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Sources and Ways of Wrocław's Promotion in the Structures of the Bohemian Crown in the Luxembourg Era: Polemic Recapitulation

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This article presents the consequences of the establishment of the Crown of the Kingdom of Bohemia in 1348, which entailed the incorporation of Silesia with its rich and ambitious city of Wrocław. Initially, Wrocław posed many challenges for Prague, but over time, it became its competitor. The growing position of Wrocław in the Bohemian Crown stemmed from the legitimization of its rights to the Bohemian throne. Hence, Wrocław's art and architecture of that time reveal many political undertones. In the winter of 1358/1359, the emperor chose Wrocław to ensure the succession of the Luxembourg secundogeniture. The birth of Wenceslaus IV in 1361 simplified the matter of succession. But when Charles IV's younger son, Sigismund, was not accepted in Prague after his brother's death in 1419, he took the Bohemian throne via Wrocław, calling it in 1420 "the second capital of his Rule and the source of law".

Keywords: Wrocław. Bohemian Crown. Luxembourgs. Political ideology. Legitimism.

In recent years, a more comprehensive view of the history of the Czech state has been developed. Unlike the paradigms of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries – which were limited to the Czech ethnicity (František Palacký's paradigm)[1] or to the area of the Czech Republic (Josef Macek's concept)[2] – it covers the whole area of the Bohemian Crown. However, this synthetical view still meets with a wall of bohemocentrism, which is especially evident in the discourse about Silesia, the largest realm of the Bohemian Crown after the Kingdom of Bohemia, and Wrocław, the largest urban centre after Prague.

Currently, Czech studies of the history and culture of late medieval and early modern Silesia seem to be keen to break the old myths and stereotypes. However, it is difficult for many Czech researchers to abandon the preconception that if the fate of the Czech state was shaped outside of Prague, or even outside Bohemia, this occurred only very rarely and only in more recent times.[3] This might be seen as part of the aftermath of the traumatic centuries when Prague was politically dependent on Vienna, then a short but fateful time when the decisions about Czechoslovakia were taken in Munich, and finally its dependence on Berlin and Moscow. Nevertheless, this modern trauma should not

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1 KUTNAR – MAREK, *Přehledné dějiny*, 213–230. MAUR, *A země horami obložena*, 622–636.

2 IWAŃCZAK, *Echa śląskie*, 381–390.

3 Virtually every sentence of this review article could be annotated with dozens of citations from historical sources, monographs and articles. To avoid this temptation, I only provide the most recent literature and refer to the most important sources. On the subject of histographic nuances see: GOLIŃSKI, *Czechy w historii Śląska*, 81–94. JIRÁSEK, *Dějny Slezska,* 5–10. CZECHOWICZ, *Böhmische Erbfolge*, 15–95. CZECHOWICZ, *Czeska historia Śląska*, 163–172. CZECHOWICZ, *Idea i państwo*, I.

obscure the academic discussion about earlier periods, including the role of Wrocław in the Bohemian Crown at the end of the Middle Ages.

Czech researchers readily notice the monumental scale of the Bohemian Rule in the times of the kings John and Charles IV.[4] However, when in the fifteenth century, Silesia and Wrocław forcibly on key issues, the historical role of Wrocław was "silenced". Wrocław's role was brushed aside with statements about the Germanization of the city and its anti-Bohemian and anti-Hussite character – which amounted almost to the banishment of Wrocław from the Bohemian history of the fifteenth and later centuries.[5]

The same process has been going on for generations in Polish historiography, which in general has been unable to go beyond the idea of Silesia as a realm that was lost in the fourteenth century, but which "was still Polish", just subject to the Bohemian political influence, and thus Germanized.[6] Conversely, Czech historians emphasized that the integration of Silesia with the political centre in Prague had saved this area from even stronger Germanization.[7]

Not only Czechs and Poles, but also German researchers have struggled to understand the role of Wrocław. Usually, their view on history has been shaped by the current situation. Even though at the beginning of the eighteenth century, Wrocław was still capable of financing the participation of the Habsburgs in the War of the Spanish Succession,[8] its role kept diminishing over the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

However, a close analysis of the sources reveals that Wrocław played an exceptionally important role in the politics of the Bohemian Crown. Its role increased during the rule of John of Bohemia (died 1346), Charles IV (died 1378) and Wenceslaus IV (died 1419), strengthened thanks to the decisions of Sigismund of Luxembourg (died 1437), and culminated during the reign of two Bohemian kings (1458–1490): George of Poděbrady (died 1471) and Vladislaus II Jagiellon (died 1516). Interestingly, George of Poděbrady was rejected by Wrocław, which gave its support to the other Bohemian monarch, Matthias Corvinus (died 1490).

This unusual situation – the rule of two Bohemian kings simultaneously (1469–1490) – is deeply rooted in the distant Luxembourg era. There are many recent articles, papers and books trying to explain this phenomenon.[9] Nevertheless, the reinterpretation of the Bohemian Crown in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries proposed by some of these authors meets not so much with opposition, but rather with misunderstanding.[10] Perhaps there are too many of these publications, or perhaps they are too analytical. However, it is also probable that this discourse, confined to the Czech, Polish and (to a lesser extent) German languages, should be expanded beyond the barriers of national and patriotic nostalgia or sentiment.

4 Among others SPĚVÁČEK, *Rozmach české státnosti*.

5 A monumental work from recent years is very symptomatic here: CERMANOVÁ – NOVOTNÝ – SOUKUP, *Husitské století*; critically about its bohemocentrism: CZECHOWICZ, *Idea i państwo*, I, 121–123.

6 On this topic recently: CZECHOWICZ, *Migotanie przeszłości*, 12–17, 123–150.

7 MACŮREK, *O polsko-czeską wzajemność*, 182–199.

8 OTRUBA, *Bedeutung*, 192–234.

9 GRIEGER, *Die Pläne*, 163–180. ČORNEJ – BARTLOVÁ, *Velké dějiny*, 241–272, 403–471. KALOUS, *Matyáš Korvín*, 168–194. BOBKOVÁ, *Česká koruna*, 25–105. CZECHOWICZ, *Między katedrą*, 181–256. CZECHOWICZ, *Idea i państwo*, I, 149–204. CZECHOWICZ, *Idea i państwo*, III.

10 ČAPSKÝ, *Zrození země*. ČAPSKÝ, *Przestrzeń jako miejsce pamięci*, 3–14. polemic with this article: CZECHOWICZ, *Když se pán voli*, 27–42. See also: ČAPSKÝ, *K postavení Vratislavi*, 346–383. ČAPSKÝ, *Urban History*, 223; – I will discuss this article at the end of this text.

The purpose of this article[11] is to show once again the mechanisms leading to the fact that in 1420 Sigismund of Luxembourg, the Holy Roman Emperor and King of Hungary, called Wrocław – which he had just taken over from his late brother Wenceslaus IV – the second capital of his Bohemian realm ("*Wratislaviensem tamen civitatem mostram, que velut altera sedes et caput eiusdem regni est fonsque legalitatis irrignus affluencia prelarga derivans* [...]").[12]

An important part of this research is the analysis of sources, not only written, but also visual. Art and architecture of that time – even though their interpretation is not always straightforward – permanently infused some political themes into the public space. Monumental buildings and their decorations were created with a great expenditure of effort and resources, which means that their significance is in no way less important than the written documents, which are much easier to record (and destroy). In Wrocław, there are more artistic, visual and material sources connected with political ideology than in any other city in Bohemia, Moravia and Lusatia, including even Prague. Contrary to previous false beliefs, they are not only signs of Wrocław's subordination to the Bohemian rulers,[13] but more often than not, they are manifestations of the ambitions of the city, which had its own ideas about how the Bohemian Crown should function. The following paragraphs of this article are an attempt to outline the sources of these ambitions of Wrocław – an urban republic that was an economic partner not only for the great European metropolises,[14] but also for its great monarchs, including John of Bohemia, Charles IV, Wenceslaus IV and Sigismund, as well as the King of Poland, Casimir III the Great (died 1370).

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The death of Wenceslaus III in 1306, the last of the royal branch of the Přemyslid Dynasty (a cadet branch survived in the Duchy of Racibórz until 1521), caused a big stir in Central Europe. There were many pretenders to the Prague throne, including Rudolf Habsburg, called the "Porridge King" (died 1307), and Henry of Carinthia (died 1335). However, the decisive voice belonged to Henry VII, Holy Roman Emperor (died 1313), as the Kingdom of Bohemia and the Margraviate of Moravia were imperial fiefs. From 1306, however, it was a dormant fief, and the sovereign had the right to dispose of it as he wished. In turn, from 1212 the Bohemians had a right to choose their own king if there was no father-to-son succession. From the clash of these two political concepts and various other interests, a new Bohemian king and a new Bohemian dynasty emerged – the Luxembourgs – as Emperor Henry granted the Bohemian fief to his young son, John. To legitimize his rights to the Prague throne, John married the Přemyslid heiress, Elisabeth of Bohemia (died 1330), the daughter of Wenceslaus II and the sister

11 I realised that there was a need to write this article while preparing a synthetic book: CZECHOWICZ, *Stołeczne miasto Wrocław* in 2019; so some paragraphs in the middle part of this article are similar to those in the book. However, here I am introducing elements of an academic discussion and provide a critical apparatus, which are missing in the book.

12 MARKGRAF – FRENZEL, *Codex diplomaticus Silesiae* XI, 181, no. 39.

13 In this spirit, e.g.: KACZMAREK, *Znaki czeskiego panowania*, 206–220.

14 GRÜNHAGEN, *Breslau und die Landesfürsten*, 14–23. HOFFMANN, *Towards a City-State*, 173–199. GOLIŃSKI, *Socjotopografia*, 289–330, 465–470, 507–511. MYŚLIWSKI, *Wrocław w przestrzeni gospodarczej*; PATAŁA, *Wrocławscy kupcy w Antwerpii*, 33–47.

of Wenceslaus III (died 1306). With Elisabeth, John fathered his great successor – the Bohemian King and Holy Roman Emperor, Charles IV of Luxembourg.[15]

It was also the time for the reintegration of Silesia with Prague (reintegration, as the various political ties between Silesia and Bohemia in the tenth–fourteenth centuries had not yet been forgotten). This reintegration process started with the first tributes paid by the Silesian dukes to the Bohemian ruler in 1389. However, the decisive role in Silesia was played by Wrocław – the seat of the bishop and the duke, an economic centre and a wealthy urban area (Fig. 1). Founded on the Oder River, Wrocław was surrounded by city walls with towers and gates. From 1264, it expanded through the New Town. Furthermore, the islands on the Oder were urbanized and the Wrocław area included also a slightly isolated Romanesque Premonstratensian Abbey in Ołbin. The whole urban area encompassed three chapters – the cathedral and two collegiate chapters – as well as ten abbeys and monasteries. Apart from the Catholic Church, two other entities played an important role in the city – dukes, who were slowly losing their political power, and burghers, who were growing more and more powerful.

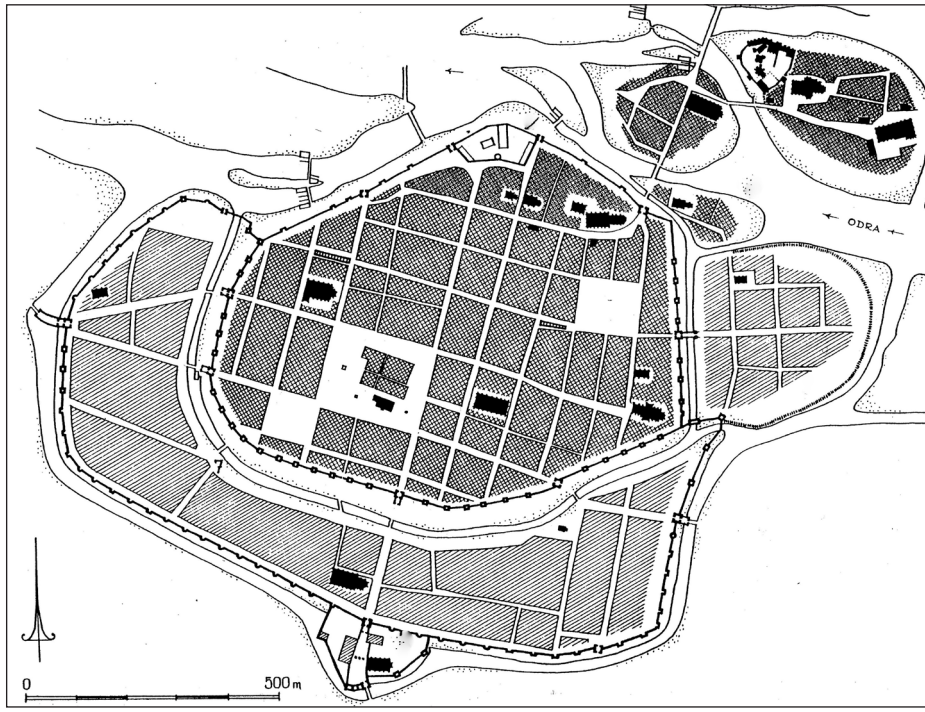

Figure 1: Schematic map of Wrocław around 1500 (excluding Ołbin and the suburbs)[16]

15 BOBKOVÁ, *Jan Lucemburský.*

16 GOLIŃSKI, *Socjotopografia.*

After the death of the ambitious Henry IV Probus in 1290, the Wrocław burghers turned against his successor, the charismatic Henry III of Głogów (died 1309), and instead chose Henry V the Fat of Legnica as their duke. Defeated by his Głogów opponent, Henry V of Legnica died in 1296, but the rights to Wrocław were inherited by his sons, Bolesław III (died 1352) and Henry VI (died 1335). While the sons were still minors, the regency was held by the Duke of Świdnica, Bolko I (died 1301), and – after his death in 1301 – by Bishop Henry of Wierzbna (died 1319), who became the first Prince-Bishop of Wrocław.

Meanwhile, in the first years of the fourteenth century, the sons of Henry V the Fat became adults. The eldest son, Bolesław III, later called Wasteful, married around 1303 Margaret (died 1322), another daughter of the King of Bohemia and Poland, Wenceslaus II. This is an important sign of the political significance of Wrocław rulers, who – albeit only dukes – were deemed worthy of marrying into the royal family. But it should also be seen as a confirmation of the significance of Wrocław itself, especially since the Duchy of Wrocław – after the "partition" following the death of Henry IV Probus in 1290 – was one of the smallest duchies in Silesia. This was compensated by the city's size and potential – both economic and political.[17]

Wrocław was the apple of the eye of John Luxembourg, who was the successor of the Přemyslids to the thrones of Bohemia and Poland. By receiving tributes from the dukes of Silesia, Kuyavia and Mazovia, John was becoming the King of Poland not only in name, especially as it was not until 1320 when the Polish crown was taken by John's main rival in Poland, Ladislaus the Short (died 1333). However, even Ladislaus' coronation in Cracow in 1320 did not make a great impression on John – in Bohemia and Silesia, Ladislaus the Short and his son Casimir III the Great were referred to just as the Kings of Cracow. The reason for this disapproval was probably the fact that the coronation of both Piasts – Ladislaus in 1320 and Casimir in 1333 – took place in Cracow Cathedral, instead of the archbishop's cathedral in Gniezno. The place of the coronation was of great importance at that time, as evident by John's and Charles's considerable efforts to create a metropolis in Prague, which came to fruition in 1344.[18]

During his conquests in Poland, Ladislaus the Short – supported by Charles Robert of Hungary (died 1342), who was married to his daughter Elizabeth (died 1380) – was not interested in Silesia, or at least in Wrocław. Ladislaus' disinterest is still not sufficiently clear, but this article is not the right place to dwell on it. The important fact is that in 1327 the Duke of Wrocław, Henry VI the Good, the younger son of Henry V the Fat, having no male descendant, paid tribute to John, who was referred to as the King of both Bohemia and Poland. Other Piasts followed suit. It was not until the tribute of Bolko II of Ziębice (died 1342) that tribute would be paid to John as the ruler of only Bohemia. However, once Casimir the Great, the ruler of Cracow, renounced his claims to Silesia in 1335, John also renounced his rights to the Polish Crown.[19] Wrocław – one of the most important cities of the Kingdom of Poland landed in the hands of a ruler from outside the Piast dynasty. Moreover, in the same year of 1335, John gave up his rights to the title of the King of Poland. John's fiefdoms in Silesia and Mazovia (Płock) were still part of Poland, but they were becoming more and more integrated with the

17 GRÜNHAGEN, *Breslau und die Landesfürsten*, 1–23.

18 GOLIŃSKI, *Wrocław*, 95–220.

19 BOBKOVÁ, *Jan Lucemburský*, 301–327; from the point of view of the history of law: ORZECHOWSKI, *Historia ustroju Śląska*, 33–35, 60–69.

political centre in Prague. In other words, the Polish domain split into two parts: a larger part under the rule of the Piasts in Cracow (after Ladislaus the Short, Casimir III the Great) and a smaller one under the rule of the Luxembourgs in Prague. This observation is crucial for understanding the next paragraphs of this article.

Wrocław – now the largest Polish city of the Bohemian monarchs (although it is worth remembering also the Polish city of Płock, still a Bohemian fief and the bishop's seat) – was very quickly integrated into the Bohemian Crown. John often visited Wrocław, but his power was exercised by the hauptmann, who in some cases had more authority than the duke and who supervised almost all of Silesia. Almost all, because at that time, John's sovereignty was still not recognized by the dukes of Świdnica and Jawor.[20] This situation is depicted in the east tympanum, which was once the main portal of the Old Town Hall in Wrocław (Fig. 2), probably built at the end of John's reign. In the centre, it depicts the Bohemian lion wearing a helmet on his head, which means that the king's power was represented by his hauptmann (local governor). The lion sits between two shields leaning towards him with the emblems of the Duchy of Wrocław and the city council of Wrocław.[21]

Figure 2: The tympanum of the east face (former principal façade) of Wrocław Town Hall, probably from 1343; Photo: Bogusław Czechowicz

20 WÓŁKIEWICZ, *Capitaneus Slesie,* 169–225; and the studies in BOBKOVÁ – ČAPSKÝ – KORBELAŘOVÁ, *Hejtmanská správa.*

21 KACZMAREK, *Portal z tympanonem*, 95–105. CZECHOWICZ, *Böhmische Erbfolge*, 141–145.

The tympanum was built a few years after Silesia and Bohemia were shaken in 1341 by a conflict between Nanker, the Bishop of Wrocław (d. 1341), and King John. The dispute was caused by a papal tax (called Peter's Pence), which was paid in Poland (in the Archdiocese of Gniezno), but not in Bohemia. While the Church authorities insisted on the tax, King John and the Wrocław burghers refused to pay it. After John took over the bishop's castle in Milicz near the border with Greater Poland, Nanker cast an anathema on the king. According to a later testimony from the 1390s, the bishop also reproached John for being a deplorable king, since there was no archbishop in his capital (Prague) to crown him.[22]

With the support of his older son, Charles, John started the process of raising Prague to the rank of a metropolis, which came to fruition in 1344. At the same time, the construction of a new, enormous cathedral, the first of its kind in Central Europe, began at Prague Castle. Was it a challenge for King John? Most likely yes, just as it is likely that the inspiration for the huge New Town of Prague, founded by Charles IV in 1348, was the development of Wrocław under Henry VI. The Wrocław Old Town had been girded by buildings, a new moat, and (external) walls. Most probably, this covered the area planned already during the original locating of the city, back in the times of Henry I the Bearded.[23]

Charles IV did a similar thing in Prague, but he acted on a much bigger scale. His ambitions – the ambitions of the Roman and Bohemian ruler – and his powers were much greater, as he aimed at creating a new capital of the Holy Roman Empire on the Vltava River. Moreover, Charles IV wanted to combine the Old Town and Vyšehrad, the former seat of the first Bohemian king, Vratislav, into one urban area.

In Wrocław, the new area, called Karlstadt since the times of Charles IV (although it was built earlier, i.e. before Charles IV), allowed for a closer urban integration of the Old and New Towns. However, back in the Piast times, the New Town had lost its legal and administrative independence and was dominated by the Old Town.[24] Thus, in the mid-fourteenth century, the Wrocław agglomeration was spread across both sides of the Odra River: on the left bank there were the founding towns – Old and New – and on the right bank, Ołbin Abbey. Between them, there were islands with numerous church institutions, monasteries and chapters, and – most importantly – the bishop's seat and the cathedral. After Nanker, the new bishop, Przecław of Pogorzela, was generally favourable towards Charles IV. He was even intermittently the Chancellor of the Kingdom of Bohemia. However, there was one issue on which the bishop and the emperor disagreed – Charles's plan to incorporate the Diocese of Wrocław into the Archdiocese of Prague. Both Casimir the Great and the Wrocław clergy vehemently opposed this scenario. After a failed audience in Avignon, the seat of the popes at that time, Charles IV made a peculiar attempt to divide the Wrocław Diocese into two parts: one subordinate to Gniezno and one to Prague. We do not know any further details, but many questions arise; for example, was there a plan to create two Wrocław dioceses? As far as we know, this had no precedent in Europe at that time and it would entail a need to build a new cathedral, though these are just far-reaching speculations.[25]

22 WISZEWSKI, *Czasy biskupów*, 33–44.

23 CZECHOWICZ, *Ars lucrum nostrum*, 9–23.

24 BOBKOVÁ, *Biskupstwo wrocławskie*, 92–95. CZECHOWICZ, *Dvě centra*, 20–48; about the Prague of Charles IV and Prague Cathedral, among others: KUBÍNOVÁ, *Imitatio Romae*. KUTHAN – ROYT, *Katedrála sv. Víta*.

25 CZECHOWICZ, *Böhmische Erbfolge*, 135–137. HUCZMANOVÁ, *Die Kirche der hll. Wenzel*, 229–239.

Charles IV also had other ideas, which he implemented in 1348, in a different political reality, which Polish historiography generally does not recognize, and Czech historiography does not always interpret correctly. We are talking here about the act of 7 April 1348 to establish the Crown of the Kingdom of Bohemia, which included the Polish lands, Silesia, and the Płock part of Mazovia (as well as the Margraviate of Moravia and the Lands of Bautzen and Görlitz). Charles IV did this not as a Bohemian king, but as a Roman ruler, i.e., his own sovereign (the Bohemian Kingdom was a fief of the Holy Roman Empire). It happened during an impasse during the war with Casimir the Great over Silesia, which had been raging for three years. Finally, the Treaty of Namysłów, concluded in autumn 1348, stabilized the situation.

The Crown of the Kingdom – *Coronae Regni* – is a concept of a monarchy extending across two levels: symbolic and real. Symbolically, the ruler of each crown was the patron saint of the dominion, usually the saint worshiped in this political centre. He or she would hand over the crown – the sign of power – to the real sovereign, who ruled on the saint's behalf. In reality, it was a territorial structure transcending the formerly established borders of the dominion, which allowed the incorporation of these new lands into the political centre of power.

Although its cornerstone was still the person of the king, in the late Middle Ages, the Crown of the Kingdom was a state in which the ruler shared his prerogatives with his subjects (representatives of the clergy, nobility and burghers). They participated through, first, proto-parliamentary and, with time, parliamentary procedures. The state was no longer the property of the king, but – through the ideological involvement of the patron saint and the real engagement of the political elites – it was an entity placed above the monarch. This paved the way for the process in which the king would become just one of the institutions of the state.[26] Although the term *Coronae Regni Bohemiae* appeared in two documents by John of Luxembourg, it was probably just an automatic transfer from Western European chancellery practice in the era of the ruler, who spent more time south of the Alps and west of the Rhine than in Central Europe. His son Charles IV, brought up at the French court, took steps to sanction the use of this term in 1348. On April 7 (i.e. Easter), as the Roman king, he issued 13 edicts validating the earlier documents which politically linked together the Duchy of Wrocław with the Holy Roman Empire and the political centre in Prague. Moreover, he established the affiliation of Polish principalities (not only Silesia) to the Crown of the Kingdom of Bohemia. This document concerned also Moravia and the lands that more than a century later would be called Upper Lusatia. However, the concept of the Crown of the Kingdom was especially crucial for connecting the Polish lands, mainly Silesia, with Prague. The feudal tributes of individual Duchies played here the most significant role, but they were still – according to contemporary sources – the Duchies in Polonia, i.e. in Poland. By incorporating them into the Crown of the Kingdom of Bohemia, the ruler – the Roman king (not yet the emperor) as the supreme secular political authority – created a new political structure above the previous political divisions.

From then on, the Bohemian Crown – which already consisted of two entities, i.e. the Kingdom of Bohemia and the Margraviate of Moravia – received an even more complicated structure. From then on, the Crown of the Kingdom of Bohemia comprised the Kingdom of Bohemia, the Margraviate of Moravia, the Duchy of Silesia and the Lands

26 PROCHNO, *Terra Bohemiae,* 217–270. BOBKOVÁ, *Velké dějiny*, 230–237, 278–290, 552–589.

of Bautzen and Görlitz (only from 1469 they were referred to as Upper Lusatia).[27] But that was not all. The monarch incorporated also the Upper Palatinate (eastern part of Bavaria), henceforth known as New Bohemia, Vogtland (south-eastern tip of Upper Saxony), Lusatia (later known as Lower Lusatia) and the Margraviate of Brandenburg. Furthermore, there were numerous exclaves in Saxony and Bavaria, not to forget about Luxembourg, the hereditary domain of the Luxembourgs, which was then much larger than the present Duchy of Luxembourg. However, in 1356, Charles IV ceded the Płock part of Mazovia. A small Central European empire was established. Its status was elevated by the fact that the throne of Saint Wenceslaus was occupied by the Holy Roman rulers: Charles IV, and then his sons Wenceslaus IV and Sigismund (Wenceslaus IV as king, while Sigismund became emperor).

It is in this political reality that we find Wrocław in 1348. It was not – as was believed for centuries – only a satellite of Prague, even though Charles IV did his best to make Prague the capital of the empire, the largest city north of the Alps and an ideological synthesis of the former political centres of Europe: Rome, Constantinople, Aachen and Paris.[28]

What were Wrocław's assets and what was its appeal? Definitely, the economic power of the city played a key role. It was the richest urban centre in the Bohemian Crown. Its importance was also elevated by the fact that it was the seat of the bishop of a large diocese. But there was something else – the ideological heritage of the Wrocław Piasts, who became affiliated with the Bohemian kings in the thirteenth century – Anne of Bohemia (died 1265), wife of Henry the Pious (died 1241) – and in the fourteenth century – Margaret of Bohemia, wife of Bolesław III Wasteful, who for a short time even used the title of the heir of the Kingdom of Bohemia: *heres regni Bohemiae*. As already mentioned, the succession of the Luxembourgs after the Piasts in Wrocław was not certain, especially since the brother of Henry VI, Bolesław III, lived until 1352, and then was superseded by his sons, Wenceslaus I and Louis I. Although they were loyal supporters of the Bohemian king, they did not renounce their hereditary rights to Wrocław, as manifested by the inscription on the tomb of their father, Bolesław III. He was named there the Duke of Wrocław, Legnica and Brzeg, although he never really ruled Wrocław, except for a very short period. This epigraph was created at the same time as the second tomb of Bolesław's brother, Henry VI. Here, in turn, it was emphasized that it was the duke who handed over the power over Wrocław to the Bohemian ruler. Thus, on both monuments dedicated to the ducal brothers, we can notice a political and ideological discourse that had been taking place in Silesia, and especially Wrocław, for several decades. I once described it as a "silent dispute over Wrocław" – a dispute between the Luxembourgs and the Piasts of Legnica and Brzeg, who had been disinherited from Wrocław.[29]

The Luxembourgs, especially Charles IV, did a lot to strengthen the conviction that the taking over of Wrocław from the local Piasts had been done in a rightful way: Documents often using the formula *iusto et legitime* – lawfully and legitimately;[30]

27 HRUBÝ, *Archivum Coronae Regni Bohemiae*, 41–67. JIREČEK, *Codex juris Bohemici* II, 3, 283–308.

28 CZECHOWICZ, *Dvě centra*, 35–77.

29 KĘBŁOWSKI, *Pomniki Piastów*, 91–108. KACZMAREK, *Italianizmy*, 172–184. CZECHOWICZ, *Dvě centra*, 62–65. CZECHOWICZ, *Böhmische Erbfolge*, 99–113, CZECHOWICZ, *Anna ducissa*, 219–232.

30 For example, in Charles IV's document of 13 December 1358: "[...] *Johannes condam Boheme rex, genitor noster karissimus, pro se, heredibus ac succesoribus suis, regibus Boemie, et eiusdem regni corona omnia predicta*

Founding the tombs of Henry IV Probus (Fig. 3) and Henry VI the Good (Fig. 4) – even though these initiatives did not come directly from the Bohemian kings, they were conducted by their Wrocław (Silesian) officials; Supporting the convent of the Poor Clares in Wrocław, where the mausoleum of several Wrocław Dukes is located, as well as the collegiate Church of the Holy Cross (Fig. 5), where the remains of Henry IV are buried. These are only a few examples of the comprehensive, multifaceted programme to present themselves as the continuators of the Piasts.[31]

Figure 3: Lithograph depicting the top of the tomb of Prince Henry IV Probus (died 1290) from around 1330, originally placed in the chancel of the Collegiate Church of the Holy Cross in Ostrów Tumski in Wrocław, currently in the National Museum in Wrocław[32]

et eorum quodlibet ex donacione pie record. ill. Henrici sexti et ultimi ducis Wratislaviensis hereditario, iusto et legitimo titulo possidebat [...]". MENDL – LINHARTOVÁ, *Regesta diplomatica* VII/1, 48, no. 60; more on this subject: CZECHOWICZ, *Böhmische Erbfolge*, 110–113.

31 In addition to the works cited in footnote 22, see also: KACZMAREK, *Nagrobek księcia*, 23–34. KACZMAREK, *Kolegiata Krzyża Świętego*, 85–100. KACZMAREK, *Art in Silesian Duchies*, 1–33. KACZMAREK, *Breslau im Netz*, 77–92. CZECHOWICZ, *Bone memorie*, 3–17.

32 LUCHS, Schlesische Fürstenbilder.

Figure 4: Lithograph depicting the top of the tomb of Duke Henry VI the Good (died 1335) in the former Church of Poor Clares in Wrocław from around 1355[33]

33 LUCHS, Schlesische Fürstenbilder.

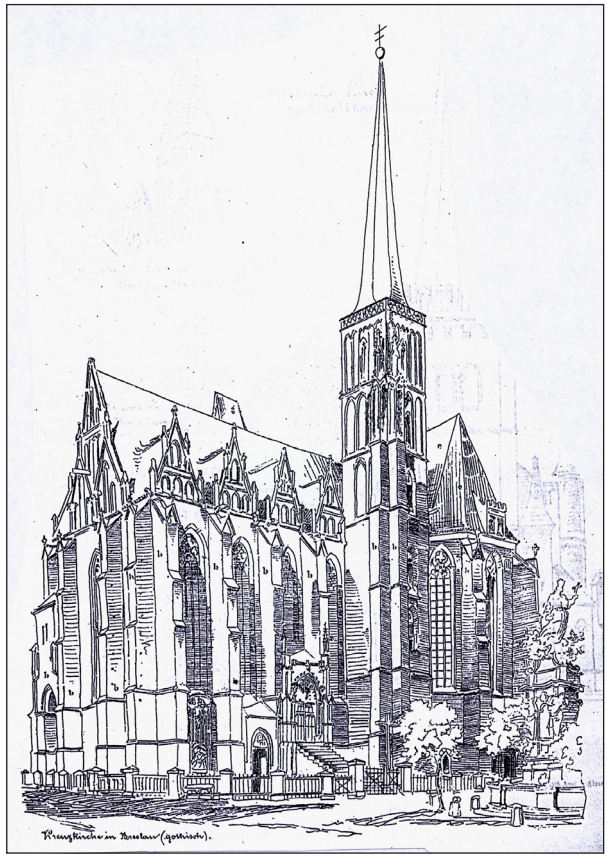

Figure 5: Collegiate Church of the Holy Cross in Wrocław from 1288 to around 1400 viewed from the south-west[34]

Charles IV continued the Piast tradition of monastic foundations in Wrocław by founding the Augustinian hermit monastery of Saint Stanislaus, Dorothea and Wenceslaus (Fig. 6).[35] The subordination of the city to the Bohemian Crown is also visible in the coats of arms on the keystones in the south nave of the Church of St Elizabeth in Wrocław (Fig. 7).[36] The Parish Church of St Mary Magdalene received a gift from Charles IV in the form of important relics.[37] The monarch also did not forget about the cathedral and the bishop, presenting himself in the documents as the bishop's patron

34 *Schlesiens Vorzeit in Bild und Schrift* 2, 1875.

