this case, between the Versailles peace system and the current state of Europe or its post-Habsburg regions) are both useful and natural within the broader societal discussions about ethnicity, nationhood, and statehood in the twenty-first century, the research project introduced in the following pages proceeded on the assumption that an academic engagement with an important and controversial moment in history should focus on how novel methods and approaches can add new colors to the 'Trianon tapestry'. This exercise in rethinking and reappraisal would, hopefully, result in a more nuanced and multidimensional understanding of this multi-layered 'node' of history and memory. This in turn could help fulfill the calling of historiography to act as a critical corrective to collective memory, which according to Jacques Le Goff is always already entangled in the operations of political power.[3] To accomplish this, academic history that seeks to contextualize the past as past would first explore how a transformation came about and what this transformation caused to happen in its own time period, distancing itself from present-day attempts to instrumentalize history.

In keeping with the aforementioned goals, the Trianon 100 research program (which is part of the Momentum grant program launched by the Hungarian Academy of Sciences), has sought to broaden the scope of investigations about the peace treaty and its contexts while also endeavoring to add to the existing corpus of printed sources through the publication of a multi-volume series of archival documents. With regard to 'broadening' the research agenda, the emphasis fell on the entanglements among socioeconomic histories of smaller units (families, enterprises, subregions, etc.) and 'high politics', yielding multiple volumes on hitherto under-researched areas of 'Trianon history'. These volumes—monographs and conference proceedings—are situated at the meeting point of what could be called historical political sociology and social history, with some contributions perhaps

1 Szarka, "Párhuzamos jelenségek," 470–72.

2 Holec, "Čo majú spoločné Maďari s Japoncami"; Puşcaş, and Sava, eds. *Trianon, Trianon!*

3 Le Goff, *History and Memory*, 84 and 213–15.

leaning more towards one pole, but nevertheless sustaining a dialogue between the branches of research in each case. As far as the goal of making new information available is concerned, the project has sought to facilitate the publication of a series of digests from national archives that offer focused, topical, but also extensive documentary reconstructions of thought processes in governmental elites about peacemaking in East Central Europe in the wake of World War I. Together with numerous public engagements to help disseminate research findings, the research has generated thirteen volumes (including five monographs), as well as ten co-sponsored additional books and over a hundred published papers. Project members gave well over a hundred public talks targeting a broader public and numerous interviews and quotes were published in the Hungarian and international press, signaling our collective commitment to promoting nuanced, up-to-date assessments of history in the public domain. The first phase of the research ran from 2016 to 2020, with a follow-up phase to facilitate the dissemination of findings continuing until June 2024, at which time the project will be definitively closed.

The outlines of the research project

The Trianon 100 Research Group is part of the Momentum *(Lendület)* initiative launched by the Hungarian Academy of Sciences in 2009 at the behest of President of the Academy at the time, József Pálinkás. The stated aim of the program was to provide incentives to young and mid-career researchers to conduct research in the country by offering a stable source of funding for their work. The Trianon 100 Research Group's participation in the competition and its selection as one of the eleven winners out of almost one hundred applicants in 2016 represented an extraordinary responsibility, because it was the first funded project in the history the Momentum program focusing specifically on twentieth-century history. As such, it would be expected to pave the way for further contemporary historical research.

The Trianon 100 Research Group originally proposed a five-year research plan structured around four main pillars. These included

- reconstructing the international context through publications of archival documents and promoting novel analyses of these fairly well researched aspects;
- expanding on previous, often anecdotal knowledge about the post-World War collapse and its effects on Hungarian society;
- studying the gradual consolidation of the peace system in the Central European context, while moving beyond diplomatic and political history and shifting the focus of inquiry to regions, societal groups, and other under-researched subjects;
- and contributing to the study of the mnemonic practices surrounding 'Trianon' in (contemporary) Hungarian society.

The Momentum grant provided a sum of approximately 80,000 euros per year, subject to some fluctuations for the first five years, and it was halved for the follow-up period. About half of the expenses was related to employment, with the other half was available to fund research, conferences, and publications.

The original commitments of the project included establishing a firmer empirical basis for historical thinking about Trianon. In addition to the publication of archival sources, this included a multi-tier representative survey on attitudes to Trianon in contemporary Hungarian society, a database of Trianon memorials, as well as the reconstruction (inevitably incomplete) of population movements related to the peace treaty, which is a large but understudied field in which basic empirical data were often missing or dating from the 1920s.[4]

In addition to data collection, the historiographical turn towards the social contexts of the peace treaty was to be highlighted through extensive engagement with individuals, families, and enterprises, as well as cultural, ethnic, and other associations and groups impacted (and often catalysed) by the Trianon peace treaty. This focus implied the 'thickening' of numerous familiar concepts: borders were to be investigated as places of social exchange and political contestation rather than as geographical lines agreed on by diplomats.[5] Cities and townships were removed from the binary logic of being 'lost' or 'retained' and appeared instead as fragile and often fractured zones of interactions where ethnicity, social and economic status, and livelihoods were being renegotiated amidst dilemmas of staying or leaving. Altogether, the promise of the Trianon 100 undertaking was to provide solid empirical underpinning for a somewhat post-Westphalian rethinking of the peace system, where competing sovereignties and their claims and concerns would not render lives and mentalities unrecognizable or even invisible to the historian's inquisitive gaze.

Research outcomes

The first pillar contains an impressive series of publications on the history of diplomacy and international politics in general. The focus of this series fell on the roles played by the victorious powers (Italy, Japan, and the United States) that had not been studied. This, of course, involved making the various records concerning these powers as accessible as the French, British, and even German records.[6] Additionally, neighboring countries (Romania, Czechoslovakia, and the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes) played a crucial role in the peace preparations and at the peace

4 Szűts, "Flüchtlingsfrage und Staatsbürgerschaft," 32–35 and 42–48.

5 Egry, "Unruly Borderlands," 721–24.

6 Juhász, ed., *Trianon és az olasz diplomácia*; Glant, ed., *Az Egyesült Államok útja Trianonhoz*.

conference. They did so through their diplomats but also through their actions in the territories of the former Kingdom of Hungary. Sources concerning the interactions between local army officers and bureaucrats on the one hand and their central governments in Prague, Bucharest, or Belgrade on the other, as well as the diplomats dispatched to Paris and other European cities, in part had not been made accessible in published form and therefore have not become integrated into much of the ongoing research on Trianon, a lacuna at least partially filled with the publication of three collections of selected documents.[7]

To mend this empirical gap efficiently, the form of these publications was kept as classic as possible: indexed selections of documents with a rich apparatus and a voluminous introductory study help the reader come to terms with the multiple rationalities and interlocking aims that influenced the major and minor powers. The published sources also included memoirs and Peace Delegation diaries that had not yet been published on the functioning of the Hungarian Peace Delegation, and they introduce the mentalities and attitudes underpinning the geographical-historical argumentation presented at the peace conference.[8] The documents relating to the often overlooked Japanese participation in Paris rounded out this series.[9] It should be remembered that Tokyo was acknowledged as a major power at the peace conference, and Japanese representatives were present on all the border demarcation committees. The lack of published sources about their participation could finally be overcome at least in part due to the work of the editors of this volume. With these volumes, together with the selected French and British documents available in print for some time, we have an almost complete corpus for a reconstruction of the circumstances of the genesis of the Hungarian peace treaty.[10]

Within the second pillar, research continued along the lines of social history and the history of mentalities. The focus of the research fell on the domestic efforts of the Hungarian state in 1918–1921 to alleviate the socioeconomic collapse of the country, as well as the interactions between society and the authorities embedded in it. These investigations encompassed the postwar economic depression, the social consequences of the peace, and the refugee crisis in Hungary, as well as the role of the armed forces and of paramilitary violence and the place of the Soviet Republic in Hungary in the history of peacemaking.

What was perhaps the single most important contribution in this area concerned the mapping of the complex integration process of refugees from formerly

7 Simon, ed., *Csehszlovák iratok*; L. Balogh, ed., *Románia és az erdélyi kérdés*; Hornyák, ed., *Szerb iratok*.

8 Zeidler, ed., *A magyar békeküldöttség naplója*.

9 Umemura and Wintermantel, eds, *Trianon és a japán diplomácia*.

10 Ádám et al., eds, *Documents diplomatiques français*; Lojkó, ed., *British Policy on Hungary*.

Hungarian lands. The goal here was simple enough. We sought to move beyond the existing (scarce) secondary literature and include a much broader scope of archival and statistical sources to discuss this neglected issue. People who chose to leave did so for different reasons, and while it has been well-known that the eventual arrival of such groups impacted almost all aspects of social life, information about the nature of this impact had also remained scarce. The project contributed not only to a recalculation of the numbers of people arriving to post-Trianon Hungary, but, almost as importantly, it investigated the circumstances of their relocation. This included rural populations and intellectuals alike, who followed shifting opportunity structures and sought to escape not so much direct persecution as the elimination of the socioeconomic conditions that had permitted them to earn their livelihoods before the end of the Great War.[11]

Similarly, it had been common knowledge for decades that the roles and functions of (para)militaries, defense, and violence in the transitional period represent an important yet poorly understood aspect of post-World War Hungary. The monograph by Tamás Révész constitutes a significant achievement in this area. Révész discusses army organisation, defense policy, and disarmament and mobilisation drawing on a broad array of source materials. His work shifts the focus of traditional questions about the continuation of wars towards an understanding of the social processes underlying the efforts to resist. The book highlights the faulty logic behind the dated dualist perspective, which drew a distinction between a 'proletarian and internationalist Red Army' and a counterrevolutionary 'national army with patriotic intentions'. Révész offers a multifaceted reconstruction of the efforts of the Károlyi government to organise a new army as early as the turn of 1918/1919. These attempts at army organisation by the government of the 1918 revolutionary progressives failed not only due to the government's stubborn pacifism and rapid shifts in the prospective function of the armed forces to be raised, but also because the segments of the population not affected by the offensives led by the successor states refused to participate in the half-hearted mobilisation attempt. In contrast, the proletarian dictatorship was successful in this regard, because it relied initially on disciplined social democratic trade unions. Simultaneously, it was able to integrate the various popular and middle-class militias that had been pushed back by the successor state forces from the north and the east. By regrouping them into armies, it created a relatively large armed force that was also relatively cohesive, at least at the unit level, and motivated to regain territories. In sum, the failure of 1918/1919 and the relative successes in the late spring of 1919 in terms of mobilisation had little to do with government ideology more with locating cohesive and/

11 Ablonczy, ed., Úton. For an English language state of that art on the question cf. Ablonczy, "»It is an Unpatritoric Act to Flee«."

or motivated segments of society and committing them unambiguously to the fight against the armies of the neighboring states.[12]

Underpinning the crisis management by weak governments and war-weary social groups were the economic collapse if the country, the fuel needs of large cities, food rationing, price regulation, and interrupted commodity flows. These crises often determined the balance of power in the national political arena. We understand today that the stabilisation of the counterrevolutionary regime after the autumn of 1919 was made possible by the fact that it found more effective solutions in this area than the Soviet Republic or the Károlyi government had done and thus gained considerable social support. This was also one of the conclusions of the volume *From War to Peace: Hungarian Society after 1918*, edited by Zsombor Bódy and containing contributions by eminent experts on the subject.[13] Péter Nagy's pioneering study dealt for instance with the state organisation of coal supply: coal, despite being an overwhelmingly important issue, had received little attention in the secondary literature in Hungary, though historians have known for some time that the history of World War I and the subsequent peace treaties could be written as a chronicle of social and political struggles for coal.[14] We are just beginning to understand how major regional events from the 1918 supply crisis in the hinterland, the surrender of the Mackensen army retreating from Romania, and the signing of the peace treaty, to the Upper Silesian referenda, are linked to the most important energy source of the era, yet research on the importance of this raw material to social and political processes in postwar Hungary is still in its infancy.

This pillar also included research on population movements. Published studies of the research group eventually mapped state mechanisms of refugee management and the ideologies of refugee groups.[15] Fifteen thousand names of refugees were made available on our website (trianon100.hu). This list was the 'by-product' of a book by documentary filmmaker István Dékány entitled *Orphans of Trianon*.[16] It was revised (eliminating multiple mentions, etc.) and the relevant geographical names were disambiguated, checked, and entered into the database. Following the publication of the website, 50,000 individual visits were recorded in three days, and a flood of letters also started to arrive containing further clarifications, family memories,

12 Révész, *Nem akartak katonát látni*.

13 Bódy, ed., *Háborúból a békébe*. For an English language review of major themes by the editor, cf. Bódy, "A World Lifted off its Hinges."

14 Nagy, "Harc a szénhiány ellen."

15 Ablonczy, "»Maradtunk volna ott, ahonnan jöttünk«"; also: Szűts, "Flüchtlingsfrage und Staatsbürgerschaft."

16 Dékány, *Trianoni árvák*. The database is available at *Menekültek*: http://trianon100.hu/menekultek, accessed on 16 July 2023.

and even, in some cases, scanned family diaries. The culmination of this aspect of the research was the conference *On the Road – Refugees, Mobility and Integration in Central Europe and Hungary after World War I*, which was held in November 2018 at the Research Centre for the Humanities of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences (MTA). The conference opened with a presentation by Peter Gatrell, Professor at the University of Manchester and a renowned authority on refugee history. The conference volume contains most of the papers that were held and represents a considerable advance over earlier accounts.[17]

The third pillar of the research was organised around a comparative study of the Central European region. The Hungarian peace treaty is impossible to understand without knowledge of the events in the wider region. Here, the research team's interests coalesced around three distinct issues. Between 1918 and 1924, more than a dozen short-lived states were created at least partly in the territory of what had been historical Hungary. Several more similar formations arose in the wider Central European space, mainly in the former Russian Empire. In the former territory of the Kingdom of Hungary, these 'transient polities' included the Székely, Banat, Eastern Slovakian, Spiš, Kalotaszeg, and Vendian republics. The existing secondary literature contained scant mentions of these polities at best, and it did not engage with any of the fundamental questions that arise, such as what were the common features of these experiments, what determined their respective fates, and what kinds of ideological profiles (ranging from Wilsonianism to proto-fascism) did they have? We also knew little about the motivations of the local elites who chose to throw in their lot with these quasi-states, even if only for a short period of time. The emerging image permits a better understanding of how local and regional identities shift and become linked with different national identities (themselves subject to change), and it also highlights the interplay of ideational and material factors that impact such shifts.[18] Ultimately, simplistic explanations and generalisations are bound to turn out to be false in this setting, given the different options that people from different walks of life and different political commitments had available to them. In this field, the research group collaborated with the Central European Research Institute of the Eötvös József Research Centre at the National University of Public Service. In February 2020, a joint conference of the two research teams was held, with, once more, an edited volume making accessible the most important research findings and new insights.[19]

17 Ablonczy, ed., *Úton*.

18 In this regard, Balázs Ablonczy's twin study on Székely networks and their (re)definitions of group identities in "exile" provides both theoretical insights and empirical examples. Ablonczy, "Székely identitásépítés"; Ablonczy, "»Székely fiúk«."

19 Szeghy-Gayer and Zahorán, eds, *Kérészállamok*.

The local and regional dimensions of post-imperial transitions were also explored within the framework of the research project. Given the importance, in this context, of context-specific situations and collective or individual life choices, these aspects were best explored through case studies which at times bordered on microhistory. The takeover of public administration and the effects of this takeover on personnel, the transformation of space (political, cultural, and economic), and the overhaul of large public systems such as education were all taking place simultaneously in this setting. What were the dominant patterns and strategies adopted by the new powers, and what strategies were used by minority elites (and other social classes) to get by? Research on the transfer of power and sovereignty shifts in Kosice (Kassa, Kaschau), Bardejov (Bártfa, Bártfeld), and Satu Mare (Szatmárnémeti) represented municipality-level studies permitting in-depth reconstructions.[20] These initial studies were complemented later by more focused analyses of various aspects related to the transfer of power.[21] Last but not least, a historiographical 'comparing of notes' also took place on 29–31 October, 2020, as our research group organised a three-day international conference in Budapest with the ERC-funded Nepostrans project. The conference, which was held online and live simultaneously due to the ongoing pandemic, focused on these processes and the interrelationship between these processes and the much more frequently discussed 'high politics'.

In the context of studying the processes and effects of the transfer of power it became evident that a larger project extending these investigations into rural areas and larger communities in small villages would not be feasible at this time. Important work in this regard was initiated in Cluj at Babes-Bolyai University by Judit Pál,[22] but the research group has not had the resources, both human and material, to replicate such research across a sample of several areas lost to Hungary in 1918–1920. Important contributions to studies on borderlands, however, could provide a partial corrective to this absence of any mapping of the postwar situation beyond the world of cities and townships. The research group published two monographs on life in Western Hungary, including life on both sides of the new border between post-Trianon Hungary and Austria, a subject already discussed in the context of population movements and individual adaptation strategies. These studies, by Péter Bencsik and Viola Murber, explored the processes of adapting to border shifts. These processes tended to reveal both the resilience of populations and the pliancy of local life in developing strategies for survival and even prosperity. Importantly, in these studies, borders are shown to be much more than boundaries: the legal and illicit

20 Simon, "Kassa három megszállása"; Szeghy-Gayer, "Államfordulat és az újrastrukturálódó elit"; Sárándi, "Konszolidáció után konszolidáció."

21 Simon, *Az átmenet bizonytalansága*; Hornyák, "Marko Protić szerb ortodox esperes emlékei."

22 Pál, "Főispánok és prefektusok 1918–1919-ben."

movement of persons and goods is a constant and contributed significantly to (re) shaping life in Western Hungary/Eastern Austria.[23]

The last monograph in the third pillar was authored by Máté Rigó and provides welcome insight into strategies used by business elites after 1918. Rigó reveals that, despite the obvious difficulties, many enterprises in Transylvania adapted to the changes and preserved the societal status and affluence of at least part of the old capitalist segment of the society. The book also documents, however, how incremental changes prepared the way for a longer term, thorough reconfiguration of elite positions and the social structure. Rigó argues for a nuanced interpretation, which discredits both the stories about a complete and immediate 'changing of the guard' and the narratives concerning the alleged persistence of prewar networks of power.[24]

The fourth and final pillar concerns the place of the Trianon mnemonic complex in Hungarian public memory. It represents perhaps the most methodologically diverse tranche of the four main research directions. Memory studies bring together literary scholars, anthropologists, sociologists, geographers, art historians, and historians, and our research has been no exception. The fundamental aim has been to explore the roles of Trianon remembrance and revisionist ideology in the development of Hungarian foreign policy thinking, historiography, public art/space, and also fiction and memory politics, complemented by a limited, text-based survey of parallel and antagonistic mnemonic practices in the neighboring countries. A September 2018 workshop with Slovak, Romanian, and Serbian historians aimed to investigate how historiographical and public debates about the past impact each other and render analysis difficult. Insights from participants, including discussions about divergent perspectives and shared concerns about how history can be discussed in the public space, were published as an edited collection of papers in one of the leading Hungarian historical reviews.[25]

In addition to trans-border conversations, this research pillar also included discussion of public representations of Trianon and the preparation of a registry of memorials.[26] The analysis was complemented by a 1000+ respondent public opinion survey and two specific qualitative focus group studies on the Hungarian population's and history teachers' perceptions of Trianon. The latter surveys were launched in partnership with the Research Institute for National Strategy, and they included an unprecedentedly large survey sample of Hungarian history teachers' knowledges and attitudes towards knowledge transfer on the subject.[27]

23 Murber, *Nyugat-Magyarországtól Burgenlandig*; Bencsik, *Demarkációs vonaltól államhatárig*.

24 Rigó, *Capitalism in Chaos*.

25 Romsics and Zahorán, "Útkereső történészek."

26 *Emlékművek*. https://trianon100.hu/emlekmuvek, accessed on 16 July 2023.

