

## ARTICLES

**Šandera, Martin:**

The Bohemian Royal Towns  
(Pilsen, České Budějovice, Cheb)  
under the Power of Matthias Corvinus ..... 6

**Agafonova, Anna B.:**

Water Supply to the Small Cities in the Northern Region  
of the Russian Empire, 1890–1910s  
(Vologda, Staraya Russa and Cherepovets).....45

**Jarkowska-Natkaniec, Alicja:**

Collaborators, Informers and Agents in Occupied Krakow:  
A Contribution to Further Research.....69

**Pekár, Martin:**

Replacement of Municipal Political Elite  
as a Tool for Seizing Power and Consolidating  
an Authoritarian Regime in Slovakia 1938–1940 .....93

**Lůnčíková, Michala:**

Address Unknown: Reshaping the Jewish Living Space  
and Social Mobility in the Slovak State (1939–1945)..... 112

**REVIEWS, REPORTS, CHRONICLE ..... 127**



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## ***The Bohemian Royal Towns (Pilsen, České Budějovice, Cheb) under the Power of Matthias Corvinus\****

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This study deals with the fate of the only three Czech royal towns, which during the protracted conflict over the Czech throne (1468–1479) declared themselves under the auspices of the Hungarian ruler Mathias Corvinus (České Budějovice, Pilsen), or had his authority under the title of King of Bohemia (from May 1469) successfully applied over them (Cheb). It reveals the motives for their leaning to the side of Matthias Corvinus and analyses their positions as military powers and, to a lesser extent, intelligence centres, deals with the changes in the holdings of real estate property in the towns in the course of Corvinus's reign, and shows the compositions of the town councils, their efforts to maintain independent political approaches (especially in the case of Cheb) and the development of their relations with the military command of the city. Attention is also paid to the ecclesiastical administration and cultural level of these municipalities during Matthias's reign.

Keywords: Late Middle Ages. Kingdom of Bohemia. Royal towns. Mathias Corvinus.

In April 1468, Mathias Corvinus declared himself the protector of all Catholics and on 3 May 1469 was elected King of Bohemia in Olomouc's Cathedral of St Wenceslas by parts of the Bohemian, Moravian and Silesian estates, although the existing Bohemian sovereign, accursed and deposed by Pope George of Poděbrady, did not intend to vacate the position.<sup>1</sup> In Moravia, Silesia and Lusatia, Corvinus's position was strong; he controlled the vast majority of towns and only Uherské Hradiště and Uničov resisted him. In the territory of the Bohemian Kingdom itself, the situation was reversed, his real influence here being based on the private property of the aristocratic opposition to King George of Poděbrady, which in November 1465 joined in the so-called League of Zelená Hora. At the time of its greatest strength, this association had 62 castles and around 10 feudal walled towns. However, of the 42 Bohemian royal towns, only three recognized King Matthias as their lord – Pilsen, České Budějovice and later, under the heavy pressure of the Roman Curia, Cheb also. These towns thus from a geographical perspective represented the westernmost outposts of Mathias's power for the entire time of his reign.

### **The appearance and state of the towns at the close of the Poděbrady era**

What was the actual state and significance of these three towns, which were to come under Corvinus's power, in the second half of the 1460s? Pilsen and České Budějovice represented the natural centres of two of the Czech regions – the West Bohemian and South Bohemian, while Cheb was then an imperial territory, which since 1322 had been a hereditary pledge of Czech kings. All three municipalities were important trading centres and had high-quality fortifications. In terms of population and real estate

\* This study is the publication output of the specific research project of the Philosophical Faculty of the University of Hradec Králové for the year 2019: Bohemian Royal Boroughs under the rule of Matthias Corvinus.

1 KALOUS, *Matyáš Korvín*.

inside the walls, these cities belonged to the category of the ten largest in the Czech Kingdom, and only Prague and Kutná Hora outdid them significantly.