35 WALTER, *Haben König Karl IV.*, 430–437. CZECHOWICZ, *Böhmische Erbfolge*, 30–141. HUCZMANOVÁ, *Die Kirche der hll. Wenzel*, 229–239.

36 KACZMAREK, *Gotycka rzeźba*, 53–73. KACZMAREK, *Rzeźba architektoniczna*, 187. CZECHOWICZ, *Dvě centra*, 217, note 249.

37 BOBKOVÁ, *Relikvie darované Karlem IV.*, 175–188.

and guardian – "a special protector". And it is probably Charles IV that is portrayed in the statue situated in the vestibule of the cathedral (Fig. 8), which is also the image of the patron saint of the Bohemian Crown – St Wenceslaus. As evidenced in his own documents, Charles IV identified with this Duke of Bohemia from the tenth century (Charles was originally named Wenceslaus and he changed his name only after his confirmation). He also mentioned the "double face" of the monarch, the terrestrial and extra-terrestrial. Therefore, we can assume that the ruler depicted in this sculpture is a peculiar synthesis of St Wenceslaus and Charles IV – the new St Wenceslaus.[38]

Figure 6: Fragment of the chancel façade of the former Augustinian Hermits Church in Wrocław with the shields depicting the coat of arms of the Holy Roman Empire in the centre, the coat of arms of the Bohemian Kingdom on the right (in the heraldic sense, i.e. on the left for the viewer), and the Duchy of Wrocław on the left (heraldically, i.e. on the right), 1355 or shortly before; Photo: Bogusław Czechowicz

Figure 7: The keystone on the vault of the east part of the south aisle in the Church of St Elizabeth in Wrocław with the coat of arms of the Duchy of Wrocław; Photo: Bogusław Czechowicz

38 Recently in a new light: CZECHOWICZ, *Migotanie przeszłości*, 55–63; where you can find earlier studies of this subject.

Figure 8: Statue in the west vestibule of Wrocław Cathedral depicting Emperor Charles IV as St Wenceslaus (coalescence of both of these figures), probably from the mid or second half of the 1350s; Photo: Bogusław Czechowicz

Here we must return to the political and legal context. When it came to appointing the ruler, the Bohemian monarchy had a double character. It was hereditary if a son inherited the throne from his father, but it was elective when such a simple succession was not possible. It was a great privilege that the Bohemian lords (magnates) received from the Holy Roman Emperor, Frederick II, in 1212.[39] With the passage of time, Charles IV had to figure out who would inherit the throne of St Wenceslaus after him. His subsequent marriages were either childless, or his descendant died (Wenceslaus was one year old at the time of his death in 1351). In 1353, Charles married Anna of Świdnica (Schweidnitz), but a few years into their marriage, she still had not given him an heir to the throne. According to contemporary notions, by the 1360s, Charles IV (born in 1316) was entering an advanced age. The risk that after his death, the Bohemian lords would choose someone from outside the Luxembourg dynasty as their king was becoming more and more probable. This problem had to be solved.

39 WIHODA, *Zlatá bula sicilská,* 5–17.

And here – perhaps paradoxically – Wrocław becomes a crucial element, paradoxically as the potential successor was Charles's younger brother, John Henry, Margrave of Moravia. While Charles IV was still waiting for a son, his younger brother had multiple descendants: Jobst, John Sobieslaw and Prokop. The continuation of the Imperial-Royal line of the House of Luxembourg was secured, but only through its cadet branch. There were no laws to guarantee that one of the Margrave's sons would become the Bohemian king, or even the Margrave of Moravia. If someone from another family had been elected as the Bohemian ruler, he could have easily removed the Luxembourgs from Moravia.[40]

Charles IV had already been making efforts to treat John Henry and his sons as the potential heirs to the throne in Prague, but he took decisive steps during his very long stay in the capital of Silesia in the winter of 1358/1359. Together with the emperor, the secular and spiritual elites of the Bohemian Crown came to Wrocław to conclude a multilateral agreement *in evento*. In the event of the childless death of Charles IV, his brother John Henry and his descendants were to be the rightful successors to the Bohemian throne. John Henry issued a number of documents in which he pledged that – after becoming the Bohemian king – he would respect the current legal order of the Crown and its lands (Fig. 9). Many Silesian dukes, the Bishop of Wrocław, the city council of Wrocław and the superiors of significant monasteries approved this situation. This was a great distinction for Wrocław, but in the following year (1360), the city received one more privilege from the emperor – it was allowed to mint its own gold coin (Fig. 10). However, for unknown reasons, the coins were never minted, or at least none are known. Presumably, the main obstacle was the lack of gold (the Silesian mines did not meet expectations).[41]

40 MORAW, *Die Länder der Krone Böhmen*, 143–168.

41 KORN, *Breslauer Urkundenbuch*. I, 197–198. PIEŃKOWSKI, *Czesko-śląskie relacje monetarne*, 130. MYŚLIWSKI, *Wrocław w przestrzeni*, 519–532. CZECHOWICZ, *Böhmische Erbfolge*, 185–220.

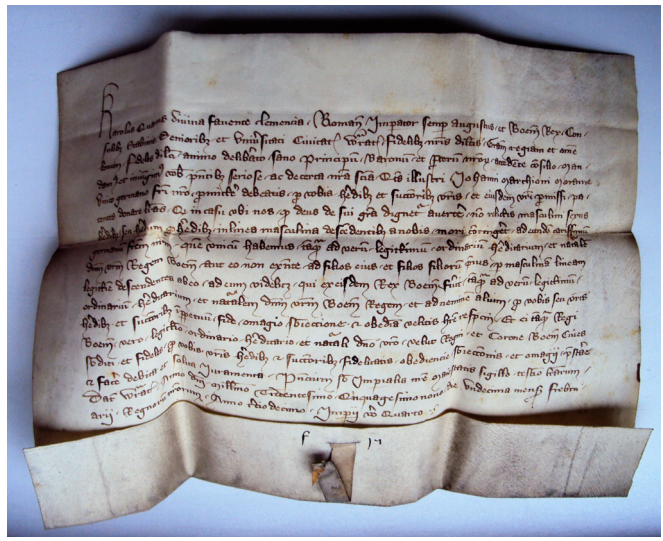

Figure 9: Document of Emperor Charles IV issued in Wrocław on 11 February 1359, asking the townspeople of Wrocław to submit a feudal tribute to the Margrave of Moravia, John Henry of Luxembourg, as a potential future Bohemian King[42]

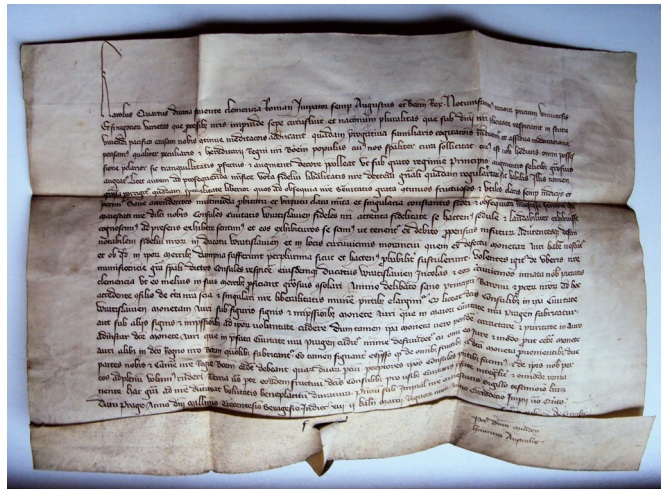

Figure 10: The privilege of Emperor Charles IV authorizing the issue of a gold coin by Wrocław on 29 February 1360[43]

42 Archiwum Państwowe we Wrocławiu [State Archive of Wrocław], Fond Dokumenty miasta Wrocławia, 350. Photo: Bogusław Czechowicz.

43 Archiwum Państwowe we Wrocławiu [State Archive of Wrocław], Fond Dokumenty miasta Wrocławia, 362. Photo: Bogusław Czechowicz.

The question arises as to why Charles IV did not settle an issue of such great political importance in Prague or – due to the role of his brother, the Margrave of Moravia– at least in Olomouc or Brno. The answer lies in the fact that Charles IV, as the Bohemian ruler and the Duke of Silesia, was a hereditary ruler in Wrocław and in Silesia in general. Hereditary succession – not election – was a political practice followed by the Piasts. This is how Wrocław was becoming the second – next to Prague – pillar of the Bohemian king's power.[44]

The agreements concluded in Wrocław were also a kind of "trick" against the Bohemian lords. If the lords had not respected the agreements and had chosen someone other than Charles IV to be appointed as their next king, they could have caused the partition of the Bohemian Crown, i.e. the secession of Moravia and Silesia from Prague, for these two lands were now obliged to recognize John Henry and his sons as king. Importantly, this agreement was at odds with the position of the Bohemian lords on this matter.

We need to remember that Bohemian lords were a powerful political force that even Charles IV, the Holy Roman Emperor from 1355, had to take into account and sometimes even capitulate to. The Bohemian magnates taught him a bitter lesson right after his power reached its apogee – in 1355, Charles obtained the coveted imperial crown. Before he left for his coronation in Rome, he gave the Bohemian elites a draft codification of the legal code – practically the constitution – known in historiography as *Maiestas Carolina*. The aim of this code was to strengthen the royal power at the expense of the prerogatives of the higher nobility. When the emperor returned in an aura of glory from Rome to Prague, he had to abandon these reform plans under the pressure of the Bohemian lords. He had to issue a document – which he probably found humiliating – in which he stated that such a codification project had never been created.[45] It was certainly a bitter lesson, but Charles IV was aware of the price of this compromise. In return, he obtained approval for his plans: in the event of his childless death, the throne would go to the Moravian secundogeniture, i.e. the Luxembourgian cadet branch. As mentioned, Charles sanctioned this plan three and a half years later in Wrocław.

And it was Wrocław, in the form of the monogram "W", that was placed on the new Imperial seal of Charles IV as the Holy Roman Emperor in 1355 (Figures 11–12). Some researchers have been inclined to interpret this W as a monogram of the name of the patron saint– St Wenceslaus.[46] However, the placement seems surprising – under the emperor's throne, at his feet – hardly a worthy place for the saint. It would even be degrading to the authority of St Wenceslaus. Besides, I do not know any other royal seal of this period where the monogram of the saint would be under the ruler, not above or next to him. I think that Charles IV, already in 1355, humiliated by the Czech lords, discreetly demonstrated that Wrocław was also an undisputed foundation of his power as a Bohemian monarch.[47]

44 "*Hinc est, quod ad ciuitates nostras Pragensem et Wratislauiensem, nec non Montem Chuttnensem et oppidum Sulczbach, que et eorum singula de regum ac regni nostre Bohemie et insignis eiusdem regni corone legittimo et vero dominio et immediata proprietate consistere* (...)"; privilege of Emperoer Charles IV of 23 March 1359; ČELAKOVSKÝ, *Codex juris Bohemici I*, 117–119.

45 PALACKÝ, *Archiv český III*, 65–181. HERGEMÖLLER, *Maiestas Carolina*.

46 KAVKA, *Vláda Karla IV.*, 17; see also: KRÁSA, *Karlovy pečeti*, 405–418.

47 CZECHOWICZ, *Böhmische Erbfolge*, 185–220.

Figure 11: The imperial seal of Emperor Charles IV from 1355 attached to a document from 19 January 1359[48]

Figure 12: Detail of the imperial seal of Emperor Charles IV of 1355 attached to the document of 3 August 1356[49]

48 Archiwum Państwowe we Wrocławiu [State Archive of Wrocław], Fond Dokumenty miasta Wrocławia, 344. Photo: Bogusław Czechowicz.

49 Archiwum Państwowe we Wrocławiu [State Archive of Wrocław], Fond Dokumenty miasta Wrocławia, 328. Photo: Bogusław Czechowicz.

All this ideological planning turned out to be unnecessary when Anna of Schweidnitz (died 1362) gave him in 1361 the long-awaited son and heir, Wenceslaus IV, and another wife – Elizabeth of Pomerania (died 1393) – two further descendants: Sigismund and John of Görlitz (died 1396). The prolificacy of the Luxembourgs exceeded all expectations. In time, there were six young representatives of the next generation: three sons of John Henry (died 1375) and three of Charles IV. However, the following decades were to show that it would also be the last generation of the imperial-royal branch, whose male bloodline would die out with Sigismund in 1437. It was undoubtedly the most powerful dynasty in Europe at that time, especially since its golden age coincided with the Hundred Years' War. With time, the war weakened England and France so much that the political centre of gravity shifted to the central part of Europe.

After his death in 1378, Charles IV had left a flourishing Bohemian Crown, and at the same time had lived to see the Western Schism. The Schism was one of the reasons why the emperor's eldest son, Wenceslaus IV, had only the title of Bohemian and Roman King, but never received the imperial coronation. Further, discouraged by his inept rule, in 1400, the electors chose a new Holy Roman King – Rupert from the House of Wittelsbach (died 1410). But before this happened, Wenceslaus had ensured that his succession after the Wrocław Piasts had been completely legitimized. In 1383, he forced the elderly Duke of Brzeg, Louis I, his son Henry VII (died 1399), and his nephews, the sons of Wenceslaus I of Legnica (died 1364) to give up any claims to Wrocław.

This matter was becoming urgent, as the cathedral chapter appointed one of the sons of Duke Wenceslaus I, Wenceslaus II (died 1419), as the Bishop of Wrocław. A Piast on the bishop's seat posed a certain threat to the Bohemian succession in Wrocław. We should remember that the Piasts of Legnica and Brzeg had both Piast and Přemyslid roots, which was probably discreetly emphasized by the new tombstone of Anne of Bohemia (died 1365) in the Church of the Poor Clares in Wrocław. These two families were also related through the daughter of Wenceslaus II, King of Bohemia and Poland – Margaret, who was the mother of Louis I of Brzeg and the grandmother of Bishop Wenceslaus and his brothers. These ties of blood gave no real political power, but the Bohemian rulers – first Charles IV and then young Wenceslaus IV – were very sensitive about this point. This was evident in Wenceslaus IV's claims to the heritage of his mother, Anna of Świdnica (Schweidnitz), to the Duchy of Świdnica and Jawor, which was orphaned in 1368 (and finally in 1392). Bolko II the Small, the Duke of Świdnica and Jawor, died in 1368, followed 24 years later by his widow Agnes (died 1392).

Unlike his father, who was half Luxembourg and half Piast – Wenceslaus IV was half Piast (after his mother), and he liked to manifest it (either directly or through his officials) both in Świdnica and in Jawor. He also focused on Wrocław, where during his early rule we can notice many symbols of not only the subordination of the city to the Bohemian ruler and the Bohemian Crown, but also the city's important rank in the Crown.[50]

Let us begin the review of these visual manifestations from Ostrów Tumski, literally Cathedral Island, in Wrocław. King Wenceslaus IV came to Wrocław in the summer of 1381 to receive tribute from his Silesian vassals. However, from the end of 1380, there was a conflict between Bishop Wenceslaus and the cathedral chapter against the city council of Wrocław, known in historiography as a beer war. As a consequence

50 KĘBŁOWSKI, *Pomniki*, 134–139. WITKOWSKI, *Posągi na wieży*, 229–240. JURKOWLANIEC, *Wystrój rzeźbiarski*, 123–166. CZECHOWICZ, *Dvě centra*, 82–90. CZECHOWICZ, *Böhmische Erbfolge*, 153–184.

of this dispute, the bishop imposed an interdict on the city. In this situation, fearing the consequences of the Church's punishment, none of the dukes came to the city. The king's demands to revoke the interdict were ineffective, especially since the ruler refused to recognize the legitimacy of the Piast's appointment as a bishop. The king's army plundered Ostrów Tumski and the chapter's property near Wrocław, while the bishop and his canons fled to Nysa to avoid the royal anger.[51]

Under these circumstances, Wenceslaus IV revived the memory of the ducal castle built in Ostrów Tumski by his predecessors, the Piasts. During the fourteenth century, the castle had been taken over by the canons and divided up for their houses. However, the king decided to restore the residence and rebuild it – as he pointed out in the document – like his Prague seat, with the costs to be covered by the Wrocław Cathedral Chapter. The document of 7 May 1382 states that: "[...] *vt in parte montis ecclesie sancte crucis predicte, in quo temporibus longe preteritis bone memorie princeps Slezie et dominus Wratislaviensis aliquando consueuerunt residere, regalis habitacio sine castrum cum duabus turribus fornito, si opus fuerit, secundum decenciam habitacionis regie construatur*"[52] (translation: "so that on the side of the mountain of the Church of the Holy Cross, where the Duke of Silesia and the Lord of Wrocław [Henry IV Probus] used to stay in the times long gone in good memory, a dignified, vaulted house or a castle with two towers should be erected, as it is fit for the seat of the ruler"). And elsewhere in the document, we can read that it was supposed to be a home for the royal family.[53]

However, nothing came of it. In 1383, a treaty was signed, part of which stipulated the already mentioned fact that the dukes from the Legnica-Brzeg line, including Bishop Wenceslaus, would renounce all their claims to Wrocław. The bishop also paid the king a homage from Grodków (hence the Duchy of Grodków, and not Nysa, as is often stated), so he considered himself a vassal of the Bohemian ruler.

However, something remained from these events in Ostrów Tumski. Instead of financing the construction of the king's castle, the cathedral chapter erected its own seat next to the cathedral, which was then expanded in the early sixteenth century. At that time, the construction of the collegiate Church of the Holy Cross, which had been founded by Henry IV Probus almost 100 years before, was also nearing completion. We can see a reminder of this foundation in the keystone on the vault of the so-called chapter house, i.e. rooms on the north side of the collegiate chancel on the upper level. It depicts a bust of the duke with features very similar to those on Probus's tombstone. He's holding two shields with eagles – they refer to the entire heritage of Henry IV Probus, including Świdnica, which now belonged to Wenceslaus IV, not only as the Bohemian king, but also as the Duke of Wrocław and Świdnica (Fig. 13).[54]

51 GRÜNHAGEN, *König Wenzel*, 231–257. CZECHOWICZ, *Querendo episcopos*, 17–27.

52 Cited after: SCHULTE, *Die politische Tendenz*, 243; about the circumstances of issuing this document: HOLÁ, *Curia imperialis*, 175–176.

53 CZECHOWICZ, *Dvě centra*, 90–101. CZECHOWICZ, *Bone memorie*, 13–16.

54 In addition to the works cited in footnote 39, see also: KACZMAREK, *Kolegiata Krzyża Świętego*, 94–95. KACZMAREK, *Związki artystyczne*, 435–449.

Figure 13: Vault keystone in the so-called chapter house of the Collegiate Church of the Holy Cross in Wrocław depicting a bust of Duke Henry IV Probus with shields containing the coats of arms of his territorial heritage, the successor of which was then (around 1383) Wenceslaus IV, the Holy Roman and Bohemian King; Photo: Bogusław Czechowicz

The young King Wenceslaus IV was depicted in a sculptural decoration on a house on the Wrocław Market Square, Rynek No. 30 (Fig. 14). This sculpture should be dated after 1370, when Wenceslaus IV married Joan of Bavaria, also depicted here, and before 1376, when he was crowned Holy Roman King (the ruler is not wearing the crown on the relief). However, another fragment of this decoration showed the coat of arms of the Holy Roman King (Fig. 15). Therefore, I suppose that this decoration was created in 1376 or just before, during the preparations for the coronation. Another detail from this house showed coats of arms similar to those on the east façade of the Church of St Dorothy. However, here the coat of arms of the Duchy of Wrocław was on the right side, which was considered in heraldry as "stronger", while the coat of arms of the Kingdom of Bohemia was on the left. This could indicate that the decoration was created in closer connection with the Wrocław patricians. In the Duchy of Wrocław, the city council exercised the power of the hauptmann (in fact, it was exercised on the council's behalf by the senior of the council). I suppose that it was a sign that the city's elites had already visually demonstrated what was to be verbally declared only in 1433: that Wrocław was the capital of Silesia (*das Bresslaw in der Slezie die hauptstat ist*).[55] In reaction to this, the royal hauptmann Albert of Koldic (died 1448) wrote that the head of Silesia was the king, not the city. The decoration from the house at Rynek No. 30 discreetly shows the ambitions of the city authorities towards the kingdom and the king. But we still do not know the answer to this question: how did these sculptural

55 According to: WÓŁKIEWICZ, *Capitaneus Slesie*, 195.

elements end up on the house at Rynek No. 30, this probably not being their original location (currently they are in the National Museum)? One of the possibilities is the fact that the town hall was significantly expanded during the fifteenth century, which might have given an opportunity to replace some elements, for example if they were considered out-of-date at the time.[56]

Figure 14: Relief from the former house at Rynek No. 30 in Wrocław (originally perhaps from Wrocław Town Hall), most likely with the image of King Wenceslaus IV with his wife, 1376 or just before, currently at the National Museum in Wrocław; Photo: Bogusław Czechowicz

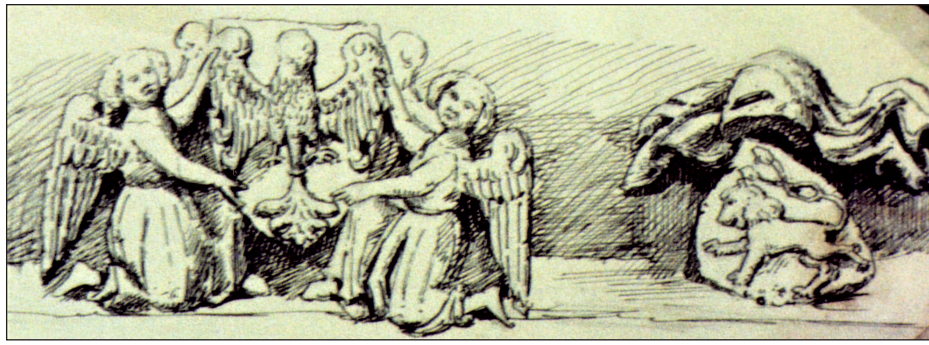

Figure 15: Relief from the former house at Rynek No. 30 in Wrocław (originally perhaps from Wrocław Town Hall), 1376 or just before, a fragment of a drawing from 1871 housed at the National Museum in Wrocław; Photo: Bogusław Czechowicz

56 KACZMAREK, *Prawdopodobny dom*, 255–268. CZECHOWICZ, *Między katedrą*, 104–107. CZECHOWICZ, *Když se pán voli*, 30–31. KACZMAREK, *Das Haus Ring*, 177–192.

Later than the details from the house at Rynek No. 30, but still from the times of Wenceslaus IV, there is the tympanum of the town hall portal – located between the Great Hall and the former chapel (on the side of the chapel). It has motifs that are almost analogous to the tympanum of the east portal of the town hall, which is about half a century older (Fig. 16). However, there is one major difference – in the older portal, the eagle has a crescent on its chest, symbolizing the Duchy of Wrocław, while in the newer portal the crescent is missing.

Figure 16: The tympanum of the portal between the former chapel and the Great Hall of Wrocław Town Hall, dated around 1382–1385 or around 1395. It almost exactly repeats the design of the tympanum from the town hall's east portal from 1343. The main difference is the fact that the eagle does not have a crescent in the newer tympanum, which allows us to interpret it as the coat of arms not of the Duchy of Wrocław, but of the whole of Silesia; Photo: Bogusław Czechowicz

The eagle without a crescent is interpreted for the fifteenth century as an all-Silesian emblem, which appeared in this function for the first time in Wrocław Town Hall at the end of the fourteenth century. This can be explained in various ways: as an expression of the ambition of the Wrocław patriciate to show the dominant role of Wrocław in Silesia; as a manifestation of the consolidation of Silesia as a unified political space under the rules of Charles IV and Wenceslaus IV; and finally, as a demonstration of the position of the king himself, who – unlike his grandfather (John) and father (Charles IV) – not only had the rights to Wrocław with its Duchy and several other territories of Silesia (Duchy of Głogów, Duchy of Ścinawa, Ząbkowice Śląskie District), but was also

the heir of Świdnica and Jawor. Moreover, of course, he was the sovereign of all the Dukes of Silesia. He therefore had greater rights to Silesia than Charles IV.

However, there was one big problem. After a successful debut and several years of efficient rule (when he was still surrounded by the advisers from his father's time), Wenceslaus IV's power began to waver from the end of the 1380s. The king turned out to be incapable of ruling both in the Bohemian Crown and in the Holy Roman Empire. Twice imprisoned, stripped from power as the Roman king, at odds with his much more capable brother Sigismund, who settled on the Hungarian throne and was a Brandenburg margrave, Wenceslaus IV had to also deal with the conflict between brothers Jobst and Prokop, two Moravian margraves from the Luxembourg dynasty. In short, at the turn of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the central authority of the crown was crumbling.

Various political factions were taking matters into their own hands. Confederations were established to ensure road safety. Wrocław – which in return for numerous economic privileges was burdened with royal debts – was fighting against the Dukes of Opole, who were Wenceslaus IV's creditors. The proud city even dared to arrest the archbishop-nominee of Gniezno, Jan Kropidło (died 1421), who was a member of the Opole Piast family.

At that time, no one was yet openly saying – or at least the sources do not relay it – that Wrocław was the second royal city in the Bohemian Crown after Prague. However, it was called the main city of Silesia, once again integrated into the Bohemian rule – once again, that is, treated as a common political space covering Silesia, later called Lower Silesia, and the Opole-Racibórz-Cieszyn region. Silesia entered the fifteenth century as a politically unified entity within the Crown of the Kingdom of Bohemia, stretching from Wadowice and Frydek (today Frýdek-Místek) in the east and south to Przewóz and Lubrza in the west and north.[57] From the very beginning, Wrocław held supremacy in Silesia, but now – within the Bohemian Crown – it was also competing with Prague.

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In the above-mentioned *Maiestas Carolina* – the unsuccessful attempt to codify domestic laws of the Kingdom of Bohemia, but with references to the entire Bohemian Crown presented by Charles IV in 1355 – Wrocław was already listed among the most important cities of the Bohemian rule, next to Prague, Kutná Hora and Bautzen (*Honorabiles et egregias Civitates regni nostri Bohemiae, Pragam, Wratislaviam, Budissin et Montes Kutnis, regiae nostrae majestati carissimas et dilectas*).[58] The decorations in one of the rooms of the castle in Lauf an der Pegnitz – a royal exclave on the road from Bohemia to Nuremberg – depict the coats of arms of only the three most important cities of the Bohemian rule: Prague (more precisely, Prague's Old Town), Kutná Hora and Wrocław.[59] Kutna Hora owed its high position mainly to the silver mines and the royal mint – probably the most important source of income for Bohemian rulers in the late Middle Ages. Prague's position does not need any explanation. The position of Wrocław – in the light of what was written in the previous paragraphs – should

57 Some more recent works on the formation of the Silesian identity in the fourteenth–fifteenth centuries: CZECHOWICZ, *Książęcy mecenat*. CZECHOWICZ, *Między katedrą*. RÜTHER, *Region und Identität*. ČAPSKÝ, *Zrození země*. WISZEWSKI, *Cuius regio*.

58 PALACKÝ, *Archiv český III*, 126–128. HERGEMÖLLER, *Maiestas Carolina*, 48–49.

59 BOBKOVÁ, *Die Oberpfalz*, 25–34.

also be self-evident. Apart from its political and economic domination in Silesia, Wrocław was also the carrier of hereditary rights to the Bohemian throne. This shaped Wrocław's relation towards Prague as the second capital of the country (Fig. 17).

Figure 17: A copy of a nineteenth century map of Wrocław from 1562, lost in 1945; Photo: Biblioteka Uniwersytecka we Wrocławiu [Wrocław University Library]

Therefore, we should not argue with Sigismund's document from 1420 quoted at the beginning of this paper, which called Wrocław *the second capital of his Bohemian Rule and the source of law* (i.e. the source of the legitimization of power). This declaration, like many other ideas of Sigismund of Luxembourg, resonated almost half a century later in the work of the Wrocław city writer Peter Eschenloer (*Breslow ist der andir stul in Behem*),[60] and around 1530 – in the annalistic work of one of his successors, Franz

60 ROTH, *Magister Peter Eschenloer I*, 304–305.

Faber ([Wratislav] *altera sedis Regni a Caput eiusdem Regni est*).[61] This ideological line stems from the political practice of the fourteenth century.

Researchers trying to recount the history not only of Silesia, but also of the entire Bohemian Crown, must take this into account. And when they enter into polemics, they should acknowledge the entire spectrum of arguments, not just selected ones.[62] I believe that this article explains the premises that prompted Sigismund to distinguish Wrocław in his document in 1420 and it will encourage contemporary researchers to emphasize this fact in the long process of events leading up to it and then following it. It is necessary to perceive historical phenomena in a long-term view,[63] just as the existence of a medieval (and not only) city is characterized by longevity. However, this existence may be disturbed not only by historical cataclysms, but also – in a metaphorical sense – by historiographic shortcomings.

Therefore, contemporary researchers must pay great attention not only to the new interpretation of the past and what is left of it, but also to the changing or prevailing paradigms in the construction of this view. The domination of the national axiology, culminating – as it seems – in the twentieth century, was not conducive to understanding the phenomenon of cities, especially those ambitious, significant cities with great economic and ideological potential. This is exactly the case with Silesian Wrocław. The city, which was never the capital of a kingdom or state and which had a complex ethnic character throughout its history, was almost always at a disadvantage in an academic discourse that was focused on the state-national axiology of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

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61 Archiwum Państwowe we Wrocławiu [State Archive in Wrocław], Akta miasta Wrocławia, E 18 (new reference 583): Ordentliche entzugunge und austzuge der Stadt Bresslau priuilegien, was sich aber zugetragen, 216r.

62 This is a polemic against ČAPSKÝ, *K postavení Vratislavi*, 372; who claims that in 1420 Sigismund declared Wrocław as the capital only in the context of Silesia, not the Bohemian Kingdom – even though, in fact, this term refers to the entire Bohemian Crown. This researcher also maintains – contrary to what was briefly reiterated in this article – that Bohemian kings respected the symbolic significance of Prague towns, but in the case of Wrocław – only its actual political power. This researcher did not notice at all the "capital symbolism" of Wrocław – which has been a topic of academic discussions for years. In the end, he came to the conclusion that the term "second capital of the kingdom" is only a "rhetorical strategy" of Wrocław burghers, forgetting that this phrase comes actually from the king's document, not the burghers'.

63 With varying degrees of success, the following monographs meet this stipulation: CZECHOWICZ, *Między katedrą*. RÜTHER, *Region und Identität*. KACZMAREK, *Breslau im Netz*; and WISZEWSKI, *Cuius regio*.

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THE CITY and HISTORY

The Water-Use of Mining Towns and Their Villages in Medieval Hungary: The Example of Kremnica[*]

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The paper addresses the long-term impact of mining towns and the villages under the authority of these towns on the waterscapes in the northern mining area of the medieval Kingdom of Hungary (present-day Slovakia). The paper focuses on the privileging practices of the settlers of villages founded by burghers of a medieval mining town, Kremnica. The paper argues that analysing Kremnica's practice in settling the towns' surroundings may on the one hand shed light on the privileges of the settlers of the town itself, and on the other, be crucial to understanding a previously neglected environmental impact of mining in pre-modern times. The paper argues that while charters of privilege provided to mining towns seldom refer to the freedom to exploit water, the towns' settlers did use the waterways to their benefit. In arguing for this the paper discusses the freedoms of the settlers' villages of Kremnica in the fourteenth–fifteenth centuries. The freedom of settlers – or the leading of the settling process – led to an increased pressure on waterways in mining town areas that had lasting consequences on the landscapes of these regions.

Keywords: Mining towns. Urban economy. Environmental history. Water mills. Privileges. Kremnica.

1. Introduction

Mining put just as significant a pressure on the landscapes in pre-modern times as it does nowadays. For the exploitation of a metal ore discovered in the soil, not only had a certain piece of land to be designated to start bringing the ore to the surface, but major infrastructural interventions were prerequisites to the exploitation of this resource, seriously affecting the environment. Mining regions of Central Europe, for geological reasons – the discussion of which falls outside the scope of the present paper – are in the majority of cases concentrated in hilly and mountainous areas. These areas, because of the climatic features of the region, were densely forested compared to the lowland areas which, as has recently been demonstrated, were already significantly less forested a millennium ago.[1] The dense forest cover prevalent and the relatively limited area and low quality of land for agricultural activities, as well as the concentrated industrial activities, created a special environment, in which the proximity and the accessibility of different resources – such as water – proved to be a crucial factor in the settlement process.[2]

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1 For the landscapes of Central Europe in general, see: FERENCZI et al. *Long-Term Environmental Changes*, 37–47. SZABÓ, *The Extent and Management of Woodland*, 219–237. VADAS, *Geography, Natural Resources and Environment.*

2 CEMBRZYŃSKI, *"Gold Rush" or "Considered Investment"*, 59–72. On industrial energy and mining towns, see: LUCAS, *Industrial Milling in the Ancient and Medieval Worlds*, 1–30; and for Hungary, see: TEKE, *L'energia idraulica*, 335–341.