27 Ablonczy, Bali, and Ress, eds, "Az első világháborút lezáró békeszerződések." Electronic

The opinion poll concerning attitudes towards Trianon predictably drew considerable attention on publication. Its lead researcher, Balázs Bazsalya, documented and analysed the curious, overlapping character of beliefs concerning Trianon in Hungarian society. Most of the respondents, rather than committing to a single, watertight memory-*Gestalt* about the peace treaty and its consequences, tended to shy away from unbridled revisionism just as much as from attributing the loss of former territories the inexorable laws of history and nationalism. Instead, they tended to have middle-of-the-road attitudes, considering Trianon a loss and a tragedy, but not one that would determine attitudes to neighbours and the world at large. Responsibility tended to be distributed in the public eye, rather than attributable to a single actor or group. Overall, the survey suggested that most people in Hungarian society are slowly progressing through a belated processing of the peace, working towards memorialisation but also towards compartmentalizing the transgenerational trauma.[28]

Conclusion

The overall findings of the research conducted within the fourth pillar were rather more ambiguous and pointed towards the overarching problems facing the whole project. Given the social and commercial (over)production of history-related content, the instrumentalisation of the past, the resilience of ahistorical narratives, and a colorful boom of Trianon memorials and memorabilia in Hungary, academic surveys such as the ones attempted by the research group can only identify and gauge challenges in the quest to master history, rather than accomplish this difficult task. This remains the case despite the considerable publishing successes of the group, including Balázs Ablonczy's *Trianon Unknown*, a presentation of alternative perspectives informing the collective research process, which is geared towards a broader readership.[29] The work of our research group, dozens of interviews and quotes and over a hundred public lectures notwithstanding, was accordingly focused not on changing perceptions of the Trianon-complex in society, but on exploring where historical analysis is still lacking or can be enhanced by additional research.

---

version available at: http://trianon100.hu/attachment/0003/2321_az_elso_vilaghaborut_lezaro_bekeszerzodesek_mai_megitelese_magyarorszagi_kozepiskolakban_kutatasi_jelentes_nski_2020.pdf, accessed on 16 July 2023.

28 Bazsalya, "Trianon a hazai közvélemény szemében." Electronic version available at http://trianon100.hu/attachment/0003/2255_trianon_lakossagi_survey_elemzes_final_honlapra.pdf, accessed on 16 July 2023.

29 Ablonczy, *Ismeretlen Trianon*.

While two major monographs associated with the project are still forthcoming (one on Hungarian foreign policy thinking and one on a comparative historiographical study including Hungary, Slovakia, and Romania) and are due before its termination next year, it is already very clear that the subject matter of Trianon—in the broad sense as used throughout this report—was ripe for reconsideration. This was accomplished in this research project in light of the historiographical shifts of emphasis and the methodological innovations which, over roughly the past two decades, have transformed how the modern history of East Central Europe is researched, viewed, and interpreted. In practice, this has meant a turn towards the study of mentalities and local/regional life worlds in the context of broader historical processes, as well as the unearthing under-researched socioeconomic dimensions of era-defining political processes. A multilingual, multicultural burgher of a township in Northern Hungary, a peasant or aristocratic matriarch whose life is changed forever by a new border, a distinctly 'post-imperial' diplomat reflecting on which arguments remain relevant in the normative upheaval of post-Great War politics, and even a historian looking back on events which took place a century ago from the vantage point of an academic establishment of a small successor state to the Austro–Hungarian Monarchy all represent potential protagonists of stories that can be told and were in fact told by the Trianon 100 Research Group. And when the perspective of newer cultural history and historical sociology was abandoned in favour of broader 'macrohistorical' perspectives, such as the importance of raw materials and their consumption, infrastructure and its users, population shifts, and even force and armed violence, the emphasis on avoiding the all too familiar 'country narrative', with an almost personified, unitary state-actor emerging as the protagonist of history, remained palpable throughout. Along with colleagues in the country and in the broader Central European region, we consistently felt that we were working towards a 'sustainable', non-reductionist, multilingual and multiperspectival idea of historical research that sheds new light on subject material many had thought to have been discussed to death.

Sources

Emlékművek [Trianon Memorial Database] available at https://trianon100.hu/emlekmuvek, accessed on 16 July 2023.

Menekültek [Refugee Database] available at http://trianon100.hu/menekultek, accessed on 16 July 2023.

Literature

Ablonczy, Balázs, ed. *Úton: Menekülés, mobilitás, integráció Közép-Európában és Magyarországon az első világháború után* [On the Road: Flight, Mobility, Integration in Central Europe and Hungary after World War I]. Budapest: Bölcsészettudományi Kutatóközpont Történettudományi Intézet, 2020.

Ablonczy, Balázs, János Bali, and Boglárka Ress, eds. "Az első világháborút lezáró békeszerződések mai megítélése magyarországi középiskolákban" [Assessments of the Peace Treaties after World War I in Hungarian Secondary Schools in the Present Day]. Research Report. Budapest: Nemzetstratégiai Kutatóintézet, 2020. Available at: http://trianon100.hu/attachment/0003/2321_az_elso_vilaghaborut_lezaro_bekeszerzodesek_mai_megitelese_magyarorszagi_kozepiskolakban_kutatasi_jelentes_nski_2020.pdf, accessed on 16 July 2023.

Ablonczy, Balázs. "»It is an Unpatriotic Act to Flee«: The Refugee Experience after the Treaty of Trianon Between State Practices and Neglect." *The Hungarian Historical Review* 9, no. 1 (2020): 69–89.

Ablonczy, Balázs. "»Maradtunk volna ott, ahonnan jöttünk!« Magyar menekültpolitikák 1918 és 1924 között" [We Should Have Stayed Where We Came From: Hungarian Refugee Policy between 1918 and 1924]. In *Metszéspont: Tanulmányok Trianon 100. évfordulóján* [Intersection: Studies on the 100th Anniversary of the Trianon Peace Treaty], edited by Tünde Császztvay, 37–51. Budapest: Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, 2021.

Ablonczy, Balázs. "Székely identitásépítés Magyarországon a két világháború között" [Szekler Identity Construction in Interwar Hungary]. In *Székelyföld és a Nagy Háború: Tanulmánykötet az első világháború centenáriuma alkalmából* [Szeklerland and the Great War: Studies on the Centennial Anniversary of World War I], edited by Zsolt Orbán, 467–85. Csíkszereda: Csíkszereda Kiadóhivatal, 2018.

Ablonczy, Balázs. *Ismeretlen Trianon: Az összeomlás és a békeszerződés történetei, 1918–1921* [Trianon Unknown: Stories of Collapse and Peacemaking, 1918–1921]. Budapest: Jaffa, 2020.

Ablonczy, Balázs: "»Székely fiúk«: Az Erdély-kultusz magyarországi hálózata, 1920–1970" ["Szekler Boys": The Hungarian Network Behind the Cult of Transylvania, 1920–1970], In *Értelmiségi karriertörténetek, kapcsolathálók, írócsoportosulások IV.* [Intellectual Careers, Networks, Literati Communities IV], edited by László Boka and Annamária Biró, 213–36. Nagyvárad–Budapest: reciti–Partium, 2021.

Ádám, Magda et al., eds. *Documents diplomatiques français sur l'histoire du bassin des Carpates 1918–1932.* Vols I–V. Budapest: Akadémiai, 1993–2010.

Bazsalya, Balázs. "Trianon a hazai közvélemény szemében" [Trianon in Hungarian Public Opinion]. Survey Report. Budapest: Trianon 100 Research Group, 2020. Available at http://trianon100.hu/attachment/0003/2255_trianon_lakossagi_survey_elemzes_final_honlapra.pdf, accessed on 16 July 2023.

Bencsik, Péter. *Demarkációs vonaltól államhatárig: A határ menti társadalom és konfliktusai az 1920-as években* [From Demarcation Line to State Border: Border Society and Its Conflicts in the 1920s]. Budapest: Bölcsészettudományi Kutatóközpont Történettudományi Intézet, 2022.

Bódy, Zsombor, ed. *Háborúból békébe: A magyar társadalom 1918 után* [From War to Peace: Hungarian Society after 1918]. Budapest: MTA Bölcsészettudományi Kutatóközpont Történettudományi Intézet, 2019.

Bódy, Zsombor. "A World Lifted off Its Hinges: The Social Impact of World War I on Hungary." *The Hungarian Historical Review* 11, no. 4 (2022): 702–32. https://doi.org/10.38145/2022.4.702

Dékány, István. *Trianoni árvák* [Orphans of Trianon]. Budapest, Noran Libro, 2018.

Egry, Gábor. "Unruly Borderlands: Border-making, Peripheralization and Layered Regionalism in post-First World War Maramureș and the Banat." *European Review of History / Revue européenne d'histoire* 27, no. 6 (2020): 709–31. https://doi.org/10.1080/13507486.2020.1747403

Glant, Tibor, ed. *Az Egyesült Államok útja Trianonhoz: Az Inquiry és Magyarország jövője, 1917–1918* [The United States on the Path to Trianon: The Inquiry and the Future of Hungary, 1917–1918]. Budapest: Bölcsészettudományi Kutatóközpont Történettudományi Intézet, 2020.

Holec, Roman. "Čo majú spoločné Maďari s Japoncami vo vzťahu k vlastným dejinám?" [What Do the Hungarians Have in Common with the Japanese in Relation to their Own History?]. In *Adepti moci a úspechu: Etablovanie elít v moderných dejinách*, edited by Jaroslava Roguľová and Maroš Hertel, 351–72. Bratislava: VEDA, 2016.

Hornyák, Árpád, ed. *Szerb iratok a trianoni békeszerződésről: Dokumentumok* [Serbian Papers on the Trianon Peace Treaty: Documents]. Budapest: Bölcsészettudományi Kutatóközpont Történettudományi Intézet, 2021.

Hornyák, Árpád. "Marko Protić szerb ortodox esperes emlékei az 1918. novemberi szabadkai impériumváltásról" [The Recollections about the Transfer of Power in Subotica in November 1918 by Marko Protić, a Serbian Orthodox Parish Priest]. In *Trianon arcai* [Faces of Trianon], edited by Gergely Kunt, Béni L. Balogh, and Anikó Schmidt, 300–14. Budapest: Libri, 2018.

Juhász, Balázs, ed. *Trianon és az olasz diplomácia: Dokumentumok a békeszerződés előkészítéséről 1919–1920* [Trianon and Italian Diplomacy: Documents on the Preparations towards the Peace Treaty 1919–1920]. Budapest: MTA Bölcsészettudományi Kutatóközpont Történettudományi Intézet, 2018.

L. Balogh, Béni, ed. *România és az erdélyi kérdés 1918–1920-ban: Dokumentumok* [Romania and the Transylvanian Question in 1918–1920: Documents]. Budapest: Bölcsészettudományi Kutatóközpont Történettudományi Intézet, 2020.

Le Goff, Jacques. *History and Memory*. New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 1992.

Lojkó, Miklós, ed. *British Policy on Hungary, 1918–1919: A Documentary Sourcebook*. London: SEESS, 1995.

Murber, Ibolya. *Nyugat-Magyarországtól Burgenlandig, 1918–1924: Határtörténetek az első világháború után* [From Western Hungary to Burgenland, 1918–1924: Border Stories in the Wake of World War I]. Budapest: Bölcsészettudományi Kutatóközpont Történettudományi Intézet, 2021.

Nagy, Péter. "Harc a szénhiány ellen. A szénkormánybiztosság működése Magyarországon, 1917–1924" [The Fight Against Coal Scarcity: The Operations of the Government Commissariat for Coal in Hungary 1917–1924]. In *Háborúból békébe: A magyar társadalom 1918 után* [From War to Peace: Hungarian Society after 1918], edited by Zsombor Bódy, 195–220. Budapest: MTA Bölcsészettudományi Kutatóközpont Történettudományi Intézet, 2019.

Pál, Judit. "Főispánok és prefektusok 1918–1919-ben: A közigazgatási átmenet kérdése Erdélyben" [Suppans and Prefects in 1918–1918: Transition in the Transylvanian Public Administration]. *Századok* 152, no. 6 (2018): 1179–214.

Puşcaş, Vasile and Ionel N. Sava, eds. *Trianon, Trianon! Un secol de mitologie politică revizionistă* [Trianon, Trianon! A Century of Revisionist Political Mythology]. Cluj-Napoca: Școala Ardeleană, 2020.

Révész, Tamás. *Nem akartak katonát látni? A magyar állam és hadserege 1918–1919-ben* [They Did Not Want to See Any Soldiers: The Hungarian State and Its Army in 1918–1919]. Budapest: MTA Bölcsészettudományi Kutatóközpont Történettudományi Intézet, 2019.

Rigó, Máté. *Capitalism in Chaos: How the Business Elites of Europe Prospered in the Era of the Great War*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2022. https://doi.org/10.7591/cornell/9781501764653.001.0001

Romsics, Gergely and Csaba Zahorán: "Útkereső történészek: Megjegyzések egy lezáratlan eszmecsere margójára" [Historians Lost: Remarks on the Sidelines of an Unfinished Dialogue]. *Történelmi Szemle* 61, no. 4 (2019): 777–88.

Sárándi, Tamás. "Konszolidáció után konszolidáció. Szatmárnémeti közigazgatásának változásai 1918–1924 között" [Consolidation after Consolidation: Public Administration Changes in Satu Mare from 1918 to 1924]. In *Trianon és a magyar közigazgatás* [Trianon and Hungarian Public Administration], edited by Béni L. Balogh, 69–86. Budapest: Magyar Kormánytisztviselői Kar – Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár, 2020.

Simon, Attila, ed. *Csehszlovák iratok a magyar–szlovák államhatár kijelöléséhez: 1918–1920* [Czechoslovak Documents on the Demarcation of the Hungarian–Slovakian State Border: 1918–1920]. Budapest: MTA Bölcsészettudományi Kutatóközpont Történettudományi Intézet, 2019.

Simon, Attila. "Kassa három megszállása: Párhuzamok és tanulságok" [The Three Occupations of Kosice: Parallels and Insights]. *Történelmi Szemle* 59, no. 4. (2017): 569–90.

Simon, Attila. *Az átmenet bizonytalansága: Az 1918/1919-es impériumváltás Pozsonytól Kassáig.* [The Uncertainty of Transition: Sovereignty Shifts from Bratislava to Kosice, 1918/19]. Budapest–Somorja: Fórum Kisebbségkutató Intézet – Bölcsészettudományi Kutatóközpont, 2021.

Szarka, László. "Párhuzamos jelenségek a magyar és szlovák történetírásban, köztörténetben" [Parallel Phenomena in Hungarian and Slovakian Historiography and Public History]. *Történelmi Szemle* 54, no. 3 (2012): 469–90.

Szeghy-Gayer, Veronika, and Csaba Zahorán, eds. *Kérészállamok: Átmeneti államalakulatok a történelmi Magyarország területén, 1918–1921* [Transient States: Short Term State Formation in the Territories of the Kingdom of Hungary, 1918–1921]. Budapest: Ludovika Egyetemi Kiadó, 2022s.

Szeghy-Gayer, Veronika. "Államfordulat és az újrastrukturálódó helyi elit Bártfán 1918 és 1924 között" [Sovereignty Transfer and the Restructuring of Local Elites in Bardejov between 1918 and 1924]. *Századok* 152, no. 6 (2018): 1215–36.

Szűts, István Gergely. "Flüchtlingsfrage und Staatsbürgerschaft in Ungarn nach dem Ersten Weltkrieg bis 1924." *Zeitschrift für Ostmitteleuropa Forschung* 70, no. 1 (2021): 31–54.

Umemura, Yuko and Péter Wintermantel, eds. *Trianon és a japán diplomácia: Magyar vonatkozású japán diplomáciai dokumentumok, 1914–1923* [Trianon and the Japanese Diplomacy: Japanese Diplomatic Documents on Hungary, 1914–1923]. Budapest: Bölcsészettudományi Kutatóközpont Történettudományi Intézet, 2021.

Zeidler, Miklós, ed. *A magyar békeküldöttség naplója: Neuilly – Versailles – Budapest* [The Diary of the Hungarian Peace Delegation: Neuilly – Versailles – Budapest]. Budapest: MTA Bölcsészettudományi Kutatóközpont Történettudományi Intézet, 2017.

Historical Studies on Central Europe 3, no. 1 (2023): 213–215
doi.org/10.47074/HSCE.2023-1.11

HSCE | Historical Studies on Central Europe

What is the Intellectual Heritage of Szűcs?

On the Apropos of His Newly Published Collected Works

The Historical Construction of National Consciousness. Selected Writings. By Jenő Szűcs. Edited by Gábor Klaniczay, Balázs Trencsényi and Gábor Gyáni. Budapest–Vienna–New York: Central European University Press, 2022. 354 pp.