Table 1: Comparison of area, population, property and church conditions

	Pilsen	České Budějovice <sup>2</sup>	Cheb
Population	Over 4000	4350	7600
Area of the town inside the walls	20 ha	22 ha	31 ha
Number of houses	290	373	442
Number of houses in the suburbs	58	22	Undocumented
Subject villages	Skvrňany, Božkov, Koterov, Cernice, Radobyčice, Útušice, Doudlevice and part of Lobez. Křivice <sup>3</sup>	Mladé, Vrát, Pohůrka, Suché Vrbné, Hlinsko, Dubičné, Šindlovy Dvory, Vesce, Haklovy Dvory, České Vrbné and Litvínovice <sup>4</sup>	126 paying villages and settlements <sup>5</sup>
Number of privileges from George	9	6	5
Churches and chapels	4	4	10
Cloisters	Dominicans, Minorites + suburban spittal field	Dominicans Spittal field of St Wenceslas administered by the Order of Cruisers with a red star	Franciscans, and Poor Clares, commandery of the Order of the Teutonic Knights, Order of Cruisers with a red star

The national composition of the population deserves attention as well. In spite of the fact that the native Czech King George enjoyed it here, it was a dominantly German city. České Budějovice was a town with approximately the same number of Czech and German inhabitants, but it was in Poděbrady's time that the Czech element underwent an emancipation, the property of Czech burghers grew and, during the era of the burgomaster Ondřej Puklice, their real influence on the town's operation significantly strengthened. A coup d'état in the city and the inclination to Corvinus's side were also related to the efforts of some German burghers to stop the growth of the Czech element, although there were also significant other motives.<sup>5</sup> The Czech

2 VAŘEKA – ROŽMBERSKÝ – HOLATA – SCHEJBALOVÁ. *Vesnické zázemí*, 289–318. On that, see also the chapter on the Economic region of New Pilsen in MALIVÁNKOVÁ-WASKOVÁ – DOUŠA. *Dějiny města Plzně 1*, 133–136.

3 The book also presents the royal interest from 1446-1482 (Kniha královského úroku, 1446-1482; ČECHURA, *České Budějovice*, 166; and ČECHURA, *Nová interpretace*, 1–12. The territorial extent of the town villages was "de iure" closed by their entry in the land tablets in 1498 confirming for the town the free holding of the villages, see: ČELAKOVSKÝ, *Codex Iuris Municipalis III*, 915–916, Nr. 538.

4 SOKA Cheb, fund Nr. 1, book Nr. 1086, on that, see: KUBŮ, *Chebický městský stat*, 43.

5 BUKOŇOVÁ, *Vztah královské politiky Jiřího z Poděbrad*, 344–382, 366–367. On the overall approach of George of Poděbrady to the cities, see: RAK, *Česká venkovská královská města*, 5–51. For a comparison with the Moravian milieu, see: SULITKOVÁ – BOROVSKEJ, *Moravská královská města*, 41–55. VONDRÁČEK, *Panovnická*

element already had a majority in Pilsen and, according to the names of those on the city council, Czechs prevailed.

Pilsen and České Budějovice controlled the nearest surrounding villages, for the management of these cities can be taken as representative of the broader municipal estate, but it is not yet possible to talk about a city dominion, such as with nearby Tábor, which had nearly 100 villages under its influence. However, the real strength of Cheb meant not merely the town and the group of borough villages in the surroundings as in the cases of Pilsen and especially České Budějovice; it was a large area which the town ruled, and by the end of the fourteenth century it had clearly won over the local nobility: it is correct to speak of a Cheb town state, controlling a territory of around 380 km<sup>2</sup> containing 160 villages and settlements.<sup>6</sup> The prosperity and development of the town was contributed to by trade ties with Nuremberg and Regensburg. Orientation towards the Bavarian and Franconian regions of the Empire can be found near Pilsen. On the other hand, traders from České Budějovice preferred to trade with Lower Austria, where they went to buy mainly wine and salt.

### **What motives led these towns to fall away from George of Poděbrady and at least temporarily recognize as their lord and soon also as the Bohemian king Matthias Corvinus?**

King George of Poděbrady was aware that unlike the majority of Czech towns Pilsen, České Budějovice and Cheb had remained Catholic towns with significant German populations and that their loyalty would need to be ensured. He tried to do so in two ways – by granting economic privileges to municipalities (here he was even more generous than with Utraquist towns) and by supporting and enabling property profits for those appointed as royal magistrate or burgrave.<sup>7</sup> It was precisely the removal of these persons in Pilsen and České Budějovice that preceded the abandonment by both towns of King George, and it was actually a necessary condition for them to recognize Mathias Corvinus as their master over time. In both cities, the opposition forcibly disposed of the main representative of the pro-Poděbrady party, seized his property and took away the power of the existing burghers and their associates. Corvinus was supposed to be the one to ensure these groups their positions and profits, while guaranteeing that they would not face retaliation for their actions. And in both cities, the opposition dared to strike only after being urged by papal bulls to fall away from the heretical king.