The marginal, mountainous areas of the Carpathian Basin formed the frontier of the medieval Kingdom of Hungary, and as such were sparsely populated until the second half of the Árpádian period (1000–1301).[3] These areas, however, soon became attractive for several reasons, many of which are directly connected to the availability of natural resources, such as wood, pasture and, not least, ores. In the first half of the Árpádian period, precious metal ores, that proved to be the main driving forces of the settling of the mountain areas of what is today's Slovakia, were mostly – but not exclusively – exploited by panning, but from the thirteenth century onwards, written sources testify to the intensification of complex mining activities in the area. This went with the formation of settlements, which were prerequisites to the exploitation of gold, silver and other metal deposits in present-day Slovakia.

In founding mining towns as well as settlers' villages the landlords – in many cases the rulers themselves – had to provide certain privileges to attract and help newcomers to set up their lives in their new homes.[4] Most of these privileges were directly related to the right to exploit what nature provided. The paper looks at one of these resources that previous research may have attributed less importance to, but which probably was a key factor in settling and in exploiting the mining goods: that is, the right to exploit waterways. In understanding the water-related privileges of these newly founded settlements the primarily focus will not be on the mining towns' privileges themselves as they provide relatively little background on that, but the paper will attempt to look at the privileges granted to villages, or rather its settling leaders (*locatores*, or *sculteti*), founded by mining town burghers.[5] This as I shall argue may help us to identify the norms of the exploitation of waterways in mining regions of medieval Hungary, as well as shedding light on the ways the environment was transformed with the settling of these areas.

2. Mining Town Privileges and Water-Use

There is significant literature on the privileging of settlements in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries in Central Europe, and in the Kingdom of Hungary,[6] and recently, several detailed studies have addressed the privileges of mining towns specifically.[7] These charters of privileges often refer to the freedom to exploit natural resources lying within the limits of the settlements. Because of the need for timber to start mining activity, as well as to build dwellings, the motivations behind providing freedom to exploit timber resources is somewhat unambiguous. Thus, taking note of such privileges was almost as important to consider as the freedom to exploit the mineral resources. The privileges therefore in most cases address the issue of mining – that is, the right to prospect and exploit mineral resources – and regulate the usage of the surrounding

3 BATIZI, *Mining in Medieval Hungary*, 166–181.

4 SZENDE, *Iure Theutonico*, 360–379.

5 WEISZ, *Mining Town Privileges*; and the relevant chapters in: ŠTEFÁNIK – LUKAČKA, *Lexikon stredovekých* (both with further literature).

6 FÜGEDI, *Középkori magyar városprivilégiumok*, 32–56. SZENDE, *Power and Identity*, 27–68. SZENDE, *Mennyit ér a kiváltság*, 285–340. ZSOLDOS, *Károly és a városok*, 267–283.

7 WEISZ, *A nemesércbányászathoz kötődő privilégiumok*, 141–161. WEISZ, *A bányaváros mint önálló várostípus*, 31–57; and most recently: WEISZ, *Az alsó-magyarországi bányavárosok kiváltságai*, 21–48.

forested areas and their timber.[8] In processing the ores unearthed in the mines, however, another resource, water, was also of crucial importance.

Mills, up to the invention of steam engines, were one of the most important sources of industrial power.[9] Even though water energy was fundamental in many ways in mining – to saw the timber to be built into the shafts, in providing energy for de-watering machines, to crush the ore brought to the ground, and not least to provide the burghers with flour – Hungarian mining town privileges, with two exceptions, fail to refer to the right of settlers to build the mills on rivers within the town limits which would have fulfilled most of the above listed needs.[10] However, as I have argued elsewhere, despite the lack of express reference to the right of the settlers of mining towns to build mills, it was probably customary for the townsfolk to use water for their own benefits.

To gain a more nuanced view of the rights of the settlers of the new mining towns to build on waterways, the case of the town of Kremnica will be discussed in more depth. In doing so the primary focus will be on the rights of the settlers' villages founded by the townspeople in the surroundings of Kremnica as the founding and privilege charters of these settlements preserve important points that may also be indicative of the local urban practices in exploiting this, in the mining town environments, crucial resource.

2.1. Kremnica and Its Streams – Who Built What?

Kremnica provides a prime case by which to understand the importance of waterways in the life of a mining settlement. It is even more relevant when considering the importance of the villages founded by mining towns and the usage of water in these settlements, as Kremnica within a few decades after its foundation had systematically started to extend its authority to the surroundings of the newly founded town. The townspeople of Kremnica founded a chain of settlements in the surrounding valleys to exploit the mineral and other resources there as well. Before presenting the water-related privileges provided to the settlers of these settlements, it is important to demonstrate the importance of water-related infrastructure in Kremnica. I will briefly survey the surviving documentary evidence that concerns the water mills within the borders of the town in order to show how, when and by whom these buildings were built, and how important they were to the town's development.

Before going into detail concerning the development of the mills in Kremnica, let me refer to the foundation of the town itself. The development of the town begins in 1328, when, on 1 November, King Charles I issued a privilege to its settlers. The Hungarian ruler enfranchised settlers who came from Kutná Hora (Kuttenberg) in Bohemia. Their settling in Hungary was probably initiated as part of the diplomatic meetings of Charles I and John of Luxemburg, the king of Bohemia in 1327. The miners and minters – who were probably mostly Germans and Italians respectively[11] – and those who might settle in the future were provided with the rights that were essential to the

8 WEISZ, *A bányaváros mint önálló várostípus*, passim. WEISZ, *A nemesércbányászathoz kötődő privilégiumok*, 38–40. MALINIAK et al. *Lesy v dejinách Zvolenskej stolice.*

9 See: LUCAS, *Wind, Water Work.*

10 For the privileges and water use, see: VADAS, *A középkori Magyar Királyság bányavárosai*, 483–506. For the importance of ore crushing mills in mining areas, see: FRÖHLICH, *Středověké a raně novověké mlýny.*

11 See e.g. the example of Petrus Gallicus de Siena: SZENDE, *Királyi kényszer vagy közösségi akarat*, 519. On him, see also: ZSOLDOS, *Sienai ötvösből szepesi alispán*, 61.

initiation of the mining activity. The document's first point provides the settlers with the freedom to use the uninhabited lands and forests for their benefit within a two-mile radius.[12] The document, however, includes stipulations that were anything but usual in the medieval Hungarian legal environment. To wit, in questions not covered in the privilege, the rights of Kutná Hora are identified as authoritative.[13] Accordingly, the charter fails to discuss numerous aspects of the foundation of the town, including the right to use the waters found within the borders of the settlement. The burghers of Kutná Hora in general could use the privileges provided in the summary of the medieval Bohemian royal mining right (*Bergrecht*), the so-called *Ius regale montanorum*.[14] This legal text, however, also remains silent on water rights. Despite this lack of data – as I shall demonstrate shortly – similarly to in Kremnica, numerous burghers from Kutná Hora built and owned mills within the limits of their town.[15]

Nonetheless the spatial organization of Kremnica – that spread along two minor streams the confluence of which was at the centre of the town – shows that water was a crucial resource. In many of the urban privileges it is the possibility of the fish catch that was the most important water-related utility, but in the case of mining towns it certainly was the right of the settlers to exploit waterways for energy production, that is to erect water mills. It is well reflected in the case of Kremnica and the villages founded by the townspeople, where water mills – as I shall discuss here – were of key importance, and probably one of the main motivations behind the founding of a number of the villages within Kremnica's town limits.

The first document that refers to water mills in Kremnica was issued in 1331. By this time a good number of mills operated within the boundaries of the recently founded town.[16] The document is a pledge contract concluded between a certain Stephen Marsilii and Ieclinus of Olf, both probably burghers of Kremnica, in front of Lupoldus (Hyppolit), master of minting and chamber count of Kremnica,[17] as well as judges and jurors of the town. While the name of Marsilii suggests an Italian origin, a group whose presence is less frequently discussed in relation to mining towns in Hungary, Ieclinus may be one of the settlers who arrived from the town of Olpe in the Rhineland.[18] According to the contract, Ieclinus of Olf agreed to repay his debt representing a significant amount of cash and other goods, according to the details specified in the document, while Marsilii accepted a number of immovable goods from Ieclinus as a pledge. As customary for similar pledge contracts, apart from the debt-scheduling, the document also lists the

12 "*Hospites nostri de ipsa Cremnychbana ad duo miliaria terras sive silvas habitatoribus destitutas, vicinas eis et contiguas, collacioni nostre subiectas absque preiudicio iuris alieni cultui ipsorum et usui applicandi liberam habeant facultatem*" – JUCK, *Výsady miest a mestečiek na Slovensku*, p. 115, no. 136.

13 STRÄTZ, *Kuttenberger Bergordnung*, 1594.

14 For its edition, see: PFEIFER, *Ius regale montanorum*, 266–435. On the codification process, see: von STERNBERG, *Umrisse einer Geschichte der böhmischen Bergwerke*. ZYCHA, *Das böhmische Bergrecht* (with another edition of the text in the second volume). And more recently: PFEIFER, *Ius regale montanorum*. JAN, *Václav II. a struktury panovnické moci*. I am indebted to Renáta Skorka for drawing my attention to these works.

15 See the database: http://vodnimlyny.cz. See also: VAVRUŠKOVÁ, *Po stopách mlynářů v Kutné Hoře*, 14–18. Accessed 6 October 2021. https://www.cms-kh.cz/po-stopach-mlynaru-v-kutne-hore. The late medieval *Bergrecht* of Kremnica nonetheless contained a clause on ore crushing mills: ČELKO, *Das Stadt- und Bergrecht von Kremnitz*, 311–313.

16 Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár Országos Levéltára (hereinafter MNL OL), Diplomatikai Fényképgyűjtemény (hereinafter DF) 250 152. Edited in: MATUNÁK, *Z dejin Slobodného*, pp. 455–457, no. 4.

17 On him, see: ŠTEFÁNIK, *Italian Involvement in Metal Mining*, 19–20.

18 MINÁRČIC, *Metačná listina svätoantonského panstva z roku 1266*, 50.

immovable estates that were pledged. Amongst these immovables, and in order to identify these buildings, a number of mills are mentioned in the contract in two areas in the town, in the so-called Soler[19] and Collner[20] valleys (see Fig. 1), both formed by branches of the Kremnický Stream, the only significant waterway within the borders of Kremnica.[21]

The document lists the following water mills:

- a mill in the Soler valley owned by Ieclinus[22] with one sixth of the river;[23]
- the mill of Kadold[24] in the Soler valley;[25]
- two mills and a furnace owned by Ieclinus in the Soler valley, around the mill of Kadold;[26]
- a mill next to the estate of Mazaldrus owned by Ieclinus in the Collner valley;
- the mill of the judge of Pukano (Pukanec)[27] in the Collner valley;
- the mill of Ieclinus next to that of the judge of Pukano in the Collner valley;
- an ore stamp mill called Kolbe in the Collner valley above the previous one;
- an ore stamp mill owned by Nicholas Putner, probably also in the Collner valley.

19 Referred to today as Skalka Stream, an east–west running river within the borders of Kremnica, and a tributary to the Kremnický Stream. More mills are indicated by this stream by György Györffy (GYÖRFFY, *Az Árpád-kori Magyarország*, vol. 1, 455.) as well as: ŠTEFÁNIK, *Kremnica*, 221.

20 North–south running of the Kremnický Stream.

21 GYÖRFFY, *Az Árpád-kori Magyarország*, vol. 1, 454–456. ŠTEFÁNIK, *Kremnica*, 221 and 223.

22 He may be identical with a man referred to as a burgher of Hybe: BORSA, *A Szent-Iványi család levéltára*, p. 27, no. 38.

23 Probably meaning the right to one sixth of the water of the river.

24 As an *urburarius* of Pukanec: KRISTÓ, *Anjou-kori oklevéltár*, vol. 29, pp. 296–296, no. 480. MNL OL, DF 237 039. He owned a mill by the Büksavnica Stream close to Nová Baňa, to be discussed hereafter. Later, he became chamber count of Kremnica: "Komorskí grófi Kremnice". Accessed 25 September 2021. http://www.corycats.sk/mint/index.php?go=grofi_is.

25 Later called the Upper Mill (1365, 1366, 1372, 1373) which had four wheels by 1373. Cf. MNL OL, DF 249 435.

26 They probably do not represent two mills, but rather a single mill with two wheels.

27 For Pukano – Bakabánya: FEHÉRTÓI, *RATA és TILO*, 66. KISS, *Földrajzi nevek etimológiai szótára*, 76 (Bakabánya).

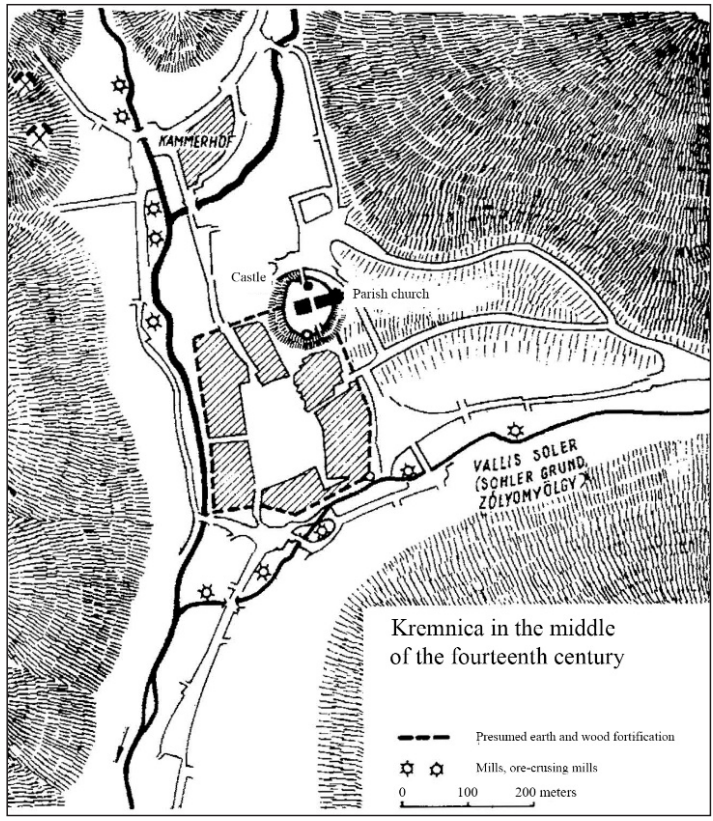

Figure 1: The mills and the urban topography of Kremnica in the mid-fourteenth century (after György Györffy)

The above list provides some important lessons from the point of view of the main question of this paper. First, water mills probably began to be erected within the town boundaries from the moment settling began. Based, however, on the number of mills and their ownership by burghers in other towns, it is very possible that some of the mills even predate the issuing of the foundation charter.[28] The half dozen grain mills and the further ore stamp mills and furnaces suggest that the settlement became significant within a very short period. Considering that by its very nature the contract could not have recorded every mill, the population of the town may have grown rapidly, representing one of the most successful town foundations in the region at the turn of the thirteenth century.[29] Second, the ownership of these mills is important. Somewhat typically, the picture is anything but clear, as there is little information on the people

28 See for instance the case of Nová Baňa: VADAS, *A középkori Magyar Királyság bányavárosai*, 53–55.

29 For the estimate of the population: PAULINYI, *A Garam-vidéki bányavárosok lakosságának lélekszáma*, 351–378.

mentioned in the above and other similar documents. However, it is clear mills were either in the hands of the burghers of Kremnica or held by burghers in other nearby mining towns.[30] Third, the document is one of the most important sources on the early topography of the mining town. Based on the contract, it seems clear that the town grew rapidly from early on and parts of the settlement were found over a relatively extended area, within two small valleys, one running north–south and the other east–west. This layout of the town was certainly connected to the availability of water energy in the proximity or at the actual plot of the new settlers.

The number of mills as well as their relative situation could be identified based on the document; however, the source does not refer to their actual positions along the two streams. The Hungarian historian, György Györffy as well as Slovak researchers mostly use this contract when trying to visualize the extent of the town in the period of its foundation.[31] Györffy suggested that there were five water mills along each of the streams. In the case of the Collner valley this number is probably right. In the Soler valley, however, there were probably only three mills, two of which had a single wheel while the third, apart from two wheels that ground grain and a third that crushed ore, was placed within the same building.[32] Having wheels for different functions housed under the same roof was not exceptional and was, in fact, quite normal in the late medieval period. Most importantly, all these mills were already operating within three years after the foundation charter of the town was issued. This suggests that the new settlers did practice the right to build on the waterways which, it seems, was crucial for the local economy. The latter can be testified to in the fact that these mills according to all odds could not satisfy the local needs.

2.2. Settlers' Villages in the Surroundings of Kremnica and Water-Use

Apart from the mills built within the town itself, from the middle of the fourteenth century onwards, i.e., within no more than two decades after the town's foundation, mills were also built at villages founded by or with the involvement of the burghers of Kremnica within the limits (the two-mile radius) or close to the town.[33] They not only founded new settlements, but also extended their power to already existing smaller villages.

One of the first newly founded villages may have been Kunešov (in Latin: Villa St Michaelis, in Hungarian: Szentmihály), settled by a certain Vernher of Potska in 1342. Apart from initiating the settling, he and his heirs received jurisdiction over the villagers.[34] The settlers did not receive the rights of Kremnica, but those of Žilina where the privilege dated back to 1321.[35] The settlers of the newly founded Kunešov, however, could enjoy a freedom that was not specified by King Charles I for Žilina, but

30 Such as the judge of Pukanec and Kadold, who was also active at Pukanec.

31 GYÖRFFY, *Az Árpád-kori Magyarország*, vol. 1, 454–456. ŠTEFÁNIK, *Kremnica*, 221 and 223.

32 "*Item molendinum circa Mazaldrum situm et infra molendinum judicis de Pukano ipsum Jeclinum contigentem, pro quinquaginta marcis eciam Regii pagamenti. Item unum confum, quod wlgariter Kolbe dicitur in eadem aqua inferius sita et ibidem Nycolaus dictus Putner habet unum contum, pro quinque marcarum pagamenti estimamus…* and *Primo unam rotam cum sexta parte aque in valle Soler pro triginta marcarum pagamenti. Item duas Rotas et chazam in superflui aqua circa molendinum Kadoldi sitam, pro quadraginta marcarum Regii pagamenti.*" MATUNÁK, *Z dejin Slobodného*, pp. 455–457, no. 4.

33 For the *hospes*-villages and their foundations in Upper Hungary, see: KÖRMENDY, *Melioratio terrae.*

34 MATUNÁK, *Z dejin Slobodného*, p. 458, no. 6; see also here: pp. 457–458, no. 5.

35 JUCK, *Výsady miest a mestečiek na Slovensku*, pp. 97–98, no. 110.

was additionally granted to the *locator* and the settlers of Kunešov, namely the right to build along the water.[36] This likely signified that soon after the foundation of Kremnica, its burghers realized how important it was to ensure this right, which as discussed was not specified in the town's charter of privilege, but was nonetheless probably treated as an existing right from early on. In the coming decades, numerous new villages were founded around (mostly north of) Kremnica, and the contracts connected to their foundations are all indicative of the liberties that the settlers could usually enjoy. Similarly to Kunešov, the village of Sklené (Hungarian: Szklenó) was founded with the support of Kremnica by the nobles of the later abandoned Felsőmutna under the leadership of the *locator* Peter Glaser. Just as the settlers of Kunešov, the people who chose to set up their lives at Sklené in 1360 were also granted the freedoms of Žilina. The charter emphasized that the new villagers received the freedom to build their own mills among their other rights.[37] It is certainly interesting that the document lists this right as one that belonged to the freedoms provided by the privilege of Žilina, which as was discussed in the above lines, was not the case.

One further village founded around that time was settled by a certain John (*Johannes*), hence the original name of the settlement, Johannesberg (called Kremnické Bane nowadays).[38] The exact date of the foundation is unknown, but it probably occurred around the middle of the fourteenth century. John Göldner, a burgher of Kremnica, came into possession of the settlement in 1361. Apart from the right to build on the waterway, he also received a then four-wheeled mill that had been built in the settlement.[39] When Göldner came into possession of the settlement, he also inherited the rights of Žilina for the settlement.

Yet another settlement foundation in the surroundings of Kremnica took place in 1364. The nobles in the above-mentioned settlement of Felsőmutna this time intended to found villages in the forests belonging to their rather extensive estates. The Mutna – or by its Árpádian-period name *Chernakou*[40] – forest lay in the southernmost area of historical Turóc County and was divided into two parts by the river bearing the same name as the county (Turiec by its modern name).[41] The river proved to be an important asset in settling the area as its flow by far exceeded that of the rivers within the borders of Kremnica. This fact and the richly forested land were the most important factors in settling the area. The settling process itself took quite a while as in 1263, the land of Mutna Forest had been given to new settlers during the reign of King Béla IV in return for fishing and hunting services they provided the king.[42] The area probably remained virtually uninhabited for a century, but in the middle of the fourteenth century, plans to settle the area were finally concluded. The settling was organized under the leadership

36 "*Insuper judici praedicto et suis villanis contullimus, quod quantum in aqua sursum et deorsum poterunt aedificare, nemo eos audeat infestare.*" MATUNÁK, *Z dejin Slobodného*, p. 458, no. 6.

37 MATUNÁK, *Z dejin Slobodného*, pp. 459–461, no. 8.

38 On John/Johannes, see: ŠTEFÁNIK, *Kremnica*, 230.

39 MATUNÁK, *Z dejin Slobodného*, pp. 461–462, no. 9. Cf. ŠTEFÁNIK, *Kremnica*, 218.

40 SZENTPÉTERY – BORSA, *Az Árpád-házi királyok okleveleinek kritikai*, vol. 1/3, p. 396, no. 1398; p. 416, no. 1354; p. 461, no. 1516, and p. 474, no. 1551. For the early history of the landownership in the area, see: MÁLYUSZ, *Turóc megye kialakulása*, 99–101. BRÁZ, *A nagycsepcsényi és muthnai Vladár-család története.*

41 For a map of the area, see: ŠIKURA, *Miestopisné dejiny Turca.*

42 SZENTPÉTERY – BORSA, *Az Árpád-házi királyok okleveleinek kritikai*, vol. 1/3, p. 416, no. 1354. Its edition: WENZEL, *Árpádkori új okmánytár*, vol. 8, 56. See also: SZENTPÉTERY – BORSA, *Az Árpád-házi királyok okleveleinek kritikai*, vol. 1/3, p. 415, no. 1351, its edition: WENZEL, *Árpádkori új okmánytár*, vol. 8, 55.

of Nicholas, son of Matthew, with the intent to found a village or villages in order to exploit the resources in the uninhabited forest areas. Nicholas as *advocatus* received significant benefits, amongst other things two empty plots and a place suitable for a mill (*locus molendini*) – i.e. the right to build a mill – in the territory of the forest, as well as a place for a mill outside of the forest by the River Turiec, the latter including a plot for the miller's house.[43] The settling this time was different because the *hospites* were given the rights of the mining town of Krupina.[44] However, the *advocatus* and his heirs had a special right to receive every sixth denar of the taxes the settlers paid to the landlords as well as one sixth of the gifts given to the landlords. Since this latter stipulation is not included in the original privileges of Krupina, this is referred to in the *hospes*-privilege as a custom of Žilina. Accordingly, while in general, the charter refers to the rights of the settlers as being the same as for the inhabitants of Krupina, in one particular instance the charter still refers to Žilina's privileges as authoritative.[45]

It is no surprise that the nobles of Mutna made major efforts to settle the area in that period and not in the thirteenth century. The rapid growth of close-by Kremnica must have brought previously unprecedented economic benefits for the settlers in the forest. The proximity to Kremnica, however, was not only an economic benefit, but in the long run proved a major threat as well, since the wealthy town, from the beginning of the fifteenth century onwards, made numerous efforts to get ownership of the villages in the area.[46] Kremnica managed to expand its land holdings in the area, not only in the early fifteenth century, but they continued to do so in the coming century as well. In the late fifteenth century, the landlords of Mutna – referred to as *praedium* (perhaps meaning, but not necessarily, a lost settlement[47]) at the time – claimed that the burghers of Kremnica hired mercenaries to take over their territories.[48] Not much later, in the 1520s, the authority of Turóc County forbade Kremnica from seizing any part of the village of Felsőmutna.[49] These efforts clearly testify to Kremnica's strong interest in systematically taking hold over the natural resources in the vicinity of the town, partly to provide themselves with the resources, partly to monopolize the market.

From the point of view of water-management and the possession of mills, one further *hospes*-settlement is worth mentioning, the village of Dolný Turček, also founded in Mutna Forest. The settlement, lying a few kilometres north of Kremnica, had significant mills as the above-mentioned River Turiec, the most abundant waterway of the area, crossed the village. According to a document from 1371, the settlement had two mills by then, one running with as many as eight wheels and another one with six wheels.[50] The document, apart from giving information about one of the largest milling complexes in fourteenth-century Hungary, also contains an exceptional clause: it annuls every

43 For *locus molendini* and its legal implications, see: VADAS, *Some Remarks on the Legal Regulations*, 291–304. CHIRA, *Documentary Evidence on the Uses of Water-Mills*, 65–67.

44 Cf. SZENDE, *Trust, Authority, and the Written Word*, 66, 168 and 219.

45 MNL OL, DF 249 547 (for its summary, see: KRISTÓ, *Anjou-kori oklevéltár*, vol. 48, pp. 287–288, no. 546).

46 On this, see: MÁLYUSZ et al. *Zsigmondkori oklevéltár*, vol. 2/1, p. 41, no. 328; p. 295, no. 2537; p. 359, no. 3056; p. 367, no. 3112; pp. 375–376, no. 3181; p. 461, no. 3838; pp. 465–466, no. 3866; vol. 2/2, pp. 36–37, no. 5431; p. 230, no. 6718; vol. 3, p. 217 no. 697.

47 NÓGRÁDY, *Az elakadt fejlődés*, 11–30.

48 MNL OL, Diplomatikai Levéltár (hereinafter DL) 95 433. (21 August 1498)

49 MNL OL, DL 98 227. (30 March 1525)

50 MATUNÁK, *Z dejin Slobodného*, pp. 462–463, no. 10. MNL OL, DF 249 538.

previous document issued by Kremnica concerning rights to the river. This passage is important in two respects; first, it strongly contradicts contemporary customary law, which accepts an earlier acquired right as superior to one acquired later in water rights and other spheres of common law.[51] Second, the document implies there were earlier decisions of Kremnica concerning the rights to water in Dolný Turček, documents that are probably lost. I will refer to the latter problem in the conclusion of the present paper, as this passage may be of crucial importance to the present enquiry. One further problem is worth consideration with regard to this document. The text refers to the location of the two mills on the River Turiec and mentions the six-wheeled one to be at "half water" (*unum molendinum sex Rotarum in Turczia inferiori juxta aquam dimidiam situatum, que dicitur am halbem wasser*) and the eight-wheeled at "three-quarter" (*unum molendinum octo Rotarum situatum in tribus quartalibus aque*) in the waterway. This is a rather unique term in Hungarian medieval pragmatic literacy, and one can only guess about its meaning. I think there are two possible interpretations of "half water" and "three-quarter water", the first is that they blocked half and three-quarters of the river respectively, or that they used half and three-quarters of the water of the river.[52]

The last *hospes*-village that is worth mentioning is Horná Štubňa, called Újlehotka at the time. The name is telling as the word is a compound one, consisting of "új" (meaning "new" in Hungarian) and "lehotka" (a word of Slavic origin, meaning forest clearance, used as a loanword in Hungarian).[53] The settlers in 1390 were granted the rights of Krupina, and the leader of the settling process, a certain Bartos and his heirs, had the right to build mills freely.[54]

As is evident from the list of settlements discussed above, the burghers of Kremnica acquired significant properties in the vicinity of the mining town and had numerous water-related infrastructural elements, mostly mills, built on these estates.

2.3. External Interests in Water-Use in Kremnica

While the burghers of Kremnica seem to have been particularly active in extending their power to the surroundings of their city (leading to many conflicts with the surrounding settlements and their landowners), as well as in having mills built in these areas, the mills within the borders of Kremnica, however, were not exclusively in their own hands. Some of them were owned by burghers whose activities can mostly be attested to in other mining towns. For instance, Nicolas Smyt, a burgher from the nearby Nová Baňa, came into the possession of a, by then, four-wheeled water mill, previously owned by the aforementioned Kadold.[55] Soon afterwards, Smyt sold the building to a burgher from the town of Louny in Bohemia.[56] He was not the only person alien to the town who had a share in the milling industry within the borders of Kremnica. Burghers

51 See: TRINGLI, *A magyar szokásjog a malomépítésről*, 251–267. VADAS, *Some Remarks on the Legal Regulations*.

52 Cf: MNL OL, DF 249 958. Edited in: KRIŽKO, *A körmöcbányai római katholikus egyházközség*, pp. 40–42, no. 2. For sharing only a proportion of the amount of water, see the Swedish "institution" of the King vein (*Kungsådra*): JAKOBSSON, *Keep the Water Flowing*.

53 MELICH, *Három helynévről*, 321–324. More recently: KÖRMENDY, *Melioratio terrae,* 212, 231–232.

54 For an edition of the document, see: MATUNÁK, *Z dejín Slobodného*, pp. 463–464, no. 11.

55 MNL OL, DF 249 435. For further investments from Nová Baňa at Kremnica, see: MNL OL, DF 276 184.

56 See further, on the interests of the burghers of Nová Baňa in the mills of Kreminca: MNL OL, DF 249 443. Cf. ŠTEFÁNIK, *Nová Baňa*, 298.

from Buda,[57] as well as the archbishopric of Esztergom owned a significant number of mills in the mining town. The latter institution got its hands on a large mill in the town in the 1460s, after which they leased it to Kremnica. They bought the mill for 4000 (!) florins and leased it back to the town for as much as 300 golden florins a year,[58] the greatest single source of income from mills in the whole of the archbishopric.[59]

Apart from the fact that several mills were owned by individuals other than the burghers of Kremnica, including the largest of such mills in the town, there were more mills for grinding grain and to crush the ore mined locally in the burghers' hands. The well-preserved fifteenth-century account books of the town usually registered the mills and their owners precisely (see Fig. 2), also noting by which of the two above-mentioned streams (in the Soler and Collner valleys) the mill was functioning. Although a detailed analysis of the individual mills would reveal something regarding the historical topography of the town, from the viewpoint of this paper it is less relevant. However, their very existence is certainly important for understanding the importance of water in the life of the town in general.

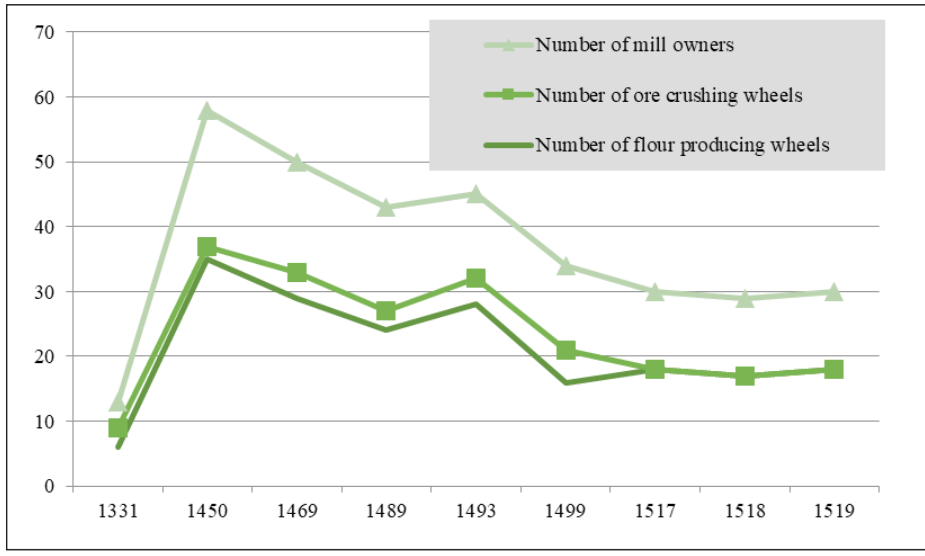

Figure 2: The mills of Kremnica and their ownership (1331–1519)[60]

57 MATUNÁK, *Eredeti oklevelek a körmöczbányai püspöki malomról*, 321–324. See also: KUBINYI, *A budai német patriciátus*, 496.