Gábor Gyáni

Institute of History, Research Centre for the Humanities, 4 Tóth Kálmán Street, 1097 Budapest, Hungary; gyani.gabor@abtk.hu

Jenő Szűcs was a colleague of mine at the Institute of History of the Academy of Sciences for several years. As our research was concerned with very diverse historical periods, we hardly knew each other personally for a long time. More precisely, I was, of course, wholly familiar—even from my university student years—with Szűcs's interesting studies and books; not just those in which he dealt distinctively with the nation and nationalism but similarly with some of his other contributions about medieval urban history or other topics. Still, it took some time for us to come together. The special occasion for this was created by public discourse about Central European historical consciousness, a topic that attracted vital public interest in the eighties in contemporary Hungary. As is well-known, Szűcs was one of the few Hungarian historians who then elaborated cohesive and overall historical argumentation that supported and strengthened this concept in terms of the Middle Ages and the early Modern Period. Péter Hanák soon joined him in the process of conceptualizing the historical notion of Central Europe, thus they became the most outstanding spokesmen of the Central-European historical paradigm. The debates between them and the representatives of the rival historical concept, whose spokesmen argued for our belonging to East Europe from at least the sixteenth century onwards, surfaced in the 1980s, not too long before the shift of the political regime that occurred at the end of the decade both in Hungary and the whole region ruled by the Soviet Union. It was then that I published a reference study on the theme with the aim of recapitulating the entire controversy, and this was the event that finally brought us closer.

How can I describe and characterize Szűcs's main intellectual profile? The first thing worth mentioning is that he always tried to adapt many of the insights obtained from the school of conceptual history, especially those represented by the German *Begriffsgeschichte*. This happened in advance of the appearance of the seven-volume *Geschichtliche Grundbegriffe: Historisches Lexicon zur politisch-sozialen Sprache in Deutschland*; the German *Begriffsgeshichte* school was then in an embryonic state, producing only a few journal studies. Nevertheless, when revealing the genesis of the nation and nationality dating back to pre-Christian Hungarian ancient history and continuing by discussing the medieval era in that context, he successfully defined the particular trajectory of history by adapting the interpretative framework provided by conceptual history. This made him capable of transcending the conventional approach (the linear story of national history) and pointing to the fundamentally constructed nature of any nation, being born as a result of modern historical development. He thus could state that the 'nation' as it is understood now (which, however, did not exist in the pre-modern historical past) is called into existence when the 'nationality' (an old historical formulation) and the notion of 'society' (a similarly old one) that refers to a sovereign political community starts to be associated with 'political loyalty'. That is, to an entirely new entity within which these three categories are fused in a functional relationship.

When Szűcs was immersing himself in examining the various historical issues with a spectacular theoretical sophistication, we lived at a time, more precisely in the 1960s and 1970s, when a kind of Marxism was dictating the intellectual guidelines both in Hungary and everywhere else in that particular region of Europe. Jenő Szűcs thus elaborated a new, bold, and provocative vision of history that plainly differed from the conventional image of the past informed by the national paradigm because his approach was grounded on the use of the analytical toolkit of the conceptual history.

My second remark concerns his narrative style and rhetoric; the way he used language in his scholarly narratives. This also made him a little bit exceptional and perhaps even a deviant scholar, only because even his Hungarian language was difficult to comprehend. Moreover, Szűcs, who was long denied a place teaching at university, was uneasy about holding lectures and communicating with university students later on. The opportunity for this was given to him only in the last few years of his life. Szűcs, however, was not very satisfied with his university achievements and sometimes complained to me about them in the late 1980s. You can thus imagine how difficult it might have been to translate his Hungarian texts into English; the task actually caused much hardship for the late Tim Wilkinson, who translated most of the studies to be found in the present volume, and for the editors of the book, who managed and checked the translations prepared by Wilkinson. The many problems

concerning the quality of the English-language text that came from the rhetorical characteristics of the original Hungarian text also contributed to the drawn-out process of making available the recent collection of essays.

Finally, Jenő Szűcs, the 'medievalist' historian, belonged to that group of scholars who always maintained close contact with his own time; he thus was far from totally under the spell of the concrete historical past he so vigorously researched. Szűcs was, in fact, an iconic public intellectual personality in contemporary Hungary; someone who wanted and could even articulate through his clearly scholarly narratives and occasional public political gestures his demand and fervent wish for a truly democratic political culture to be established in Hungary. However, he found as a historian that Hungary's history was in need of a well-established liberal and democratic historical past, and this may also be considered true of the wider region around today's Hungary. Thus, any current efforts to create a Western-type socio-economic and political make-up in place of the Communist dictatorship in the coming years will be hard; maybe impossible. In one of his last political notes, made available after his death, Szűcs expressed his unambiguous doubt concerning the probable success of Hungary transcending its non-Western historical heritage. One may even suppose that such despair had a lot to do with his early death.

I am very glad to see that such a collection of Szűcs's best studies can now be read even in English and thus find its way to the broad community of international historians.

HSCE | Historical Studies on Central Europe

Historical Studies on Central Europe 23, no. 1 (2023): 216–219
doi.org/10.47074/HSCE.2023-1.12

Some Reflections on the Uses of the Construction of National Consciousness

The Historical Construction of National Consciousness. Selected Writings. By Jenő Szűcs. Edited by Gábor Klaniczay, Balázs Trencsényi and Gábor Gyáni. Budapest–Vienna–New York: Central European University Press, 2022. 354 pp.

Gabriella Erdélyi

Institute of History, Research Centre for the Humanities, 4 Tóth Kálmán Street, 1097 Budapest, Hungary; erdelyi.gabriella@abtk.hu

The present essay aims to testify to a significant moment in Hungarian historiography. We are launching a book that contains the selected writings on the historicity of national consciousness of Jenő Szűcs, who is unequivocally considered as one of the most significant historians of the Kádár-era between the 1960s and 1980s.

I first read Szűcs' writings on the subject as a student of a prestigious Budapest-based high school. In my history specialisation course, our teacher, who was also a lecturer at the Department of the Auxiliary Sciences of History at ELTE, tried to discourage us from studying history at university by making us read Szűcs's nationalism studies in the volume entitled "History and Nation". Obviously, her message was that we would be unable to understand such difficult texts. Thus, my present gesture of writing about these studies recently translated into English is a celebration of the ultimate failure of this pedagogical venture.

Szűcs's seven studies included in the volume are preceded by a well-written "Introduction" with an illuminating analysis of his career and works. The width of Szűcs's oeuvre needed a medievalist, as well as a nineteenth-century, and a twentieth-century historian as editors, who situate the issue of the cultural construction of national consciousness in Szűcs's works as a middle stage in the 1960s and 1970s, between his early writings on late medieval urban history in the fifties, and his research devoted to the last Árpáds in the eighties (intended as a chapter for the ten-volume history of Hungary). This went together with his rethinking of nationalism during his involvement in the political reform movement.

Szűcs's chapter entitled "The Three Historical Regions of Europe" seems to be

somewhat different from the rest of the volume. On the one hand, it is not a close thematic fit, as it is mainly concerned with medieval precedents of 'democracy' and 'civil society' rather than with national consciousness. On the other hand, the issue it addresses has never been endangered by undeserved oblivion, unlike the studies on national consciousness. The "Outline", as it was called in the original Hungarian version *("Vázlat Európa három történeti régiójáról"),* gained immediate international recognition for Szűcs, has undergone numerous reprints and has been published in several languages since its first publication in a samizdat volume in 1980, officially appearing in *Történelmi Szemle* in 1981, then in English in *Acta Historica* in 1983, and in French in 1985 prefaced by Braudel). In the present book, however, the English text is thoroughly re-edited. The editors argue that the re-publication provides an opportunity to give a more nuanced picture of the intellectual roots of Szűcs's interpretation of historical regions.

Consequently, it is worth starting to read the volume at the beginning because the "Introduction" locates the studies in the Kádár-era's political and historiographical context: it repeatedly reflects upon the apparent paradox that Szűcs's themes were deeply embedded in his time, yet he was very much 'ahead of his time.'

Szűcs took part in contemporary debates, including the debate on nationalism triggered by Erik Molnár, which formed part of the nationalist turn of the political establishment. However, unlike many of his contemporaries, Szűcs was a true historian, not led by ideologies (parting with Marxism very quickly), who checked all the sources and always tried to understand the actors in his sources. Whatever he examined, be it the barbaric ethnic consciousness of the conquering Hungarians, Simon of Kéza's invention of the Hunnish–Hungarian continuity in the *Gesta Hungarorum*, or the intellectual horizon of the Dózsa uprising (which are all part of the present volume), it invariably pointed in the direction that national consciousness is a cultural construction, tied to its time, therefore, in constant transformation. Labeled as the 'invented tradition' or 'imagined community,' only in the 1980s did this approach gain importance in the writings of Hobsbawm, Anderson, Gellner, and others, including Patrick J. Geary ("The Myth of Nations", 2001), the author of the blurb on the back cover of the present volume.

The "Introduction" also explains why the "Outline" immediately made Szűcs a household name in intellectual circles throughout Europe (to the extent that Milan Kundera and Czesław Miłosz are cited as parallels), and why, at the same time, his writings about medieval national consciousness had a very limited reception. The editors think that this is partly because the papers included in the present volume were slow to appear in German. It took as long as seven years for the book *History and Nation* to be published in German in 1981. Now we are curious to see how this volume will be received by historical scholarship nearly fifty years on.

There seem to be several reasons for optimism. For example, it appears that in the past ten years, one of the most frequently downloaded articles of the *Hungarian Historical Review* (which is the new series of *Acta Historica*) has been the "Outline", a highly tangible sign of its ongoing appeal. How do Szűcs's writings make an impact today, we may ask.

At this point, let me recall my second encounter with Szűcs's works, which happened in 2014, at the time of the 500-year anniversary of the Dózsa peasant revolt. At the Institute of History, I was placed in charge of organising a conference on the uprising and generally orchestrating its commemoration. Thus, in a sense, I found myself in the shoes of Szűcs forty years on, since in 1972, he together with Gábor Barta and Ferenc Szakály, had been asked to revisit the history of the revolt. The important difference is that in the seventies the occasion was an invented one since they had to commemorate the invented 500th anniversary of Dózsa's birth. The communist party obviously needed new revolutionary symbols.

Szűcs wrote three studies on the ideology of the peasant revolt, one of which is included in the present book. I remember how pleasantly surprised I was when reading them, although I was still haunted by my high school trauma. One could say he worked like a microhistorian. First, he tried to understand the actors' logic, starting from something strange that was going against his expectations: in this case, he tried to explain why and how the peasants turned against the nobles rather than the Turks. Second, he indulged in a transparent dialogue with the reader about the historian's work, questions, doubts, sources, and their gaps. Finally, he came to the unorthodox conclusion that it was Christian universalism, the search for spiritual salvation, rather than economic interests, that mobilized the peasants. And third, his greatest achievement was that by finding new sources and by doing brilliant microphilological analysis, he managed to identify the ideology brokers of the rebellion in the young 'opposition' of observant Franciscans excluded from the Order, who replaced the infidel Turks with the infidel nobles as the enemies of the holy army of the peasants fulfilling its divine mission.

In the course of our 2014 commemorations, Pál Ács posed a vitally important question: what made it possible for Szűcs to identify the young Franciscan friars in the role of the radical opposition? As a solution, he proposed the analogous situation and forms of behavior between the Franciscans and the intelligentsia inspired by the ideas of the 1968 generation. As Ács suggests, both were characterized by an 'ideological imbalance': the Franciscans' spiritual–apocalyptic ideology and language implied the possibility of both the inquisitor and the heretic and, therefore, required a constant struggle for balance, just as it was vital for the intellectuals of 1968. This brings us back to the initial dilemma posed at the beginning of my essay: why does Jenő Szűcs fascinate a generation of historians so much that fifty years on they still write

about him and republish his works in English? And how can all this be related to the common experience of the 1968 generation or the samizdat themes of the 1980s?

The following paradox may offer some explanation for these questions. A consensus prevails that Szűcs was a veritable historian. He was quick to dismiss Marxism and used an empirical, rather than an ideological, historical approach. That is why he was able to show the fragmentation and complexity of premodern national identity, which was very different from the monolithic national identity of the nineteenth century. But in fact, he became famous for what is highly ideological in his work: his analysis of the historical roots of a tripartite Europe as opposed to the dual model of Cold War Europe, which was a hot—partly ideological—topic in the 1980s. Thus, it is perhaps justified to suspect that this might also explain why the "Outline" is included in the present volume. In other words, could the reason be our innate need for ideologies?

HSCE | Historical Studies on Central Europe

Historical Studies on Central Europe 3, no. 1 (2023): 220–223
doi.org/10.47074/HSCE.2023-1.13

Theoretical Elements in Jenő Szűcs's Historical Scholarship

The Historical Construction of National Consciousness. Selected Writings. By Jenő Szűcs. Edited by Gábor Klaniczay, Balázs Trencsényi and Gábor Gyáni. Budapest–Vienna–New York: Central European University Press, 2022. 354 pp.

László Kontler
Central European University, 51 Quellenstrasse, 1100 Vienna, Austria; kontlerl@ceu.edu

This fine volume makes available seven classic studies—the title of one of which is paraphrased in that of this review—, most of them for the first time, in English, with an excellent editorial introduction and further helpful apparatus to contextualize the emblematic Hungarian historian's oeuvre. Most of the studies address (as the title says) the 'historical construction of national consciousness', much in the manner of classics—Hobsbawm, Gellner, Anderson—now defining the discourse about the subject, but written before their theoretical framework became available. Besides, the volume also includes a new translation of Szűcs's seminal contribution to the 'Central Europe' debate of the 1980s by way of a grandiose outline of the *longue durée* development of 'structures' in the three historical regions of Europe.

The question may arise why republish these writings for an international audience two generations after their original appearance. There is a narrow and a broad answer. The former is that the issues they address are as 'hot' in the Hungary of the 2020s, and perhaps more widely, as they were in the 1960s–1980s. Problems like conceptions of nationhood, closely related to the question of 'where we belong' on the Europe/Orient, East/West axis, are evidently with us, maybe more than ever, if one considers the kinds of topics and approaches encouraged and funded from the public purse in the network of new research institutes that have arisen in Hungary during the 2010s. However, the relevance of these texts goes beyond the substance of Szűcs's very complex answers that point to the ruptures and discontinuities between premodern and modern forms of group consciousness, their constructed (non-intrinsic) character, and (in spite of all the ambivalence and temporal fluctuation) the predominantly 'Western' tendency of structural development in Central Europe. The larger significance of the volume is that Szűcs's contributions on these subjects represent a model of the possibilities of honest and uncompromising historical

knowledge production to tackle such questions in subtle connection with the issue of 'presentism' in historical studies. As we know, history is not the past ('as it actually was', to invoke another, much earlier classic). It is the past speaking to the present and 'present' in it—but the historian engages it through contemplating and comprehending the 'pastness of the past', pointing to context, situatedness, and difference. Szűcs was uncompromising in insisting on this pastness, applying the highest standards of historical scholarship, combating anachronism and the imposition of the standards and the discourse of the present in discussing historical subjects. He was impeccably honest in his aspiration to address questions of intense contemporary public concern by a strictly academic approach, while putting forward ideas that were inevitably caught up in the public discussion. His work is thus marked by an effortless sense of relevance: his academic texts resonated in the present without a special striving on his part to this effect.

This was partly thanks to his endeavor and ability to combine meticulous, hands-on, source-based historical reconstruction with vastly ambitious generalisation, large-scale interpretation, and framework-building. Such is the case not only in the work with 'outline' in its original title ("The Three Historical Regions of Europe"), and the one introduced with the phrase "In this outline…" ("»Gentilism«: The Question of Barbarian Ethnic Consciousness"), but elsewhere, too. The very first study in the volume, "»Nationality« and »National Consciousness« in the Middle Ages: Towards the Development of a Common Conceptual Language", begins "with a purely conceptual analysis and the historical research follows in a separate part … because reconstruction of the medieval phenomenological world does not *in itself* offer a sufficiently robust basis to situate such phenomena within our current classification framework" (p. 25). Szűcs's determination to work with carefully considered and distilled theoretical models is remarkable for a historian also known for his passion for and mastery of source-based work, whom eyewitnesses report to have been reading piles of Latin diplomas in the Hungarian National Archives, one after the other, like others read light short stories. In the editors' introduction, this is described as a 'tension', but complementarity may be a more fitting characterisation.

Thus, one also discerns strong ties between the essays on national consciousness and the "Outline". The introductory section of the study on "Theoretical Elements (originally: Political Theory, Social Theory and the Historical Approach) in Master Simon of Kéza's Gesta Hungarorum 1282–1285 A.D." addresses 'the emergence of European structural unity' in the thirteenth century. Szűcs offers here a concise discussion of how the former 'asynchronicity' between the kingdoms of the West and the lands of the 'new barbarians' arriving in the eighth–ninth centuries was eliminated and the development (of social structures, political and religious institutional frameworks, legal regulations, cultural-intellectual life, etc.) of Central

(and Northern) Europe became 'synchronous'. In lack of the several centuries long organic growth which characterized the West, this progress is at the same time acknowledged to have been less firmly rooted and relying more on 'organisation', i.e., voluntaristic measures by rulers. Here and especially elsewhere, this leads Szűcs to even more broadly drawn reflections on structure versus agency, path-dependency, 'determined course' versus 'scope of action' in history—topics that also occupied several of his distinguished counterparts in the Hungarian historical profession in the 1970s and1980s.

This introduction is necessary for Szűcs for providing in the bulk of the study a comparative analysis of the 'nation' arising as a new framework of reference, shared across Western and Central Europe, for discussing history and matters of the political community during the thirteenth century. It establishes the context for Simon of Kéza's invention of Hun–Hungarian identity or continuity (formerly not an established theory, still less a piece of reality) as the foundation for the newly arising definitions of social difference (hierarchy), model of government, and the political community. The connectedness of the 'national consciousness' studies and the "Outline" is closer, and also more explicit, than it is usually recognised.

This also leads us to the question of Szűcs's own 'synchronicity': the international horizons of his outlook and his approach as a historian, not only as predating or anticipating the insights of Anderson and others in the constructivist analysis of national discourses, but his standing vis-à-vis contemporary schools and directions in historical scholarship. His access to international literature under the conditions created by Erik Molnár as director at Szűcs's workplace, the Institute of History of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences in the 1960s is emphasized in the editors' introduction. Regarding methodological allegiances, in "Gentilism" Szűcs emphasizes that "source criticism and philology might gain insight through evidence offered by linguistic history, archaeology, or historical ethnography". There is indebtedness on his part, documented with references, to conceptual history (Otto Brunner, Reinhard Wenskus). Influence of the *Annales* can also be obviously detected, not only in Szűcs's synthetic and interdisciplinary ambition, but also in his stress on the need for attention to terminological peculiarities and transformations, which was central to Marc Bloch's analysis of feudal society. (Fernand Braudel's foreword to the French edition of the "Outline" may be taken as a sign that the commonality of approach did not go unnoticed on the reverse side, either.)