Let us first pay attention to Pilsen. At the head of the party that wanted to maintain loyalty to King George stood Ondřej Oremus, whom the king in 1462 granted a magistrate's post with a comprehensive set of economic benefits.<sup>8</sup> After the creation

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*politika vůči městům*, 161–165. The king's careful approach to the opposition Catholic cities is accurately demonstrated by: ZECHOWICZ, *O miejsce w koronie*, 55–61.

6 KUBŮ, *Chebský městský stat*, 48–49.

7 BURKOŇOVÁ, *Vztah královské politiky Jiřího z Poděbrad*, 366–367.

8 STRNAD, *Listář a listinář II*, 89, Nr. 101. The city of Pilsen acquired a magistrate's office already in 1433, but only for four years. At the time of the so-called Post-Lipany Interregnum, courts were held in burgher houses (on "neutral ground"), not at the magistrate's office or the city hall. The return of the magistrate's office to the hands of a royal official was thus perceived by the city as a tangible intervention and the resentment mainly turned against Oremus, who was a Prague burgher by origin. The attempt to purchase the magistrate's office from the hands of the sovereign was characteristic of the absolute majority of Bohemian royal towns in the Late Middle Ages and represented an important step in the process of their emancipation from sovereign power.

of the commemorative aristocratic opposition association of the so-called Zelená Hora League, Pilsen was contacted not only by its leaders but, on 29 December 1465, also by the papal legate Rudolf of Rüdeseheim, who sent the city council a copy of the bull of Pope Paul II in which he relieves the Catholic population of their oath of loyalty to King George, and in the attached letter he says that the city does not have to respect the existing royal magistrate and can freely choose its own.<sup>9</sup> Frightened, Oremus went to Prague for help and in his absence a bloodless coup took place in the city. The people of Pilsen elected new magistrates and quickly hired a mercenary troop to prevent the forces loyal to the king from regaining control of the city. Nevertheless, the conspirators were still so afraid of retaliation that they soon sent a letter of apology to King George, arguing that they could not resist the Holy Father, and even sent messengers to Cheb and Wrocław for help against the royal troops.<sup>10</sup> Nevertheless, Cheb remained loyal to the king, and not even Wrocław provided financial or military assistance. However, thanks to the activities of the legate Rudolf of Rüdeseheim, this largest Silesian city quickly took on the role of the main centre of the anti-Poděbrady resistance within the entire Bohemian crown and closely observed the behaviour of both Pilsen and later České Budějovice.<sup>11</sup>

Oremus returned to Pilsen accompanied by hundreds of royal riders, but the city refused to open the gates and Poděbrady's army decided against a direct strike in fear of great loss of life, did not resist and retreated to the people of Rokycany. Oremus was not admitted to the city even as a negotiator and his property was confiscated by the new rulers of the town.<sup>12</sup>

Pope Paul II appreciated the position of Pilsen and openly took the town under his protection, and he improved the city coat of arms, where in addition to a knight symbolizing the fight for the protection of faith St Peter's keys also appeared.<sup>13</sup>

9 Text of the legate's bull from 29 December 1465, STRNAD, *Listář a listinář II*, 113–115, Nr. 127.

10 The Letter of the People of Pilsen and the copy of the legates' letter have been preserved in the collection *Cancellaria Regis Georgii*, National Library of the Czech Republic, Collection of Manuscripts and Rare Printed Books, sign. XXIII.D.172, rukopis A, pp. 625–628; STRNAD drew from these for his *Listář a listinář II*, 120–121, Nr. 132.

11 Thanks to the chronicle of the municipal scribe Peter Eschenloer in ROTH, *Magister Petr Eschenloer. Geschichte der Stad Breslau 1, 2* and the excellently edited correspondence from the times of Poděbrady and Matthias in: MARKGRAF, *Scriptores rerum silesiacarum*; and KRONTHAL – WENDT, *Scriptores rerum silesiacarum*, Wrocław is one of the crucial information sources also for the Bohemian Catholic cities of this period.

12 BĚLOHLÁVEK, *Dějiny Plzně*, 102–103.

13 Archiv města Plzně [Archive of the City of Pilsen] (hereinafter AM Plzně), Archiv města Plzeň (hereinafter AMP), Listiny, sign. I 182. Pilsen even received financial support from the papal treasury – STRNAD, *Listář a listinář II*, 151. On that, see also: ROTH, *Magister Petr Eschenloer. Geschichte der Stad Breslau I*, 518. The pope improves Pilsen's coat of arms by two new fields – Archiv města Plzně, sign. I 182, for the edition of the deed, see: STRNAD, *Listář a listinář II*, 138, Nr. 153.