58 FÜGEDI, *Az esztergomi érsekség gazdálkodása*, 102–103, and 536. For the incomes, and the lease more recently: KUFFART, *Az esztergomi érsek pisetum-jövedelme*, 100 and 109.

59 On the acquisition of the mill, see: MATUNÁK, *Eredeti oklevelek*, pp. 324–326, no. 5.

60 FEJÉRPATAKY, *Magyarországi városok régi számadáskönyvei*, 625–626 (1442–1443), 625–636 (1450). MNL OL, DF 250 101 (1469), MNL OL, DF 250 088 (1489), MNL OL, DF 250 090 (1499), MNL OL, DF 250 102 (1517), MNL OL, DF 250 076 (1518), MNL OL, DF 250 077 (1519).

The studied account books revealed that in the late medieval period, Kremnica and its surrounding settlements had an extremely dense network of water-related infrastructure despite the limited water resources within the immediate borders of the town. This certainly put pressure on the waterways. The quality of the water would have been endangered by the mining activity,[61] as well as the other craft activities[62] in Kremnica, while the many corn mills certainly caused periodic shortages in the quantity that reached the downstream parts of the city.

2.4. Kremnica and the Legal Environment of Water-Use

Some lessons can be drawn based on the data discussed above. First, from the beginning of the existence of the town, the burghers of Kremnica possessed several water mills. In the light of the 1331 pledge contract, it may be well worth considering that even if the privilege granted to Kremnica in 1328 did not refer to this right explicitly, the settlers from other areas lived with this freedom in practice. The existence of the freedom to use waterways to erect mills is confirmed by the fact that *hospes*-villages founded under the leadership of Kremnica were also granted this freedom. Otherwise, the *advocati* from the different *hospes*-villages would have acquired more freedoms than the burghers who commissioned them to lead the settling of the villages. The above-discussed 1371 document on Dolný Turček is of crucial importance here, as it shows that the town of Kremnica had already proceeded with their own water rights before the end of the fourteenth century.

It was probably one of the crucial elements in settling the area to provide the settlers with the use of the waterways for their benefit. Having mills built in the settlements right after their foundation to grind grain and process the ore mined in the area, as well as for preparing timber for the building of the mine shafts, was already a crucial issue. Accordingly, despite the fact that in the charters of privilege of mining towns in medieval Hungary the rights to construct mills and use water resources in general only rarely appear in charters, such questions are discussed in the early legal documents of the settlements with a strikingly high frequency. This is also true in the case of the early pragmatic written documents from Kremnica, where up the early fifteenth century almost half of the documents issued by the authority of the two towns contain references to water-related issues.[63]

3. Outlook: Lasting Heritage of the Land Use in a Mining Town

Water was certainly one of the most contested resources in the surroundings of medieval mining settlements because of the manyfold uses of this resource. This contested nature of the resource is certainly not unique: struggles for the exploitation of the forests was probably similarly strong and lasted well beyond the Middle Ages.[64] The lasting exploitation of the gold and silver deposits seems to have put a great pressure both on forest and water resources. This can be attested to centuries after the heyday of the mining activity in the Kremnica area. In the eighteenth century, when the Lutheran pastor, and the author of the most detailed description of Hungary

61 Cf. WERTHER et al. *On the Way to the Fluvial Anthroposphere.*

62 ŠTEFÁNIK, *Kremnica*, 224–227. For the pressure of craft activities on minor waterways, such as those at Kreminca, see: VADAS – FERENCZI, *Nagyvárosi kisvizek.*

63 SZENDE, *Királyi kényszer vagy közösségi akarat*, 522, and 535–536 (Appendix).

64 WENZEL, *Az alsómagyarországi bányavárosok küzdelmei.*

at the time, Matthias Bel surveyed the area, he took note of the major infrastructural works that had been undertaken in Kremnica and its surroundings.[65] He describes Kremnica's waterways as follows:

> The Lower Town is cut by the Kremnica Stream of which we already took note. This is where the stream bends from north towards the east. Numerous buildings were built along this stream, not only mining machines but also a famous corn mill. The stream originates in three springs. The first is the eastern one, which breaks up at the area called Sohler-Grund. With different gutters, its current is divided into two branches. The first runs towards the south, to the Lower Town, but before reaching that, it drives papermills, then meandering in a small channel finds its way back to the main current under the gardens of the town. The other branch of the spring is diverted by channels built on the hillside, and then is directed to underground pipes to provide the town houses with water. [...] From the springs the second and the third are to the north and to the east from the town. The latter, probably because of the colour of its water is called Schwartz-Wasser. They both run in channels dug and drilled into the side of the hills with large investments, and running long, taking meanders they arrive at the village of Berg [Johannesberg]. [...] Then, part of the water is used in dewatering machines, elsewhere, they drive ore-crushers. [...] There, within the territory of the village of Berg, the stream splits into two parts, a lower and an upper. [...] The other branch of the stream then reaches the valley of Kremnica at a place called Neu Grund, where it rejoins the upper branch. Here it constantly runs the ore-crushers of the emperor and mine-lessees and even some of the machines of the mint. The waters that run out from the channels in the valley of Berg are gathered by a separate bed, which then runs to the corn mill of the bishop, in the meantime providing water for some workshops, though smaller than the ones mentioned before.[66]

This rather long passage from Bel's work testifies to a significantly modified riverscape both in the town of Kremnica and in the surroundings of the town. By the 1720s, when the spine of Bel's work was gathered, the heyday of mining was well over.[67] By this time the higher lying mine-shafts had been run down for centuries, and the deeper lying, more expensive shafts had to be used, which made significant further works – such as large-scale dewatering – necessary. Despite the growing expense in reaching the lower lying gold and silver deposits, and temporary crises of mining at Kremnica and elsewhere in Slovakia, the Kremnica Chamber still proved to be a highly profitable enterprise well up to the nineteenth century.[68] This profitability led to a seriously transformed waterscape, and although this falls outside of the scope of the primary focus of the study, the forests around the town as well.[69]

65 BELIUS, *Notitia Hungariae novae*, vol. 4, 155–290.

66 BELIUS, *Notitia Hungariae novae*, vol. 4, 210.

67 TÓTH, *Bél Mátyás*.

68 KENYERES, *A bányakamarák szerepe*, 177–188. KENYERES, *A Magyar és a Szepesi Kamara bevételei*, 3–67.

69 MAGYAR, *A feudalizmus kori erdőgazdálkodás*.

The environmental heritage of modern mining activities received considerable attention in Central Europe and elsewhere in the past decades.[70] Some of these works drew attention to the fact that the landscape transformation caused by the mining activities goes well beyond the scars in the land itself, but that deforestation was similarly important. Some aspects, especially water contamination, has been highlighted in connection to some of the mining technologies (use of cyanide in gold mining to mention but one); however, less attention has been paid to the environmental change of riverscapes and floodplain areas in pre-modern mining landscapes. The main problem in many cases was not – or not only – the contamination, but the number of infrastructural elements that mining, and the population attracted by mining, necessitated along waterways. This, combined with the deforestation related to mining created a space that was certainly vulnerable, prone to flash floods, as well as leading to constant struggles for water as a resource. To understand this complex heritage of mining before modern times, many more case studies on individual resources and on study sites would be truly important.

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70 See e.g. two collected volumes: UEKOETTER, *Mining in Central Europe.* MCNEILL – VRTIS, *Mining North America.*

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Revolution in the Town Halls: The Formation of Czechoslovakia, the Battle for the Town Halls and Power Transition in the Municipal Authorities of Moravian Towns after 1918[*]

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The study deals with the process of a power transition in Moravian nationally mixed towns after the First World War. The formation of Czechoslovakia was accompanied not only by the takeover of central political authorities, but necessarily also by a power transition at the regional level. The study takes particular note of the complicated process of the taking control of municipal councils in key Moravian towns, which were, until the formation of Czechoslovakia, in most cases under the decisive influence of the German bourgeoisie. Unlike in the Austro-Hungarian era, when the question of the composition of self-governments had been entirely in the hands of the local voters, the interest of the central institutions of the new state as well as of the political parties was now reflected in municipal affairs. In the process of the power transfer, the merging of municipalities played a very important role, being carried out in the post-war reality to serve as a means of solving the complex national-political situation in nationally mixed areas.

Keywords: Czechoslovakia. Czechoslovak towns. Moravia. Power transition. Municipal authorities. Merging of municipalities. Brno. Olomouc. Ostrava. Jihlava. Zábřeh. Czech-German relationships.

Introduction

In late 1918, people from all regions of the former Austria-Hungary experienced the joint trauma of the breakdown of the basic certainties of life. At the same time, the complex system of communication between the centre of the empire and the individual lands collapsed. However, the crumbling monarchy did not simply split into ready-made nation states. In fact, what emerged in October 1918 was something closer to a conglomerate of individual regions, in which the various national communities had different ideas about their future direction.[1] The question of the existence and form of the successor states was therefore far from being a question regarding just the central political bodies and international negotiations, but had a significant regional dimension. This was more than clearly manifested in 1918 in the Bohemian Lands, primarily in ethnically mixed areas and in areas inhabited by the German ethnic group.

The topic of the power transition in the Central European area at the end of the First World War has been rightly popular for a century already. No wonder. In fact, for all authors, however they view the disintegration of centuries-old monarchies after

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1 JUDSON, *Welcher Zerfall? Welcher Triumph?* 15–26.

the First World War, 1918 is a crucial historical milestone. This milestone is linked to the whole thematic complex, primarily to the "great history" of the break-up of Austria-Hungary and its causes, the formation of the successor states, the analysis of the new geopolitical order and international relations, the rigmarole in the sphere of the complicated national relations among the new successor states, their internal order and questions regarding the impact on culture, everyday life and economic life. Nowadays, there is a seemingly infinite quantity of remarkable literature concerning all these facts, both of an analytical and synthetizing character. The periodically repeating jubilees of 1918 apparently intensify the above-mentioned interest, not only on the Czech side, but also in other Central European countries.[2]

In contemporary Czech historiography, the topic of the power transition in the administrative structures of the emerging state is quite an attractive one.[3] The takeover of the state authorities took place in virtually all instances in several waves from the October events of 1918 until late 1919, and its characteristics and model cases are now described in at least their basic features. This is, however, different in the case of self-governing bodies, which had, for quite a long time, stood apart from the attention of researchers, and where we are still reliant on only a few case studies.[4] The takeover of the municipal authorities, which, unlike the state authorities, were based on the principle of elections, was complicated in many ways, especially in key towns and residential agglomerations. However, the political bodies of the nascent state had a vested interest in securing the situation, especially in those areas where the Czech ethnic group was not in a dominant position, which was impossible without controlling the self-governing bodies. Moreover, the importance of the local elites grew in the long term and was even further strengthened by the collapse of the administrative structures in 1918.[5]

The aim of the study and the characteristics of the surveyed towns

The aim of the submitted study is to capture the power transition that started in 1918 in five strategically important Moravian municipal authorities. The study intends to reveal the strategies that were used to bring about the power transition and to shed light on the specifics of this process with regard to the diverse urban locations.[6] In all cases, it is not only the application of the amendment to the election rules, which introduced universal, direct and equal suffrage, but also the amendment to the municipal constitution that appears to be crucial in relation to self-governments. This gave the government the ability to merge and divide municipalities, which, together with the suspension of the original municipal committees and their replacement by administrative commissioners, proved to be one of the important tools for controlling town halls in ethnically mixed areas. It is precisely the circumstances of the new battle for important town halls and the role of municipality mergers in this process

2 KOELTZSCH – KONRÁD, *From "Islands of Democracy"*, 285–327. PEŠEK, *Vznik, charakter a konec*, 659–692. RUMPLER – HARMAT, *Die Habsburgermonarchie 1848–1918*.

3 KLEČACKÝ, *Převzetí moci*, 693–732. VYSKOČIL, *C. k. úředník v československých službách*, 425–459. KRLÍN, *Výměny úředníků státní správy*, 210–253. SCHELLE, *Vznik Československé republiky*, 5–42. ŠEDIVÝ, *K otázce kontinuity nositelů státní moci*, 189–196.

4 KONTNY, *Herrschaftssicherung an der Peripherie,* 381–405. POPELKA, *Mocenský transfer*, 87–111. POKLUDOVÁ, *Änderung in der Stadtverwaltung*, 87–112. MORELON, *State Legitimacy*, 43–63.

5 COHEN, *Nationalist Politics*, 441–478.

6 See: EGRY, *Negotiating Post-Imperial Transitions*, 15–42.

that the study follows. In other words, it seeks to answer the basic question: was the wave of municipality mergers that took place in the early years of the existence of Czechoslovakia motivated by practical economic, transport and administrative reasons (which were the usual justifications), or were the reasons primarily national and political?

Now for a brief characterization of the monitored towns:

Brno/Brünn and Olomouc/Olmütz are two key Moravian statutory towns. As of 1910, more than 125,000 inhabitants lived in Brno, the land capital and the seat of important administrative institutions as well as an industrial centre. According to the census, for approximately 33% of these inhabitants the language of daily use was Czech. Olomouc was only sixth in terms of population in Moravia (after Brno, Moravská Ostrava, Prostějov, Jihlava and Vítkovice), but in terms of its historical significance it ranked just behind Brno. In 1910, approximately 36% of the population with the Czech language of daily use had been counted. The two towns thus displayed similar characteristics: they were centres with the existence of important administrative, cultural and educational institutions, and they had long been controlled by a German self-government whose representatives had tried to build the image of a German town, despite the fact that quite a large Czech minority lived there.[7]

Moravská Ostrava/Mährisch Ostrau was originally a small border town whose character changed very quickly with the rapid industrialization in the second half of the nineteenth century. The Ostrava-Karviná coal district quickly developed into one of the most important industrial centres of the Bohemian Lands and Moravská Ostrava became the destination of many immigrants, especially from Galicia, Moravia, Bohemia and even Germany. During the second half of the nineteenth century, a remarkable multi-ethnic society consisting of Czechs, Germans, Poles and Jews began to develop there. It was not until the turn of the twentieth century that major cultural and administrative institutions were established there and the town began its transformation into the cultural and administrative centre of the wider region.

Jihlava/Iglau, like Brno and Olomouc, is a statutory town. Located in the immediate vicinity of the historical Czech-Moravian land border, it became an important centre of silver mining in the Middle Ages, and in the eighteenth century it came to be a centre of cloth production, which began to economically stagnate during the nineteenth century. Jihlava became the centre of the so-called Jihlava language island (Iglauer Sprachinsel), which was one of the most important German-language enclaves in the Bohemian Lands. In 1910, nearly 49,000 inhabitants lived in 56 municipalities in the vicinity of Jihlava, both on Czech and Moravian territory, of which 79% claimed the German language of daily use.[8]

The last surveyed location will be, unlike the previously followed large towns, the small strategic North Moravian town of Zábřeh/Hohenstadt. As late as the mid-nineteenth century, it had only around two thousand inhabitants. The economic expansion connected with the development of the textile industry caused a gradual increase in population. From the national point of view, the town was located on the language border and was considered strategic by national activists. The share of the

7 KLADIWA – POKLUDOVÁ – KAFKOVÁ, *Lesk a bída obecních samospráv*, 36–37.

8 For more details regarding the situation of the language islands in Moravia at the time of the creation of the Czechoslovak Republic, see: BOHÁČ, *Národnostní mapa republiky Československé,* 97–105. JAŠŠ – FŇUKAL, *The German language islands*, 40–49.

Czech-speaking population in the town was not insignificant (about 36% in 1880, about 31% in 1910), and there was also a large area of Czech-language municipalities in the vicinity. National activation took place relatively belatedly in the area of the Zábřeh political district, with a significant upswing occurring only at the turn of the 1880s and 1890s, turning into a fierce struggle of national activists before the First World War.[9]

Table 1: The development of the ethnic situation of the surveyed towns in 1880, 1910, 1921 and 1930[10]

Town	total population				% claiming the German language of daily use (from 1921 nationality)				% claiming the Czech language of daily use (from 1921 nationality)			
	1880	1910	1921	1930	1880	1910	1921	1930	1880	1910	1921	1930
Brno/Brünn	82,660	125,737	221,758	264,925	58.8	64.9	25.2	19.7	38.9	33.4	70.3	75.6
Olomouc/Olmütz	20,176	22,245	57,206	66,440	63.8	59.6	27.7	22.6	30.4	36.1	68.5	72.0
M. Ostrava/M. Ostrau	13,448	36,754	41,765	125,304	27.4	47.1	23.7	17.4	61.2	36.3	58.7	73.7
Jihlava/Iglau	22,378	25,914	25,634	31,028	83.8	79.2	50.2	39.0	45.4	20.1	45.2	57.9
Zábřeh/Hohenstadt	2,613	3,566	5,389	6,247	64.2	67.4	30.6	30.5	35.5	31.0	67.5	67.7

Moravian municipalities until 1918

As soon as the revolution of the 1840s removed servitude and the traditional supremacy of the manorial lords, it opened up the possibility of creating self-governing organizations that arose from the idea of natural rights. Perhaps the biggest gain was the introduction of municipal authorities on the basis of the provisional municipal system of March 1849. Since then, municipalities or, more precisely, their elected representatives had wielded considerable authority.[11] The municipal authorities, based on the principle of electability and the representation of the interests of the individual population groups, became one of the basic segments of the civil society that was being built in the following decades. Municipal politics had thus become a "school" for politics practised at the level of both the Land Diet and the Imperial Council in Vienna, while at the same time providing an opportunity to promote the principles of democratic behaviour.[12] On the other hand, the selection of the representatives of the municipal authorities was guided by the principle of census (i.e. tax charges) and constituencies (curiae), which gave the municipal politics an honorary character. This fact became increasingly at variance with the real social and national development and caused considerable social tension.[13] This was compounded even more by the political failures of the Czech representatives at the Imperial Council in Vienna, whose attention

9 For more details, see: POPELKA, *Proces české národní aktivizace*, 103–136. POPELKA, *Podnikatel jako národní agitátor*, 41–67.

10 Sources: *Statistický lexicon obcí v Republice československé. Vol. II. Morava a Slezsko. Statistický lexicon obcí v zemi Moravskoslezské*. KLADIWA – POKLUDOVÁ – KAFKOVÁ, *Lesk a bída obecních samospráv*.

11 For the genesis of the self-governing principle in the Bohemian Lands, see: HLAVAČKA, *Zlatý věk české samosprávy*. KLADIWA, *Leska bída obecních samospráv*.

12 MALÍŘ, *Samospráva jako prostředek poslanecké kariéry*, 152–164.

13 MALÍŘ, *Nacionalizace obecní samosprávy*, 73–93.

was logically transferred to the area of self-government, whether at the provincial, district or, in particular, municipal level.[14]

The gradual nationalization of everyday life in the Bohemian Lands also began to be reflected in the functioning of the municipal authorities, making it, especially in ethnically mixed areas, increasingly difficult for the individual national groups to find consensus. In the Bohemian Lands, this fact was particularly striking in the milieu of Moravian towns, as in Moravia the language boundary was not as sharp as in Bohemia. Numerous minorities lived in most Moravian towns, towns with a German majority were often surrounded by Czech-language backgrounds and there were numerous so-called language islands. In 1890, of the 307 Moravian towns, only 50 had exclusively Czech and 36 exclusively German populations. The remaining towns and small towns were nationally mixed.[15] In these nationally mixed Moravian towns, representatives of the Czech population were more and more insistent in claiming their share of power in the municipalities. This was the result of the demographic increase and social and economic emancipation of the Czech population in Moravia, but also of the spreading and strengthening of the Czech national idea in Moravia.[16] This effort, however, ran counter to the interests of the economically more efficient German bourgeoisie, which used all legal means to maintain its power over the running of the municipalities. In Moravia, this clash resulted in the so-called battle for the town halls, during which both sides in the dispute clashed fiercely in the municipal elections with the aim of controlling the town hall.[17]

In many cases, the Czech representatives succeeded, but in most Moravian towns, including the largest, the Czech ambitions remained unfulfilled until the collapse of Austria-Hungary. As of 1910, of the thirty most populous Moravian municipalities, exactly half of the town halls were controlled by Czechs, but the German ethnic group retained control in the largest ones (Brno, Moravská Ostrava, Olomouc, Vítkovice, Jihlava, Znojmo). By contrast, by 1910 the Czechs had taken over the major towns in Haná (Prostějov, Přerov and Kroměříž), the populous Brno outskirts (Židenice, Královo Pole, Husovice), some growing municipalities in the Ostrava agglomeration (Mariánské Hory, Zábřeh nad Odrou) and some traditional regional centres (Uherské Hradiště, Třebíč). Of the six statutory towns in Moravia, four were controlled by Germans before the First World War, and only two by Czechs.[18]

The situation in Moravian towns after the Great War

After the Great War, the question of the municipal authorities came to a whole new level. The formation of Czechoslovakia brought not only a radical change in the political regime, but also a new phase in the development of relations within a nationally divided society. After the collapse of Austria-Hungary, the situation changed in that

14 VELEK, *Rozvíjení české samosprávy*, 146–151.

15 BOHÁČ, *Vývoj Čechův a Němcův na Moravě*, 270–306, 366–389. RUMPLER – URBANITSCH, *Die Habsburgermonarchie 1848–1918*, 2267–2271. HLAVAČKA, *Der Zerfall des Reiches*, 94.

16 MALÍŘ – ŘEPA, *Morava na cestě k občanské společnosti*, 176–185. ŘEPA, *Moravané nebo Češi*, 169–208.

17 Concerning the so-called battle for the town halls, see: MALÍŘ, *Obecní samospráva a národnostní problematika*, 75–87. MAREK, *Prostějov v moravské politice*, 14–19. VIKTOŘÍK, *Z „bojů o radnice" moravských měst*, 81–108.

18 KLADIWA – POKLUDOVÁ – KAFKOVÁ, *Lesk a bída obecních samospráv*, 36–37.

the new state power, unlike its predecessor, directly identified with one nationality (the concept of the nation state of Czechs and Slovaks or, more precisely, Czechoslovaks).[19]

From the aspect of the existence and functioning of the municipal authorities just after the coup d'état in October 1918, an important role was played by provisional revolutionary bodies – national committees. The network of national committees was created as an alternative power network that was to quickly dominate and take over the functions of the existing power structure, consisting of both state authority and municipal authority bodies. The Central Czechoslovak National Committee in Prague maintained contacts with both the Provincial National Committee in Brno and the network of more than 200 district national committees and 76 local national committees, gradually taking power in the individual regions. According to the nominations of the Czech political parties, the national committees were composed primarily of Czech national activists – Czech secondary school teachers, lawyers, sole traders or members of the Sokol sports organization.[20]

In areas with a more prominent Czech majority, the taking of power through the national committees basically took place without any major problems, immediately at the turn of October and November 1918. However, the situation was more complicated in ethnically mixed areas or areas inhabited exclusively by a German population. In areas with a German majority, those competing for power included, on the one hand, the minority Czech national committees and, on the other, German municipal councils and politicians, who invariably linked their future to the emerging Deutschösterreich.[21] By Act No. 40 of 22 November 1918, the Deutschösterreich Parliament declared the German provinces situated in the Bohemian Lands to be its territorial possession.[22] However, given the foreign political situation, this was only a formal declaration. From the end of November 1918, Czech conscripts began occupying the territories with a German majority, which lasted until early 1919. With some exceptions, there was no major resistance during the occupation of the territory, and the paralysed German population had to accept the fact of having to remain within the forming Czechoslovakia. The strong initiative of the State Council in Vienna, which sought to internationalize the problem and called for a plebiscite, did not help either. In September 1919, the Treaty of Saint-Germain-en-Laye brought a definitive end to the idea of the regions with a German majority in the Bohemian Lands joining Deutschösterreich.[23]

It is true that, from the point of view of the development of self-government, the existing norms of the Austrian legal order were also taken over in connection with the adoption of the so-called Reception Law for reasons of legal continuity, but from the beginning it was clear that the existing principles of municipal elections would change, especially considering that they had remained essentially the same since the 1860s. As early as 6 November 1918, after consulting experts, the Prague National Committee decided to amend both the municipal constitution and the election rules as soon as possible. In January 1919, new election rules were issued

19 HUDEK – KOPEČEK – MERVART, *Čecho/slovakismus*, 149–201. KLADIWA et al. *Národnostní statistika v českých zemích*, 33–38.

20 For more detail concerning national committees, see: PEŠA, *Národní výbory v českých zemích*, 45–46. PEŠA, *Národní výbory v roce 1918*, 249–289.

21 KESSLER, *Češi a Němci v roce jedna*, 143–164. MOLISCH, *Die sudetendeutsche Freiheitsbewegung.*

22 KOCHNE, *Die unbeabsichtigte Republik*, 74–78.

23 HAAS, *Konflikt při uplatňování nároků*, 175–177.

concerning municipalities, introducing universal, direct and equal suffrage (or, more precisely, election duty).[24] Then, in February of the same year, an amendment to the municipal constitution was issued, which brought one crucial point in terms of the subject under consideration. In Section 23, the government was given the option of merging or dividing municipalities and changing municipal and district boundaries by the end of 1919. To do so, the government did not need the consent of either the municipalities concerned or authorities of any type, with the municipalities or, more precisely, their inhabitants only having the opportunity to comment on the given plan. This authorization was later extended by subsequent legislation until 1924, with the condition that it concerned proceedings initiated before the end of 1920. Due to its large workload, the government authorized the Ministry of the Interior to directly deal with this agenda by a resolution of 30 July 1919.[25]

The possibility of merging or dividing municipalities without any restriction, acquired by the government in early 1919, was not formal and caused a number of controversies from the very start, mainly due to the fact that the political authorities had been given substantial authority until then belonging to self-governments. Since Section 23 appeared to be exceptional at the time of its issuing, it was to be expected that the government would apply it especially in cases where a change in the municipal land register was desirable in the interest of the whole state and where the impulse came from an official initiative, not from the municipal authorities themselves. It is true that a large part of the cases of municipality mergers in the early days of the Czechoslovak Republic bore signs of an effort to solve the national problems that had been accumulating in the local communities for years. The questions of the rationalization of the administration of the merged municipalities had more of a "secondary" effect, which could be used to justify the merging of the municipalities. We can say that in the milieu of Moravian towns it was a continuation of the so-called battle for the town halls, though conducted in a new era by new means. The fundamental difference compared to in the Austro-Hungarian era, when the question of the composition of the municipal councils was entirely in the hands of the local society, was that now the interest of the central institutions of the new state and the various interest groups (especially national unions) was reflected quite clearly in municipal affairs.

After the First World War, the issue of merging became, in effect, topical for all types of municipalities, from the largest Czech and Moravian towns (Brno, Olomouc, Moravská Ostrava, Jihlava, Znojmo, Liberec, České Budějovice, Plzeň) to small rural towns. What was essential were the changes that occurred in the administrative organization for municipalities located at a language border or on the territory of language islands, as here the pressure to quickly resolve the national situation in favour of the Czech minority was particularly acute.

24 *Sbírka zákonů a nařízení státu československého*, 1919, 77–88. For comparison, see: BADER-ZAAR, *Demokratisierung des Wahlrechts*, 101–112.

25 *Sbírka zákonů a nařízení státu československého*, 1919, 89–91.

The key Moravian residential agglomerations: Brno, Olomouc, Ostrava

The model for the post-war merger actions was the creation of the so-called Velké Brno and Velká Olomouc, which were enacted on 16 April 1919. The outcome of the legislative process was analogous, very concise laws, the provisions of which make it quite clear that they were drafted in the context of the upcoming municipal elections (Sections 2–4 of both laws specifying the number of municipal representatives and the conditions for municipal elections).[26] In both cases, the predominantly Czech outskirts were merged with the town centres with a German majority – in the case of Olomouc, 13 previously separate municipalities were merged, and in the case of Brno, as many as 23 municipalities. This created the precondition for a legal takeover of the town halls of key statutory towns by Czech representatives as part of the upcoming municipal elections.

That this merger was motivated primarily by political and national reasons was not much concealed by its authors. In the case of Olomouc, Administrative Commissioner Richard Fischer wrote the following in a letter dated 15th January 1919 and addressed to the National Assembly:

> The coup d'état has brought the self-governments in many municipalities in Moravia and Bohemia into Czech hands, even in areas where, according to the latest census, there is no Czech majority. Perhaps the change in the political situation will result in an increase in the Czech population; it is very doubtful whether we will achieve a majority in the municipal elections with the new municipal rules. For this reason, we intend to merge 13 suburban municipalities with Olomouc.... We are already working on this project, but it is not certain that it will take place before the elections. If the German majority, though not very large, were to come to govern in Olomouc, it would mean a great detriment to our development, both moral and national-political. The same considerations will probably be determinant for Brno, Zábřeh, Mor. Ostrava, Jihlava, Liberec, etc. That is why, in our opinion, it would be advisable to postpone the elections in those towns where the merging of the neighbouring municipalities is an issue until, for example, the end of this year. In the meantime, our numbers will increase due to Czech clerks, sole traders and workers returning from military service, from captivity, etc., and then our majority can finally be achieved.[27]

Both in the Brno residential agglomeration and in the Olomouc region, the merging process continued very quickly, though in both cases it was not without protests from the German representatives. In late October 1918, a rapid power transition took place both in Brno and in Olomouc, where the local national committees took over all major legal institutions in a matter of days. In both cases the only exceptions were the military garrisons and town councils.[28] However, the Brno Town Council remained in its original composition until 5 November 1918. It was only after mass street protests connected to the pressure from the Provincial National Committee that the Brno representatives

26 For Brno: *Sbírka zákonů a nařízení státu československého,* 1919 (16 April 1919). For Olomouc: *Sbírka zákonů a nařízení státu československého,* 1919 (16 April 1919).

27 Státní okresní archiv Jihlava (hereinafter SOkA Jihlava), Městská správa Jihlava, presidial registry, cart. no. 9, inv. no. 1132.

28 BARTOŠ – TRAPL, *Dějiny Moravy 4*, 7–12.

were forced to step down, and on 6 November the former Přerov District Governor, Petr Kerndlmayer, took control of the town in the function of Administrative Commissioner.[29] Two days later, a 24-member administrative committee was appointed with a two-thirds Czech majority.

Even shortly after the coup, the town hall in Olomouc was also being run by the government elected in the elections of 1910 and the supplementary elections of 1912. On 29 October, the Mayor of Olomouc received representatives of the National Committee, headed by Richard Fischer, but agreed with them only on the need to maintain peace in the town and provide supplies to the severely suffering population.[30] After his consultation with the Provincial National Committee in Brno, on 7 November Richard Fischer, on behalf of the National Committee, called on the town council to resign. The town council resigned on 11 November only after an ultimatum from the National Committee. However, it noted that it was involuntarily bowing to pressure and that the proposed composition of the Administrative Committee, where the Czechs were to have double superiority, was unacceptable to the German population.[31] The Administrative Committee did not hold its first meeting until 17 November, for a surprising reason: the Czech public officials were unable to agree on the composition of the Czech members of the Administrative Committee. In addition, the German representatives protested against the person of the Government Commissioner at the Moravian Viceregency, which, however, rejected their complaint on 16 November, confirming Richard Fischer as the Government Commissioner.[32]

Lively discussions about the merging of municipalities in the Brno agglomeration had already begun in late October 1918. On 29 October, representatives of the municipal councils of Czech municipalities grouped up in the Association of the Brno Suburbs (Spolek brněnských předměstí) declared their will to join the centre of the agglomeration and to create "one great Czech Brno".[33] The first major meetings on this matter took place on 14 and 27 December 1918, when the provisional government of the town first met with the representatives of ten municipalities of the agglomeration and two towns (Husovice and Královo Pole), and then with the representatives of sixteen suburban municipalities. At the meetings, the scope of the merger was discussed, i.e., which municipalities should be merged with Brno. It was clear from the meetings that, in the vast majority, the Czech representatives supported the merger, which was also confirmed in early 1919 by the official statements of the municipalities of the Brno residential agglomeration, where 18 of them expressed their support for the merger. However, they usually conditioned their consent on the completion of the municipal infrastructure, which was also a common requirement for the municipalities in the Olomouc or Ostrava regions.[34] Major problems occurred in only two municipalities with a German majority (Přízřenice and Dolní Heršpice), but they were included on the

29 We can observe a similar scenario of forced resignations of town councils in a number of other nationally mixed towns whose town halls were controlled by German representatives. See: KING, *Budweisers into Czechs and Germans*, 154–158.