But we may also venture one step further. In several of the studies in the volume, Szűcs repeatedly emphasizes that what he pursues is the 'history of ideas', particularly the 'history of political thought'. Importantly, he—like several foremost contemporary practitioners in the field—claimed to do so not as cultivating a sub-discipline, but as applying an approach to throw light on the full spectrum of the historical

experience. This can be illustrated by several characteristic quotes: "we will select one of many possible approaches—specifically, the history of ideas—and focus on certain particulars … the conception of history and social theory—in short, in the field of the transformation of political thought" (p. 116). Further on, Szűcs also defines the appropriate tools for interrogating sources in the history of ideas: "a closer look at the language used by the writer to express his conceptual system provides us with the key to the problem" (p. 145). To round off the theoretical apparatus, in "Gentilism" he acknowledges that "[t]his kind of historical reconstruction is not directed at factually based fragments of a former reality, but at fragments of the mental reflection of this reality, gradually assembled from scraps of material" (p. 94).

Szűcs's approach in these works resembles one in which texts are understood and analysed as linguistic performances: 'speech acts' whereby authors express intentions, define intended impacts and, thus, exert their agency. Reading them, linguistic contextualism in the style of the 'Cambridge school' comes to mind, especially in light of the fact that Szűcs may be said to recognise in de Kéza's work the foundations of a Hungarian 'ancient constitutionalism' in a similar fashion to John Pocock in his magisterial book on the English common law tradition.[1] Yet, it is noteworthy that Szűcs's own references in the field of the history of political thought are confined to a more old-fashioned literature marked by Walter Ullmann and James Carlyle. It is puzzling to think whether Szűcs's neglect or ignorance of the Cambridge tradition of intellectual history around 1970 was a missed opportunity for Hungarian historical scholarship.

Talking about language, a final remark. In their introduction, the editors stress the heavy formulation and construction of Szűcs's texts. I also remember struggling with them as a student long ago. The English translations published in this volume, however, are eminently readable—a tribute to the late Tim Wilkinson, to whom we owe so many excellent English renderings of Hungarian scholarship in the humanities.

Literature

Pocock, John G. A. *The Ancient Constitution and the Feudal Law: A Study of English Historical Thought in the Seventeenth Century*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1957.

1 Pocock, *The Ancient Constitution*.

HSCE | Historical Studies on Central Europe

Historical Studies on Central Europe 3, no. 1 (2023): 224–233
doi.org/10.47074/HSCE.2023-1.14

Szűcs's Challenge

The Historical Construction of National Consciousness. Selected Writings. By Jenő Szűcs. Edited by Gábor Klaniczay, Balázs Trencsényi, and Gábor Gyáni. Budapest–Vienna–New York: Central European University Press, 2022. 354 pp.

Guido Franzinetti

Department of Humanistic Studies, University of Eastern Piedmont, Via del Duomo, 6, 13100 Vercelli, Italy; guido.franzinetti@gmail.com

Jenő Szűcs's reputation comes under two distinct headings: his work as a medieval historian and his essay on "The Three Historical Regions of Europe". The first aspect necessarily pertains to medieval historiography. The second touches on a much broader range of topics.

Reputation in the 'Mitteleuropa debate' may well have come at the expense of adequate attention to his contributions as a historian in his "Three Europes" essay. As is well known, Szűcs's essay was written for the *Bibó-emlékkönyv* [Bibó Memorial Book][1] and was then rapidly presented as an official publication in *Történelmi Szemle*.[2] Subsequently, it was published in an (official) English translation,[3] in French,[4] and in many other languages. The original publication date (1980) may lead to associating the essay with the almost contemporaneous 'Mitteleuropa debate.'

This is, however, an association which does a disservice to Szűcs's work. Firstly, because the Mitteleuropa debate was an overwhelmingly literary debate (at best, a literary and philosophical one). The recurring names in were of novelists such as Milan Kundera, playwrights such as Václav Havel, and writers such as György Konrád. The 1988 conference convened in Lisbon witnessed a clash between Russian and Central European writers and poets, but not historians.[5] For that matter, even a comprehensive overview of the debate, such as the one provided by Rudolf Jaworski,[6]

1 Donáth, ed., *Bibó-emlékkönyv.*

2 Szűcs, "Vázlat Európa három történeti régiójáról."

3 Szűcs, "The Three Historical Regions of Europe."

4 Szűcs, *Les trois Europes.*

5 Pratt, "On the Language of History."

6 Jaworski, "Die aktuelle Mitteleuropadiskussion."

did not think of mentioning Szűcs, and Robin Okey[7] did not devote to him more than a cursory mention either.

Secondly, the association with the Mitteleuropa debate overshadows the true value of the massive work undertaken by the three editors, over at least a decade. Not only have they assembled a collection of essays previously unavailable as a set but have also produced an accessible and rigorous translation of the texts. Last but not least, they have finally provided (at least for non-Hungarian readers) what was always missing in the excessively cursory discussions of Szűcs's work: context. This is no minor achievement.

Szűcs's essays relate to the following set of issues: (i) the historiography of Medieval and Early Modern East-Central/Eastern Europe; (ii) the Erik Molnár debate(s); (iii) debates on the divergence between Eastern and Western Europe; (iv) the modernist vs. primordialist debate; and, last but not least, (v) the political subtext to the 1980 essay. Each of these would require a wide-ranging discussion rather than a mere review.

The first point may be safely left in the hands of the guild of medievalists, since it is an aspect which requires at least some knowledge of primary sources.[8] However, the Molnár debate(s) must be addressed. Hungarian historians have been analysing them for many decades,[9] while western Historians have shown little interest in them. Szűcs himself referred to the debate, in a collection of essays which was also available in German.[10] For some reason, historians more closely associated with Molnár (Ránki, Berend, and Hanák) seemed to be less inclined to refer to this issue, at least in an international context.

As Maciej Górny (following Lutz Raphael) has pointed out, "two main models dominated [Communist historiographies of the Stalinist period – G. F.]. The first could be characterized as more »national« (or »rightist«), the second as »a-national« (or »leftist«)."[11] In fact, Molnár had been defeated in the first round (in 1950). In the aftermath of the 1956 revolution (officially 'counterrevolution'), he was appointed Director of the Institute of History of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences and encouraged a less 'nationalist' direction in historical studies (which, he argued, had contributed to the uprising). He encouraged historians such as Szűcs "to rely on Marxist theory and deconstruct [the] »primordialist« position."[12]

7 Okey, "Central Europe/Eastern Europe."

8 Nagy, "Complaints from the Periphery."

9 Litkei, "The Molnár Debate of 1950."

10 Szűcs, *Nation und Geschichte,* 13.

11 Górny, "Historical Writing in Poland," 251; Raphael, *Geschichtswissenschaft im Zeitalter der Extreme,* 58–59.

12 Trencsényi, *History of Modern Political Thought,* 18.

In any case, what is striking in the 1980 essay (and elsewhere) is Szűcs's repeated reference to the 'absolutism debate' in European historiography. This debate had (re) started in 1955, at the eleventh *Congress of the International Committee of Historical Sciences* (CISH), continued at the twelfth Congress in Stockholm, and culminated at the thirteenth in Vienna, when the Report was presented by Molnár himself. It is equally striking to see Perry Anderson's *Lineages of the Absolutist State*[13] assume such a significant role in the 1980 essay. The book had the indisputable merit of reviving the debate on absolutism and, in particular, on the East–West divergence. Anderson's conclusions were clear: "In the West, the Spanish, English, and French monarchies were defeated or overthrown by bourgeois revolutions from below; while the Italian and German principalities were eliminated by bourgeois revolutions from above, belatedly. In the East, on the other hand, the Russian empire was finally destroyed by a proletarian revolution. The consequences of the division of the continent, symbolized by these successive and opposite upheavals, are still with us."[14]

Szűcs also refers to Immanuel Wallerstein's first volume of the *Modern World-System* series.[15] The difference between Anderson and Wallerstein was not of an ideological or political nature: both were neo-Marxists and shared their work. Anderson's approach was, however, more likely to appeal to a historian attentive to legal and constitutional history. Wallerstein's approach proved irksome even to some neo-Marxists.[16] Anderson's book seems to have played a much more significant role in Szűcs's work.

As the editors of this collection point out, "Szűcs's Debrecen context is […] important from the perspective of his later work as his native city had a strong and rather specific local identity, rooted in the early modern Protestant urban culture based on stock-farming in the Hungarian Great Plain" (p. 2). In his first major work on urban and artisanal culture in Hungary (1955) "the choice of research deviated from the general line in the sense that the new Marxist social history in the early 1950s mostly focused on agrarian history (engaging with Engels's theory of »second serfdom«)" (pp. 2–3). (As it happens, Molnár had a background in law and studied in France and Italy.)

The choice of urban history proved fateful for the subsequent reception (or the lack) of Szűcs's work. During the Cold War, economic history represented a privileged discipline for relations and exchanges between Western and East European

13 Anderson, *Lineages of the Absolutist State*.

14 Anderson, *Lineages of the Absolutist State,* 431.

15 Wallerstein, *Modern World-System*.

16 Hunt, "The Rise of Feudalism."

historians.[17]. The Westerners were not necessarily Marxists, although many of them were at the initial stages of their careers. But in the international academic market (at least in those years), urban history simply did not fit into the picture as well as agrarian history.

This leads on to the topic of the revival of the debates on the East–West divergence, which had partly been prompted by Anderson's book. Needless to say, these debates (and the conceptualisation of the inner boundaries of Europe) had started much earlier and they was never conclusively settled.[18] In the interwar years, the Congresses of the CISH were marked by these discussions, starting with Jaroslav Bidlo in 1933 at the seventh Congress.[19] As it happens, the Hungarian *Revue d'Histoire Comparée* also tried to make a contribution to this field.[20]

Starting (or re-starting) in the 1950s, in parallel with the debates on absolutism, Eastern European historians, such as Zsigmond Pál Pach and Marian Małowist, addressed the issue of the origins of the backwardness of their region.[21] Wallerstein promptly repackaged these products for his Modern World-Systems's interpretation, which was soon contested by another neo-Marxist, Rober Brenner.[22]

A key aspect of the present edition is the way it provides ample material to locate Szűcs's writings in the modernist vs. primordialist debate, which fully emerged in what is usually seen as the golden age of nationalism studies (1968–1988).

Modernists may well have won a few battles, but ultimately primordialists seem to prevail: some variant of primordialism seems to be dominant. In any case, debates have progressively shifted towards the civic vs. ethnic distinction, which at present is hotly disputed. The result is that Szűcs's contribution to the original debate has been lost in the international context (unlike in the Hungarian context, where it has acquired a controversial political tinge).

The editors of *The Historical Construction of National Consciousness* position Szűcs as a moderate modernist (as opposed to the caricatured version of modernism).

> "Already in the early 1960s, he argued against the anachronistic projection of modern forms of national identity on the premodern context, stressing that the peasant soldiers defending Nándorfehérvár (Belgrade) against the Ottomans in 1456 could not have been motivated by patriotism, as this concept was not even present in the consciousness of the peasantry of the

17 Berg, "East–West Dialogues."

18 Warriner, "Some Controversial Issues."

19 Wandycz, "East European History."

20 Betts, "La société dans l'Europe centrale"; Kosáry, "The Idea of a Comparative History."

21 Subtelny, *Domination of Eastern Europe,* 256.

22 Aston and Philpin, eds, *The Brenner Debate.*

> period. His earlier studies on this topic started from the working hypothesis that if there was any common consciousness and emotional bond transgressing the divisions of the estate society, this was not some sort of atemporal ethnic consciousness but a Christian universalism" (p. 6).

Furthermore, "his studies documented the existence of premodern forms of collective identity, but he made it clear that there was a profound structural difference between premodern and modern forms of national sentiment and was also adamantly against the instrumentalisation of these premodern cultural codes for the purposes of reviving political nationalism (both in the forms of national communism and anti-communist ethno-populism)" (p. 7). No sensible modernist would disagree with such views. No wonder that 'historical construction' is emphasized in the title. It is also no wonder that most primordialists studiously neglected Szűcs's work.

One of the editors of the present volume has queried Ernest Gellner's neglect of the role of historians in the process of cultural homogenisation, and perhaps also Szűcs's contribution.[23] But Gellner was no historian, and his model reflected a high level of abstraction.[24]

It must not be forgotten that Szűcs's 1980 essay had a 'political' sub-text. Bibó was a political figure, and this was made clear in Ferenc Donáth's contribution to the memorial volume (of which Donáth himself was the editor).[25] The entire 1,001 page-long book including seventy-six authors was submitted for official, legal publication. In turn, cuts were requested, but Donáth refused to accept them. The report to the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party nevertheless recommended that it should be published "as a way of taking a more offensive stance toward an illegal Bibó book that will be published in the West."[26] In any event, the rapid official issue of Szűcs's essay, its reprint in book form, and subsequent translation[27] show that he must have had some degree of support from inside the political and academic establishment.

All this might seem to be the prelude to a happy ending, namely the dissolution of the Hungarian communist system and the 'return to Europe', the 'return to the West' after 1989. In reality, the story (and history) was to prove more complicated than that.

---

23 Gyáni, *A Nation Divided by History and Memory,* 102–103.

24 Franzinetti, "Gellner and the Historians."

25 Donáth, ed., *Bibó-emlékkönyv*; Donáth, "István Bibó and the Fundamental Issue."

26 Tőkés, *Hungary's Negotiated Revolution*, 186.

27 Szűcs, "Vázlat Európa három történeti régiójáról"; Szűcs, *Vázlat Európa három történeti régiójáról*; Szűcs, "The Three Historical Regions of Europe."

In 1985, Szűcs published in an official, legal monthly journal an essay on the "Questions of 'Origins' and National Consciousness."[28] But as the editors explain, this text appeared "in a truncated form as a result of the censor's intervention". It is in this collection that the first translation is available (pp. 299–335).

It would be interesting to see the 'truncated' parts since they would be revealing of the political climate of the time. The essay is a dense and highly complex series of discussions of interrelated themes, including 'ethnogenesis' and the relationship between state and nation. "What does concern us is that in this part of the world, call it Central and Eastern Europe, the state and national frameworks have remained—or have become—to such a degree separated from each other during the process of state-formation in the modern and contemporary times that the state could only be declared »national« at the cost of the greatest theoretical or practical difficulties (or not even at that cost)" (p. 301).

Another theme is the issue of historical continuity, especially after 1918–1919.

> "A cardinal question, even at the level of elementary association, is: what is the *existing* Hungarian nation that postulates its own identity and seeks its historical continuity and identity (even in »non-identity«) on precisely that account? The people who are living in Hungary and who constitute the nation in a *political* sense? No, it postulates its own identity together with those whose historical archetype (and also »non-identity«) it shared in the *historical* process of becoming a modern nation, with whom it shares objective links of *language and culture* in the present, as well as a subjective »We-consciousness« based on these elements. The elementary association is particularly self-evident in the case of the state founding, since the Hungarian state founded at the turn of the first millennium is—for the national consciousness—the chief historical product of the one-time reality of historical Hungary which by now became history, and, at one and the same time, virtually its sole perceptible, hard daily *reality*" (p. 312).

It is not possible to adequately summarize this essay, still less to do justice to it. It is full of asides, detours, and allusions to the political predicament of Hungary in the 1980s. It was not destined for a historical journal. Instead, it was a highly political intervention.

The editors explain Szűcs's writings of the second half of the 1980s as follows:

> "Szűcs's reserved discourse was strikingly out of tune with the growing euphoria about the space for democratization opening up in the late 1980s… his last major public appearance [a few weeks before his death

28 Szűcs, "Történeti »eredet«-kérdések."

> in November 1988 – G. F.] was marred by his gloomy warnings to his audience with regard to the potential failure of the democratisation process. While he praised Gorbachev for openly labeling the Soviet regime as tyrannical and seeking to introduce »socialist legality«, he did not believe that the communist leaderships in the Soviet Union or in Hungary were really committed to power sharing and the introduction of multi-party democracy. In this respect he was highly skeptical of the Russian political dynamic and envisioned (quite prophetically) a pendulum movement where the democratisation championed by Gorbachev would be followed by the return to an autocratic regime, perhaps in a radical nationalist or imperialist garb. But his main concern was not even the possible failure of *perestroika*, but rather the weakness of the democratic and civic potential of his own society. While there was a strong intention on the side of the non-communist social actors to grab (or at least share) power, there was much less willingness to create a framework where the power-holder (be it communist or anti-communist) would be effectively controlled. Szűcs's general conclusion was that, although the historical path of Hungary had strong links to Western Europe, he did not see any predetermined and unilinear road towards a functional democracy" (pp. 20–21).

This is useful corrective the 'triumphalism' of the late 1980s. In the light of his outstanding achievements, why has Szűcs's work remained neglected, and not only by historians? There have been a variety of factors at play.

In relation to the discussion of medieval history, one of the reasons that the editors point out is

> "the considerable time lag between the genesis of these texts in the late 1960s and the publication of the German version, *Nation und Geschichte*, in 1981. In the meantime, the German *Nationes* research network, which had a decisive role in thematizing the problem of premodern national consciousness, already moved beyond the paradigm of *Gentilism*, which came under increasing criticism (not unrelated to the unfolding *Historikerstreit*) of being rooted in a pre-1945 historical tradition tainted with anachronistic and politically dubious conceptions of *Volk* and *Führertum*" (p. 12).

It is curious, to say the least, that in his widely quoted survey, Eric Hobsbawm should have mentioned Szűcs's 1981 book (original edition 1974), but never, at any point, did he actually discuss it.[29] It seems that he found Hanák, Ránki, or Berend easier to deal with. In any case, the last two decades of the twentieth century witnessed a series of historiographical 'turns' which did not encourage interaction with

29 Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism.*

Szűcs's work, such as the linguistic turn and the cultural turn. Postmodernism did not help either, nor did the demise of 'Area Studies' (to the benefit of global and transnational 'turns').[30] Szűcs must have appeared incredibly *passé* for many younger historians (at least outside Hungary), a leftover from the 1970s.

In their summary, the editors point out that

> "the post-2010 new historical politics of the Hungarian »System of National Cooperation« has been systematically trying to demolish most of the tenets of his analysis stressing the discontinuity between premodern and modern frames of identification. The ideologists of the regime and the new institutions set up by the government draw on ethno-nationalist scholarly and para-scholarly subcultures, trying to restore the theory of Hun-Magyar continuity into its erstwhile dominant position, instrumentalize medieval symbolism (most importantly that of the Holy Crown) in modern politics, actualize and decontextualize historical sources about premodern collective identity, and merge pagan and Christian references. […] In this sense, one can argue that Szűcs's work is more vital than ever and might offer many relevant points both for scholars of Hungarian history and that of the broader region, as well as inspiration for the younger generations of students seeking to find reliable points of orientation on these highly contested issues" (p. 22).