30 Státní okresní archiv Olomouc (hereinafter SOkA Olomouc), Archiv města Olomouce, presidial registry, cart. no. 30, inv. no. 566.

31 Letzte Sitzung des Stadtverordneten-Kollegiums. In: *Mährisches Tagblatt*, 1918 (12 November), p. 4.

32 SOkA Olomouc, Archiv města Olomouce, presidial registry, cart. no. 30, inv. no. 584.

33 FASORA – ŠTĚPÁNEK, *Dějiny Brna* 6, 31–32.

34 FASORA – ŠTĚPÁNEK, *Dějiny Brna* 6, 34–35.

list of merged municipalities despite the protests of their municipal councils. At the beginning of February, the Administrative Committee supported the plan to merge the municipalities of the Brno agglomeration, but only because of the predominance of Czech representatives – all eight German members of the committee opposed it. The merging of the municipalities of the Brno agglomeration was enacted very quickly, also due to the draft of the relevant law having already been prepared by the Brno Advisory Council in January 1919.[35] In addition, the Ministry of the Interior itself, in its letter of 22 January 1919, asked the Brno Administrative Committee not to delay the preparations for the expansion of the city. The practical result was that as early as April 1919, the second-largest town in Czechoslovakia was formed by means of an administrative merger, with a population of almost 222,000 in 1921, 70.3% of which claimed Czechoslovak nationality, 25.2% German nationality and 1.3% Jewish nationality.[36]

This new state of affairs was directly reflected in the results of the first post-war municipal elections. These took place after a tense election agitation on 15 June 1919. In total, there were 120,107 eligible voters in Velké Brno, of whom 86,294 (71.8%) were Czech and 33,813 (28.2%) German. 86.4% of eligible voters participated in the elections, who, after a small number of invalid votes was subtracted, cast 65.9% of votes for Czech political parties, 31.7% for German political parties and 2.4% for Jewish parties. In Brno itself, i.e. within the boundaries Brno had before 16 April 1919, the number of German and Czech votes was much more equal: 33,742 for Czech parties and 28,881 for German ones. This is a good illustration of how disadvantageous the formation of Velké Brno was for the Germans. The election results show that despite the huge Czech agitation, the German voters were relatively more conscientious. The large turnout of the German voters was undoubtedly due to the successful agitation by the German Social Democrats, and it appears that the German parties were much more united in the elections. Thus, the German political parties did not fare badly at all in Brno against the Czech numerical superiority, and the German Social Democrats in particular achieved extraordinary success, becoming the third strongest party. On the other hand, the Czech political parties manifested a much greater inter-party struggle. The Czech press reacted to the large number of German votes with its rhetoric, urging people to unite for the Czech cause, as there was still a lot of work to be done to make Brno nationally what it should be, i.e. Czech.[37]

In the 90-member municipal government, the Czech parties had thus gained a relatively comfortable two-thirds majority. After the elections not only the election of the mayor took place, but also several meetings of the municipal government and the town council. However, not only the German parties, but also the closely second National Democrats were grossly dissatisfied with the results. On the basis of three complaints, which pointed out, among other things, the large number of outstanding election complaints, the election results were annulled by the provincial political administration in October 1919.[38] By the new elections, held on 29 February 1920, power had passed back to the Administrative Commissioner and to the extended Administrative Committee. However, the February elections, accompanied by

35 VRÁNA – SCHELLE, *Vznik velkého Brna*, 21–30. MATES – SCHELLE, *Ke vzniku Velkého Brna*, 107.

36 *Statistický lexicon obcí v Republice československé. Vol. II. Morava a Slezsko*, 28.

37 BURIAN, *Brněnští Němci a teritoriálně-politické proměny*, 83–85.

38 MATES, *Obecní volby v roce 1919*, 22–23.

nationalistically fierce rhetoric, essentially only confirmed the previous results. Of the total 115,989 votes cast, 78,149 votes (67.4%) went to ten Czech political parties, 35,298 votes (30.4%) to three German parties, and 2,542 votes (2.2%) to the associated Jewish parties. From the Czech parties the victorious Social Democracy strengthened its position even further, eventually winning its former mayoral post.[39]

The takeover of the Olomouc Town Hall by the Administrative Committee with a Czech majority was perceived by the Czech side as "gaining the town", though, like in Brno, the acquired status had to be confirmed in the municipal elections.[40] The Olomouc Administrative Commissioner envisaged the same solution as in Brno, Moravská Ostrava and other important towns, namely the merging of the town with suitably chosen suburban municipalities. Before 1914, the Olomouc burghers, keeping to the motto "*klein aber mein*", blocked all proposals to merge the suburban municipalities.[41] It was not until 1916 that consideration was given to merge the predominantly German Neředín. However, after the coup d'état and major changes at the Olomouc Town Hall, the situation quickly turned. As early as 9 December 1918, the Administrative Commissioner submitted a proposal for the creation of Velká Olomouc. Archive material shows that he had consulted and coordinated his steps with representatives of the administrative committees in both Prague and Brno. At that time Fischer proposed to negotiate first with the predominantly Czech Hodolans (who agreed to merge with Olomouc at the meeting of the municipal government on 19 December), while the German members of the Administrative Committee preferred the mainly German Nová Ulice.[42]

Negotiations with the surrounding municipalities were ultimately very quick. As early as 27 December, a meeting of all the municipalities concerned took place, at which all thirteen representatives of the contacted municipalities agreed to the proposal for the creation of Velká Olomouc. Six of these municipalities were predominantly German (all governed by administrative committees in which Czech representatives held a two-thirds majority), the remaining seven were Czech.[43] Other documents show that one of the main arguments for the merger was "to break through from the Czech side during the municipal elections and into the Chamber of Commerce".[44] In reality, however, at least some of the municipalities had hesitated for a long time over the official decision to merge. A report from the Ministry of the Interior dated early April 1919 stated that the municipalities of Černovír and Lazce had not yet made the necessary resolution to agree to the merger and that the municipality of Bělidla had requested the communication of detailed conditions.[45] In the final stage, however, there was no disagreement with the merger plan on the part of the municipalities concerned. The result was therefore Velká Olomouc, with a population, according to the results of the 1921 census, of

39 VYKOUPIL, *Brno mezi dvěma válkami*, 26–27. *Občanské noviny*, 1920 (6 January). *Občanské noviny*, 1920 (27 February). *Lidové noviny*, 1920 (13 February; 28 February).

40 Concerning the municipal elections in Olomouc before 1918, see: FISCHER, *Česká účast při obecních volbách.*

41 HÁJEK, *Olomoučtí Němci 1918–1938*, 41.

42 SOkA Olomouc, Archiv města Olomouce, register 1920–1940, cart. no. 15. SOkA Olomouc, Archiv města Olomouce, books, inv. no. 455, sign. 2098. HÁJEK, *Olomoučtí Němci 1918–1938*, 40–41.

43 SOkA Olomouc, Archiv města Olomouce, register 1920–1940, cart. no. 15.

44 SOkA Olomouc, Archiv města Olomouce, register 1920–1940, cart. no. 15.

45 SOkA Olomouc, Archiv města Olomouce, register 1920–1940, cart. no. 15.

57,206 inhabitants, of which 68.5 % claimed Czechoslovak nationality, 27.7% German nationality and 1.4% Jewish nationality.[46]

The municipal elections were held in Olomouc, as in Brno, on 15 June 1919, which the Czech politicians in Olomouc considered too rushed, but they failed in their request to the government to postpone the elections until the end of the year. In the election campaign, the German politicians publicly denounced the Czech "manoeuvre" with Velká Olomouc and could only foresee the election of a Czech majority to the town hall.[47] The results of the municipal elections confirmed this logical assumption. In the 60-member municipal council, the Czech parties gained 38 mandates (64.8% of the votes), German parties 20 mandates (34.9% of the votes) and the united Jewish parties two mandates (3.0%). In the overall context the German result can be assessed as very good.[48]

However, in the case of the merged municipalities in the Olomouc region we can subsequently observe centrifugal trends, as some municipalities merged with Olomouc felt cheated. As early as 1920–1921, under the impression of the dire financial condition of the Town of Olomouc, severe centralization and poor functioning of the new municipal authority, Chvalkovice, Povel and Nové Sady, i.e. municipalities both Czech and German, demanded back their independence. For example, according to the Chvalkovice representatives, who had approached the Ministry of the Interior on the matter, the whole merger action had been carried out for profit reasons and "due to the merger, this Czech suburb [was] being drained financially by the large German capital" and none of its needs were being taken into account. The allegedly perfectly functioning local town hall was closed down (in the merged municipalities, office work ceased on 30 June) and instead the local residents were subjected to the supposedly terrible official machinery of the central town hall. Complete discontent was supported by all local associations and parties. In all cases, both the provincial political authority in Brno and subsequently the Ministry of the Interior opposed the demands for renewed independence.[49] In early 1921, other municipalities officially demanded economic autonomy along the lines of the Brno municipalities and a higher share in the administration. In order to ensure the rational functioning of the town administration, they submitted a plan, based on Richard Fischer's proposal from April 1920, for the creation of special provisional advisory councils in the merged municipalities, counting 12–24 members, to manage the economic affairs of the given town district. This somewhat eased the tensions between the central town hall and the individual parts of the town.[50]

On the other hand, the example of the Ostrava residential agglomeration shows that in some cases the negotiations concerning the merging of municipalities were significantly more complicated. Like in Brno and Olomouc, the actual takeover by the National Committee took place relatively smoothly in Moravská Ostrava. The 12-member District National Committee in Moravská Ostrava, headed by Social Democrat Jan Prokeš, took over the state institutions on 29 October 1918. On the same day, the Moravian-Silesian Municipal Committee took note of the proclamation

46 *Statistický lexicon obcí v Republice československé. Vol. II. Morava a Slezsko*, 63.

47 *Mährisches Tagblatt*, 1919 (2 June; 13 June).

48 *Deset let práce na olomoucké radnici 1918–1928*, 20.

49 SOkA Olomouc, Archiv města Olomouce, register 1920–1940, cart. no. 16.

50 SOkA Olomouc, Archiv města Olomouce, register 1920–1940, cart. no. 15.

of the new Czechoslovakia and, with regard to maintaining order and supplies, was willing to establish contacts with the representatives of the National Committee.[51]

Like in other towns, in the Ostrava region, too, the National Committee was involved in the process of removing the existing municipal councils. In particular, on 19 November, the National Committee sent a letter to the Ministry of the Interior, initiating the removal of the municipal committees of Moravská Ostrava, Přívoz and Vítkovice, i.e. the three most important municipalities with town status in the Ostrava region. At that time, the National Committee informed the government of the popular discontent regarding the fact that these towns continued to be governed by bodies elected on the basis of the old election rules.[52] The first proposal envisaged the creation of administrative committees counting 24 members, with 18 seats for the representatives of Czech political parties and the remainder for German political representation. In early December, the government agreed to make changes to the management of these towns, which was followed by negotiations between the National Committee and the relevant municipal committees. The result was the forced resignation of the members of the municipal committees in Moravská Ostrava, Vítkovice and Přívoz on 17 December and the appointment of administrative commissioners, which was, in all cases, accompanied by protests over the low proportion of German representatives in the administrative committees.[53] The most influential Administrative Commissioner in the Ostrava region was the Moravská Ostrava Social Democratic politician, Jan Prokeš, who ultimately had a 29-member Administrative Committee at his disposal, nominated, like in other cases, on the basis of a political quota (7 German and 22 Czech representatives).[54] In Přívoz and Vítkovice, 24-member administrative committees (in Vítkovice 14 Czechs and 10 Germans, in Přívoz only 6 Germans and 18 Czechs) were formed. Despite being, by their very nature, provisional bodies, in the case of Moravská Ostrava their operation was extended to a lengthy six and a half years. The main reason for this was the negotiation regarding the so-called Velká Ostrava, a project that was to follow the example of the projects of Velké Brno and Velká Olomouc.

Although there had already been some indications of first reflections on the merging of municipalities in the Ostrava region before 1914, the idea of merging fifteen Moravian and Silesian municipalities in the residential agglomeration was purely post-war. According to the local census of 1919, the planned Velká Ostrava would, with its 166,000 inhabitants, become the third largest town in Czechoslovakia, and since more than 64% of these inhabitants were Czechs, the merging of the municipalities would result in the neutralization of the key town halls in Moravská Ostrava, Vítkovice and Přívoz, which had, before the arrival of the administrative commissioners, been controlled by a German majority.[55]

The Administrative Committee of Moravská Ostrava, headed by Jan Prokeš, opened preliminary negotiations with 14 municipalities in the Ostrava residential agglomeration

51 JIŘÍK, *Státní převrat na Ostravsku v roce 1918*, 402–427. Obecní výbor Moravské Ostravy v novém státě. In: *Moravsko-slezský deník*, 1918 (31 October), no. 301, p. 2.

52 Archiv města Ostrava (hereinafter AMO), Okresní národní výbor Moravská Ostrava, cart. no. 1 and 2.

53 AMO, Okresní úřad Moravská Ostrava (hereinafter OÚMO), cart. no. 16. AMO, Okresní národní výbor Moravská Ostrava, cart. no. 2.

54 AMO, Archiv města Moravská Ostrava (hereinafter AMMO), books SK, 1918, II B 246. AMO, OÚMO, sign. LC 363/1919.

55 PRZYBYLOVÁ, *Ostrava*, 336–337.

in March and April 1919 and, according to its statement, the representatives' reactions were essentially positive. On 5 May 1919, the Committee therefore decided to ask the government to create Velká Ostrava and consequently to postpone the date of the municipal elections, to which the Ministry of the Interior consented. However, the situation in some municipalities was not so simple. As late as May 1919, the administrative committees of Vítkovice and Svinov expressed a clearly negative opinion on the merger plan. In contrast to the surrounding municipalities, the key municipality of Vítkovice had an excellent municipal infrastructure, was minimally indebted and was worried about a sharp increase in the municipal surcharge.[56] The Svinov Administrative Committee had different arguments against the merger, as it was concerned about the willingness to implement the costly infrastructure projects needed by the municipality after the merger and about the transfer of all industrial plants harmful to health from the centre to the peripheral municipalities of the new town.[57] Interestingly, by June 1919, Jan Prokeš had managed, after a number of concessions, to get approval for the merger even from those administrative committees that had still been protesting against it in May. On 24 September 1919, after obtaining the consent of all administrative committees, the Administrative Committee of Moravská Ostrava sent a proposal to the Czechoslovak government for a law to merge seven Moravian and eight Silesian municipalities into the "Mining Town of Ostrava".[58]

However, as in other cases, spontaneous "bottom-up" activity worked alongside the key initiative from above. Thus, in May 1919, Silesian Vratimov spontaneously expressed support for the idea of creating Velká Ostrava, claiming that it had close ties to the neighbouring Silesian municipalities that were expected to merge with the new town. A similar request was made in December 1920 by the representatives of the municipality of Nová Bělá and Proskovice, who (along with many other municipalities of the District of Moravská Ostrava) protested against the intention of incorporating their municipality into the Místek District.[59]

However, there were as many as four problems that complicated the merger plan: 1. The unresolved state affiliation of the Cieszyn region, to which all the Silesian municipalities concerned belonged, except for Svinov; 2. The question of which land the emerging town would belong to. The Regional Administrative Committee for Silesia contested the decision to make the former Silesian municipalities a part of Moravia. The reasons were both financial and national, as a change in the land affiliation of the Silesian municipalities could have led to a weakening of the Czech positions in the Cieszyn region, which many representatives saw as incomprehensible in the context of the international dispute over this area. 3. Legislation which, until 1920, did not address the issue of changes to the municipal borders, which would have resulted in changes to the borders of the historical lands. 4. The fact that some municipalities, especially Vítkovice, had, for a long time, acted tactically, issuing various conflicting proclamations on the issue of merging with Moravská Ostrava.[60]

56 AMO, AMMO – new registry, 1919–1923, inv. no. 47, cart. no. 10.

57 AMO, Okresní úřad Moravská Ostrava, cart. no. 53, sign. Lb 9, inv. no. 417.

58 AMO, AMMO – new registry, 1919–1923, cart. no. 10 a.

59 AMO, Okresní úřad Moravská Ostrava, cart. no. 53, sign. Lb 9, inv. no. 417.

60 For example, in December 1920 the Vítkovice Administrative Committee did not withdraw its initial agreement to merge with Moravská Ostrava, but at the same time approved a proposal to establish the so-called Velké Vítkovice, which was to be created by the merger of this industrial centre with the neighbouring Zábřeh

Act No. 285 of 14 April 1920 unblocked the problem of changes to the land and county borders. The question of Velká Ostrava's land affiliation eventually became crucial, as neither land wanted to lose a significant source of land surcharges and, as the Ministry of Finance admitted in the middle of the negotiations in November 1920, "the negotiations are likely to be very difficult". In the original proposal of the Moravská Ostrava Administrative Committee, dated September 1919, it was envisaged that the new town should be incorporated into Moravia, which provoked expected opposition on the Silesian side.[61] After another year of various protests, in October 1920 the government authorized the Ministry of the Interior to issue a decree on the merger of fifteen Ostrava municipalities and their incorporation into Silesia (issued on 13 November), which, however, did not solve the situation at all. Due to the intransigence of both lands on the question of the affiliation of Velká Ostrava, in February 1921 Jan Prokeš negotiated with Prime Minister Jan Černý, who saw the solution in promoting a new system of governance based on the abolition of the previous lands and the introduction of the county principle.[62] In April 1921, Prokeš even proposed to the Ministry of the Interior that, in the event of an unsuccessful negotiation between the Moravian and Silesian provincial committees, it make the decision alone by the power of its authority.[63] Due to further delays, Prokeš asked the Ministry of the Interior as well as the then prime minister Edvard Beneš if it would be possible to at least grant the request to form Velká Ostrava by merging the seven Moravian municipalities that were most interested in doing so.[64] The government did not oppose this plan, but as early as February and subsequently in September 1922, the National Council for the Ostrava and Cieszyn regions, which represented the Czech political parties in Silesia, criticized this intention. In terms of the strategic reinforcement of the Czech element in Silesia, the council continued to insist on the original project of Velká Ostrava and on the integration of the new town into the administrative structures of Silesia. Similar protests also came from some Silesian municipalities (Slezská Ostrava) or corporations, mainly drawing attention to the risk of a fragile Czech majority.

Ultimately, both the Ostrava and Prague politicians negotiated primarily according to the sway of political arguments. An estimate of the political representation of the individual nationalities for the narrower option of the project indicated that the new 60-member municipal council would have a majority for Czech state-forming parties. On 10 October 1923, the Ministry of the Interior announced its intention to merge six municipalities (Přívoz, Vítkovice, Mariánské Hory, Zábřeh nad Odrou, Nová Ves and Hrabůvka) with Moravská Ostrava.[65] In the administrative committees of the municipalities concerned, the project did not meet with stronger resistance and was approved by the majority, which was, however, not true of the public, which was divided

and Hrabůvka. The Administrative Committee then presented this proposal as the first stage towards Velká Ostrava, which was to be created sometime in the future. AMO, fund Okresní úřad Moravská Ostrava, cart. no. 53, sign. Lb 9, inv. no. 417. AMO, Archiv města Moravská Ostrava – new registry, cart. no. 10.

61 AMO, Okresní úřad Moravská Ostrava, cart. no. 53, inv. sign. Lb 9, inv. no. 417. AMO, AMMO – new registry, 1919–1923, inv. no. 47, cart. no. 10.

62 AMO, AMMO – new registry, 1919–1923, cart. no. 10 a.

63 AMO, AMMO – new registry, 1919–1923, cart. no. 10 a.

64 AMO, Okresní úřad Moravská Ostrava, cart. no. 53, sign. Lb 9, inv. no. 417. AMO, AMMO – new registry, 1919–1923, cart. no. 10 a.

65 AMO, AMMO – new registry, 1919–1923, inv. no. 47, cart. no. 10.

on the matter.[66] The merger was confirmed by the government of the Czechoslovak Republic on 20 December 1923 with effect from the beginning of 1924. Although the size of the new Moravská Ostrava was half the originally planned size, the population of almost 114,000 made it the third largest town in Czechoslovakia. The objections of a number of corporations that the merger put together municipalities of a different character, with no economic links among them, were rejected as unfounded.[67]

With the creation of a new town, the still functioning administrative committees disappeared, but until the regular municipal elections the new town continued to be run by Administrative Commissioner Prokeš together with a 42-member advisory council, whose composition was based on the results of the political parties in the previous general elections, in 1920. The German representatives thus won only nine seats on the Administrative Committee, and the representatives of Jewish parties two seats. The remaining posts were filled by Czech representatives; the Social Democrats held the strongest position – 17 seats. The constituent meeting of the new Administrative Committee took place on 23 February 1924.[68] However, it was disconcerting that more than five years after the removal of the duly elected self-governments, the administration of the Ostrava municipalities still remained in the hands of the administrative commissioners. As time went on, with the creation of the metropolis still nowhere in sight, opposition members grew increasingly averse to the Administrative Commissioner, and protests against his continued tenure multiplied. When the German members of the Administrative Committee discovered the futility of their protests, they moved on to passive resistance. There were even repeated accusations that Prokeš was delaying the negotiations to merge the municipalities in order to maintain his position and thus, regardless of the opinion of the German minority, to enforce actions detrimental to its interests and rights.[69] It is clear, however, that the merger itself was delayed primarily by external circumstances over which Jan Prokeš could have had only little influence.

As in other cases, the issue of the new municipal elections had become a very sensitive one. The municipal elections in Moravská Ostrava were held on Sunday, 9 November 1924. The Czech parties gained a total of 44 mandates (including seven communist ones), the German parties fourteen and the Jewish party two mandates. Due to complaints, the term of office of the Administrative Commissioner was extended until the spring of 1925. It was only the constituent meeting of the new 60-member municipal council, connected with the election of the mayor (Jan Prokeš, as expected) and two deputies (candidates of the National Socialists and the People's Party), that ended the long-term provisional measure on 17 March 1925.[70]

66 Most of the criticism came from associations and political parties based in Vítkovice, who saw the merger with Moravská Ostrava as an economic disaster. AMO, AMMO – new registry, 1919–1923, inv. no. 47, cart. no. 10.

67 AMO, Okresní úřad Moravská Ostrava, cart. no. 53, sign. Lb 9, inv. no. 417. AMO, AMMO – new registry, 1919–1923, inv. no. 47, cart. no. 10.

68 AMO, AMMO – new registry, 1919–1923, cart. no. 10.

69 AMO, AMMO – new registry, 1919–1923, inv. no. 47, cart. no. 121.

70 AMO, AMMO – new registry, 1919–1923, cart. no. 114.

The unwanted merging of municipalities? The case of the Statutory Town of Jihlava

The National Committee, as a provisional body of the Czech political representation, was formed in Jihlava on 30 October and was headed by the long-time leader of the Czech minority in Jihlava, advocate and former deputy of the Moravian Land Diet, JUDr. Ludvík Chlum.[71] The very next day, the Jihlava National Committee managed to take control of the District Governor's Office, headed by Consensual Governor Karl Ludwig. Although the National Committee had thus gained control of the office governing the municipalities surrounding Jihlava, the town itself continued to be controlled by the existing town council as a body of political administration. From the beginning, however, the Jihlava Town Council refused to negotiate with the National Committee in any way, promoting Jihlava's incorporation into German Austria. In relation to the National Committee, it was only willing to make a compromise on the basic issues of supplies and security. Therefore, on 1 November, the Jihlava National Committee proposed to the National Committee in Prague to remove Jihlava's status as a statutory town and to transfer the political agenda to the District Governor's Office.[72] However, as with most other Moravian statutory towns, this did not happen until ten years later and in a completely different situation.[73]

On 3 November 1918, a counterweight was established to the Jihlava National Committee – Deutscher Volksrat für die Iglauer Sprachinsel – formed from the representatives of the Jihlava Municipal Authority and the authorities of the German municipalities of the Jihlava language island, the German political parties and important associations. Deutscher Volksrat, headed by Jihlava entrepreneur and German activist Veno Sedlak, declared the will of the Germans of Jihlava as well as the entire language island to join Deutschösterreich, taking practical steps to achieve this goal. This organization covering Jihlava's Germans existed until August 1923, when its operation was officially suspended due to illegal activities.[74]

It was not until 3 December 1918 that the town council was forced to resign, handing over the administration to Administrative Commissioner František Hovůrka (the former Commissioner of the District Office in Jihlava) and a 24-member Administrative Committee with a parity representation of both nationalities and a decisive vote for the Administrative Commissioner. The resigning town council officially declared that it considered its resignation to be coerced, and though it had conformed to the laws and regulations of the Czechoslovak Republic, it proclaimed itself in favour of German Austria, leaving the final affiliation of the town to the decision of the peace conference.[75] Thanks to the coup in the municipal authority, the Czech minority managed to gradually eliminate German dominance both in important offices and in education.[76]

However, the overall tense atmosphere was confirmed by the situation surrounding the municipal elections in 1919. In most municipalities of the Jihlava language island, they took place on the due date (16 June) and confirmed German dominance. In Jihlava and the nearest municipalities, however, their date was postponed by a decree from

71 PALÁNOVÁ, *Poslanci Moravského zemského sněmu*, 47–54. RANDÝSEK, *Jihlavský národní výbor*, 205–211.

72 SOkA Jihlava, Městská správa Jihlava od roku 1849, presidial registry, cart. no. 11, inv. no. 1417.

73 *Sbírka zákonů a nařízení státu československého*, 1928, částka 60, Vládní nařízení č. 174/1928 Sb.

74 SOkA Jihlava, Městská správa Jihlava od roku 1849, presidial registry, cart. no. 9, inv. no. 1090.

75 SOkA Jihlava, Městská správa Jihlava od roku 1849, official books, inv. no. 17.

76 For more detail, see: PALÁNOVÁ, *Vznik československé republiky*, 211–233. On the issue of eliminating German dominance in public institutions, see: PALÁNOVÁ, *Česko-německé vztahy*, 117–131.

the Ministry of the Interior of 21 May 1919 at the request of the Administrative Commissioner, and thus they took place only on 26 September 1919.[77] What is interesting is the justification for the postponement of the elections by the Jihlava Administrative Commissioner:

> In the month of January, when submitting a request for the postponement of the elections in the Town of Jihlava to the National Assembly, I was thinking only of the benefit of the local Czechs... The situation I mentioned at the time as the reason for the postponement of the elections has not yet undergone the desired changes, since especially in the case of authorities – the governor's office, the courts, the financial directorate, the post and tax office, and the tobacco factories – many of the positions are still occupied by officials of German nationality, so the centre of the hope of a positive election result in favour of the Czech Jihlava minority has not yet shifted at all.[78]

Representatives of all German political parties publicly protested against the postponement of the elections, even calling a demonstration on 29 May in the Jihlava main square. The postponement of the municipal elections was criticized at the meeting of the Administrative Committee on 6 June 1919 by the German members of the Administrative Committee, who asked for the withdrawal of the postponement procedure, but it was not surprising that they did not succeed with their proposal.[79]

While the longer preparation time did help the Czech activists, a fundamental change could not take place. In total, 8,015 (62.64%) votes for the German representatives were cast in the municipal elections, with 4,317 (33.77%) for the Czech representatives and 464 (3.63%) for representatives of the Jewish minority. Based on these results, the Germans gained 27 mandates in the town council, the Czechs 14 and the Jews one.[80] In reaction to this, the Czech activists filed a protest against alleged election frauds, which the provincial political authorities recognized as incompatible with regular elections (especially fundamental problems with the lists of voters).[81] Consequently, the results of the first post-war municipal elections in Jihlava were annulled. This triggered a wave of protests from the German representatives, who failed to ensure that the results of the elections be taken into account in the composition of the Administrative Committee. Less than a month after the publication of the annulment of the municipal election results, the traditional celebration of the summer solstice (Sonnwendfeier) took place in Jihlava on 23 June 1920, which turned into an uncontrollable manifestation, resulting in two dead and nine injured Czech soldiers and two injured German demonstrators.[82]

Although the new elections, held on 26 September 1920, brought about a strengthening of the Czech political parties (45% of the votes cast), they still did not gain a majority. Objections from the Czech side were raised about the running of the elections, but due to the generality and lack of clarity of the objections, the election of the municipal council was confirmed. For the German politicians this was yet another

77 SOkA Jihlava, Městská správa Jihlava od roku 1849, political registry, inv. no. 1573.

78 SOkA Jihlava, Městská správa Jihlava od roku 1849, presidial registry, cart. no. 9, inv. no. 1162.

79 SOkA Jihlava, Městská správa Jihlava od roku 1849, presidial registry, cart. no. 9, inv. no. 1178.

80 PALÁNOVÁ, *Česko-německé vztahy*, 128.

81 SOkA Jihlava, Městská správa Jihlava od roku 1849, presidial registry, cart. no. 10, inv. no. 1273.

82 SVĚRÁK, *Nikdy zcela neodešli*.

election that continued a series of injustices, with the Czechs doing everything they could to get the maximum number of votes.[83] On 4 December 1920, the moderate German Social Democrat Othmar Oberrenner was elected mayor. Moreover, in the case of statutory towns, the election had to be confirmed by the Czechoslovak government, which, however, took its time, so Oberrenner did not officially enter the mayor's office until five months later – in April 1921. Teacher and national activist Josef Výborný (1889–1982) became the first deputy mayor, soon initiating negotiations on the merging of the large Czech municipality of Dřevěné Mlýny with Jihlava.

What was the purpose of this move? The merging of Jihlava and the immediately adjacent municipality of Dřevěné Mlýny had already been seriously discussed before the First World War. In the second half of the nineteenth century, this originally small farming community began to industrialize rapidly owing to the proximity of the railway, resulting in a population increase. Due to the Jihlava main railway station, located in the Dřevěné Mlýny land register, and the gradual urban development, the administrative merger of the municipalities presented itself as the first option. As early as 1909, a joint committee was formed from the representatives of the two municipalities to study the possibilities of the merger, taking an interest in similar recent cases (the merger of Koloredov with Místek, or the municipality of Wilten with the provincial capital of Innsbruck).[84] Despite the financial question marks, on 12 January 1910 the Dřevěné Mlýny Municipal Committee, together with the Jihlava Municipal Committee, decided to merge into one municipality. On 4 March 1912 the Moravian Provincial Committee made the decision to reject the request as the merger of Jihlava with Dřevěné Mlýny contravened the provision of Section 1 of the Jihlava Municipal Statute of 1874. Jihlava wanted to unblock the situation and in April 1912 the town council proposed an amendment to the relevant section of the statute, informing the Viceregency of this in an official letter dated 31 May 1912. The Provincial Committee drew up the corresponding draft of the law on the merger of Jihlava and Dřevěné Mlýny, submitting it to the Moravian Land Diet on 10 February 1914. However, the draft of the Land Law was never discussed: on 28 February 1914 the Land Diet was adjourned and did not meet again during the war.[85]

Immediately in the post-war period the issue started to be discussed again, first in the administrative committees. What was unpleasant was that the Administrative Committee of Dřevěné Mlýny, set up on 14 January 1919, unanimously withdrew its initial consent to the implementation of the merger, despite the fact that the Czechs had a majority representation there. On 3 May 1919, on the other hand, it supported the proposal of some citizens of the municipality of Hruškové Dvory to merge the two municipalities, on the grounds that the developments of the two municipalities were getting closer to each other, that the municipalities were well connected by means of a communication network, and that their economic situation was similar. However, the political authorities had no interest in this "bottom-up" initiative. By a decree of 23 December 1919, the Ministry of the Interior did not endorse this activity, rejecting the request for the merger on the grounds that "the local situation is not such as to

83 See the investigation of the interpellations of deputies Rudolf Jung and Siegfried Taub. SOkA Jihlava, Městská správa Jihlava od roku 1849, presidial registry, cart. no. 10, inv. no. 1295. SOkA Jihlava, Městská správa Jihlava od roku 1849, presidial registry, cart. no. 12, inv. no. 1524.