But Szűcs's oeuvre deserves a much wider audience and a much wider discussion. It is up to non-Hungarian historians to take up the challenge.

Literature

Anderson, Perry. *Lineages of the Absolutist State*. London: NLB, 2020.

Aston, Trevor H. and C. H. E. Philpin, eds. *The Brenner Debate: Agrarian Class Structure and Economic Development in Preindustrial Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987.

Berg, Maxine. "East–West Dialogues: Economic Historians, the Cold War, and Détente." *Journal of Modern History* 87, no. 1 (2015): 36–71. https://doi.org/10.1086/680261

Betts, Reginald R. "La société dans l'Europe centrale et dans l'Europe orientale. Son développement vers la fin du moyen âge." *Revue d'Histoire Comparée* 7, no. 2 (1948): 167–83.

Donáth, Ferenc, ed. *Bibó-emlékkönyv* [Bibó Memorial Book], samizdat, Vols 2. Budapest, 1980.

30 Franzinetti, "The Strange Death of Area Studies."

Donáth, Ferenc. "Istvan Bibó and the Fundamental Issue of Hungarian Democracy." In *The Socialist Register 1981*, edited by Ralph Miliband and John Saville, 221–46. London: Merlin Press, 1981.

Franzinetti, Guido. "The Strange Death of Area Studies and the Normative Turn." *Quaderni storici* 50, no. 3 (2015): 835–47.

Franzinetti, Guido. "Gellner and the Historians." In *Ernest Gellner's Legacy and Social Theory Today,* edited by Peter Skalnik, 207–40. Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2022. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-031-06805-8_9

Górny, Maciej. "Historical Writing in Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Hungary." In *The Oxford History of Historical Writing, Vol. 5: Historical Writing since 1945,* edited by Daniel Woolf, 243–65. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011.

Gyáni, Gábor. *A Nation Divided by History and Memory. Hungary in the Twentieth Century and Beyond*. London: Routledge, 2021. https://doi.org/10.4324/9781003024934

Hobsbawm, Eric J. *Nations and Nationalism since 1780. Programme, Myth, Reality.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990.

Hunt, Verl F. "The Rise of Feudalism in Eastern Europe: A Critical Appraisal of the Wallerstein »World-System« Thesis." *Science & Society* 42, no. 1 (1978): 43–61.

Jaworski, Rudolf. "Die aktuelle Mitteleuropadiskussion in historischer Perspektive." *Historische Zeitschrift* 247, no. 1 (1988): 529–50. https://doi.org/10.1524/hzhz.1988.247.jg.529

Kosáry, Domokos. "The Idea of a Comparative History of East Central Europe: The Story of a Venture." In *Historians as Nation-builders: Central and South-east Europe*, edited by Dennis Deletant and Harry Hanak, 124–38. Houndmills: Macmillan–School of Slavonic and East European Studies, University of London, 1988. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-1-349-09647-3_8

Kundera, M. "L'Occident kidnappé ou la tragédie de l'Europe centrale." *Le Débat* 27 (1983): 3–22. https://doi.org/10.3917/deba.027.0003

Litkei, József. "The Molnár Debate of 1950: Hungarian Communist Historical Politics and the Problem of the Soviet Model." *East Central Europe* 44 (2017): 249–83. https://doi.org/10.1163/18763308-04402005

Nagy, Balázs. "Complaints from the Periphery," *Budapest Review of Books* 6, no. 2 (1996): 73–78.

Okey, Robin. "Central Europe/Eastern Europe: Behind the Definitions." *Past & Present*, 137 (1992): 102–33. https://doi.org/10.1093/past/137.1.102

Pratt, Daniel W. "On the Language of History: Central Europe and Russia at the Lisbon Conference." *Zeitschrift für Slawische Philologie* 72, no. 1 (2016): 55–68.

Raphael, Lutz. *Geschichtswissenschaft im Zeitalter der Extreme: Theorien, Methoden, Tendenzen von 1900 bis zur Gegenwart.* Munich: Beck, 2003. https://doi.org/10.17104/9783406627026

Subtelny, Orest. *Domination of Eastern Europe: Native Nobilities and Foreign Absolutism, 1500–1715*. Kingston: McGill–Queen's University Press, 1986. https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctt1w1vm1z

Szűcs, Jenő. *A nemzet historikuma és a történetszemlélet nemzeti látószöge (hozzászólás egy vitához)* [The Historicity of the Nation and the Nationalistic Viewing Angle of History: Comments on a Debate]. Budapest: Akadémiai, 1970.

Szűcs, Jenő. *Les trois Europes*, preface by Fernand Braudel; translated by Véronique Charaire, Gábor Klaniczay, and Philippe Thureau-Dangin. Paris: L'Harmattan, 1985.

Szűcs, Jenő. *Nation und Geschichte. Studien*. Budapest: Corvina, 1981.

Szűcs, Jenő. *Nemzet és történelem: Tanulmányok* [Nation and History: Studies]. Budapest: Gondolat, 1974.

Szűcs, Jenő. "The Three Historical Regions of Europe (An Outline)." *Acta Historica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 29 (1983): 131–84.

Szűcs, Jenő. "Történeti »eredet«-kérdések és nemzeti tudat" [Historical Questions of Origin and National Consciousness]. *Valóság* 28, no. 3 (1985): 31–49.

Szűcs, Jenő. "Vázlat Európa három történeti régiójáról" [The Three Historical Regions of Europe: An Outline]. *Történelmi Szemle* 24 (1981): 313–59.

Szűcs, Jenő. *Vázlat Európa három történeti régiójáról* [The Three Historical Regions of Europe: An Outline]. Budapest: Magvető, 1983.

Tőkés, Rudolf. *Hungary's Negotiated Revolution. Economic Reform, Social Change and Political Succession*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996

Trencsényi, Balázs, Michal Kopeček, Luka Lisjak Gabrijelčič, Maria Falina, Mónika Baár, and Maciej Janowski. *History of Modern Political Thought in East Central Europe, II: Negotiating Modernity in the Short Twentieth Century and Beyond*, Part I: *1968–2018*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018. https://doi.org/10.1093/oso/9780198737155.001.0001

Wallerstein, Immanuel. *Modern World-System: Capitalist Agriculture and the Origins of the European World-Economy in the Sixteenth Century*. New York: Academic Press, 1974.

Wandycz, Piotr S. "East European History and Its Meaning: The Halecki–Bidlo–Handelsman debate." In *Király Béla emlékkönyv. Háború és társadalom / War and Society / Guerre et société / Krieg und Gesellschaft*, edited by Pál Jónas, Peter Pastor, and Pál Péter Tóth, 308–21. Budapest: Századvég, 1992.

Warriner, Doreen. "Some Controversial Issues in the History of Agrarian Europe." *Slavonic and East European Review* 32, no. 78 (1953): 168–86.

HSCE | Historical Studies on Central Europe

Historical Studies on Central Europe 3, no. 1 (2023): 234–237
doi.org/10.47074/HSCE.2023-1.15

Civitas nostra Bardfa vocata. Správa mesta Bardejov v stredoveku (1320–1526) [Civitas nostra Bardfa vocata. The Administration of the Town of Bardejov in the Middle Ages (1320–1526)]. By Mária Fedorčáková.

Košice: Bessarion, 2021. 239 pp.

Drahoslav Magdoško

Department of History, Faculty of Arts, Pavol Jozef Šafárik University in Košice, Šrobárova 2, 041 80 Košice, Slovak Republic; drahoslav.magdosko@upjs.sk

The city of Bardejov (Bártfa; Bartfeld) is located in the northeast of Slovakia. This territory was part of the Kingdom of Hungary until 1918. In the late Middle Ages, Bardejov belonged to the group of leading Hungarian royal towns with well-developed trade and crafts and had a population of around 3000 inhabitants. To a large part, the town owed its modest prosperity to its location near the Polish border. Nowadays, Bardejov is exceptional from the point of view of historical research. It is one of the few towns of the former Hungarian Kingdom whose medieval archives have been preserved in almost complete condition. Several Hungarian, Slovak, and Polish historians have already noted this fact. However, despite a large number of written sources, or perhaps because of the latter, the city archives have not yet been fully utilized in research into the medieval history of the town. In recent years, this has been the task of the historian Mária Fedorčáková, currently working at the Pavol Jozef Šafárik University in Košice (Slovakia), who, according to her profile, is a specialist in medieval Bardejov. The book under review here is her first monograph (in Slovak).

Despite the existence of several studies and books on medieval Bardejov, there still needed to be a deeper and more comprehensive analysis of the functioning of the local urban administration. The documents preserved in Bardejov enable us to expose all levels of such an organisational structure, including the lower-level employment positions to which little attention had been paid. Fedorčáková defines this goal in the introduction of her book, where she explains the research objectives, written sources, and literature on the given issue.

Bardejov turned from an inconspicuous border market settlement into a rapidly growing town in the fourteenth century. The legal stimulus for this

transformation was the privileges granted by King Charles I in 1320. The charter was actually also a kind of contract with the settling agent who was supposed to populate Bardejov and who assumed the office of hereditary judge then. Most of the Hungarian royal towns enjoyed the privilege of the free election of judges, so the much smaller number of towns with the office of hereditary judge were of a lower-level legal category. In the case of prosperous Bardejov, however, the king paid off the hereditary office in 1376 and granted the urban community additional privileges following the example of the country's two leading towns, Buda (Ofen) and Košice (Kassa; Kaschau). As a result of this act, Bardejov entered the circle of fully-fledged Hungarian royal towns with autonomy, self-government, and the free election of the magistrate. Fedorčáková describes this path of Bardejov in the first chapter of her book, entitled "From a Schultheiss to a Judge (1320–1376)." She also points to testimony from the fifteenth-century town book, according to which the king dissolved the hereditary office after complaints by the citizens that they were being oppressed by representatives of the hereditary judge. However, she urges caution when interpreting this report in detail since it was recorded almost half a century after the described events.

The most extensive part of the book is the second chapter, "Municipal self-government in the years 1376–1526." It describes the structure of town offices and their competencies. The author starts with the judge, town council, and deputy judge, examining their activities in judiciary affairs and administration. For a thorough explanation, she cites selected cases, mainly judicial ones, to illustrate how the town authorities proceeded. Besides the legal framework, she also focuses on the careers of chosen members of the urban political elite in one of the book's subchapters. A similar approach is used to characterize the notary's office. First, the scope of work of this town employee is described. Then, the focus turns to the origin, education, and activities of notaries known by name in Bardejov. And finally, attention is paid to the overall production of the town chancery and the usage of town seals. The following subchapter explains the functioning of the outer council, whose members were called elders *(seniores)*. This body elected the judge and the town council annually and controlled their economic as well as political activity. In 1467, a town statute was adopted, which specified the course of elections. Despite this, it was not a widespread custom for other Hungarian towns of this legal category to put the circumstances of elections in writing for their own needs because, in this respect, the former (more or less) followed the content of a pre-existing everyday legal collection. Therefore, adopting such a statute in Bardejov could have resulted from some local specifics, but according to Fedorčáková, nothing more is known about it. Otherwise, the naming process of the outer council in Bardejov was shortly adapted and applied to the contemporaneous changes in the capital Buda. While in

the 1430s, the assembly of Bardejov's elders was called 'fifty men,' from the 1450s onwards, it was (as in Buda) called 'one hundred men,' although the real number in Bardejov remained at around 50-60 persons.

Subsequently, the book focuses on town employees such as lawyers, craftsmen, servants, messengers, and spies. Thanks to the meticulous archival research, much valuable data is presented here, a lot of which we usually do not know of in such quantity for other towns. Here, in my opinion, an analysis of the total town's income and expenditure would also have been beneficial for learning about the development of individual segments of Bardejov's economy. Such a topic remains open for further research.

Key aspects of the local "Church Administration" are introduced in the book's last chapter. The town held the right of patronage over the parish, which also resulted in the practice of the free election of the town priest. The autonomous circumstances of handing over the tithe to the diocesan bishop were employed. The town council oversaw the finances and assets of church institutions in Bardejov through the office of administrators *(Kirchenväter)*. However, Bardejov's autonomy had its limits. In 1391, King Sigismund of Luxembourg, a lord of the town, convinced the council to accept a chaplain under his patronage as the town priest. Another subchapter gives information about individual church positions (parish priest, chaplains, preachers). Citing the town statutes and other sources, Fedorčáková here presents a vivid picture of the town parish with legal and personal relations among clerics living in late medieval Bardejov. The chapter closes with information about the rest of the church institutions that existed under the patronage of the town: the Augustinian friary, town hospitals, and school whose glory days otherwise occurred mainly after 1526, under the work of humanist teachers.

The book concludes with appendices that are valuable for further research into the careers of members of the Bardejov urban elite in the Middle Ages: lists of judges and members of the town council until the 1520s with other sporadically known lists of the outer council, administrators of town offices, and employees. The comprehensive Slovak conclusion is completely translated into English, which serves foreign readers equally well.

The reviewed monograph provides a detailed synthesis of the legal status and administrative structure of the medieval town of Bardejov. It is the result of several years of thorough archival research. It is noteworthy that Fedorčáková usually places her findings in the broader context of Hungarian towns. She has meaningfully complemented the facts about administrative affairs with exemplary court cases and details on the careers of chosen judges, senators, and clerics, thus providing deeper insight into the life of the urban community. A pleasant bonus is the graphical layout

of the printed work, with many photographs of archival sources and the historical center of Bardejov. It is thanks to this that the reader of the monograph receives not only a beneficial scholarly case study about an important town in the medieval Hungarian Kingdom but also a book of aesthetic quality.

HSCE | Historical Studies on Central Europe

Historical Studies on Central Europe 3, no. 1 (2023): 238–241
doi.org/10.47074/HSCE.2023-1.16

Biographies of a Reformation. Religious Change and Confessional Coexistence in Upper Lusatia, c. 1520–1635. By Martin Christ.

Studies in German History. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2021. 288 pp.

Katalin Szende

Central European University, Quellenstraße 51, 1100 Vienna, Austria; szendek@ceu.edu

The history of the Reformation has been centre stage for many years due to the 500th anniversary of Luther's famous 95 Theses in 2017 and the rich flow of projects and conferences, including the REFO500 umbrella project that was set up to mark the jubilee. Martin Christ's monograph stands out from this rich crop on two accounts—biographical and regional. Both of these strengths feature prominently in the title and make it possible for the author to add novel insights to the history of Early Modern Christianity.

Biographies of a Reformation is grounded on one of the oldest and most organic genres of historiography: surveying the past with the measuring rod of the human lifetime. Re-telling the lives of persons important in shaping the fate of a community has been a key exercise in memory-building since time immemorial and part of the toolkit of professional historians since antiquity. It regained popularity in the Renaissance and, in a more academic manner, from the eighteenth century onwards, showcasing the lives of outstanding personalities, usually men of power and/or erudition, a genre that has remained very much alive. In recent decades, group biographies have redirected the focus, applying the prosopographical method to learn about the operation of institutions via the lives of their officeholders or assembling collective biographies to understand the inner dynamics of social groups.

Martin Christ's work takes the genre to yet a new level by aiming to interpret a spiritual and religious movement of the Reformation through the lives of its selected protagonists—unique individuals and representatives of intellectual career patterns at the same time. This approach is well-chosen, illuminating, and refreshing. The geographical scope of Christ's research was likewise a fortunate choice. Upper Lusatia, a lesser-known region within Central Europe, was a margraviate in the North-Western border area of Bohemia, ruled but very rarely visited by the king of Bohemia. It was home to a variegated Slavic and German population who lived in

the hilly rural landscape as well as in its six main urban centres that formed a league from 1346 onwards. In other words, it was a borderland in a political, social, and, as the book shows, religious sense alike.

Although the selection principles of the nine main characters presented in the volume—complemented by a dozen others in supporting roles—were not laid out explicitly, the persons whose names head the eight chapters of the book can be regarded as a representative sample in many ways. Geographically, their places of employment cover five of the six members of the Upper Lusatian town league: Bautzen, Görlitz, Zittau, Lauban and Kamenz—the first two featuring more prominently due to their greater size and weight. Only the smallest town, Löbau, lacks a man and a chapter of its own, but it appears incidentally throughout the book.

As to their religious convictions (confessional adherence may be a premature term), besides four Lutherans (Lorenz Heidenreich, Bartholomeus Scultetus, Sigismund Suevus and Friedrich Fischer) as representatives of the dominant religious group in Lusatia, Christ has included three Catholics (Johannes Hass, Andreas Günther and Johann Leisentritt) as well as a Zwinglian (Oswald Pergener) and a preacher accused of crypto-Calvinist tendencies (Martin Möller). The chronological range of their working lives covers practically a century from the appearance of Lutheran teachings to the end of the 'Bohemian period' of Upper Lusatia in the 1620s, although none of them lived to see the Saxon takeover of the region in 1635. It is only in their social (and gender) makeup that the group is off-balance, consisting only of men from the elite (apart from the additionally featured 'protestant visionary' cobbler Jacob Böhme from Görlitz). This focus on the elite, however, was necessary for showcasing persons with an intellectual impact and, closely connected to that, a significant written output in the abundant and very thoroughly studied source material of the period. Regarding this choice, there is still a balance between the four members of the secular elite plus five clerics and preachers.

The lives of these people do not simply stand side by side: they talk to each other—just as some of them did in real life, adding up to an entangled story of religious change and syncretism, a major trait of the Lusatian reformation proven convincingly by the book. An accomplished historian, Martin Christ has made each person stand for more than himself; each instead acts as a magnet, attracting a rich set of associations of facts and ideas. Thus, Heidenreich's and Pergener's lives allow the author to sketch out the early appearance of reformatory ideas; Günther's life offers a focus on civic welfare, town economy and civility; Scultetus's person binds in diplomacy and schooling as well as science (astronomy and cartography) and calendar-time; Leisentrit's biography leads to a discussion of rituals connected to the turning points of life; Möller's accusations of dissent usher in the presentation of other heterodox views; while the examples of Suevus and Fisher take us to the

experience of shared spaces and divided liturgies. Furthermore, the lives also stand for an abundance of sensory associations, from the visual (woodcuts, altars, church interiors), aural (the sound of hymns and church bells), olfactory (incense and the Mount of Myrrh) and even palatal (tasting the communion under both kinds, but also the food prepared by the nuns of Lauban for the town's Lutheran clergy). To sum up, Martin Christ has eminently succeeded in presenting the religious pluralism of Upper Lusatia through the plurality of lives that all speak, in their own ways, of showing preference for coexistence rather than distancing.