84 SOkA Jihlava, Městská správa Jihlava od roku 1849, political registry, inv. no. 1595.

85 SOkA Jihlava, Městská správa Jihlava od roku 1849, political registry, inv. no. 1595.

justify the merger of the two municipalities and, moreover, the population of Hruškové Dvory does not want the merger".[86]

However, the intention of merging Dřevěné Mlýny with Jihlava started to be prepared again at least from the beginning of 1923. By a letter dated 26 January 1923, two members of the Dřevěné Mlýny Municipal Council asked for a meeting to be called on this point because they had heard that "respected officials are working on it". At the meeting, held on 17 March 1923, the Dřevěné Mlýny Municipal Council once again withdrew its consent to merge with Jihlava, claiming that it objected to the resumption of the merger action. In May 1923, the representatives of the municipal authority intended to personally convey their stance at a meeting with the District Governor, with activities against the merger process culminating in August 1923 when the municipality hired a legal advisor to find any way to make the process impossible.[87] At the same time, the representatives of Dřevěné Mlýny also reiterated their clearly negative stance in a memorandum addressed to the Czechoslovak government, in which they questioned the government's intention, claiming that no one in this municipality wanted the merger – neither the Czechs, nor the Germans.[88]

However, all protests were futile, as was holding a public protest meeting on 10 September 1923 and sending special comments to the Ministry of the Interior against the intention of the merger. On 25 October 1923, the Ministerial Council issued Resolution No. 24801/23, where the government authorized the merger of Jihlava and Dřevěné Mlýny, not taking into account the comments of the opponents of the action, which took ten lines to enumerate in the protocol. The Ministry of the Interior issued its own decree concerning the merger a day later.[89] The resignation and aftertaste of the forced merger of the municipalities is evident from the last protocol of the meeting of the municipality of Dřevěné Mlýny on 13 November 1923, in which the entire municipal council resigned in one sentence.[90] Everything took place in accordance with the decree of the provincial political authorities of 12 November 1923 on the dissolution of the Jihlava and Dřevěné Mlýny municipal councils and the establishment of an Administrative Commissioner for the merged municipalities of Jihlava.

However, even in the case of the Jihlava Municipal Government, most were not in favour of the merger. At the meeting on 17 May 1923, the proposal to merge the two municipalities was discussed and the situation reached a stalemate. After a lively discussion, the proposal turned out to have more opponents than supporters among the Jihlava representatives (of the 41 people present, only thirteen were in favour of the merger, all nineteen German representatives were against, and nine communist representatives across the national spectrum abstained), but neither in the municipal government nor in the town council did any of the options gain the support of the majority.[91] The district political authority also tended to take a negative view of the action. In an official letter dated 29 May 1923 and addressed to the provincial political authority, it stated directly that the merger was problematic for both economic and

86 SOkA Jihlava, Archiv obce Dřevěné Mlýny, cart. no. 1, inv. no. 38.

87 SOkA Jihlava, Archiv obce Dřevěné Mlýny, book no. 4. SOkA Jihlava, Městská správa Jihlava od roku 1849, political registry, inv. no. 1595.

88 SOkA Jihlava, Městská správa Jihlava od roku 1849, political registry, inv. no. 1595.

89 SOkA Jihlava, Archiv obce Dřevěné Mlýny, cart. no. 1, inv. no. 38.

90 SOkA Jihlava, Archiv obce Dřevěné Mlýny, book no. 4.

91 SOkA Jihlava, Městská správa Jihlava od roku 1849, presidial registry, cart. no. 11, inv. no. 1409.

political reasons. It considered Jihlava's economic situation to be dismal due to the long-standing national and social dissension, which was best demonstrated by the amount of the municipal surcharge, at a level of 1000% (!!!). This, together with a number of municipal taxes, threatened the existence of trade and industry in the town. The inhabitants of Dřevěné Mlýny would therefore suffer significantly from the merger. Moreover, the Dřevěné Mlýny working-class families were largely communist-minded, which would only strengthen the communists in the Jihlava Town Hall and "although they [were] mainly the so-called Czech communists, they [were] worse than nationalist Germans".[92] Not even the interpellation of the deputies Franz Pittinger and Emmerich Radda in late November 1923 helped with the issue, an interpellation in which they stated that the whole merger action had taken place only on the initiative of several Czech fanatics who wished to make Jihlava Czech. From the reply of the prime minister, Antonín Švehla, it was evident that nothing could change the final decision of the government anymore and that Švehla considered the merger beneficial, especially in a situation where the population of Dřevěné Mlýny was guaranteed the special management of municipal property and for twenty years also set municipal surcharges differently.[93]

It was only after the merger of Dřevěné Mlýny with Jihlava that the ratio of the national forces in the town was definitively changed and the strength of the two camps evened out. The path to the new municipal elections was surprisingly long even in this favourable situation for the local Czechs, lasting a full sixteen months, which was de facto illegal (according to § 3 of Act No. 117/1921 Sb., the elections were to take place no longer than one year after the establishment of an administrative committee for the merged municipalities). This period was used by Administrative Commissioner Výborný to fully implement his ideas for running the town, which caused waves of resentment with not only the local Germans, but even the Czechs raising objections. Výborný was repeatedly accused of absolutist and chauvinistic practices, but he stood his ground until the new municipal elections.[94]

Výborný led the town to new municipal elections, which took place on Sunday 22March 1925. Only there did the Czech political parties achieve a historic victory – they received one-third more votes than in the previous municipal elections – and could thus legally control the municipal government, including the post of mayor. The increase in the number of Czech votes was so great that the German parties expressed their right to question the fairness of the elections. Even the Czech communists referred to the elections as "Turkish", as elections that could only embarrass the Czechoslovak democracy, as the victory was achieved with false votes and the votes of the dead. Out of a total of 42 possible mandates, 26 were won by Czech parties and only 16 by German parties, while the Jews did not gain a single mandate. After a constituent meeting of the municipal government on 4 July 1925, Social Democrat and advocate JUDr. Rudolf Veverka was put in charge of the town. Josef Výborný was unsuccessful in the mayoral election and the last German mayor, Otmar Oberrenner, became the first deputy. With the arrival of the new government of the town, the situation in Jihlava stabilized.[95]

92 SOkA, Okresní úřad Jihlava, presidial registry, inv. no. 6596.

93 Interpelace poslanců Pittingera, dra Raddy a druhů celé vládě o nuceném sloučení obce Dřevěných Mlýnů s Jihlavou z 29. listopadu 1923.

94 SOkA Jihlava, Městská správa Jihlava od roku 1849, presidial registry, cart. no. 11, inv. no. 1472.

95 PALÁNOVÁ, *Česko-německé vztahy,* 126.

A small town on the national border: The case of Zábřeh[96]

As early as late August, a 23-member North Moravian National Committee, which represented a relatively large nationally mixed territory of northwest Moravia, became active in Zábřeh under the leadership of the local national activist Jožа Malý. Immediately after the proclamation of the Czechoslovak state, the National Committee took control of all state offices in the seat of the political district without any major problems.[97] In contrast to the above-mentioned cases, the District Governor, Heinrich von Strobach, was quickly retired as early as 9 December 1918 and replaced by a Czech. The town hall in Zábřeh, like in many other towns in mixed-language areas, had long been controlled by members of the municipality who, in the process of national crystallization, mostly claimed German nationality. The takeover of the Zábřeh municipal authority did not take place until mid-November. On 14 November 1918, a deputation of the National Committee came to the mayor of the town, asking him to hand over the administration of the town immediately. The mayor wanted to take three days to think about it, but eventually announced his resignation under duress. In the afternoon, at an emergency council meeting, all its members resigned. On the same day, members of the municipal committee addressed a letter to the District Governor's Office in Zábřeh, stating that they had resigned only because the National Committee had put them under pressure and that they wanted to maintain peace and order in the town.[98] The District Governor's Office appointed an Administrative Commissioner – the judge of the local district court, and an Administrative Committee of 12 members (eight Czech and four German representatives). This power transfer in the town took place, in the words of a reporter from the District Governor's Office, "perfectly peacefully".[99]

Immediately after taking power, the Administrative Commissioner, in cooperation with the National Committee, began to prepare a plan to ensure an optimal constellation for regular municipal elections. In the case of Zábřeh, the local National Committee expressed it quite explicitly:

> According to the last census, the Czechs were a smaller than one-third minority. With the coup d'état, the ratio has changed in our favour only slightly. We have taken control of the town, requesting the dissolution of the municipal council and the establishment of an Administrative Committee, which includes 8 of us alongside 4 Germans. For the future, however, we want to secure a majority by merging the adjoining Czech village of Krumpach. But even after this merger our majority will be weak, if not dubious. We must therefore make every effort to strengthen our position.[100]

The main measure under consideration was to merge the town of Zábřeh with the neighbouring village of Krumpach, which was a relatively large municipality with a large

96 The following section is written based on the study: POPELKA, *Mocenský transfer*, 87–111.

97 FILIP, *Severomoravský národní výbor*, 377–382.

98 Státní okresní archiv Zábřeh (hereinafter SOkA Šumperk), Okresní úřad Zábřeh, cart. no. 97. SOkA Šumperk, Archiv města Zábřeh, inv. no. 683, sign. B-I-19.

99 SOkA Šumperk, Okresní úřad Zábřeh, cart. no. 97.

100 SOkA Šumperk, Severomoravský národní výbor Zábřeh, cart. no. 1, inv. no. 1.

Czech majority that was connected with Zábřeh by the residential development and a significant part of its inhabitants finding employment in the Zábřeh textile mills.

The intention to merge Zábřeh and Krumpach was first discussed at a meeting of the North Moravian National Committee on 27 November 1918. The Krumpach Municipal Committee discussed the question of a merger with Zábřeh as early as 29 November and reached a positive stance.[101] Even at this stage, the German side also registered the merger efforts, stating that if Zábřeh and Krumpach were to be merged, the fate of the, until then, German town would be sealed forever. The intention therefore encountered resistance from the German representatives in the Zábřeh Administrative Committee, where it was discussed on 3 December 1918, but not even the two German protest petitions sent to the Moravian Viceregency achieved anything.[102]

What is very interesting, however, is that at the same time the representatives of Rudolfov, a small municipality located in the immediate vicinity of Zábřeh, repeatedly requested to merge with Zábřeh of their own accord, without anyone persuading them of the potential advantages of the merger. In their case, however, neither the members of the Zábřeh Administrative Committee nor the National Committee were interested in the merger. The reason was given very openly by the Administrative Commissioner himself: "Since Rudolfov is not nationally safe, the matter is postponed until after the regular municipal elections".[103] The merger of Rudolfov with Zábřeh did not take place until 1949, naturally in an already completely different reality.

Although the question of the merger of Zábřeh and Krumpach began to be actively addressed by the Moravian Viceregency as early as the beginning of 1919, the closer the possible date of the municipal elections, the more the nervousness of the members of the still-functioning North Moravian National Committee grew. As early as 20 March 1919, i.e. at a hot stage in the run-up to the municipal elections, the representatives of the National Committee wrote in a telegram addressed to the seat of the Moravian Viceregency that if the merger did not take place before the municipal elections, there was a risk of "irreparable damage in the national direction". Fortunately for the local Czech national activists, in the political district of Zábřeh the municipal elections were ultimately postponed to 15 June 1919, and in the case of the municipalities where the merger was to take place, the day of the elections was to be rescheduled to an even later date. This step was clearly intended to ensure that the merger of the municipalities would be reflected in the election results.

In late May 1919, the Ministry of the Interior planned to resolve the whole merger issue. For the next three months, however, it had to deal with objections to the merger, not only from the German side, but also, surprisingly, from some Krumpach citizens who made the accusation towards the members of the National Committee that the consent of the Krumpach Municipal Committee in November had been given under duress. The Ministry of the Interior definitively approved the merger by a decree of 20 September 1919. On 9 November 1919, the last meeting of the Krumpach Municipal Council took place, and the following day the provincial political authority dissolved the local municipal council and appointed a new Administrative Committee of the merged Zábřeh, whose aim was to lead the municipality to the elections.[104]

101 SOkA Šumperk, Severomoravský národní výbor Zábřeh, cart. no. 1, inv. no. 1.

102 SOkA Šumperk, Archiv města Zábřeh, inv. no. 683, sign. B-I-19.

103 SOkA Šumperk, Severomoravský národní výbor Zábřeh, cart. no. 1, inv. no. 1.

104 SOkA Šumperk, Okresní úřad Zábřeh, cart. no. 97.

The Administrative Committee carried out this task without delay. The District Governor's Office set the election date for Sunday 8 February 1920, and by the end of the year the lists of candidates were drawn up. A total of eleven political parties and groups, five of which were German and six Czech, competed for the voters' favour. The municipal elections themselves marked the end of German control over the town hall. In the 36-member municipal council, the Czech parties gained a total of 22 mandates, while the German parties gained only 14. The result enabled a smooth election of the mayor from the ranks of the local Czechs, with National Democrat Richard Indra taking the post.[105]

The representatives of the Czech and German press subsequently interpreted the results of the first municipal elections under Czechoslovakia in their own way. According to the German periodical *Deutsche Wacht*, the 14 mandates obtained clearly demonstrated the German character of the town, with the overall result being influenced only by the calculated merger with Krumpach. The reason was that in the town itself the Czechs had gained only 12 mandates, while the Germans had gained the above-mentioned 14. In contrast, *Moravský Sever* emphasized that despite the desperate German efforts, the Czechs had gained a majority in the elections and that Zábřeh was Czech. The Catholic-oriented periodical *Nová Severní Morava* also assessed the results of the municipal elections through its own lens, considering the municipal elections as proof that Zábřeh was Czech and Catholic.[106] In this context, however, it is interesting that none of the published reactions mentioned the consequences of the new electoral law with regard to the democratization of the municipal elections.[107]

Conclusion

The presented probe into the problem of the power transition in the municipal authorities of five Moravian towns after the First World War showed a number of symptomatic features related to the assertion of the domain of the forming Czechoslovak power at the local level.

From the point of view of the mechanism for taking over the municipal authorities, the establishment of an alternative power network of national committees, which quickly gained control over the state offices, was essential. These extraordinary bodies, formed spontaneously in the short period of the last days of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, were significantly active in relation to the municipal and town self-governments. In an effort to bring the municipal councils and, as a result, also the affairs at the local level under control, the national committees initiated the resignation of the existing municipal authorities, which, in the surveyed cases, took place involuntarily. In all the surveyed cases the takeover of key local state offices took place even before the forced suspension of the municipal councils.

In all cases, in accordance with the legal order, the new leadership of the Viceregency appointed administrative commissioners who were put in charge of administrative committees. According to § 107 of the Moravian Municipal Code, the administrative committees were only advisory bodies, and thus the administrative commissioner was not bound by their opinion. Those appointed as administrative commissioners

105 SOkA Šumperk, Archiv města Zábřeh, cart. no. 129.

106 POPELKA, *Mocenský transfer*, 107.

107 *Deutsche Wacht*, 1920 (13 February), vol. 20, no. 7, pp. 1–2. *Moravský Sever*, 1920 (13 February), vol. 20, no. 9, pp. 1–2. *Nová Severní Morava*, 1920 (14 February), vol. 2, no. 7, p. 1.

in ethnically mixed municipalities were usually already proven Czech politicians or national activists.[108] The number of members of the administrative committees varied, and in most cases not even an odd number was demanded. In the individual towns and municipalities, the committees were appointed in such a way that they already secured Czech supremacy at this point, or at least that they brought a parity representation of both nationalities. The reason was simple: On the one hand, the German population did not identify with the idea of a Czechoslovak state and, on the other, in many nationally mixed towns there was frustration among the Czechs about the impossibility of winning the municipal elections. The administrative committees were composed of representatives of the local political parties, experts and national activists. German parties could also nominate their representatives for the administrative committees, often reaching for proven old hands of municipal politics or local public life. However, the share of the representatives of the two main nationalities in the administrative committees did not reflect the statistical share of nationalities according to the previous census, or in many cases even the real national situation, but rather showed the current distribution of power in the municipality.[109]

In Moravia, the removal of whole municipal councils or a part of their members and the appointment of administrative commissioners took place mostly from late October until December 1918. The resigning municipal representatives often appealed against their suspension to the provincial political or self-governing bodies, but, in the reality of the coup d'état, this was doomed to failure in advance. The administrative commissioners and their committees thus became the legal, albeit provisional, bodies of municipal authority, running the municipal affairs until the next municipal elections. In the majority of municipalities this occurred as early as June 1919, when the first post-war municipal elections (from the surveyed towns only in Olomouc and Brno) took place in most of the Bohemian Lands. In some municipalities, however, the elections were postponed. These were not only areas whose fate was still under discussion (e.g. the Cieszyn or Hlučín regions), but also municipalities where the municipal borders were expected to change (due to the merging of municipalities) or where problems arose that would complicate the smooth running of the elections. In these cases, the work of the administrative committees could be considerably protracted (e.g. in Jihlava or Moravská Ostrava it was a matter of years).

Preparations for the first municipal elections in the new Czechoslovakia were not taken lightly. They were intended to show Czech superiority in sensitive mixed-language areas and to secure control over important town halls of nationally mixed towns. In all five surveyed cases, merging the town itself with a suburban municipality or municipalities became the main means of achieving this objective. From the point of view of a country-wide comparison, it can be said that the merging of municipalities mainly concerned Moravia. While, in the first ten years after the war, 44 municipalities were merged in Bohemia, 9 municipalities in Silesia and 60 municipalities in Slovakia (with no such processes taking place in Carpathian Ruthenia), a total of 101 municipalities

108 E.g. in Olomouc Richard Fischer, in Znojmo Vilém Veleba, in Jihlava František Hovůrka, in Moravská Ostrava Jan Prokeš, in Hodonín Eduard Krajíček, in Zábřeh Jože Malý.

109 E.g. in Brno 16 Czechs and 8 Germans, in Moravská Ostrava 22 Czechs and 7 Germans, in Znojmo 12 Czechs, 10 Germans and 2 Jews, in Opava 14 Czechs, 12 Germans and 2 Jews, in Olomouc 16 Czechs and 8 Germans, in Jihlava 12 Czechs and 12 Germans, in Lipník 12 Czechs and 3 Germans, in Zábřeh 8 Czechs and 4 Germans.

were merged in Moravia, creating 46 new municipalities. These statistics show that in Moravia the issue of merging municipalities was particularly important.[110]

The merger process affected municipalities in large residential agglomerations as well as in towns that were perceived as sensitive by the Czech national activists. Although this process was officially presented as an effort to rationalize the municipal authorities, within the framework of municipal mergers such constellations of municipalities were always chosen as to secure the majoritization of the Czech electorate. The merging of municipalities thus turned out to be an important strategy by which to ensure the election of such a municipal council as would guarantee the loyalty of the majority of its members to the new republic and secure the dominance or appreciable strengthening of the Czech ethnic group in self-governing bodies. The issue of the new administrative arrangement in the case of larger urban agglomerations, not only in Moravia, but also in Bohemia, was of fundamental importance – this concerned mainly Prague, Plzeň, Brno, Olomouc and Ostrava, but also Liberec, České Budějovice, Jihlava and Znojmo.

In many residential agglomerations, the purposeful merger of suburban municipalities to the town centre had already been under consideration before the First World War. This was generally due to practical economic, transportation and administrative aspects. However, the town halls usually resisted this trend with respect to the national situation, as the German representatives feared losing their influence in the municipal authorities. Therefore, no major merger action took place in the Bohemian Lands before the First World War.

From the surveyed localities, the fastest merging process took place in the Brno and Olomouc residential agglomerations, where the relevant laws were adopted as early as April 1919 and the municipal elections were held identically in June 1919. In the nationally sensitive Zábřeh, the merger took place in early November 1919 and the municipal elections in February 1920. In the Ostrava agglomeration, the merger process was significantly complicated by the fact that the given municipalities were located on the territory of two historical lands; in addition, the fate of Cieszyn Silesia was uncertain until as late as 1920. The creation of Velká Ostrava was carried out on a smaller scale and only with a long delay at the turn of 1923/1924, and the first post-war municipal elections were held in Velká Ostrava as late as November 1924. In Jihlava they were already on the verge of merging the municipalities before the First World War, but for a number of reasons the merger was carried out with a delay and despite the great resistance of both the German population and the inhabitants of the merged municipalities only in 1923. The subsequent municipal elections were held as late as March 1925.

In most cases, the German members of the administrative committees as well as German activists and the local press objected to the post-war merger plans, but to no avail. At the level of the administrative committees, they were always overruled by the bloc of Czech representatives, and when appealing to a higher self-governing body or, more precisely, to the bodies of political administration, their arguments were not considered to be sufficiently valid. However, this was to be expected given the interests of the political bodies of the newly created state.

At the same time, the cases described show that the idea of merging municipalities was not always met with the understanding of the municipalities which the project

110 *Deset let Československé republiky.* Vol. I., 301.

concerned, or that it provoked opposition from the local citizens or associations. This is clear from the circumstances of the mergers in the cases of Jihlava and Zábřeh, where the mergers took place under pressure. In the case of the Olomouc region, shortly after the merger some of the municipalities asked for renewed independence, as they were disillusioned with the operation of the Municipal Authority of "Velká Olomouc". In some cases, both associations and the citizens themselves (e.g. Vítkovice) opposed the merger. Interestingly, there was also a "bottom-up" initiative in the post-war climate, calling for a rational merging of municipalities (the Ostrava, Zábřeh and Jihlava regions). However, this spontaneous activity was not accepted by the self-governing bodies if it did not correspond with the national interests.

In the surveyed cases, the results of the first municipal elections show a high degree of discipline of the German voters, where even in adverse conditions the German parties gained a decent representation in the newly elected self-governing bodies. The new municipal councils showed a significant degree of personnel discontinuity compared to the previous ones. Most of the newly elected representatives – even the German ones – were elected to their respective municipal councils for the first time. The introduction of universal suffrage, combined with the process of municipality mergers, thus seems to have fundamentally changed the municipal politics of the surveyed towns.

The long-standing efforts of the Czech activists at the municipal level, which resulted in the so-called battle for the town halls in Moravia, allowed the Czech representatives to win this fight in mixed areas after the creation of Czechoslovakia. However, it did nothing to improve the complex relations in municipalities as a result of the nationalization of the society. On the German side, this process created the same sense of injustice that had been experienced by the Czech national activists before the First World War. However, this unfavourable development for the German ethnic group did not trigger any waves of exodus. The existential conditions in Czechoslovakia were, after all, more favourable than in Germany or German Austria.[111] And, what is most important, in the majority of cases the Germans still felt rightfully at home there.

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111 HÖBELT, *Das Erste Republik Österreich*, 19.

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Architecture of Consumption: Shopping Centres in Soviet Lithuania from the 1960s to 1980

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The construction of Soviet shopping centres that started in the 1960s marked a new stage in the consumption possibilities of Soviet society with the environments of consumption playing an important role. The main objective of this article is stated as follows: to analyse, following the LSSR (Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic) case, what the idea of Soviet shopping centres and its realization in the LSSR was and to ascertain how the Soviet authorities used the shopping centres for the development of consumption in Soviet society employing the advertising of shopping centres and the contraposition between socialism and capitalism. To achieve the research objective, the main method used was to analyse the published and unpublished sources that reflect the process of the appearance of Soviet shopping centres. The research demonstrates that the idea of Soviet shopping centres was not an original product of the Soviet system. Some aspects of their construction and composition were copied and there were attempts to implement them using Western practices.

Keywords: Shopping centres. Architecture of consumption. Soviet society. Urban. Advertising.

Introduction

After World War II, the commercial system of the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic (LSSR) was restructured according to the Soviet model – eliminating private trade, the shops operating at that time were nationalized and merged into one single chain with a centralized delivery of goods and regulation of prices. In the 1950s, following the example of Moscow and other major cities of the USSR, department stores, specialized food stores and consumer goods shops were founded in the LSSR, mostly operating in buildings with former commercial functions.

In the LSSR, the main type of Soviet shops, that is department stores, were prevailing by the beginning of the 1960s when the implementation of the new urban development plans, including the construction of commercial and service buildings, was launched. A hypothesis may be made that with the aforesaid urban development process, the realization of the key development ideas of Soviet shopping centres was started, confirming the consumption needs of Soviet society and the importance of the environment of consumption. However along with the direct functions assigned by Soviet propaganda to this type of commercial buildings, that is to provide goods and services in one place, propaganda activities targeted at the formation of the consumption habits of Soviet society defined by consumption criteria were also delegated. Taking into account the abovesaid, the consumption habits of Soviet society were expected to feature the rationality declared by Soviet propaganda, thereby avoiding overconsumption.

The expansion of the idea of Soviet shopping centres pushed for new architectural solutions able to contribute to the development of the rationality-based Soviet culture

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of consumption while at the same time justifying its unique character. The new types of building were supposed to become a kind of architecture of consumption, where the shopping centre spaces and content would dictate consumption criteria to society and develop the consumption habits of Soviet society. This process marked a new developmental stage in Soviet shopping spaces and public consumption; however, there are in fact no research studies available investigating this stage.

Referring to the abovesaid, the main objective of this article is stated as follows: to analyse, following the LSSR case, what the idea of Soviet shopping centres and its realization in the LSSR was and to ascertain how the Soviet authorities used the shopping centres for the development of consumption in Soviet society employing the advertising of shopping centres and the contraposition between socialism and capitalism. To achieve the objective, efforts are made to answer a range of problematic questions: how the idea of Soviet shopping centres was influenced by the developmental trends of Western shopping centres; how the idea of Soviet shopping centres was developed in the LSSR; and what tools were applied in the formation of the consumption habits of Soviet society based on the consumption criteria imposed by propaganda and employing the advertising capacity of shopping centres.

Research sources and methodology

In order to meet the main objective of the research study, published and unpublished sources were analysed. One of the major portions of the sources represents published references, that is Soviet period literature of a general character intended for architecture, trade and advertising professionals of the entire USSR. In the USSR, a great range of publications was published dedicated to architecture and design experts and dealing with the issues of urban planning, architecture and the designing of individual projects.[1] Some publications also included evaluations of the construction works of foreign shopping centres, and their reflections may be found in the realization of the idea of Soviet shopping centres.

The second portion of published sources contains publications dedicated to architects, designers and advertising copywriters of the LSSR. Architecture issues of the LSSR were discussed in *Statyba ir architektūra*,[2] a specialized magazine intended for architects that published articles on shopping centres along with papers and responses by the very architects who had designed the shopping centres under consideration. The theory of the development of advertising for the commercial buildings of the LSSR was shaped in special trader-focused publications, whereas architects, decorators and other professionals responsible for advertising activities were encouraged to put out articles in the press discussing the appropriate use of advertising tools and taking into account the propaganda requirements. The most systematic attempts to shape the theory of the advertising development of the commercial buildings of the LSSR are found in *Kooperatininkas*,[3] the publication of the Union of Lithuanian Consumer Cooperatives (*Lietkoopsąjunga*), dealing with a range of trade-related issues.

1 BUTYAGIN, *Planirovka i blogoustroystva*. ADAMOVICH et al. *Arkhitekturnoye proyektirovaniye obshchestvennykh*. SHVIDKOVSKIY, *Gradostroitel'naya kul'tura sotsialisticheskoy*. VASIL'YEV – PLATONOV, *Gradostroitel'naya praktika*. URBAKH, *Torgovyye zdaniya*. URBAKH, *Obshchestvenno torgovyye tsentry*. ORLOV et al. *Magaziny*. SNARSKIY, *Reklama vokrug nas*, 3.

2 *Statyba ir architektūra*, 1958–2018.

3 *Kooperatininkas*, 1958–1995.

Another portion of the investigated material contains unpublished sources available in the funds of the Ministry of Commerce of the LSSR (R-772) and the State Committee on Construction Affairs of the LSSR (R-45), stored in the Lithuanian Central State Archives (LCSA). Issues regarding shopping centres of particular cities and towns were analysed using the materials available in the funds of the Urban Planning and Design Institute (1036) and the Urban Development Department of the Vilnius City Council (1011), stored in the Vilnius Regional State Archives (VRSA). Some issues related to advertising design of shopping centres were investigated referring to the materials available in the fund of the Executive Committee of the Kaunas City Council of People's Deputies (R-292) stored at Kaunas Regional State Archives (*KRSA*).

Literature review

The vast majority of the studies carried out in relation to the development of shopping centres cover the problematic issues typical of the evolution of Western shopping centres. While analysing Western shopping malls, Richard W. Longstreth noticed that regional shopping centres had appeared in city suburbs after World War II. They became the opposite to the concentrated retail networks in the city centres. The regional shopping centres were built quite far from the residential areas and they had large car parks.[4] According to Thomas W. Hanchett, US shopping centres took off when cars had become the norm in daily life and businessmen saw the potential of suburban stores with parking by the door.[5] That idea was reflected in the Southdale Center in Edina, near Minneapolis, that was built in 1954–1956 under the "Gruen" project. It marked a new paradigm in the American consumer culture – shopping was moved further from the city centre.[6]

Some authors have broadly analysed the input of Victor Gruen into the idea of the development of shopping centres and its implementation process.[7] David Smiley draws attention to the concept of the Gruen shopping centre as a place of social attraction, where social and cultural activities could be concentrated, in addition to trade.[8] Alex Wall has a similar opinion. According to him, the shopping centres designed by Gruen merged the objectives of private trade and public city life because they had to perform not only the function of commercial, but also cultural space.[9]

A broad analysis is available on the implementation of Victor Gruen's concept of shopping centres inside the US[10] and on its adaptation outside the US,[11] on the development character of shopping centres located in regions, suburbs and urban centres,[12] on shopping centres as a precondition of consumer society's formation and the "Americanization" of consumption.[13]

4 LONGSTRETH, *City Centre*, 14.

5 HANCHETT, *U.S. Tax*, 1083.

6 LONGSTRETH, *Southdale Centre*, 43.

7 HARDWICK, *Mall Maker*. SMILEY, *Pedestrian Modern*. WALL, *Victor Gruen*.

8 SMILEY, *Pedestrian Modern*.

9 WALL, *Victor Gruen*.

10 MENNEL, *Victor Gruen and the Construction*, 116–150. HARDWICK, *Mall Maker*. MALHEREK, *Shopping Malls*, 79–98.

11 GREGG, *Conceptualizing the Pedestrian*, 551–577. GOSSEYE, *Collectivity and the Post-war*, 245–264.

12 GILLETTE, *The Evolution of the Planned*, 449–460. MACK, *Hello, consumer! Skärholmen*, 122–137.

13 JESSEN – LANGER, *Transformations of Retailing*. DE GRAZIA, *Irresistible Empire: America's*.

A process of tracking the developmental history of Soviet shopping centres reveals rather fragmented research into the problem in the aforesaid regard. Actually, the greatest focus thus far has been on the problematic issues related to the consumption of Soviet society, the preconditions of consumption formation and deficit.[14] The consumption dimension of Soviet society has been broadly investigated by comparative means regarding the attitudes of the capitalist and socialist systems, targeting an analysis covering the competition between the political systems and its influence on consumption development. An especially great proportion of research studies focuses on the analysis[15] of Western influences on the formation of Soviet society as well as on the investigation of Soviet consumption attributes such as rationality, asceticism etc.[16]

The topic of shopping centres under socialism has also been explored from the outlook of the socialist European countries. Sanja Matijević Barčot and Ana Grić analyse the emergence of shopping centres in Socialist Croatia, discussing the growth preconditions of consumer culture and the role of the architecture of shopping centres as a dimension in the formation of modern society in Socialist Yugoslavia.[17]

The Soviet shopping centre as a building becomes a subject of research in the analysis of the development trends of Soviet residential areas. Architectural features of the shopping centres located in mikrorayons (or microdistricts) of the LSSR are explored by Marija Drėmaitė. According to the author, centres in mikrorayons were considered the major component of the Soviet consumption service chain.[18] As explained by Matas Šiupšinskas and Epp Lankots, the theoretical model of a tiered system of public services and the major ideological mission of mikrorayon centres were targeted at the promotion of consumption and individual behaviour within the boundaries of collectivism.[19] The positions of Drėmaitė along with Šiupšinskas and Lankots linking shopping centres with mikrorayons, however, do not provide a complete picture of the situation. The present article will reveal that the system of Soviet shopping centres was considerably more sophisticated and was focused on the public services of the residents not only of mikrorayons, but also of residential areas or even of the entire city.

In historiography, the links between Scandinavian and Soviet residential area planning and shopping centre architecture are observed, they having determined the transformation of shopping centres into the hubs of new residential areas with good possibilities to reach them by public transport.[20] The urban model ABC (Arbete, Bostad, Centrum), having originated in Sweden in the 1950s and connecting the "multifunctional satellite city" with workplaces and a local centre, is considered one of the influences made on the development of the idea of Soviet shopping centres.[21] In historiography, a rather broad analysis on the concepts of socialist residential areas

14 FITZPATRICK, *Everyday Stalinism*. CHERNYSHOVA, *Soviet Consumer Culture*. REID, *Cold War in the Kitchen*, 211–252. ZAKHAROVA, *How and What to Consume*, 85–112.

15 REID, *Cold War in the Kitchen*, 211–252. DE GRAZIA, *Irresistible Empire*, 456–460. ZAKHAROVA, *Dior in Moscow*, 95–120. GORSUCH, *From Iron Curtain*, 153–171. PEACOCK, *Cold War Consumption*, 83–98.