Martin Christ's book appeared in OUP's *Studies in German History* series, but it covers a broader scope and especially relevance than the German lands. The discussion of Upper Lusatia expands our knowledge of Central Europe and benefits from being set in this broader landscape. The embeddedness of the story into that of Central Europe starts at the very top, with the Habsburg kings of Bohemia. The first of them identified here, Ferdinand I, had among his siblings the almighty Emperor Charles V as well as Mary of Hungary, wife and then widow of the last medieval king of Hungary and Bohemia, Louis II, and later governor of the Netherlands. Although as a young queen, she embodied much of the same spirit and sentiment as the protagonists of this book, she had court preachers who entertained Lutheran sympathies and commissioned polyphonic compositions on Luther's psalms. Ferdinand himself was much more rigid in his personal views, but his engagement with more pressing worries, particularly the Hungarian–Ottoman war front, contributed to his leniency or simply lack of attention to other, less disturbed parts of his realm. His successors, apart from Rudolf II, likewise spent very little time in Prague, which accounted for the tacit acceptance of more flexible interpretations of religious doctrines.

On the level of the book's protagonists, a careful reading reveals that many details of their births, schooling, and later careers connected them to various parts of Central Europe. Leisentrit was born in Olomouc, the seat of Moravia's Catholic bishopric; he studied at the University of Kraków while Günther studied in Prague; Suevus took up positions in Tallinn, Toruń and Wrocław before or after his tenure in Lauban, whereas Scultetus's scholarly networks and correspondence reached all corners of Central Europe, even as far east as Moscow, where he considered taking up a position as court cartographer—just to name the most prominent connections. Being part of Bohemia inevitably meant taking sides concerning the Bohemian Reformation and the Hussite heritage, which divided even the protestants—the Zwinglian Pergener being the only full supporter in Christ's sample. The Utraquist traditions the Catholic Leisentrit experienced in his youth may have impacted his more open-minded views as well. Finally, the painter Matthäus Crocinus, whose image of Bautzen's St Peter's Church decorates the book's cover, was an exile from Bohemia after the outbreak of the Thirty Years' War.

On a third level, Upper Lusatia shared many of the same issues with ethnic plurality and religious change as other parts of Central and East Central Europe. This often resulted in similar solutions of shared church spaces and entangled intellectual currents, as Martin Christ has shown. Features parallel to those of Early Modern Hungary, a region that was beyond the direct reach of the Lusatian intellectuals, may point to deeper mechanisms of adaptation, conflict avoidance, or cross-fertilisation. One can find in both regions parish churches used in common by both Catholics and Lutherans, although in Hungary, the division concerned mostly the hours of the day rather than space. Likewise, Catholic friaries and nunneries operated undisturbed under the patronage of Lutheran town councils. The visual appearance of church interiors in Transylvanian Saxon towns that adopted Lutheranism from the 1540s took on a syncretistic character. In the shadow of the religious tolerance attributed to the much-celebrated but often misinterpreted Act of Turda in 1568, a possible parallel volume on 'biographies of a Transylvanian Reformation' would likewise present a number of difficult personal choices and conflicts in that rapidly changing environment. The series of examples could be followed on end.

In the last couple of decades, research into the history of religious coexistence has rightly called for a redefinition and refinement of the confessionalisation paradigm. For instance, in 2017, Cornel Zwierlein proposed to define this as an "empirical project of constantly asking and verifying how the actual ritual practice and held beliefs compared to theologically normative expectations."[1] Martin Christ's new volume does exactly this. Analogies and more extreme examples added to the Upper Lusatian ones from other 'decentralized power structures' of Central Europe do not distract from the uniqueness of the *Biographies of a Reformation* but rather make it more relevant, fitting into a broader trend of nuancing grand narratives on the ground.

Literature

Zwierlein, Cornel. "»Konfessionalisierung« europäisch, global als epistemischer Prozess: Zu den Folgen der Reformation und zur Methodendiskussion." In *Reformation und Recht. Zur Kontroverse um die Kulturwirkungen der Reformation*, edited by Christoph Strohm, 1–51. Tübingen: Mohr & Siebeck, 2017.

1 Zwierlein, "»Konfessionalisierung« europäisch, global als epistemischer Prozess," 10.

HSCE | Historical Studies on Central Europe

Historical Studies on Central Europe 3, no. 1 (2023): 242–244
doi.org/10.47074/HSCE.2023-1.17

Jezsuiták Nyugat-Magyarországon a 17. században. A pozsonyi, győri és soproni kollégiumok [Jesuits in Western Hungary in the Seventeenth Century. The Colleges of Pressburg (Bratislava), Győr and Sopron]. By Zsófia Kádár.

Budapest: Bölcsészettudományi Kutatóközpont Történettudományi Intézet, 2020. 475 pp.

László Pilikta

Department of Early Modern History, Eötvös Loránd University, 6–8 Múzeum körút, Budapest 1088, Hungary; pilikta@caesar.elte.hu

Zsófia Kádár is currently a postdoctoral researcher at the University of Vienna and a member of the ELTE–MTA University History Research Group, which is working on the history of the Austrian Jesuit Province and the educational function of the Jesuits. In 2017, the author defended her PhD thesis at the Doctoral School of History of Eötvös Loránd University, which served as the basis for this work, and is also a kind of synthesis of the achievements of many years of researching Jesuit friaries in Western Hungary.[1] According to her own objective, Zsófia Kádár has tried to present the continuous development, change, and adaptation of the early modern Jesuit institutional system from the beginning to 1671 in the three colleges of the Austrian Province of the Society of Jesus in Western Hungary, interpreting them as a model. In the preface to her book, the author herself states that she did not want to write a history of the Order or the history of individual colleges but aimed to describe to the reader the presence and influence of the Jesuits in Western Hungary from a modern socio-historical perspective. Breaking with the previous historiographical practice, Kádár did not seek to present the history of individual friaries or the Jesuits more broadly, but to analyse their functioning and relationships with local society by treating the Jesuit institutions of the three western Hungarian cities as a complex unit. The source of the work are documents in the archives of Bratislava, Győr, and Sopron, which are mainly related to the establishment and functioning of Jesuit institutions in the given cities, and to a lesser extent, 'external' (i.e., non-Jesuit) orders. During her research, Kádár supplemented the data from these sources with other documents related to the operation of the Austrian province, preserved in domestic (Budapest, Esztergom) and foreign archives (Vienna and Rome).

1 Kádár, "Jezsuita kollégium és helyi társadalom."

In addition to the manuscript sources, the author has also tried to delve as deeply as possible into the literature on the subject, as evidenced by the impressively lengthy bibliography at the end of the volume.

The work is divided into six thematic parts, wich are located in six separate chapters. In the first chapter, we get to know in detail the history of the founding of the Jesuit order and its development in Europe, and then its arrival and settlement in the Kingdom of Hungary. In the subsequent segment we learn about the specific circumstances of the establishment of the three colleges in Western Hungary and their development in the seventeenth century.

This is followed by a presentation of the people serving in the institutions, during which we learn about the stages of Jesuit training and life path, its associated opportunities and difficulties, and even its pitfalls. We find out from where and which social strata the friars who served in Western Hungary came, what their training background was, what the process of becoming a Jesuit was like, what hierarchy prevailed in a particular dormitory, and for how long a Jesuit from Western Hungary served in one place and what kind of relationship there was between the staff of each college.

The fourth major unit of the monograph, in addition to covering pastoral service, deals with the institutional system of education, which is considered the most important task of the Jesuits—namely, the college, as well as their student population. There are detailed analyses of the distribution of students visiting Jesuit schools by place of origin, nationality, religious denomination, social status and age, as well as the catchment area of each school in connection with the cases of Győr and Bratislava. Here, Zsófia Kádár also undertakes to expand and correct the previous literature, which largely relied on institutional history, using new sources that have not yet been included in research. In the next chapter, confraternities with schools are discussed. We are familiarized with the Jesuit model of congregations and the history of the spread of the associations in Hungary and presented with details about their organisation, membership and tasks based on the example of the three towns in Western Hungary.

In the last major unit, we learn about the relationship between the Jesuits and the local community through the tasks performed by the friars in such communities. The author shows how much work the Jesuits had to do in the towns of Western Hungary, but at the same time, we see how they were able to win over the local population through their activities, while being forced to become as familiar as possible with the conditions of society around them and to adapt to its needs and expectations. A good example of this is that, in addition to the introduction of cults associated with Jesuit saints (St Ignatius of Loyola and St Francis Xavier), great attention was paid to cultivating local veneration, mainly associated with the Virgin Mary.

At the end of the monograph, we find a short summary in Hungarian and English, followed by a voluminous appendix containing three repositories. In the

first are the names of the 735 Jesuits who served in the three colleges of Western Hungary until 1671, as well as their main biographical data (rank of order, type of vow, nationality, year and place of birth, friary) and the address of the source containing this information. This is followed by data on the secondary education of students who entered ecclesiastical careers from Jesuit colleges and references to their further careers, grouped according to whether the student became a secular priest or a member of one of the religious orders (Benedictine, Franciscan, Jesuit, or Pauline). In the third appendix, we get to know the officials of the *Patrona Hungariae* congregation in Győr, together with their brief biographies. Finally, the blueprints of the buildings of the three colleges follow.

The most important lesson of the volume is that, although the Jesuits sought to establish a unified structure of orders, they nevertheless faced different conditions in the three towns under study. Bratislava (after Vienna) was the second capital of the Kingdom of Hungary, Sopron was a commercially significant free royal town, while Győr was a military-dominated fortress town under the authority of the local cathedral chapter during this period. These three towns, moreover, had a different ethnic composition, too. This situation was exacerbated by the problems characteristic of frontier societies, in this case, due to the expansion of the Ottomans (which led to a weakening of social norms and social discipline), as well as the mainly Protestant denominations of all three towns.

Overall, Zsófia Kádár's monograph is an impressive publication in terms of its scope alone. Using a large amount of multifaceted source material, the author illuminates the activities of the Jesuits in Western Hungary with extraordinary data richness, fleshes out many small details, and at the same time, convincingly depicts the most important processes. All this is greatly presented by tables and graphs, with the help of which trends and correlations between the data in the sources become transparent and comparable to the reader. Similarly illustrative are the maps in this volume, which allow the reader who is less familiar with the region to obtain an idea of the geographical conditions of Western Hungary and the spatial location of the colleges.

Literature

Kádár, Zsófia. "Jezsuita kollégium és helyi társadalom a 17. századi Nyugat-Magyarországon (Pozsony, Győr, Sopron)" [Jesuit College and Local Society in Western Hungary in the Seventeenth Century (Pressburg, Győr, Sopron)]. PhD diss., Eötvös Loránd University, 2016. https://doi.org/10.15476/ELTE.2016.149

Historical Studies on Central Europe 3, no. 1 (2023): 245–247
doi.org/10.47074/HSCE.2023-1.18

HSCE | Historical Studies on Central Europe

Háborúból békébe: a magyar társadalom 1918 után. Konfliktusok, kihívások, változások a háború és az összeomlás nyomán [From War to Peace: Hungarian Society after 1918. Conflicts, Challenges, Changes following the War and the Collapse]. Edited by Zsombor Bódy.

Budapest: MTA Bölcsészettudományi Kutatóközpont Történettudományi Intézet, 2018. 348 pp.

Róbert Károly Szabó

Economic and Social History Doctoral Programme, Doctoral School of History, Eötvös Loránd University, 6–8 Múzeum körút, 1088 Budapest, Hungary; rszabo.elte@gmail.com

The publication of the present volume is long-awaited, as there is a great need for in-depth research on the economic and social aspects of post-1918 Hungarian history. The contributors include historians, archivists and sociologists; their papers re-examine the forgotten and misunderstood aspects of the history of the 1920s.

Such an essential and usually misconceived aspect of the war is its demographic effects, which are re-examined by Gábor Koloh. He intends to disprove that from a demographic point of view, the war meant the end of an era. Koloh points out that the number of births in Hungary was already decreasing between 1900 and 1910, and this tendency only intensified in the next decade. This demographic transition, which also occurred in Western Europe, resulted in demographic crisis by the 1930s. In the second study of the volume, Béla Tomka deals with the economic influence of the Great War and the Trianon treaty. According to the contemporary approach, the economic difficulties were the result of the treaty, and, compared to the era of dualism, the decline in the economy was emphasised. This view was based on an economic approach that perceived natural resources (agriculture, mining, etc.) as the key factor in economic development. However, European research in economic history reveals that, in comparison with international tendencies, the economic achievements of Hungary after the Trianon treaty were no weaker than in the dualist period. Béla Tomka also agrees with the latter view, arguing that the real driving forces of development were the structural changes in the economic system, technological improvement, and human power. Ágnes Pogány examines the

financial politics of Hungary between 1914 and 1924. A false belief is that the significant inflation that occurred during the World War I was the result of intentional government action. However, this approach is disproven by the fact that none of the three finance ministers after the war could stop the inflation that was triggered by war expenses, the lack of food and stock, and mainly the prolonged payment of war reparations. Financial stabilisation finally occurred under the control of the League of Nations in 1924, when Hungary received an international loan and the independent Hungarian National Bank was set up.

Tamás Csíki seeks to identify what the appropriate name for the rural events that took place in the late autumn of 1918 would be. The author points out that the events are defined as a 'civil democratic revolution' in Marxist terminology, even though there were significant differences between the events that took place in cities and villages. Csíki argues that the events that occurred in villages can be defined as hunger strikes. He highlights that home-coming soldiers, along with the rural population that had been in need for four years, expressed their dissatisfaction in a traditional way, and no violent or Bolshevist characteristics can be identified in their behaviour. The author of the next piece, Zsombor Bódy, deals with the problem of food supply in Hungary during and after the Great War. As food supply came under governmental regulation during the war, it became a field of political conflict between interested social groups. Difficulties caused by military administration significantly contributed to the emergence of a civil war situation by the end of 1918, as depicted by the caricatures included in the study. Governmental control of the food supply finally ended in 1924, which promoted both the economic and political consolidation of the country. Péter Nagy analyses the issue of Hungarian coal stock during World War I and the following years. Although there were many coal mines on the territory of the Austro–Hungarian Monarchy, they did not even cover the country's needs before the war. In the second half of the war, the coal shortage became so severe that the government tried to remedy the situation with central regulations. A special coal commission was set up with recognised professionals as leaders. However, it was only in the first half of the 1920s that the situation was normalised thanks to increased coal production, austerity measures, and imports from abroad.

In the seventh study, Ágnes Nagy investigates housing policy and related initiatives during World War I, as well as the respective long-term changes in mentality. During the war, the renting of flats was also under governmental control, as opposed to under the earlier free-market conditions. Under the Hungarian Council Republic, control was even more strict: the government sought to determine the size of houses people could live in Budapest. Consolidation started under Teleki's

prime ministership, but in 1923 the latter started to reduce governmental control. However, although it may sound strange, the idea of a 'bound housing policy'—inherited from the period of war and revolution—lived on into the later decades of the twentieth century. Katalin Sárai Szabó reviews the social aspects of women's employment during the World War I and the following years. After the war, the concept of the 'working woman' came to the fore. However, the employment of women brought about significant changes in social life, and as men started to see women as rivals in the world of work, it generated numerous social problems, according to the contemporary perspective. The author points out that, despite their engagement in different jobs, the social esteem of women remained low. In the final study, Tibor Klestenitz introduces the situation of press and journalism during World War I, the time of the revolutions, and the first years of consolidation. The author emphasises that the phenomenon of anti-journalism, which had already appeared during the war, became more intensive after Trianon. The government and journalists fought for control of the left-wing elements of the press, with the former attempting to make it responsible for the war and related defeat. However, these actions were still far removed from those of the extreme right, which tried to totally mute the liberal press.

The significance of the above-introduced volume is that the topics of the studies perfectly describe both the short- and long-term effects of the Trianon treaty and not only on a macro but on a micro level. Another aspect that I highly appreciate about this book is that approximately half of the authors use tables and diagrams, which make it possible to understand the conclusions more easily. A further remarkable advantage of the publication is that the authors use the most relevant English and German literature and primary Hungarian sources to draw conclusions about the history of Hungary between World War I and the time of consolidation. However, in spite of the volume's pre-defined aim, not every author manages to contradict the contemporary perspective and redefine a presumably more appropriate narrative instead.

HSCE | Historical Studies on Central Europe

Historical Studies on Central Europe 3, no. 1 (2023): 248–250
doi.org/10.47074/HSCE.2023-1.19

Pioneer Hungarian Women in Science and Education. Edited by Réka M. Cristian and Anna Kérchy.

Budapest: Akadémiai, 2022. 148 pp.

Nóra Szigethy

Department of English and American Studies, University of Szeged, 2 Egyetem Street, 6722 Szeged, Hungary; noraa.szigethy@gmail.com

Pioneer Hungarian Women in Science and Education is an astounding portrait collection of the lives and works of outstanding Hungarian women scholars born before 1945. It follows in the footsteps of such publications as *Nők a magyar tudományban* [Women in Hungarian Science] issued in 2010. The volume gives us a glimpse of the world of pioneering women scientists and educators in historical Hungary. Its aim is to give female academics, both past and present, more visibility. At the same time, it is also an encouragement to women of all ages to chase their dreams and desires with passion, as this is how memorable goals are fulfilled. As the book is in English, it addresses a wider reading audience, encouraging foreigners to discover these Hungarian scholars.

The editors chose to include the period from the second half of the nineteenth century to the end of the World War II. This timeframe is significant as it is in this period that women first appear in Hungarian higher education. The editors also found it important to introduce female scholars who lived, worked, and attracted significant attention for their academic achievements in their home country. The extraordinary women included in the book were active in a vast variety of scientific disciplines, with archaeology, mathematics, chemistry, musicology, and medicine among them. Each entry begins with a portrait of the scholar we are to meet: this wise editorial touch brings the scholars closer to the readers. As a thoughtful addition, at the end of each chapter we find a list of recommended further readings if we wish to find out more about these women.

The book is divided into ten chapters with a total of thirteen biographies. In the first chapter, Béla Pukánszky's study takes us to see the fundamental efforts of Teréz Brunszvik and Blanka Teleki in making education available for more women, which was by no means an easy enterprise. In the Hungary of the last decade of the nineteenth century, a decent woman's place was still in the home with her family,

as highlighted by several historical excerpts. In the second chapter, introduced by Réka M. Cristian, we learn about the first Hungarian female archaeologist: Zsófia Torma. Considering that at Torma's time archaeology was still an emerging field, her achievements are even more notable. The next chapter is the biography of astronomer Berta Degenfeld-Schomburg written by Katalin Kéri. A tribute to Vilma Hugonnai, Sarolta Steinberger, and Margit Genersich, Hungary's first female physicians, is offered by Éva Bruckner. Since in the latter half of the nineteenth century medicine was still strictly reserved for men, women's contribution to the medical field is extremely remarkable.

Thanks to Zsuzsanna Arany's research, we then move on to learn about Valéria Dienes, the first woman with a university doctorate in Hungary. Dienes contributed both to academia and the arts: she certainly was a woman of many talents, including philosophy, translation, and dancing. The life of Maria Dudich Vendl, the first Hungarian female mineralogist, who contributed to the study of morphological crystallography, is explored by Andrea Varga. The botanist Vera Csapody is introduced by Larisa Kocic-Zámbó. Csapody enriched botany with a legacy of 11,200 scientifically accurate drawings and watercolors, that we can find in the *Icones Pictae Planarum* today. Péter Gábor Szabó introduces the life of Rózsa Péter, Hungary's first female mathematician: a queen among the many kings in 'the queen of sciences' as mathematics is often jokingly referred to. Anna Dalos writes about Margit Prahács, a prominent figure in the realm of musicology. Prahács went against the typical female stereotypes of Hungary's Horthy era by dedicating her life to her studies. She was inspired by Teréz Brunszvik: hers is a perfect example of how powerful women can empower each other. In the last chapter, Magdolna Hargittai draws our attention to Ilona Banga's achievements in biochemistry. As Hargittai points out, her role as an assistant to Albert Szent-Györgyi has been much underrated.

As stated by its editors, *Pioneer Hungarian Women in Science and Education* is part of an ongoing project in the celebration of women's history and scholarly achievements. Indeed, a study that carefully collects and analyses the life and work of the first female academics in Hungary is essential. The book is hopefully the first volume in a series where more will follow: it is a space that brings together not only women scholars but those who believe it is necessary to remember the names of the pioneers who paved the way for science to be accessible for all, regardless of gender or financial background. Their sacrifice was great, as we can see, for example, in a painting that shows Blanka Teleki's captivity. The pain they endured to reach their goals should not be forgotten. Moreover, the women presented in the book invite us to critically question the social construct of femininity: is there only one way to be feminine? Do women really lose their femininity when they decide to pursue their goals outside the fields a male-dominated society deems adequate for them?

Finally, we have to remember that pioneering women are not just figures from the distant past. They are very much part of our present, and for their contribution to science and general social development, they truly deserve recognition.

Historical Studies on Central Europe 3, no. 1 (2023): 251–257
doi.org/10.47074/HSCE.2023-1.20

HSCE | Historical Studies on Central Europe

Lányok, asszonyok Szlovákiában és Magyarországon (1955–1989). Ahogy két etnológus nő látta / Dievčatá, ženy na Slovensku a v Maďarsku (1955–1989). Očami dvoch etnologičiek [Girls and Women in Slovakia and Hungary (1955–1989): Through the Eyes of Two Female Ethnologists]. By Marta Botiková and Zita Deáky.

Budapest: Eötvös Loránd University Faculty of Humanities, 2022. 339 pp.

Judit Acsády

Institute for Sociology, Centre for Social Sciences, 4 Tóth Kálmán Street, 1097 Budapest, Hungary; acsady.judit@tk.hu

In the first half of the 1990s, directly after the complex system changes in the ex-Soviet-bloc countries, women's everyday life, social status, and personal experiences under state socialism were favored subjects of authors analysing processes of transition. The books concerned were mostly by foreign authors, namely women who came from western democracies to East and Central Europe to do research after the political openings. The question they most often raised was whether women's position was better or worse under state socialism than after the transitions. What were the gains and the painful losses for women as a social group in the newly forming political democracies and market economies?[1] These studies often contained an evaluation of women's position and gender relations under state socialism. The inquiry was frequently based on sociological studies but often applied interdisciplinary approaches. Their characteristic perspective was gender equality. Women were discussed in the framework of gender relations, within the state socialist legal system and institutional settings. These characteristic studies on transitiology examined women's position in comparison with men's, with the expectation that equality should be guaranteed in most social arenas, such as the labor market, education, political representation, leadership positions, in the household, and in caring responsibilities. Women within the gender relations of national contexts were observed according to such factors as, for example, paid work, domestic work,

1 See, for example, the referred works in the literature by the authors: Bútorová, et al., *She and He in Slovakia*; Corrin, *Magyar Women*; Funk and Mueller, eds, *Gender Politics*; Gal and Kligman, eds, *The Politics of Gender*; Griffin, ed., *Women's Employment*; Einhorn, *Cinderella Goes to Market*; Gray, *Soviet Women*.

family considerations, social policy developments, health care, attitudes and images towards gender relations, and images of women in culture.[2]

However, there are certain overlaps in themes. *Girls and Women in Slovakia and Hungary (1955–1989): Through the Eyes of Two Female Ethnologists,* the recent book by two ethnologist women, Marta Botiková and Zita Deáky, is only loosely connected to the former series of works. The authors themselves claim that they do not intend to relate to recent women's history projects and do not intend to re-evaluate[3] the epoch of state-socialism.[4] Botiková and Deáky follow a different path. The genre is in fact a genuine initiative, that even they themselves label as 'unusual'. They describe the way they present their findings as similar to the fragmented vision in a kaleidoscope. Indeed, the book is multi-colored and is related to different research fields supplemented by a personal, subjective tone, consciously reflected by the authors. (In fact, even the period they cover is defined on a personal basis, i.e., beginning with the two authors' birth year). The book is outstanding also because of its comparative methodology. Comparative studies concerning women in Soviet bloc societies are also rather unique. The few examples of such undertakings include, for example, the research of the young scholar, Hajnalka Magyari, Kovácsné, who examines women under state socialism in Romania and Hungary.[5]

Considering the field of science that Botiková and Deáky employ, the book is primarily based on ethnography and ethnology studies in a historical perspective.[6] This approach includes elements of classical folk culture research, ethnography, understood as a systematic study of particular cultures, involving the examination of participants' behavior in a given social sphere. At the same time, ethnology is an academic field that concentrates more on comparing different social groups (e.g., ethnicities) and analysing characteristics of different peoples and their relationships. A primary methodological tool of an ethnographic study is participant observation, which involves that the researcher should be present in the everyday life of the people examined. The researcher documents what she/he experiences in the community, for example, the repeated patterns of social interactions and habits. The authors apply the ethnology approach with historical perspectives, i.e., they aim to follow and describe the changes in these communities over the forty years of

2 See, for example, the themes of Corrin's book, *Magyar Women*.

3 As an example, for an evaluative and analytical study of gender relations during state socialism, see Zimmermann, "A gender-rezsim."

4 Botiková and Deáky, *Lányok asszonyok*, 14.

5 Kovácsné Magyari, "Női szerepek."

6 The ethnography approach combined with the social history approach was defined as historical ethnography by János Bali in his presentation at the book launch (December 2022, Eötvös Loránd University).

state socialist rule. They collect the data and mostly rely on results of their previous research in the field.

Ethnography, on the other hand, could also imply the use of quantitative data. The book rarely includes quantitative data, and individual personal interviews as such can hardly be found in source references. In addition to references to previous data collections in the field and an overview of the secondary literature, the authors' interdisciplinary approach could have allowed the inclusion of more of these types of sources.

Botiková and Deáky both come from an ethnology background. They emphasize the importance of the comparative feature of their work. Their main aim, as outlined in the Introduction to the book, is to "search for similarities and parallels between the history of the two countries" that have been separate since 1918. They argue that we do not have sufficient knowledge about and mutual interest in the two different cultures and countries. They find that the increasing awareness of similarities might help to strengthen bonds between the two communities. Although before 1993 Slovakia was part of Czechoslovakia, the book discusses it as a separate unit, though in certain cases, there are no separate statistical data for Slovakia during state socialism, but only for the entire country. By discussing Slovakia separately, the book might contribute to the formation of national identities. There is another justification for dealing with Slovakia rather than the entire (previous) country including the Czechs. The Slovak and the Hungarian communities live next to each other, and their interactions have always been more common and significant. The people living on the two sides of the Hungarian and Slovak border are linked together in many ways, including frequent family ties.

However, the book does not discuss the national identities of ethnic minorities, not even the fact that there are significant Hungarian speaking populations in Slovakia, and Slovakian minorities in Hungary. The authors consciously decided not to elaborate this question. Apart from a few examples, like Hungarian journals that were available in Slovakia, cases of mixed marriages, or dual language epitaphs, they fail to address the issues of multiple language usage and other significant aspects of the situation of ethnic minorities.

The key motives the studies are centered around is the dynamism of the prevalence of traditions and the ways of accommodation to the (often forced) new circumstances defining citizens' everyday life during state socialism. The question they aim to answer is how the changes affected women, particularly in their daily routines. The authors' presupposition is that the state socialism established in these countries by the soviet regime after World War II and led by the oppressive dictatorship of communist parties should be assessed as coercion, as the violent imposition of the new rule on the population, especially in the 1950s. The system change penetrated people's lives. The authors argue that in Slovakia and Hungary the population did not necessarily

interiorize Stalinist values and ideology. Instead, they developed strategies of resilience, of silent (personal) resistance, and created 'hybrid' solutions to accommodate the new circumstances. Most typically, this meant that certain traditional elements of culture or behaviors survived and were continued. People did not change, for example, their festivities, the celebration of religious holidays, or the habit of baptizing newborns.

In Slovakia and Hungary of the 1960s, some 80–85 percent of babies were still christened.[7] The authors counterpoint this cherished religious tradition with a detailed description of the forced/expected celebration of public 'name giving' celebrations that suited the ideology of the soviet system. On such public occasions, several mothers were holding their babies, usually with a relatively high number of participants, mostly colleagues, attending. At this artificial inaugural ceremony, mothers and their infants were greeted with pioneers' songs and speeches by communist functionaries. Afterwards, the parents were offered a modest treat, such as sandwiches, sweets, and refreshments. Although people attended such events (because they were expected to do so and were monitored at their workplaces), they did not necessarily interiorize the values they mediated. The book discusses these celebrations as part of the presentation of individuals' entire life cycle from birth to death, together with the customs and habits that prevailed, as well as the ones that had been modified or replaced by new forms.

As a rule, people's views and traditional beliefs were not explicitly declared to the outside world but were kept in the family or the private sphere. A type of 'double-speak' was developed: one language and mentality was kept for the family and one's private life, and another for the outside world. The authors argue that traces of these strategies could be documented in both the Hungarian and the Slovakian population. The main feature of resilience strategies was 'inner resistance'. This meant trying to save one's mind and opinion, that is, maintaining the 'inner' freedom of thought, manners, and values within the private sphere in contrast to the coercive outside world of the public. Although statements about the population are often formulated as generalisations, the authors are aware of the fact that the communist rule did not have the same meaning for all individuals in society. Some interpreted it more as coercion, while others tended to accept and acknowledge the system as it was.

The authors construct their argument through the documentation of everyday life, the habits, and lifestyles in the dynamism of giving answers to challenges of structural and institutional changes. State celebrations and private holidays are one of the best terrains to demonstrate these dynamics. The authors describe and analyse the elements and the features of state celebrations and discuss what red letter days may have meant to the population, and what they did not mediate. For instance,

7 Botiková and Deáky, *Lányok asszonyok,* 210.

1st May, the official 'Labor Day' is described as a pertinent example of fulfilling the expectations of the soviet system (with the obligatory huge marches of employees from all workplaces in front of the communist leaders posing on the top of tribunes) while being a festive day with picnics, beer drinking, and having fun outdoors.

In the case of the church or religious holidays like Christmas and Easter, the authorities made an effort to annihilate their religious content, giving the feasts new names and new meanings. Botiková and Deáky describe how people both in Slovakia and Hungary kept these celebrations in the private sphere and tried to maintain their original meanings. In terms of how women related to customs, the authors show that women continued to be fully responsible for household duties not only in everyday life but also concerning these feasts. The preparations, making the food, cleaning the house, inviting guests, ensuring the special festive attires and the right clothes for everyone in the family were all women's duties. In fact, this relates to the general prevalence of traditional norms concerning gender relations in both societies, even at a time when women were already in employment. This 'double burden' on women's shoulders was identical not only in these two countries but all through the ex-soviet bloc.

International Women's Day is discussed among the official holidays. Yet, compared to the descriptions of other official holidays, the motives and ways of celebrating it would deserve deeper analysis. It would be intriguing to get the reasons for why, unlike 8th March for women in western democracies, it mostly remained an official, compulsory and, at the same time, mostly alienated celebration for women in this region. (It seems rather unfortunate that the short historical overview of Women's Day is given no more than a footnote. This paragraph could have been part of the main text, in the same way as descriptions of other official holidays.).

The manifest similarities in the dynamics of demographic changes and family relations are presented by showing that in certain tendencies there were only some periodical differences between Slovakia and Hungary. The authors' main objective is to demonstrate the changes in family structures during state socialist rule: for example, the time of the first marriage, childbirth, the diversification of family forms, divorce, birth control, the changing functions and disappearance of multi-generational families, the effects of commuting and new housing estates on the core of family life. It remains an open question though, as it is not very convincingly elaborated, whether all the changes could be interpreted as the impact of the state socialist system. A short look at tendencies in the modern world outside the region might have given the alternative explanation that, in other parts of the world as well, changes in family relations were an integral part of modernisation processes, industrialisation, and women's emancipation. Nevertheless, it is still worth investigating further differences between ex-Soviet bloc countries.

The two countries' political establishments, legal systems, economies, and the institutions in the given period are referred to in their effects on specific themes but are not analysed in depth. Yet, some of the institutions, such as the generally available health care system or schooling and education would have deserved more attention, as these were fundamental in women's life in Slovakia and Hungary. It has to be admitted though that the medicalisation of childbirth as a major change and the system of childcare institutions are discussed in the contexts of both countries.

The book thoroughly describes particular elements of everyday life in state socialism. In their approach, the descriptions are strongly connected to the ethnographic overview of a given culture. Thus, for example, there are chapters devoted to nutrition, clothing, hygiene, and holidays (as noted already). The chapters usually begin with a general introduction to the theme, for example, by providing a definition of the notion of 'nutrition'. These rather general introductory definitions and descriptions give the flavour of a textbook. Therefore, it might serve as useful reading for future students of ethnography or anthropology. It seems however that the folklore-centered approach provides more emphasis to the description of rural communities than to urban life.

There might be a risk in providing numerous details concerning people's everyday habits, customs, and even their utility items in the household, namely that 'you do not always see the wood for the trees'—as the proverb goes. That is, the overreaching descriptions of details of everyday life may alter and shift the focus from women themselves, their experiences, and their particular point of view. I am aware that this remark sounds as if formulated outside the scholarly realm of ethnography and ethnology. Indeed, it originates much more from the approach of interdisciplinary fields of women's and gender studies. The question still remains whether it may be the task of an ethnographic undertaking to discuss the meanings of the features of everyday life for the people involved. If yes, it would be valuable to investigate more the meanings behind structural changes and to identify how they were reflected in women's individual life experiences.

The book is richly illustrated by photos from unique collections, individual heritages and public archives or parts of earlier field research. They depict primarily women in the most diverse places and surroundings: for example, at their workplaces, in fields of agricultural cooperatives, on holiday, at public events with colleagues, friends, and their company, and in their family circle. However, since illustrations are valuable visual representations of the subject, it would have been exciting and informative if the authors had given more detailed analyses of individual photos. At least in the case of certain special examples, the story behind the illustrations would have given more insight into individual cases. Such descriptions could have balanced the general approach in the narrative. The authors are most

probably aware of numerous personal life stories and events (although few examples are cited in the book) that could strengthen the discussions of general tendencies.

The book, in its genre of historical ethnography, is unique and enlightening especially for readers who did not live under state socialist rule because they are too young or they speak no Slovak or Hungarian. If the book is translated, for foreign readers, it will be a treasure box full of stimulating details of women's lives and thoughtful descriptions of the world of Slovakia and Hungary in the forty years leading to the regime change.

Literature

Bútorová, Zora, Monika Bosá, Jarmila Filadelfiová, Oľga Gyárfášová, Milan Minarovič, Martina Sekulová, Sylvia Šumšalová, and Marián Velšic. *She and He in Slovakia. Gender and Age in the Period of Transition.* Bratislava: Institute for Public Affairs, 2008.

Corrin, Chris. *Magyar Women: Hungarian Women' Lives 1960s–1990s*. London: St. Martin's Press, 1994. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-1-349-23126-3

Funk, Nanette and Magda Mueller, eds. *Gender Politics and Post-Communism*. New York: Routledge, 1993.

Gal, Susan and Gail Kligman, eds. *The Politics of Gender after Socialism*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2000. https://doi.org/10.1515/9781400843008

Gray, Francine du Plessix. *Soviet Women Walking the Tightrope.* New York: Doubleday, 1990.

Griffin, Gabriele, ed. *Women's Employment, Women's Studies, and Equal Opportunities 1945–2001. Reports from Nine European Countries*. Hull: The University of Hull. 2002.

Einhorn, Barbara. *Cinderella Goes to Market. Citizenship, Gender, and Women's Movements in East Central Europe.* London: Verso, 1993.

Kovácsné Magyari, Hajnalka. "Női szerepek változásai a magyar és román államszocializmus idején" [Changes in Feminine Roles during the Time of Hungarian and Romanian State Socialism]. *Korunk* 33, no. 2 (2022): 60–73.

Zimmermann, Susan. "A gender-rezsim és -küzdelem a magyar államszocializmusban" [Gender Regime and Gender Struggle in Hungarian State Socialism]. *Eszmélet* 96, no. 4 (2012). Last accessed: 15 February 2023. https://www.eszmelet.hu/susan_zimmermann-a-tarsadalmi-nemi-gender-rezsim-es-kuzdel/

HSCE | Historical Studies on Central Europe

Historical Studies on Central Europe 3, no. 1 (2023): 258–260
doi.org/10.47074/HSCE.2023-1.21

From Iberia to China: Some Interactions of the Islamic World with the West and the East. Edited by Abdallah Abdel-Ati Al-Naggar, Ágnes Judit Szilágyi, and Zoltán Prantner.

Cairo–Budapest: Eötvös Loránd University Faculty of Humanities – Egyptian Academy for Printing & Translation & Publishing, 2022. 216 pp.

Dávid Biró

Modern and Contemporary World History Doctoral Programme, Doctoral School of History, Eötvös Loránd University, 6–8 Múzeum körút, 1088 Budapest, Hungary; birodave@gmail.com

Since the rise of Islam in the seventh century, there has been constant interaction between Europe and the Islamic world, often with profound consequences on both sides. These diverse relationships were deepest and most influential in the Middle East and North Africa, and within a few centuries, the Arab-Islamic civilisation made a significant contribution to the development of European Christian civilisation. The main routes for this transfer were Sicily and Spain. However, Islam has done much more than geographically define Europe.