16 WEITZMAN, *Soviet Long-Term*, 305–321. BUCHLI, *An Archaeology*. GUROVA, *Ideology of Consumption*, 95. HESLLER, *A Social History*, 8.

17 MATIJEVIĆ BARČOT – GRIĆ, *Shopping as a Part*, 155–167.

18 DRĖMAITĖ, *Baltic modernism*, 243–253.

19 ŠIUPŠINSKAS – LANKOTS, *Collectivist Ideals*, 301–320.

20 LAHTI, *The 1960s Shopping*, 40.

21 ŠIUPŠINSKAS – LANKOTS, *Collectivist Ideals*, 301–320.

and mikrorayons of the Baltic States of the Soviet period is available along with a rather comprehensive comparison with the Scandinavian planning models;[22] however, the problematic issues of shopping centres fail to receive more detailed investigation.

The idea of a Soviet shopping centre: from North to West

The search for the concept and composition of Soviet shopping centres was carried out through analysis of the Scandinavian and Western practice of urban planning, housing construction and shopping centre development. For Soviet architects, the Scandinavian and Western construction practice of shopping centres was mostly relevant in its composition and architectural dimensions; however, the issue of consumption by capitalist society was eliminated from their horizon being considered ideologically opposite.

As far back as the 1950s, Soviet architects, builders, engineers and other professionals were sent to Scandinavian and some other Western countries to take a look at their experiences of urban planning, residential construction and the planning and construction of public buildings.[23] In one way or another, the gained knowledge was conveyed via publications intended for architects and urban planners of the USSR.

In 1960, the architects Boris Leonidovich Vasilyev and Georgiy Dmitrivvich Platonov introduced a book on urban planning practices and residential construction in the Scandinavian countries dealing with the new suburban areas, mikrorayons, residential quarters and complexes, public and shopping centres, types of residential houses and apartments in these countries. According to the authors of the book, the enormous housing construction plans and urban planning of the Soviet Union required an analysis of both "home country" and foreign experience, and the experience of the Scandinavian countries was particularly appropriate in this situation due to the similar geographical and climatic conditions. However, as the same authors explain, the practice of foreign urban planning and housing construction was to be evaluated critically:

> Blind copying of the Scandinavian construction techniques and composition is unacceptable. It should be borne in mind that construction techniques and composition are chosen only under appropriate climatic and topographic conditions, taking into account the detailed feasibility analysis of the various solutions proposed. Moreover, it goes without saying that some elements of the foreign practice might be partially or totally unacceptable for us due to different social conditions.[24]

Later, a number of ideas were taken from the Scandinavian planning model of residential areas and shopping centres. One of them was the isolation of footpaths from traffic flows in order to enable the residents of mikrorayons to reach shopping centres on foot without crossing arterial roads.[25]

A publication introduced by the Research Institute of Public Buildings of the USSR in 1964 and dedicated to architects and commerce professionals declared that in view

22 METSPALU – HESS, *Revisiting the Role*, 335–361. LANKOTS – SOOVÄLI, *ABC-Centres*, 110–113. HESS, *Transport in Mikrorayons*, 184–204.

23 DRĖMAITĖ – PETRULIS – TUTLYTĖ, *Architektūra sovietinėje Lietuvoje*, 163–164.

24 VASIL'YEV – PLATONOV, *Gradostroitel'naya praktika*, 4.

25 DRĖMAITĖ – PETRULIS – TUTLYTĖ, *Architektūra sovietinėje Lietuvoje*, 168.

of the Soviet urban planning structure containing mikrorayons, residential areas and the entire city, a tiered system of public services seemed the most effective with the shopping centres acting as one of the major operational elements of this system. This was one of the first publications that, along with the general organizational requirements of Soviet shopping centres, also introduced design proposals for shopping centres illustrated with foreign examples on the design and construction of shopping centres, mostly of the US, Sweden and Great Britain.[26]

The development direction of Soviet shopping centres was under further consideration by the Soviet authorities; however, interest in the best practices of the development and implementation of Western shopping centres was increasingly great. Having identified the advantages of shopping centres as a new and effective form of public service, the Soviet authorities enabled architects and engineers of the USSR to become acquainted with the details of construction of British, French and American shopping centres and their layout in urban planning structures.[27] For example, in his analysis of the shopping centres located in Soviet, British, American and French cities, Veniamin Aleksandrovich Butyagin provided a comparison of the solutions related to composition and shopping centre reachability by car, on foot and by public transport.[28]

However, a considerable portion of the materials on foreign shopping centres published in the Soviet Union was censored; therefore, it was mostly the technical and compositional dimensions of the shopping centre analysis that were introduced, cutting off issues concerning the influence had by the shopping centres of these countries on public consumption.[29] In 1966, a censored version in Russian of Victor Gruen and Larry Smith's book *Shopping Towns USA: The Planning of Shopping Centers* was introduced in the Soviet Union, adding to it a preface written by the USSR architect Avraam Iosifovich Urbakh.[30] The preface in Russian tells that this is a shortened translation of the book as the sections of the book containing a sociological approach to the promotion of consumption of Western society are beyond any criticism. Further, the arguments for this approach, according to the author of the preface, are based on the fact that Soviet readers must be critical of the capitalist nature of US trade and of the American lifestyle and consumption.[31]

A similar censorship practice towards Western publications was applied later as well. In 1982, Nadine Beddington's book *Design for Shopping Centres* was published, but the Russian translation of the book introduced in 1986 was without the sections of the original book that described the issues related to the financial aspects of the construction of British shopping centres, to the legal and organizational side, and to some points on the operation of shopping centres. Irina Rafilovna Fedoseyeva, the author of the Russian translation's preface, stated that this "does not have any practical significance for us".[32] In other words, the operational topics of the capitalist system were avoided. Despite the criticism and censorship of the ideas unfavourable to Soviet

26 BOGDANOV et al. *Torgovyye tsentry*, 3.

27 BUTYAGIN, *Planirovka i blogoustroystva*, 36. ADAMOVICH et al. *Arkhitekturnoye proyektirovaniye*, 390–391. SHVIDKOVSKIY, *Gradostroitel'naya kul'tura*. VASIL'YEV – PLATONOV, *Gradostroitel'naya praktika*.

28 BUTYAGIN, *Planirovka i blogoustroystva*,180–183.

29 URBAKH, *Torgovyye zdaniya*. URBAKH, *Obshchestvenno torgovyye*.

30 GRYUN – SMIT, *Torgovyye tsentry*.

31 Ibid, 4–5.

32 BREDDINGTON, *Stroitel'stvo torgovykh tsentrov*, 3.

ideology, the books were appreciated by Soviet architects due to that analysis of the planning, architectural and compositional dimensions of shopping centres that was considered acceptable to the Soviet system.

The planning, architectural and compositional dimensions of Western and Scandinavian shopping centres were also investigated in other publications intended for Soviet architects. Butyagin's 1974 book *Planirovka i blogoustroystva gorodov* discussed the complexities of Soviet shopping centres along with carrying an analysis of planning, engineering and compositional solutions of British, French, American and Swedish shopping centres. After having analysed foreign practice, Butyagin declared that compared to the shopping centres found in the historical downtown areas, the newly constructed shopping centres require particularly sophisticated engineering solutions due to their composition and reachability options.[33] For this reason, the theory of Soviet architecture also introduced a rather detailed analysis of the differences between American and European shopping centres in the context of urban planning, that is, the development of American shopping centres in suburban areas and the development of European shopping centres in historical downtown areas.[34] A similar model was also realized in the USSR: some shopping centres were planned in historical downtown areas, whereas others were designed in new residential areas.

Although a significant portion of the information available to Soviet architects about the construction of foreign shopping malls was censored, shopping centres developed in the USSR had a similar composition and functionality. Analysis of the construction practices of Western and Scandinavian shopping centres enabled the figuring out of the major types of Soviet shopping centres. Usually, Soviet shopping centres fell into one of two groups. Taking into account the urban territory where shopping centres were constructed, they were grouped by significance into the following: city-wide (shopping centres located in downtown areas) and area-wide or local (shopping centres located in the satellite parts of the city, that is residential areas or mikrorayons).[35] Area-wide or local shopping centres provided public services for a particular structural unit of the residential zone, that is a residential area, mikrorayon, residential quarter, complex or another unit of the residential zone, whereas city-wide shopping centres constructed in central and historical downtown areas were intended to provide public services to the population of the entire city.[36] It should be noted that shopping centres of the latter type were designed and constructed only in the megacities of the USSR.

The concept and composition of Soviet shopping centres were similar to those worked out by V. Gruen and Elsie Krummeck in the 1940s, when one building or a complex of buildings contained different types of stores, catering enterprises and community buildings such as a post office, library, child care centre etc.[37] In the Soviet Union, the idea of a shopping centre as a community hub introduced by Gruen became particularly accepted; therefore, the function as a community hub was especially highlighted along with the function as a shopping centre. For this reason, the construction of Soviet shopping centres followed the aforesaid concept, and one

33 BUTYAGIN, *Planirovka i blogoustroystva.*

34 ADAMOVICH et al. *Arkhitekturnoye proyektirovaniye*, 390–391.

35 BUTYAGIN, *Planirovka i blogoustroystva*, 174.

36 BOGDANOV et al. *Torgovyye tsentry.* BUTYAGIN, *Planirovka i blogoustroystva*, 151–153. ORLOV et al. *Magaziny*, 107.

37 GRUENBAUM – KRUMMECK, *Letter to Ruth*, 119.

centre contained commercial and services establishments, but also other outlets of public services, that is libraries, meeting spaces etc.

Differently from Western shopping centres, the concept and composition of Soviet shopping centres were subject to legislation, without going deeply into the character of a shopping centre (city-wide or local). The "Typization Rules for Retail Enterprises" approved by the Council of Ministers of the USSR on 8 September 1965 specify that both area-wide and city-wide shopping centres may contain food stores and consumer goods shops, catering establishments and public institutions, which may be located in one building or separately arranged buildings.[38] The work of the architects designing shopping centres was directly affected by the aforesaid rules and actually became an indisputable principle applicable to the design and construction of Soviet shopping centres.

In the design process of Soviet shopping centres, the architects made efforts to integrate into one building or a complex of buildings a range of units such as outlets, cafes, restaurants, bars, household services, post offices, savings banks, pharmacies etc.[39] The abovementioned shopping centres mostly offered self service, were combined with catering establishments and operated in a single complex with community hubs.[40] Usually, community hubs contained cultural centres, movie theatres, libraries, dancing and sports halls etc. Actually, the description of such a complex banding together a range of different establishments and outlets was in line with the definition of a shopping centre located in a Soviet mikrorayon or residential area.

City-wide Soviet shopping centres were combined with other large architectural and public complexes, for example hotels, movie theatres, swimming pools, beauty salons, fashion houses, household services etc.[41]

As in the case of the concept or composition, the comparison of definitions of Western and Soviet shopping centres would reveal a range of similarities. Definitions of Western shopping centres were proposed by Geoffrey Baker and Bruno Funaro in the 1950s; as the authors explain, a shopping centre is a combination of department stores, general countryside shops, a commercial block of the downtown area or traditional street market-stall usually owned by one owner, but where the stores are integrated by a particular architectural unit.[42] Illustrating the concept of a shopping centre, V. Gruen and Larry Smith emphasized its architectural and functional purpose. According to Gruen and Smith, "The shopping center is one of the few new building types created in our time. It also represents one of the rare instances in which a number of individual business enterprises, in banding together, are ready to submit to certain over-all rules in order to further their common welfare."[43]

Compared to Western shopping centres, the definition of a Soviet shopping centre was introduced rather late. One of the first attempts was found in the "Provisional Practical Rules for Planning a Retail Chain in Cities" initiated by the Ministry of Commerce of the USSR on 11 March 1966. These rules figured out the definition of

38 Lithuanian Central State Archives (hereinafter LCSA), fond R-772, box 4, file 2748, page 94 (hereinafter, f., b., f., p.).

39 LCSA, f. R-772, b. 4, f. 3348, pp. 188–197.

40 PAJUODIS, *Vystyti parduotuvių tinklą*, 339.

41 ADAMOVICH et al. *Arkhitekturnoye proyektirovaniye*, 399. ORLOV et al. *Magaziny*, 11–125.

42 BAKER – FUNARO, *Shopping Centres*, 4.

43 GRUEN – SMITH, *Shopping Towns USA*, 11.

a shopping centre: it is a complex banding together outlets and catering and household establishments that provide services to the population of mikrorayons, residential areas or the entire city.[44] Differently from the "Typization Rules for Retail Enterprises" as of 1965, the provisional rules under discussion already introduced the grouping of shopping centres into city-wide and area-wide.

Some time later, a shopping centre definition of a significantly more general character was worked out. In a decree by the Ministry of Commerce of the USSR of 7 October 1972, a shopping centre is defined as a combination of commercial enterprises banded together functionally and spatially in a single complex of buildings that combines outlets and catering establishments, and that may also contain household services and other units of public services.[45] The main feature common both to Western and Soviet shopping centre definitions is that they cover an architectural combination, a complex that integrates different types of commercial and service enterprises; however, in the case of Soviet shopping centres the issue of ownership is avoided, although the Soviet shopping centres were state-owned in one way or another.

A more intensive process of Soviet urban planning and expansion observed in the 1960s was followed by a new phase related to an evolution of Soviet shopping spaces and public consumption that began the realization of the key development ideas of Soviet shopping centres supporting the importance of the environment of consumption. To ensure the efficient construction of shopping centres, efforts were made to construct these buildings according to standard project designs with a uniform commercial and services structure as deemed to be required by Soviet planning. The key development ideas of Soviet shopping centres were reflected in the evolution of shopping centres in the LSSR.

The first shopping centres in Soviet Lithuania

In the LSSR, the preparation of the first standard shopping centre projects was started in the early 1960s, and they were intended for mikrorayons. In 1961, three representative project designs for standard shopping centres in mikrorayons containing commercial, cultural and catering establishments and household services worked out by the architect A. Aronas were approved.[46] Efforts were made to ensure that a shopping centre of a mikrorayon – containing such daily demand establishments as food and vegetable stores, consumer goods shops, culinary outlets, canteens, household and urgent repairs services, hairdressing salons/barbershops and other enterprises – would provide services for a maximum radius of 500 m. In residential areas, a shopping centre with such establishments for non-daily needs as department stores, large grocery stores, movie theatres and other enterprises should provide services for a maximum radius of 1.2–1.5 km.[47]

In the late 1960s, the construction of commercial buildings meeting the conception and composition of mikrorayon-wide Soviet shopping centres was started in the LSSR. The greatest attention was drawn by the shopping centre "Žirmūnai" (architect A. Aronas) opened in Vilnius in 1969, which was constructed according to one of the standard project designs for shopping centres worked out by the architect. Taking into account

44 LCSA, f. R-772, b. 4, f. 2748, pp. 7–22.

45 LCSA, f. R-772, b. 4, f. 3348, p. 6.

46 LCSA, f. R-545, b. 1, f. 460, pp. 7–9.

47 ARONAS – BALČIŪNAS, *Mikrorajonų visuomeniniai*, 7.

the fact that it was one of the first shopping centres of this kind, the new building was named as an experimental commercial/household centre. It contained a department store, post office, telephone station, savings bank, grocery store, vegetable store, restaurant, pharmacy, water syphon filling station, hairdressing salon/barbershop, chemical cleaning and dyeing shop, watch repair shop, laundry etc.[48] According to the architects of that time, the shopping centre under discussion enabled the analysis of advantages and disadvantages of this new type of commercial building as well as the observation of population assessments.[49] Shortly afterwards, the construction of similar centres was started following Aronas' models in other cities of the LSSR. However, to meet more effectively commercial needs such as an increase in the area of commercial spaces for the laying out of goods in special containers or for the usage of advertising measures, adjustments to the standard designs were often applied.[50] (Figures 1 and 2)

Figure 1: Žirmūnai shopping centre in Vilnius, 1969. Source: Photograph by A. Aleksandravičius. Lithuanian Central State Archives.

48 MEDAISKIS, '*Patogu? Taip*, 22.

49 ARONAS – BALČIŪNAS, *Mikrorajonų visuomeniniai*, 8.

50 LCSA, f. R-772, b. 4, f. 3098, pp. 119–120, 184.

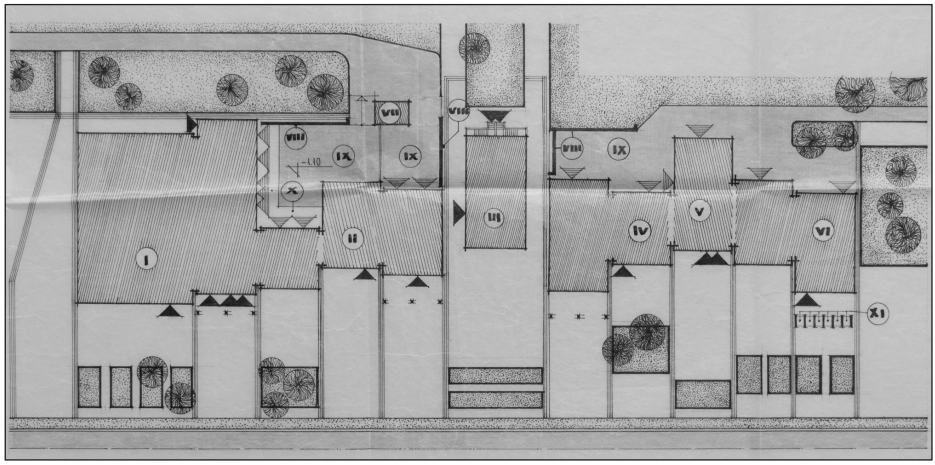

Figure 2: The typical design of the shopping centre, no. 272-31-46, designed by architect A. Aronas. Version C. I – Trading block, II – Household service establishment, III – Household services block, IV – Public catering block, V – Pharmacy, VI – Communication department and a savings depository, VII – Transformer room, VIII – Fence, IX – Inner yard, X- Ramps, XI – Telephone booths. Source: Vilnius Regional State Archives.

After approving the second standard project design for shopping centres worked out by Aronas, construction of the building in Panevėžys, the fifth largest city of the LSSR, was started in 1968. Here, the mikrorayon-wide shopping centre named "Stumbras" was built.[51] In the 1970s, in mikrorayons of the residential areas of the biggest cities of the LSSR, shopping centres were constructed according to the adjusted standard designs for shopping centres of Aronas already realized in Vilnius and Panevėžys.[52]

In residential areas, the construction of shopping centres started later than in mikrorayons, and some of them were constructed according to individual project designs. In the LSSR, one example of this kind is the shopping centre "Girstupis" (architects V. Dičius and A. Lėckas) constructed in Kaunas in 1975; featuring distinctive architectural and functional solutions, and surpassing the shopping centre Žirmūnai it was considered one of the biggest shopping centres in the Baltic States of that time. In the building complex of Girstupis, commercial, household and public services were successfully integrated. The aforesaid commercial and cultural centre contained two large blocks with a department store located in one and with a cultural and sports complex located in the other, the two interconnected by the narrow unit of a library.[53] Describing the architectural solution of Girstupis, the architect Algirdas Kapušinskas paid attention to the shopping centre's body of horizontal lines and to the

51 Vilnius Regional State Archives (hereinafter VRSA), f. 1036, b. 11, f. 493.

52 LCSA, f. R-772, b. 4, f. 3098, pp. 119–120, 184.

53 JANKEVIČIENĖ et al. *Kauno architektūra*, 158.

monumentality of the cultural hub, the square paved with large slabs and shaped at the shopping centre and the clear layout of the shopping centre offering a good sense of direction for buyers.[54] (Fig. 3)

Figure 3: Girstupis shopping centre in Kaunas, 1978. Source: Photograph by T. Žebrauskas. Lithuanian Central State Archives.

Although Girstupis was targeted at providing services to the population of a specific residential area, due to the lack of large shopping centres and department stores still prevailing in the 1970s it became a point of attraction for shoppers of the entire city with ambitions to become a city-wide shopping centre. It should be noted that a shopping centre of this size and functionality was still a rare phenomenon in the commercial system of the LSSR.

Being similar to Girstupis, development of the plan of the shopping centre "Šeškinė" (architects G. Baravykas, G. Dindienė, K. Pempė, G. Ramunis) located in the Šeškinės Residential Area in Vilnius was started in 1976. Similarly to Girstupis, the shopping centre was connected with the community hub. The entire complex of buildings, consisting of eastern and western blocks, was situated on both sides of the street. The complex integrated a department store, two food stores, a movie theatre, a cultural hub, a library, a restaurant, a cafe, a canteen, a bar, household services, a post office, a savings bank, outpatient services, a pharmacy and a radio station.[55] The shopping centre Šeškinė offered good reachability by footpaths from the whole mikrorayon, and the shopping centre space represented the structure of a downtown area with a range of small outlets and boutiques in order to distribute the flows of buyers evenly.[56] (Fig. 4)

54 KAPUŠINSKAS, *Kaune, ties Girstupiu*, 2–5.

55 VRSA, f. 1011, b. 5, f. 377, p. 1.

56 DRĖMAITĖ – PETRULIS – TUTLYTĖ, *Architektūra sovietinėje Lietuvoje,* 390.

Figure 4: Šeškinė shopping centre in Vilnius, 1985. Source: Author of photograph unknown. Lithuanian Central State Archives.

Differently from other shopping centre designs, the complex of the shopping centre Šeškinė was evaluated critically due to its insufficient links between the eastern and western blocks as they were separated by the street. Another problem was the lack of visual relations and connections between the complex and the square nearby.[57] Some establishments designed in this shopping centre were never opened, while the realization of the very centre remained incomplete.

In 1986, the shopping centre "Kalniečiai" (architect E. Miliūnas) was opened in Kaunas, becoming the second largest commercial complex in Kaunas after the department store "Merkurijus" situated in the city centre. On the first floor, food stores and stores for non-essential goods were located, whereas consumer goods shops and children's boutiques were arranged throughout two floors.[58] Window displays and the main exits of the shopping centre overlooked one of the most intensive arterial roads of those times, Raudonosios Armijos avenue (now Savanorių avenue). A greater portion of buildings was designed to sit at one of the most intensive intersections of the residential area, as the densest development of residential housing and the main movement between the largest first and second mikrorayons of the Kalniečių Residential Area was observed here.[59] Such location of the shopping centre was chosen in order to provide services to the population of a few mikrorayons.

A number of shopping centres situated in residential areas were also designed and constructed in Klaipėda, the third largest city of the LSSR. One of the first shopping

57 *Šeškinės visuomeninis prekybos*, 20–21.

58 JOKŪBAITIS, *Pakvietė Kalniečiai*, 1.

59 Kaunas Regional State Archives (hereinafter KRSA), f. R-1702, b. 2, f. 150, p. 8.

centres, "Aitvaras", located in the Third Residential Area and constructed in the middle of the 1970s, integrated a department store, bookstore, restaurant/cafe, post office with a telephone station, and movie theatre. Later, similar shopping centres of residential areas banding together a range of shops, pharmacies, catering outlets, libraries and other establishments were opened in the Fourth, Fifth and Sixth Residential Areas of Klaipėda.[60] (Figures 5 and 6)

Figure 5: Debrecenas shopping centre in Klaipėda, 1982. Source: Photograph by V. Gulevičius and A. Čiumičiovas. Lithuanian Central State Archives.

60 BUTKUS – SAFRONOVAS – PETRULIS, *Klaipėdos urbanistinė raida*, 215–220.

Figure 6: Aitvaras shopping centre and Bildukas restaurant in Klaipėda, 1977. Source: Photograph by A. Ulozevičius. Klaipėda County Public Ieva Simonaitytė Library.

Actually, no city-wide shopping centres were found in the LSSR; however, such shopping centres as Žirmūnai, Stumbras, Girstupis, Kalniečiai, Šeškinė or Aitvaras having represented the key idea of Soviet shopping centres, that is to provide commercial and household services to settlers of mikrorayons and residential areas, used to extend their scope by their functions, thereby becoming city-wide attractions to the population, as due to the scarce supply of products shoppers were looking for goods in different commercial locations. In each residential area or mikrorayon, at least one shopping centre of a similar composition and functionality was situated. Although the plans for residential areas included more shopping centres with a great range of functions, analysis of the aforementioned sources has demonstrated that the construction of shopping centres was not so rapid as it was supposed to be, and therefore, smaller shops of a different nature were constructed in order to compensate for deficiencies.

It is evident that the idea of Soviet shopping centres was not an original product of the Soviet system. Some aspects of their construction and composition were copied and it was attempted to implement them using Western practice. The Soviet authorities found the idea of Gruen regional shopping centres acceptable and tried to implement it in the newly built city suburbs, as well as to embody the idea of the shopping mall as a multifunctional social centre where social gatherings could be held. Although these ideas were also reflected in the compositions of the LSSR shopping centres, full implementation of the idea of Western shopping centres was problematic in the Soviet system because of the endeavours to control society. This was due to the contraposition to the capitalistic system, the smaller scope of society's modernization, bureaucracy and a lack of materials for construction.

The Soviet shopping centres differed from the Western ones in their accessibility. Contrary to the Western shopping centres directed to the residents with cars living in

private suburban houses, the Soviet shopping centres were linked to the residential areas, where blocks of apartments were predominant, and few residents had cars.

Nevertheless, along with the emergence of shopping centres in residential areas and mikrorayons, the evolution of an essentially new attitude towards the consumption capacity of the population also occurred, and commercial spaces particularly of this type and respective localization, reachability and composition were chosen for the introduction of the aforesaid attitude.

Analysis of the abovementioned sources reveals that compared to department stores or shops of other types, Soviet shopping centres developed as a place offering at a single location a more diversified range of goods and the complete range of services required by a resident of a city or residential area of that time. The self-service method that emerged with the development of shopping centres empowered shoppers to assess and acquire goods and services independently as well as enabling the application of more goods selling techniques, for instance, advertising.

On the other hand, shopping centres were employed by the Soviet authorities to create the illusion of an abundance of goods, displaying on the shelves articles of the same kind in order to conceal a deficit.[61] The concealment of the deficit and the development of public consumption affected by propaganda principles had become a significant priority for the Soviet authorities, and Soviet shopping centres were also utilized for this. As the spaces of public services, shopping centres were exploited for the development of the consumption habits of the society, who were supposed to be influenced by propaganda-driven advertising tools used both outside and inside the shopping centres.

Shopping centres as a tool for the formation of consumption

Shopping centres reflected the process of societal modernization in the case of both capitalistic and Soviet systems. However, that modernization process differed in the area of consumption.[62] The modernization process of Soviet society was affected negatively by the consumption restrictions and deficits predominant in the totalitarian system, hence making it impossible for society to satisfy their consumption needs, or to satisfy those needs in the shadow market.[63]

To catch up and overtake the consumption standards of Western society was one of the aims in the modernization of Soviet society. However, in the case of the socialist society, the focus was not on quantity but on artificial quality. Therefore, modernization of the socialist society was linked to a consumption culture that had to satisfy criteria established by the authorities such as rationality, abstention from excessive consumption, formation of the Soviet taste etc.[64] When consumer needs became one of the elements of social modernization, the development of the Soviet industries producing consumer goods became relevant, as well as places and forms of supply of goods, that were manifested through the shopping malls and advertising.

In the 1960s, the literature intended for urban architecture design experts of the USSR declared that the development of Soviet commerce challenged the architects

61 For more information about the advertising of goods as a propaganda tool, see: TRANAVIČIŪTĖ, *Soviet Consumer Goods*, 111–135.

62 TRANAVIČIŪTĖ, *Historical Review*, 61–65.

63 TRANAVIČIŪTĖ, *Dreaming of the West*.

64 TRANAVIČIŪTĖ, *Soviet Consumer Goods*, 112.

with the task to work out new advertising types and measures compatible with the architecture of commercial buildings and able to provide comprehensive information about goods, to support the demand and popularity of products, and to form the tastes and culture of buyers.[65] The aforesaid thought represented the most prominent of the features typifying the architecture of consumption that were supposed to be used in the architectural and advertising designs of the shopping centre to develop the consumption habits of Soviet society on the basis of Soviet propaganda criteria regarding choice of products and quantity of goods.

In Soviet propaganda, the quantity of goods that should be purchased was to be based on a person's perception of the material benefits required to meet their essential needs. The demand for goods was restricted on a moral basis with the aim of eliminating such personal qualities as the desire to possess a lot of things and to boast about them.[66] Public consumption quantities were defined by criteria covering the main groups of goods, that is foodstuffs, household articles, domestic appliances and furniture, vehicles, goods for vehicle servicing, garages, leisure products, tourism and sports goods, and spiritual and cultural items. From all these groups, around 200 types of goods were considered necessary and fell in line with rational consumption criteria.[67] Rational consumption criteria were supposed to come under periodic review taking into account economic and social indicators, that is industrial development, production volume, population change, income etc.[68]

In terms of the exploitation of almost identical tools – that is the supply of goods and advertising, huge commercial spaces able to attract buyers by infrastructure, exterior and interior, and the available services and amusement – the development of consumption in the socialist system seemed similar to that in the capitalist system; however, in contrast, the content and development methods of socialist advertising were mostly associated with political propaganda, whereas the actual supply of goods was extremely limited.

If we consider only exterior or interior shopping centre designs in the case of both capitalism and socialism, it would seem that in both cases the main goal was to rationalize consumption and raise the aesthetic level of the consumption experience. However, the two systems of shopping centre designs assigned different functions that were to lead to different trends in public consumption. As Gruen and Smith write in describing shopping centre design, shopping is inherently more than just a utilitarian activity. The slogan "Shopping Should be Fun" has a deep meaning. The environment should be so attractive that customers will enjoy shopping trips, will stay longer and return more often. This will result in cash registers ringing more often and recording higher sales. In regard of the Soviet Union, the slogan "Shopping Should be Fun" should be replaced by "Shopping shouldn't be fun, it should be rational". This meant shoppers had to shop fast, not take long and often not walk to supermarkets. In other words, an attempt was made to eliminate the function of the shopping centre as a place of entertainment.

According to Yelena Dmitriyevna Tverdyukova, Soviet copywriters were forced to refuse the entertainment function in the advertising copywriting process, focusing

65 KOLLI et al. *Malyye formy v zastroyke*, 130.

66 SINKEVIČIUS, *Po vartojimo skraiste*, 30.

67 LCSA, f. R-754, b. 4, f. 3322, p. 32.

68 LCSA, f. R-754, b. 4, f. 3322, p. 1.

on those matters that were considered high living, rational consumption and good taste according to the standards of the Soviet authorities.[69] In the socialist system, the advertising used on the exterior and interior of commercial buildings was referred to by a few actually synonymous concepts, that is, advertising, agitation, and visual, graphic or aesthetical design measures.[70] The meaning, however, could be dual: on the one hand, the concepts might be used to characterize direct advertising aimed at promoting consumption; on the other hand, the concepts concealed the material with propaganda content that was employed to develop public consumption on the basis of economic criteria or to praise achievements of the socialist system in urban planning, construction, commerce, public services and other fields.

The theory of the development of Soviet commercial advertising represented the main idea related to the rational consumption and advertising of goods, declaring that such attributes of commercial buildings as signboards, window displays, the compositions available in window displays, and the illumination of those window displays and signboards carry out a guiding function for buyers.[71] In terms of psychology, the entirety of the outdoor advertising measures of commercial buildings was supposed to affect the way that shoppers start assessing the store from the information signs located above the facades and from their content, which assist them in understanding what goods are available. The window displays of stores were supposed to attract the buyers to take a look at the displayed goods and their properties. As long as the buyers are convinced by the entirety of the visual tools utilized outside, they will come inside and purchase some articles.

Usually, the facades of shopping centres had a few modest signboards with no abundance of advertising measures observed as all expectations to attract buyers were related to the goods displayed in window displays. The signboards and window displays of the commercial buildings mostly carried out a promotional function; however, efforts were made to strengthen the impact made on buyers through the employment of propaganda-based promotional texts of the shopping centres "directing" the buyers to points of attention. The latter were used to conceal the poor diversity of goods, emphasizing the exterior and interior information content of the very shopping centre that assists in guiding the buyers, in the selection of daily goods and fast shopping. For instance, during the presentation of the shopping centre Girstupis, a reporter paid attention to the metal letters "Girstupis" gleaming on the huge building facade from a distance, to the decorated window displays, the amazing size of the shopping centre, and the large commercial spaces divided into sections with tasteful visual signboards above enabling "to see at a glance where shoes are sold and where ties are offered".[72] (Figures 7 and 8)

69 TVERDYUKOVA, *Sovetskiye reklamnyye tekhnologii,* 135.

70 KRSA, f. R-292, b. 2, f. 378, pp. 4–6. KRSA, f. R-292, b. 2, f. 498, pp. 9–11. KRSA, f. R-292, b. 2, f. 681, p. 8.

71 *Prekė, reklama, pirkėjas,* 4.