The 216-page book entitled *From Iberia to China: Some Interactions of the Islamic World with the West and the East* was edited by Abdallah Abdel-Ati Al-Naggar, a senior fellow at the Office of the President and International Department of the Egyptian Academy of Sciences, Ágnes Judit Szilágyi, the Head of Department of Modern and Contemporary World History at Eötvös Loránd University, and Zoltán Prantner, Associate Professor at Kodolányi János University.

The studies in the first of the four blocks in the book called "Centuries of Islamic Impact on Western Europe" guide us from the early medieval Islamic conquest to the Islamic cultural heritage of the twentieth century. In the first study, Shaimaa Albanna examines the cultural identity of Western Andalusia, highlighting the definition of cultural identity and its importance in preserving the cultural tendencies of peoples. One of the key findings of the study is that nature played a major role in shaping the Islamic identity of Portugal, and that the identity of Western Andalusia is the result of the merging of Arabs, Berbers, and other identities. In the following study, Ali A. El-Sayed's aim was to demonstrate the application of historical, archaeological, and geographical aspects related to the period of the Crusades, in which observations

of ancient Egyptian antiquities come to the fore. The third study, written by Rania Mohammad Ibrahim, concerns the period between the twelfth and fourteenth centuries and the economic boycott between the Islamic East and Europe. This study focuses on key cases of economic boycotts between Muslims and Christians. In her writing, she explains the decisions by the papacy to prohibit European cities to trade with Muslims, and the extent of these cities' commitment to the Pope's decisions.

In the next study, Ágnes Judit Szilágyi presents the career of the French-Portuguese pianist Marie-Antoinette Aussenac (1883–1971). We learn that in 1920 her personality caught the attention of the *Atlântida* magazine. The presentation of this aspect is definitely special since we know little about the lives and work of female characters at the beginning of the twentieth century. It adds to the thrill of reading about Aussenac's career that in the early thirties she became a follower of Babism, the Shia reformist movement. The next piece by Viola Szabó is a historical work on the tomb of Gül Baba in today's Budapest. The mausoleum of Gül Baba was a well-known site of pilgrimage for Muslims and Turks in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Relying on archival sources, Szabó gives an insight into its importance in the twentieth century. We also get clues about the context of the Budapest government's efforts to support the Muslim community in the early twentieth century. Because of its topic, this piece might be better placed in the next block focusing on East Central Europe.

The second block is entitled "Twentieth Century Contacts between East-Central Europe and the Near East." The articles present economic and diplomatic relations between the two regions during the Cold War period. In the first study, Elizabeth Bishop examines the role of the Yugoslav presidential ship Galeb in Arab–European relations, highlighting the meeting between Josip Broz Tito and Gamal Abdul Nasser. At the beginning of the study, the author describes the origin and diplomatic importance of the ship. Then she presents relations between Egypt and Yugoslavia, the cooperation in the nationalisation of the Suez Canal. Lukács Krajcsír's paper "From Strong Military Cooperation to Headless Evacuation," presents the relations between Czechoslovakia and Egypt, starting from the conclusion of the 1955 Arms Purchase Agreement to the outbreak of the Suez Crisis. The study describes the economic and political relations between the two countries. The author points out that trade between Czechoslovakia and Egypt was based not only on arms sales, but also on the sale of many other products, such as diesel equipment, locomotives, tractors, and others. Krajcsír uses a number of archival sources that can serve as a priority database of information for further research on the subject.

In their paper, Abdallah Abdel-Ati Al-Naggar and László J. Nagy examine Iraqi–Hungarian relations between 1958 and 1989. The study uses interesting archival sources which show from a new perspective the activities of Hungarian diplomats, the establishment of important meetings, and the development of economic

and political relations between the two countries. The second study by the same authors entitled "The Hungarian – Gulf Relation in the 1970s and 1980s" highlights the relationship between Hungary and Kuwait. In addition to archival sources, the authors rely on a number of contemporary Hungarian press sources that covered these relations. In "The Hungarian Assessments of the Yemeni Consequences of the Khartoum Arab Summit," Zoltán Prantner examines how the Yemeni civil war was portrayed in Hungarian diplomatic documents and in the press during the 1967 Khartoum process. Prantner presents the events leading up to the conclusion of the Egyptian–Saudi agreement on Yemen and the position of the socialist countries on the Yemen issue before the Khartoum Arab Summit.

The third block deals with Saudi Arabia and the Far East, where we learn about the topic through a total of three studies. Beáta Kornéli's paper gives an insight into the early history of the emerging Saudi Arabia. As the presence of the British became decisive in the region around the turn of the century, Abdelaziz Ibn Saud sought diplomatic relations from 1902. After initial failures, the processes accelerated with the 1914 arrival of Henry Irvine Shakespear, who achieved great success in his diplomatic discussions with the sheikhs of the Gulf. The next article by Máté Percze also deals with the twentieth-century history of Saudi Arabia, showing how the country managed to develop from its establishment to becoming a regional middle power. In the last article of the block, László K. Gulyás describes the relationship between Saudi Arabia and China, presenting their history and the reasons for deepening them since 2010. These include China's huge demand for raw materials and the fact that the Saudi leadership wants to reduce the country's dependence on oil for its economy. The study addresses a very important issue, as Saudi Arabia has traditionally maintained good relations with the United States, one of its most important allies in the Middle East.

The fourth and final block of book reviews contains four items: two separate papers by Zoltán Prantner and János Besenyő, a joint study by Abdallah Abdel-Ati Al-Naggar and Sherif Reda Aboushanab, and another joint work by Zoltán Prantner and Sherif Reda Aboushanab. Naturally, all reviews focus on books related to the Islamic world, faithfully fitting the main direction of the volume.

From Iberia to China provides new and important research results on a topic that has received less attention. These studies may make an important contribution to Arab and European relations, which in turn strengthens the relationship between the two academic communities.

Historical Studies on Central Europe 3, no. 1 (2023): 261–266
doi.org/10.47074/HSCE.2023-1.22

HSCE | Historical Studies on Central Europe

Paradigma "Ländliche Gesellschaft". Ethnografische Skizzen zur Wissensgeschichte bis ins 21. Jahrhundert. By Leonore Scholze-Irrlitz.

Münster: Waxmann, 2019. 263 pp.

Ágnes Eitler

Institute of Ethnography, Eötvös Loránd University, 6–8 Múzeum körút, 1088 Budapest; Institute of Ethnology, Research Centre for the Humanities, 4/B Tóth Kálmán Street, 1097 Budapest, Hungary; eitler.agnes@btk.elte.hu; eitler.agnes@abtk.hu

The ethnographical 'sketches' in this volume, some already published in their earlier versions and some recently announced papers by Professor Leonore Scholze-Irrlitz, at Humboldt University of Berlin compose a colorful mosaic of the German European ethnology's past and present. By rereading the history of ethnographic knowledge production, the author reveals how 'rural society,' a foundational paradigm of *Volkskunde* and later of European ethnology has been constructed from the eighteenth century to the present. In addition, it illustrates how the ethnographical approach, which has built its own knowledge structure in the past over two hundred years, may assist fruitful examinations of the rural area's recent challenges. The author also aspires to provide methodological keys for experts of the discipline in the research of rural society and to offer public and political decision-makers on different levels an attitudinal position and a way of thinking concerning the 'rural area' for.

Since its establishment (1995), the author has been the leader of the Regional Institute for Ethnography of Berlin-Brandenburg, a department with special territorial and thematic interest within the Institute of European Ethnology at Humboldt University. The volume is mainly based on the empirical approach to 'rural area,' namely on ethnographic fieldwork conducted in several settlements of the Brandenburg region.[1] Scholze-Irrlitz's individual research as well as her projects connected to university courses are built on strong cooperation with museums, cultural institutions and associations in the region.

1 For more details, see Scholze-Irrlitz, ed., *Aufbruch im Umbruch*; Scholze-Irrlitz, ed., *Perspektive ländlicher Raum*; Scholze-Irrlitz, ed., *Entwicklung statt Abwicklung.*

The volume comprises two main sections. Part I ("Problems of the Interpretation of the Discipline") provides an overview of German European ethnology's history, and Part II ("Empiricism. »Rural Society«") turns towards the ethnography of Berlin-Brandenburg. Sections are attached to each other through the term 'rural area', which is the key concept of the book. Among the definitions of 'rural area', Scholze-Irrlitz emphasizes its nature of being a place of knowledge. Knowledge in this case means people's varied experiences and the ability to build consensus from their differences whereby they create diverse social realities in a certain time horizon (pp. 10–11).

The first chapter introduces the forerunners of the discipline in the Enlightenment era, accurately presenting the milieu that promoted the publication of so-called pre-ethnographical material. The pre-ethnographical approach already carried features that later constituted the 'core' of the discipline. Although ethnography has its roots in cultural history, which evolved in the age of the Enlightenment, it observes its subject from a different perspective. While the latter focuses on the history of human civilisations and depicts them as branches of a linear progress, pre-ethnography emphasizes the subjective perception of social processes. The intention to grasp individual experiences deriving from different situations of social life instead of causal thinking—which became characteristic of natural sciences in the nineteenth century—created the concept of open-ended social processes.

The author proceeds with her analysis by presenting the gradually shaped principles of the discipline in the second chapter, which covers the timespan from the late eighteenth century to the interwar period. The evolution of ethnography's paradigm happened in the historical context of the rise of modernity and was also shaped by the experience of the many ruptures in everyday life caused by industrialisation. Through its specific approach, ethnography was able to remove individual, unique phenomena from their peripherical status, placing them in the discipline's focus of attention.

Further chapters in the first part examine ethnography's trajectory through the Berlin-case, providing a fairly deep insight into the inner relations of Humboldt University and highlighting important methodological considerations connected to the oeuvre of the institute's leading figures from the establishment of the chair of ethnography to the transformation of the university system after the political turn in 1989. This narrative opens with a study on the key moments of ethnography's institutionalisation at Humboldt University in the era of National Socialism in the 1930s. Analysing the university lectures with any ethnographical content in the period, the author reveals significant details of the discipline's self-identification and subject formation. The relationship between the discipline and society, in other words the operation of knowledge transfers between the scientific and the social realities of the 1930s is also highlighted. The analysis of the period continues with presenting the methodological approaches the Berlin school followed in its ethnographical research.

The last two chapters of the first part address the discipline's profile renewal in the second half of the twentieth century. The author presents how the 'way of life' as a new concept for empirical research emerged in the German Democratic Republic and how it served as a common ground for ethnologists and ethnographers at Humboldt University; moreover, it managed to converge the activities of the university and the academy of sciences. Finally, the historical overview of the Berlin school ends with an explanation of how this approach has been reflected in the university's educational and the research projects.

Entitled "Empiricism," the second part of the volume gives the essence of Scholze-Irrlitz' achievements in researching rural society in the Berlin-Brandenburg area. The chapters in the first thematic block connect social and ecological aspects of the rural area, focusing on the experience attached to certain physically existing places. The case study of the village Brodowin (located in the Barnim region) analyses how the industrialized agricultural production of the local co-operative *(Landwirtschaftliche Produktionsgenossenschaft)* has been converted into bio-dynamic farming within the frames of the 'Brodowin Eco-Village' enterprise since the reunification of Germany. Scholze-Irrlitz focuses on the period of the transformation of the system and shows how different groups of interest found their common ground and decided to follow the path of sustainable agriculture. Another case study here, the Wallmow case (located in the Uckermark region) underlines the significance and legitimacy of local social and economic initiations in a region where, due to the constant dismantlement of the public infrastructure, inhabitants find themselves in a fatal downward spiral. The author's examples include a successful project of maintaining elementary education on the local level and various well-functioning forms of informal work.

Turning from the spatial to temporal aspects, namely to the experience of historical situations, a chapter highlights the role of collective memory in the construction of historical cognition. The author provides insight into the milieu of transit camps for forced and 'foreign' laborers in Brandenburg in 1941–1944. Her analysis is based on the two pillars of archival material and personal memories, narratives of the witnesses and victims. The last chapter of the monograph intends to combine the spatial focus with the temporal approach, as it argues for the necessity of methodological plurality in researching the rural area. Returning to the Brodowin case, Scholze-Irrlitz reconstructs local property relations in agriculture before the collectivisation by analysing archival material. Combining the results with present experiences of bio-dynamic farming and land tenancy policies, the author makes it visible why land owning after 1990—which has been built on the property relations of the 1960s—could ensure one's position in the new 'Eco-Village' enterprise, whereas other factors such as qualifications could not secure someone's future on the farm.

The part "Empiricism" is built on the term 'sustainability' as a key concept for the analysis. For the author, sustainability is a specific approach to the rural area which focuses on the practice, that is how actual potentials, problems and ambivalences are handled in order to obtain a meaningful existence in a certain place, in its social lifeworld. Therefore, case studies in the second part of the volume detail individual trajectories of rural places and pay special attention to local projects emerging from social interaction and social involvement. Methodological considerations, such as significant use of participant observation, derive from this attitude. Local experience can be described as an anchor in this context which fixes the concept of sustainability in the reality of a particular social place.

European ethnology's special attention to the peripheries is an essential statement of the first part of the volume and gains a significant actuality in researching rural society in Berlin-Brandenburg. As Scholze-Irrlitz reveals, the rural areas where she conducted fieldwork are regarded as peripheric both in public and scientific discourses in Germany, and little attention is given to their inhabitants' experiences or points of view. The author introduces the concept of 'considering social as demographic', an approach critically discussed by the sociologist Stephan Beetz for stating, on the basis of pure demographic indicators, that there are certain rural regions that suffered the most from the post-1990 transformation and arguing that they are inherently unviable with no future perspectives. In the political decision making of contemporary Germany that mainly leans on rural development studies characterized by this numerical thinking, the disappearance and depopulation of the rural area are strong assumptions. Scholze-Irrlitz argues that without widening the perspective to include the approaches of other disciplines, which are based on empiricism, such as European ethnology, decision makers lack social reality's complexity. For this reason, they might miss the chance to promote a sustainable way of life based on the rural area's own competencies. It is noteworthy that the author's approach towards researching the rural area in Berlin-Brandenburg recalls one of the fundamental features of *Volkskunde*/European ethnology, for it focuses on the marginal and peripheral.

Another key concept of the discipline, i.e., thinking about social processes with an open end, inheres organically in the case studies of the second section. Through the analysis of local trajectories, the author shows that local processes do not reflect irrevocable tendencies, instead they are formed in the dialogue between the characteristics of the region, such as the historically evolved structure and organisation of settlements, agricultural and industrial facilities and various possible everyday strategies, experiences, and knowledge of the sustainable way of life. Furthermore, by revealing bottom-up initiations and their role in sustaining the

rural area, Scholze-Irrlitz challenges the central idea of developing society in a solely growth-oriented way. On that basis, the author defines phenomena that are investigated in her monograph as 'transformation-processes', emphasizing the possibility of an open end which depends on people's decisions in the complex correlation of situations, and she renounces the use of the term 'transition' as it approaches changes focusing on patterns and regularity. Scholze-Irrlitz outlines that denying the lineal and causal nature of the relationship between cause and effect is deeply embedded in the history of European ethnology.

European ethnology is defined here as a discipline that investigates its subject in its specific spatial and social context through a qualitative methodology. It also pays attention to the historical formation and future perspectives of the various forms of the everyday culture it deals with. According to the argumentation of Scholze-Irrlitz, these fundamental characteristics make the discipline competent, even committed to mediate between scientific and social contexts and to draw public attention towards the example of successful local initiations, thus proving the viability of the rural area and the legitimacy of bottom-up approaches. The author presents an inspiring take on the manner in which ethnological knowledge may be transferred: a process built on lively and pragmatical cooperation between rural actors and the decision and policy makers on the regional level, experts in rural development studies and, of course, the ethnologist herself.

To summarize, Leonore Scholze Irrlitz's compilation of ethnographical 'sketches' offers much more than one specific focus for its readers. This monograph is a rereading of the discipline's history from a new perspective. The author highlights the role of certain periods, aspects, correlations, and persons that have not received sufficient attention so far in the evaluation of rural society's paradigm. Moreover, Scholze-Irrlitz's book provides a deep insight into the history of the Berlin school of German ethnology, taking a specific look at the scientific tradition of researching the Berlin-Brandenburg region. Finally, this outstanding volume is also a portrait of a researcher and lecturer who is a prominent character in the present-day research of rural regions of Europe. The 'sketches' demonstrate significant results of her oeuvre and also phrase a theoretically and methodologically well elaborated program in researching rural society, emphasizing the ethnologist's social responsibility.

Literature

Scholze-Irrlitz, Leonore, ed. *Aufbruch im Umbruch. Das Dorf Brodowin zwischen Ökonomie und Ökologie.* Berliner Blätter 40. Münster: LIT, 2008.

Scholze-Irrlitz, Leonore, ed. *Perspektive ländlicher Raum. Leben in Wallmow/Uckermark*. Berliner Blätter 45. Münster: LIT, 2008.
Scholze-Irrlitz, Leonore, ed. *Entwicklung statt Abwicklung. Die Uckermark als Raum der Chancen?* Berliner Blätter 75. Berlin: Panama, 2017.

HSCE | Historical Studies on Central Europe

AIMS AND SCOPE

Historical Studies on Central Europe (HSCE), published by the Faculty of Humanities Eötvös Loránd University, is a biannual English-language scholarly journal focusing on the history of Central Europe. Besides studies that specifically address the region's history, the editors welcome papers that bear methodological and/or theoretical relevance to the study of historical processes.

The double-blind peer-reviewed journal is dedicated for contributions from various fields of historical scholarship in a broad, interdisciplinary spirit, including ethnology and archaeology. The editors are committed to establish a review column with shorter and featured book reviews, as well as review articles critically approaching recent scholarly publications. Furthermore, HSCE publishes regular reports on current research projects for disseminating information about ongoing projects in Central Europe.

The open access journal is available in both printed and online formats.

IMPRESSUM

Publisher: Eötvös Loránd University (H-1053 Budapest, Egyetem tér 1–3, Hungary)

Responsible Publisher: László Borhy

Responsible Editors: Judit Klement and Balázs Nagy

Published biannually with the support of the ELTE Faculty of Humanities.

ISSN 2786-0930 (Print)

ISSN 2786-0922 (Online)

Printed in Hungary, by CC Printing.

EDITORIAL OFFICE:

Historical Studies on Central Europe

Postal address: H–1088 Budapest, Múzeum körút 4/A, Hungary

E-mail: hsce@btk.elte.hu

Homepage: hsce.elte.hu

Manuscripts (research articles and book reviews) should be submitted in English (American spelling) through our online system (hsce.elte.hu).