72 JURONIS, *Kur plonėja piniginė,* 2.

Figure 7: Facade and window displays of the shopping centre Girstupis in Kaunas, 1974. Source: Photograph by S. Lukošius. Kaunas City Museum.

Figure 8: Facade and window displays of the shopping centre Girstupis in Kaunas, 1978. Source: Photograph by S. Lukošius. Kaunas City Museum.

Concerning the absence of advertising on the exterior of shopping centres, attempts were made to explain this situation by the rational advertising used in the interior of the shopping centres that was applied on the grounds of the responsive service of buyers and easing the complexity of the services provided. For instance, the advertising publication of the shopping centre "Vitebskas" located in the Kalniečių Residential Area in Kaunas declared that the "precious time of a buyer is saved by accurate and

nice information [and] businesslike promotion",[73] whereas advertising in the shopping centre Šeškinė in Vilnius announced that "functional and quiet advertising enables to move around the shopping space conveniently and to find the required goods easily".[74] Similar declarations are also found in the description of the interior of the shopping centre "Saulėtekis" in Kaunas:

> The facade of the shopping centre displays no advertising; therefore, advertising is integrated in the interior. The architectural solution of the building and the character of shopping centre spaces set the mood for the style applied to the interior design. Each space offers a different colour range: blue for foodstuffs, red for consumer goods, yellow for cafe/gastronomy. The advertising is arranged in the following way: at the entrance, a special display panel is available for buyers that helps them to receive information on the layout of commercial spaces. On white advertising strips found in commercial spaces, information on different product groups is provided in a clear and attractive font. "Swinging boards" near the ceiling used for the exposition of goods contribute to a general stylish interior composition. Ensuring the rational use of the area of commercial spaces, "swinging boards" decorated with goods also inform as to the location of different product groups in the commercial spaces. Along with that, clear records on transparent containers and freezing equipment serve well for information communication. The interior is enlivened with black-and-white and coloured slides on faux leather showing the products of individual groups. Prices, promotional panels with product names and cost, branded clothing of salespersons, branded packing paper – it might seem just a detail, but comes as a pleasant surprise to a buyer.[75]

A considerable proportion of the information contained in the promotional leaflets of shopping centres was based on the Soviet propaganda requirements aimed at strengthening the interior impression of the shopping centre, at emphasizing accurate information helping shoppers to move easily in the large spaces and at highlighting the supposed abundance of different goods. (Figures 9 to 11)

73 ŽILEVIČIUS – BRAZAITIS, *Kauno miesto prekybos*, 3.

74 GRAŽIENĖ, *Vilniaus parduotuvės*, 1–6.

75 LCSA, f. R-772, b. 4, f. 2601, pp. 102–103.

Figure 9: Interior of the shopping centre Saulėtekis in Kaunas, 1978.

Figure 10: Interior of the shopping centre Baltupiai in Vilnius, 1982. Source: Photograph by A. Sabaliauskas. Lithuanian Central State Archives.

Figure 11: Interior of the shopping centre Debrecenas in Klaipėda, 1974. Source: Photograph by B. Aleknavičius. Klaipėda County Public Ieva Simonaitytė Library.

The promotional leaflets of shopping centres were also used to enhance the architectural image of shopping complexes as efforts were made by Soviet propaganda to underline the construction achievements of Soviet commercial buildings. In light of the above, instead of introducing the goods available for sale, the promotional leaflets of a range of shopping centres emphasize the vast number of tons of steel and concrete used for the construction of shopping complexes along with the modern finishing materials and the visual design solutions for exteriors and interiors. For instance, "After opening the door of the shopping centre 'Papartis', you will be captivated by the original advertising and characteristic interior with ceramic tiles, laminated panels and organic glass used for its decoration".[76] In this way, printed information was employed to give a preconceived opinion to buyers about both the goods and the modern style of the very commercial building.

Just through visual assessment of the advertising measures used in the design of Soviet commercial buildings, the difference between the real commercial advertising and the propaganda could not easily be identified by consumers due to the reason that only some of the aforesaid measures were representing the achievements of the Soviet authorities in certain fields in an open manner. Moreover, even the direct advertising of goods or shopping centres was exposed to propaganda requirements that could be known only by the copywriters, they having observed the instructions of the Soviet authorities applied to advertising copywriting. In the theory of development

76 GRAŽIENĖ, *Vilniaus parduotuvės*, 1–6.

of advertising, the links between Soviet advertising and political propaganda were declared rather broadly. According to O. Snarskiy, a member of the Artists Union of the USSR, Soviet advertising was aimed at addressing economic tasks, at carrying out an information function and at serving as a propaganda tool that contributes to the development of an aesthetical taste and the consumption needs of a Soviet man.[77]

In a general sense, the advertising of commercial buildings was supposed to act in the role of an educator of the communist society.[78] For example, an artistic installation of window displays at shopping centres was supposed "to aesthetically educate the masses of consumers".[79] For window displays, the obligations of socialist societal education were assigned by socialist propaganda, the same as for the content of any advertising:

> A commercial window display serves a great functional purpose. First of all, it contributes to the image of the city and acts as an indicator of its cultural and economic level and aesthetic taste. At night, an illuminating window display enlivens the urban lights and plays as their integral part. Besides, a window display is one of the key measures of commercial advertising. To buyers, it communicates the character of the shop and a range of goods as well as promoting new products. Theme-based window displays represent fashion, remind of the upcoming season and introduce a socialist household culture. A window display also acts as a political educator. It is a distinctive, continuous-action exhibition of consumer goods introducing the people's economic achievements to the population.[80]

The value of advertising was also associated with the aspirations of Soviet society for higher living standards, technical progress and more effective work.[81]

Similarly to the situation with the development of shopping centres, some commercial advertising technologies of Western countries were also analysed in the formation process of Soviet commercial advertising methods.[82] Soviet copywriters were enabled to take a look at the advertising copywriting practices applied in France,[83] Finland,[84] the USA,[85] West Germany[86] and the Socialist Bloc countries.[87] The greatest focus was made on the analysis of window displays, layout compositions of goods and interiors of shopping centres. However, the consumption aspects of capitalist society were strictly eliminated as the question under discussion or criticism; instead of this, the contraposition between the socialist system and capitalist system was

77 SNARSKIY, *Reklama vokrug nas*, 3.

78 KOKAREVAS, *Reklamos idėjiškumas*, 4.

79 URBONAS – ŠLIKAITĖ, *Parduotuvės vitrina*, 25.

80 *Šiuolaikinės vitrinos*, 17.

81 *Reklamos reikšmė*, 27.

82 ROZHKOV, *Reklama sovetskogo perioda.*

83 *Prekė, reklama, pirkėjas*, 28–29.

84 MARKEVIČIUS, *Reklama-prekybos šypsena*, 3–5.

85 KIBILDAITĖ, *Reklamą apmoka*, 28–29. *Kai kurie reklamos būdai*, 32–33.

86 *Apie vitrinas*, 13.

87 *Prekybinė reklama*, 18–20. *Socialistinių šalių reklamos*, 32. LOMEIKA, *Moldavų pavyzdžiu*, 21–22. *I. P., Loterija-prekių reklamos*, 25. *Kaimo prekybos reklama*, 4–5.

employed for the development of the desired consumption habits of Soviet society. An interview with the LSSR economist S. Razma published in *Kooperatininkas* in 1963 revealed the differences in the advertising of capitalist and socialist countries though the propaganda contraposition between the capitalist and socialist systems. According to Razma, differently from the capitalist system, advertising in the socialist system encourages rational consumption, educates the population and raises its aesthetic level, allowing the developing of new positive needs and getting rid of negative ones.[88]

Furthermore, the contraposition between socialism and capitalism was employed to highlight the advantages of exterior and interior advertising and the consumption in Soviet shopping centres compared to the priorities of capitalist advertising and consumption. Description of the contraposition by Soviet propaganda was rather colourful:

> Window displays of shops are screaming and shouting. Huge discount! Great discount sale! A thick red strikethrough line crosses the old price, whereas bright and large digits mark the new value. No matter that after the "huge" discount the good still remained more expensive than in a smaller outlet located at some distance. The main thing is to draw attention, to attract a buyer. These are the realities of the capitalist world. But this is not so about us. We are more moderate, more modest. Our advertising shall contribute to guiding the buyers rather than misleading them.[89]

Through the contraposition between socialism and capitalism via advertising of shopping centres that, according to Soviet propaganda, was moderate and contributed to the good sense of direction of buyers, consumption habits of Soviet society based on the criteria of moderation, modesty and taste were developed by the Soviet authorities. In Soviet propaganda, this model of consumption was grounded on a person's perception enabling them to realize what material benefits are required to meet their essential needs. The advertising measures used on the exteriors, interiors and window displays of commercial buildings were targeted at the development of a consumption based on socialist principles that were contraposed to the consumerism of capitalist society.

Conclusions

1. The idea of Soviet shopping centres was developed following the examples of Western shopping malls. As the compositional structure of Western shopping malls seemed acceptable to the Soviet authorities, it was taken over and realized during the construction of Soviet shopping centres. The Soviet authorities were impressed by the idea of a shopping centre as a community hub introduced by V. Gruen, where the function of a community hub was especially highlighted along with the function of a shopping centre. In the Soviet system, however, the public institutions located next to shopping centres were supposed to ensure the control of society, whereas the very commercial buildings were often defined in propaganda literature as public/shopping centres. Due to this, compositional dimensions of Soviet shopping centres were legally regulated; that is, the construction, operational and finishing processes of the abovementioned structures were governed by a wide range of rules

88 *Prekė, reklama*, 1–4.

89 PALIULIS, *Kviečiame įsigyti*, 30.

issued by the Soviet authorities and representing Soviet propaganda requirements. Despite the all-embracing state regulation, shopping centres represented a new commercial unit in the Soviet system and marked a new stage in the public services of Soviet society, putting a greater focus on the environment of consumption and the consumption possibilities of the population.

2. The typization of Soviet shopping centres was supposed to serve as a reliable method enabling the efficient provision of commercial services to the population of the mikrorayons and residential areas of Soviet cities. In the 1960s, a few examples of shopping centres developed according to standard project designs that were prepared for the mikrorayons of the cities of the LSSR and constructed later in the major cities of the country. The latter process is well illustrated by the shopping centre Žirmūnai in Vilnius, considered one of the best examples having enabled the architects to assess the functionality of the shopping centre and to modify subsequently the standard designs of shopping centres to meet newly emerging needs. The modification process of standard shopping centres, however, was slow; therefore, the modernization of commercial spaces was sluggish or smaller shops of a different nature were constructed instead of innovative and stylish shopping centres. In the residential areas of the cities, shopping centres were usually constructed according to individual project designs. Such residential area shopping centres as Girstupis in Kaunas or Šeškinė in Vilnius used to appeal beyond the boundaries of their designated residential areas, thereby turning into city-wide attractions for the population.

3. The architectural solutions applied to commercial buildings and advertising measures used on both their exteriors and interiors manifested in an architecture of consumption that was employed to regulate the quantity of consumer purchases: to encourage fast shopping, with a focus on the necessary quantities of necessary goods, thereby avoiding over-purchasing. The advertising design of shopping centres was employed by the Soviet authorities as a tool for the formation of a Soviet culture of consumption in which the consumer was expected to be rational, thereby being different from the culture of consumption of capitalist society. The rationality was grounded on a person's perception enabling them to realize what material benefits are required to meet their essential needs, thereby avoiding overconsumption. For the development of the rationality of consumption of Soviet society, visual design measures and advertising were used which were supposed to be modest from the exterior and were expected to bear an information content in the interior; that is, signboards and information signs of the shopping centre were supposed to invite a buyer to come in and to guide him/her towards the required goods, thereby avoiding impulsive buying. As concerns showcases and other advertising measures displaying goods, they were expected to demonstrate a diversity of products, introducing their function and price. For the justification of the rationality-based Soviet culture of consumption, criticism of the consumption of capitalist society was employed based on propaganda declarations about overconsumption and the misleading advertising that contributes to this excess consumption.

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Reviews

NĚMEC, RICHARD. *DIE ÖKONOMISIERUNG DES RAUMS. PLANEN UND BAUEN IN MITTEL- UND OSTEUROPA UNTER DEN NATIONALSOZIALISTEN, 1938 BIS 1945*. BERLIN: DOM PUBLISHERS, 2020, 498 PP. ISBN 978-3-86922-168-7

Richard Němec's monograph is an extensive, multidisciplinary comparative study of spatial planning, urbanism and architecture in Central and Eastern Europe under the power "baton" of Nazi Germany. With its multidisciplinary character, it sits on the borders of the history of urbanism and architecture and urban history as well as political and partly economic and cultural history. The comparative framework of the work utilizes the research examples of the cities of Liberec, Karlovy Vary, Prague, Bratislava, Warsaw, Krakow and partly Poznań. Their choice was conditioned by the different contrasting statuses of the territories and especially by the form of power administration as well as the relationship with Nazi Germany as the governing political and ideological centre. The aim of the work is the analysis and interpretation of urbanism, urban planning and architecture as a special form of visualization and instrumentalization of Nazi power in the public space. Special attention is paid to the internal structure of the power apparatus, from the control centre, through the administration of each territory, to the municipal administration. Among other things, the analysis of relations within the professional community at the level of architects and urban planners, their hierarchy, competencies and relations with politicians and political representatives of the Nazi regime is clearly observable on this basis. In this context, the author also describes the specific personnel background of key political and professional actors, as well as the degree of their professionalism and ambitions or, on the other hand, profit-driven as well as ideologically oriented degree of collaboration with the Nazi regime. On this basis, it can be stated that the monograph far exceeds the positivist framework limited to the description of urban planning or architectural solutions of the surveyed places. The work opens up numerous research problems as well as aspects or levels of the researched issues, which have so far been only partially elaborated in European historiography.

The research core of the monograph consists of six main chapters. The introductory chapter introduces several key theoretical and methodological starting points. The primary is the definition of the expansive occupation, settlement and cultural policy of Nazi Germany in connection with the conceptualization of the acquisition of "living space" (Lebensraum) in Eastern European territories. This is directly related to the self-reflection of Nazi Germany as the centre of the planned "new Europe". In this context, the author also includes a set of theoretical considerations about the very perception and concepts of "space" as a multi-layered entity. The author distinguishes between the character of the territory in relation to the political administration into annexed (Sudetenland), occupied (Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia, Poland) and satellite (Slovak state). He follows from this basis also the relationship to the centre of power on which the nature of spatial planning, planned urban solutions and interventions in the specific cities surveyed depended. A special theoretical starting point is the city as a "projection area" (Projektionsfläche) for the instrumentalization of power, ideology and its aspects, such as "Germanization" or the complex "construction" of new identities in accordance with the concepts of Nazi cultural policy. The issues monitored also include the principles of spatial planning, the role of experts (architects, urban planners) in this process, the transfer of outlined concepts, the influence of the power centre and, last but not least, the issue of model templates. In the case of models, it is primarily Berlin, but the role as a model of Rome and the architects of fascist Italy does not remain outside the author's viewfinder. The author pays special attention to the role of Albert Speer, who created a connection between the Nazi authorities and planning within the studied areas. In addition to the theoretical background, the chapter also contains insights into the development of the political situation, context or ethnic and cultural structure of Czechoslovakia and Poland after 1938. The focus here is primarily on the impact of the results of the Munich Agreement in the context of the Nazi

ideological construct of the "new Europe". The author pays special attention to the conceptualization of issues in historiography, focusing primarily on its processing in the field of urban history. He presents the topic as a research challenge, not only for the history of urbanism and architecture, but also for urban history itself, while in the elaboration of the topic, according to the author, a greater emphasis is placed on Germany. According to the author, the complexification of the issue for Czechoslovakia and Poland was related to the long-term limited availability of archival sources (they had been classified as top secret for a long time) or to the socialist regime, which tabooed these topics. This had a special impact on the delayed onset of research trends in Czech, Slovak and Polish historiography.

Within the five application chapters, separate case studies of the cities of Liberec, Karlovy Vary, Prague, Bratislava and in a separate chapter Warsaw, Krakow and partly Poznań are presented.

As a starting point for the case study of Liberec is its appointment to serve as the capital of the Sudetenland, which, according to the author, largely determined the scope and form of the planned urban planning in terms of political significance. According to the author, a significant stimulus was also the inclusion of Liberec in the list of "cities of the imperial programme built for German cities", which demonstrates the strong politicization of the whole process. Subsequently, the author opens numerous questions related to technical assumptions and budget, but also actors. It brings in the areas of possible interventions, such as creation of the so-called "Greater Liberec" by the annexation of the surrounding municipalities or interventions in the transport infrastructure, which was an aspect valid for all the cities surveyed in the set comparative framework. A special problem was the identity of the city, which was already multi-layered during the Austro-Hungarian monarchy. The "multi-identity" of the city persisted even during the 1st Czechoslovakia and the "competition" itself, with respect to the conflict between German and Czech identity, was also reflected in public space and architecture. As examples, the author uses, among others, the buildings of the *Brouk & Babka* shopping mall of architect Jan Gillar and the *Baťa* shopping mall of architect Vladimír Kafrík, as opposed to the building of the Danube General Insurance Company by the German architect Adolf Foehr (pp. 112–114). Against this background, several partial problems can be observed, such as tension between Sudeten German and Reich German architects. According to the author, Liberec was a "theoretical example" because, despite the ability to enforce the plans, they were not implemented. According to the author, the final crash was due to professional inconsistencies and competence disputes.

In the case study of Karlovy Vary, the author emphasizes the special influence of National Socialist policy, especially in the context of its importance in the field of spas and tourism. The author considers the ambition to rehabilitate a large part of the city centre in accordance with the critique of the original Czechoslovak, but also Austro-Hungarian architecture, as a "pioneering" intention of communal politics. The concept of "new Karlovy Vary" included a spa, but also included the concept of the city as the economic, administrative and cultural centre of the region with an active connection to housing and trade. The mechanism of architectural competition is also described in detail, as well as its personnel, technical and economic background in association with the question of the influence of Nazi ideology and propaganda in connection with the creation of a new, Nazi, "world spa" identity. At the end of the chapter, the author states that the reconstruction began as an ambitious vision and ended as an administrative and technical act of the short-term existence of the National Socialist government.

Prague was of special importance as the capital of the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia. The author pays special attention to the conceptualization of the topic in historiography, but also approaches and evaluates the source base. The aim of this part of the work is to "conceptualize and outline the outlines of the principles and approaches of national socialist measures in the city through micro-studies tied to objects and persons" (p. 169). On this basis, the author addresses several key issues. One of them is, for example, the importance of Albert Speer in the politics and mechanisms of urban planning and construction activities and his relationship to Prague, which

reflected for example also his personal visit in December 1941. Another issue monitored is the activities of the Planning Commission for Prague and its legislative, technical-organizational and personnel background, as well as its relationship to the managing German centre and its minimal independent decision-making competencies. Separate attention is paid to issues of transport infrastructure, Aryanization, preparation of construction projects and their personnel background, as well as the relationship of municipal policy to the policy of "Reich" or construction of the "Germanized" identity of the city. The author demonstrates this relationship in particular through individual examples of building solutions or buildings, among others, for example, the construction of educational institutions under national socialist doctrines (buildings for the needs of Hitlerjugend, Bund deutscher Mädel, etc.). Special attention is also paid to media coverage and methods of presentation and promotion of Nazi construction policy. Strong media support from the beginning of the occupation can be traced through a probe into the focus of professional periodicals and magazines.

A specific example is Bratislava as the capital of the Slovak state, which figured as a satellite in the structure of relations with Germany. The starting point is the approach and characteristics of the authoritarian political regime in the state and the definition of the issue in historiography. Also relevant is the extent to which Bratislava, as the capital of the new state, located on the political axis of the Nazi and fascist power centres, was to be expressed in urbanism itself, urban development and architecture. On this basis, therefore, the main concept of urban planning comes to the fore, but also the question of patterns. According to the author, two directions were presented, namely the classicist according to the Prussian and Bavarian model and the new identity of a sovereign state, which would present its youth, dynamism and, of course, its relationship to the German Reich. The postulate of Bratislava as the capital city, but also as a university city, was formulated as a key starting point, at which the individual architectural and urban projects presented by the author also aimed. The German authorities promoted the participation of German, Italian, Swiss and Slovak architects in this process. The author pays special attention to the highly publicized project proposals of the government district and the university town from the 1940s. The projects were located in the area of the castle hill, with a special problem posed by the Bratislava castle itself and the castle complex as a national symbol. The projects provided for either its incorporation or demolition. This set of questions is followed by the Aryanization and displacement of Jews in accordance with the Jewish Code, as the district below the castle was inhabited mainly by Jews. The author also approaches the concept of "state-building architecture" in connection with a wide range of projects, the concept of a new identity of the city, but he encounters the problem of "identification" with Nazi ideology. He states that in the whole spectrum of projects and styles drawing either from older interwar forms or under German or Italian influence, no "specified" national socialist or fascist style can be identified. According to the author, the representation of Bratislava as a reflective surface of a young, dynamic state, reflecting both its own new identity and that of the "new Europe" in the grip of Nazi ideology, hit the limits of its own political instrumentalization.

In the case studies dealing with Warsaw and Krakow, the author proceeds from the approximation of the conceptual framework of the so-called Generalplan Ost, which can be understood as the authoritative starting point of the German settlement programme in the given area. The author understands the idea of radical colonization and the creation of type models of towns, villages and settlements of various sizes as a key starting point. He draws particular attention to the fact that at the time of the creation of these concepts, or rather their legislative and project framework, the area in question still had to be occupied. However, individual concepts of spatial planning of the "new east" were intensively pushed through Nazi propaganda channels such as through the professional architectural magazine *Die Baukunst*. In the case studies, in addition to the above-mentioned starting points, the author also presents the input to the elaboration of the topic in historiography and the historical

context of the Nazi invasion and occupation of Poland. The Warsaw case study is based on the basic premises of its forthcoming urban planning, namely the dismantling of the Polish city, the construction of the German city and the displacement of Jews and Poles. According to the author, the individual projects that were submitted within the technical and organizational background of the city's reconstruction also included extensive modifications to the transport infrastructure at various levels in the context of Warsaw's strategic position as a "gateway to the east". Once again, competence disputes have emerged as a problem, and the Warsaw Uprising and its suppression, which have had fatal consequences for the city and its overall urban identity, can be identified as a separate key moment in development.

This is followed by a case study of Krakow, which, according to the author, took on the role of "model" and capital of occupied Poland. The loss of this postulate for the city of Warsaw serves as a starting point, which also affected the political administration. In this connection, as well as in the methodological frameworks set out in this work, Krakow is a key city for the application of urban interventions and reconstruction reflecting the relationship to Nazi Germany, as well as the newly defined relationship of "old Krakow" to "German" roots. The deconstruction of the old and the construction of the new identity of the city is therefore decisive. At this point, the author re-emphasizes the function and role of propaganda to present the given background and its practical implementation. In this context, attention is paid to the temporary influence and position of the architect Hubert Ritter, who presented a complete urban plan for the reconstruction of Krakow. However, it was only partially implemented. A relevant topic of Ritter's plan was also the issue of infrastructure and the new construction of the government district, the project of which is described and analysed in detail in the monograph. In the context of the relations between the political centre and communal politics, the author also presents Ritter's tense relationship with the Governor-General, which ultimately led to the loss of Ritter's influence. As an example, the author cites the project of rebuilding Wawel Castle as the seat of the governor. According to the author, the division of the city's construction programme among several actors led to ambiguities and disagreements over competence. However, the author emphasizes that it is very problematic and at the same time inconsistent to reduce the topic of research for the city of Krakow only to individual projects, concepts or architects.

In a separate summary, the author interprets occupied Poland as an "experiment" in German settlement policy. An important feature that is pointed out is the approach of the Nazi power apparatus to Poland. He developed an unprecedented and highly aggressive anti-Slavic and anti-Semitic campaign, which was interspersed, among other things, in the context of settlement policy, urbanism and spatial planning. The author's addition on the post-war period is very critical because key professional actors referred to their allegedly non-political, professional side of spatial planning in the monitored area.

The monograph is a comprehensive high-quality comparative work that can be recommended to historians in the field of political history of totalitarian regimes, as well as urban historians and historians of architecture, but also economic and social historians.

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Chronicle

MEETING OF YOUNG HISTORIANS XI: KNOWLEDGE, SOCIETY, HISTORY
KOŠICE, 19 – 20 OCTOBER 2021

Gradual changes in changing knowledge systems have prompted historians to look at the past in new ways. They have aroused an increase in interest in the history of knowledge, an area of historical science covering all known knowledge of human society, acquired or discovered throughout history. The history of knowledge has brought a new approach to the study of natural sciences and crafts, as well as of knowledge contained in the humanities and social sciences. Those in the field have researched not only all the great theories and discoveries of human civilization, but also everything that mankind has so far invented, created and perfected. And so to the eleventh edition of the annual doctoral conference Meeting of Young Historians. The conference, aimed at Slovak and foreign doctoral students, is organized by the Department of History of the Faculty of Arts of Pavel Jozef Šafárik University in Košice in cooperation with the Slovak Historical Society at the SAS. The aim of the conference is to provide a space for the presentation of the latest results of scientific research, professional discussion, networking, the development of cooperation and the mutual exchange of experiences of the wider historical community. The conference offered space for Slovak and foreign doctoral students to take a broad look at the past of knowledge and understanding.

The individual papers were presented in five peer-reviewed thematic sections, devoted to the history of educational institutions, the development of historical and philosophical knowledge, industry and useful knowledge. Funded comments on the lecture blocks were prepared by experts from the Department of History, Faculty of Arts, UPJŠ and the Institute of History of the Slovak Academy of Sciences. Due to the continuing pandemic situation caused by the spread of the SARS-CoV-2 viral disease, the conference was held in hybrid, some participants joining online and some attending the conference in person, subject to strict pandemic measures. In contrast to last year's tenth anniversary of the Meeting of Young Historians, which had to be held exclusively online due to the pandemic situation, most participants were able to attend this year's conference in person. The conference was held through a web-based conference system and was also streamed via the Meeting of Young Historians and the Department of History Facebook page. The implementation in the online space also made it possible to join doctoral students and guarantors from Berlin, Prague and Bratislava, thus confirming the international dimension of the conference.

On the first day of the conference, it welcomed all active and passive participants as well as guarantors on behalf of the organizational team Mgr. Miriama Filčáková. She gave the introductory word to doc. ThDr. Peter Borza, PhD., Vice-Dean for the Quality of University Studies at the Faculty of Arts, UPJŠ, who welcomed those present on behalf of the Department of History of the Faculty of Arts, UPJŠ and Mgr. Adam Hudek, PhD., who gave an introductory speech on behalf of SHS SAS. The interest in the conference was also reflected in the international participation, the conference being attended by 13 participants from leading Slovak and foreign institutions: nine participants from Slovakia, three colleagues from the Czech Republic and one from Germany. All active participants presented their research with an emphasis on the objectives and methodology and considering the central theme of the meeting.

The first section presented contributions following the development of institutional knowledge under the political influence of the Communist Party. In his first contribution, "Teaching religion in Slovakia in the years 1948–1953 on the example of city of Košice" (Mgr. Peter Pavonič), also close to researchers in the field of urban history, the author presented the power of state regime interventions in the process of teaching religion in schools in Czechoslovakia in 1948–1989. The original contribution was mainly the analysis of the development of the mentioned events on the example of the city of Košice. The second was the paper, "Pavel Jozef Šafárik University in Košice in the context of the political history of knowledge" (Mgr. Miriama Filčáková), which by applying the approaches of the political history of knowledge recorded decisive moments related to the establishment of this educational institution regarding political, cultural and industrial

circumstances at the time of its creation. Expert commentary on the first block was presented by PaedDr. Alžbeta Śnieżko, PhD. (Department of History, UPJŠ).

The second block, covered by the expert commentary of Mgr. Adam Hudek, PhD. (Institute of History of the Slovak Academy of Sciences), laid its thematic focus on topics connecting the fields of the history of knowledge and urban history. The paper "City of Metallurgists and Miners: Industrialization of Eastern Slovakia and Development of Education in Košice 1945–1970" (Mgr. Dana Kušnírová) analysed the way in which the industrialization of Eastern Slovakia influenced the development of education at all levels in Košice. The influence of industrialization on the construction of schools proved to be an important urban element of Košice in the given period. The major reorganization of schools in the city, the significant increase in their number and the differentiation of their foci depended mainly on the nature of the city's industrial enterprises. To the field of urban history was also devoted the paper "The unrealized interpretation of the history of Soviet architecture of the USSR and socialist Europe through the documents of the IRS in Erkner" (Aliaksandr Shuba, MA), which offered a critical analysis of a forthcoming monograph on Soviet history of architecture through preserved archival documents. The initiative for publications on the history of urban planning was represented by Soviet academic elites operating at research institutes in Moscow and Warsaw, which gave the interpretation of urban planning a distinctive Soviet character. The last contribution of the second block, "Persecution of the historian Daniel Rapant at the Faculty of Arts of Comenius University after 1948" (Mgr. Mária Rímešová), covered the persecutions of educators and respected professors, such as the historian Daniel Rapant.

The final part of the first day of the conference contained contributions following philosophical concepts for looking at the history of knowledge. The first paper, "Useful Knowledge and the Great Divergence" (Mgr. Adam Štverka), placed special emphasis on the dissemination of knowledge, developed mainly by the Enlightenment intellectual sphere. In the article, the author introduced the concept of Useful Knowledge and outlined the limits and possibilities of this specific approach to viewing knowledge. The paper "Posivitism: a philosophical direction that offered an ideological basis for lay morality" (Mgr. Kristína Pakesová) presented several philosophical positions in individual authors' periods and outlined a dispute between lay natural morality in opposition to religious morality during the first Czechoslovak Republic. An expert commentary on the above contributions was presented by Mgr. Mikuláš Jančura, PhD. (Department of History, UPJŠ), together with discussion that closed the first day of the conference.

The second day again brought several interesting and high-quality contributions. The first of the two blocks were of contributions from older history. The higher nobility living in the territory of today's southwestern Slovakia was dealt with in the article "The higher nobility in the Nitra County until 1301" (Mgr. Kristína Danková). Determinants who helped recatholicize and form the parish network, as well as forms of counter-reformation used by local parish administrators and landowners were discussed in the contribution "Recatholization of the Ung county in the first half of the 18th century (comparison of the centre and outskirts)" (PhDr. Vavrinec Žeňuch). The development of trade, crafts and agriculture was also directly related to the development of knowledge in the past. The third contribution of the first block was devoted to the glass-making families as bearers of knowledge in the early modern period, which ensured the continuity of the then glassmaking – "Glassworks and families of glassblowers as an environment of knowledge and craft production in early modern period (on example of Stebnícka Huta)" (Mgr. Ondrej Šály). A comparable interest in industrial development and the circulation of scientific knowledge of international importance in France on the example of the Society for the Encouragement of National Industry was presented by the paper "Institutional support for industry and business in Napoleonic France (1801–1832)" (Mgr. Michael Dudzik). The expert commentary was presented by PhDr. Eva Kowalska, DrSc. (Institute of History of the Slovak Academy of Sciences) and Mgr. Mária Fedorčáková, PhD. (Department of History, UPJŠ).

The last section of the conference was opened with the paper "Lost cause as a pseudo-historical phenomenon" (Mgr. Petr Khás), approaching this phenomenon as an important topic

in relation to the history of (un) knowledge. The author of the article presented the dogmas of this phenomenon, events which represent it and whether they should really be described as myth or as based on historical facts. The final contribution of the conference, "The operation of the German army in the Protection Zone in the context of everyday life" (PhDr. Adam Bielesz), presented an analysis of everyday life. Expert commentary of the final section, presented by Mgr. Maroš Melichárek, PhD. (Department of History, UPJŠ) and the following constructive discussion closed the eleventh edition of the doctoral conference Meeting of Young Historians XI.

Despite the limited direct contact between active and passive participants of the event, due to the virtual form of the conference, the conference received a positive response. Several guests highlighted the quality of the papers, which were mainly characterized by an interdisciplinary approach to research, confirming the traditionally high quality of papers presented and professional comments. The starting point of the conference is the annually published peer-reviewed proceedings, which consists of publication outputs of active participants. Preparations are currently underway for the 12th annual Young Historians Meeting.

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