Figure 1: The bull issued by Pope Paul II to Pilsen, dated 5 June 1466. AM Plzeň, AMP, Listiny, sign. I 182.

The Prague metropolitan chapter and one of the main ideologues of the domestic resistance against King George – Master Hilarius Litoměřický – moved to the city.<sup>14</sup> The city council came to be swayed by the agile clergy, which, however, did not purposefully subject the councillors to heightened verbal pressure and rather tactically projected the idea that maintaining order in the city could be guaranteed with certainty through fidelity to curial policy towards the Bohemian heresy.<sup>15</sup>

The main partner sought by the city for resistance to Poděbrady was the Zelená Hora League and it very much welcomed this position. In February 1467, Emperor Frederick III of Habsburg even granted the Zelená Hora League the right to mint their own coins in Pilsen.<sup>16</sup> In March of the following year, the leader of the League, Zdeněk of Šternberk, met with Matthias Corvinus in Trnava, in April Matthias was declared the defender of all Catholics in the Crown of Bohemia and on 22 August 1468 in Olomouc

14 On Hilarius and his activity in Pilsen, see: FIALOVÁ, *Z korespondence Hilaria Litoměřického*, 68–89; HEJNIC, *Hilarius Litoměřického*, 240–245. KADLEC, *Hilarius Litoměřický*, 187–196. On his view of the city as the selected community in Bohemia for the battle with heresy, see: HEJNIC – POLÍVKA, *Plzeň v husitské revoluci*.

15 Unlike Wrocław in Silesia, which was otherwise a model for Pilsen in some respects and with which it maintained written contact, it is not possible to speak of a party of preachers in Pilsen who would have promoted their interests in the city at the expense of limiting the power of the city council; see: ČAPSKÝ, *Město pod vládou kazatelů*, 75–101, 129, 135.

16 STRNAD, *Listář a listinář II*, 147–148.

the town of Pilsen recognized Matthias Corvinus as its defender and bound itself to be obedient to his instructions.<sup>17</sup>

Already on 20 March 1466, Pope Paul II from Rome also urged the town of České Budějovice to fall away from the heretical king and as an example gave them “*our dear Pilsen*”.<sup>18</sup> It did not happen and Poděbrady’s dedicated burgomaster Ondřej Puklice and his clique for the moment were able to dampen efforts to obey the exhortations of the Roman Curia.<sup>19</sup> But internal opposition centred around German burghers, led by councillor Mikuláš Raubenhaupt, was growing stronger and waiting for a suitable opportunity to reverse the situation in the city for its own benefit and to stop the trend when control began to pass more and more clearly into Czech hands. Their dissatisfaction culminated when the councillors headed by Ondřej Puklice a year later concealed from the inhabitants of České Budějovice the papal bull which excommunicated the king. Even in České Budějovice, the clergy was supposed to play an important role in the coup, and although the parish priest Ondřej himself hesitated at first, he later allowed the conspirators to meet in the spaces of the parish presbytery. On Sunday 24 May, the preacher Václav Mondl<sup>20</sup> read in the parish church of St Nicholas the hitherto classified bull of Paul II. After mass, he went to the church of St Procopius in the suburbs and the burgomaster and his clique decided not to allow him back into the town, but this step only exacerbated the situation. A horde of armed rebels attacked Puklice’s house on 25 May 1467. The putschists seriously injured the burgomaster and later imprisoned him in the town hall’s cellar, where he died six days later. His leading supporters were also interned and were to be subjected to torture and execution.<sup>21</sup> Within a few days, however, passions had faded, and reports of the surrender of the first castles of the rebellious Catholic nobles that had besieged the royal army had raised fears of retaliation. The murderers justified their actions before the monarch, even pretending that there was no conspiracy and that Ondřej Puklice died in a random skirmish. At the intercession of Jan II of Rožmberk, George of Poděbrady forgave the culprits, because the city declared willing to remain on his side against the rebellious Catholic nobles.<sup>22</sup>

So even Puklice’s death did not mean that the city officially joined the Zelená Hora League, although it was repeatedly called to do so by its leader Zdeněk of Šternberk.

17 STRNAD, *Listář a listinář II*, 151, Nr. 181.

18 The original of the letter has been preserved in Státní okresní archiv České Budějovice [State District Archives České Budějovice] (hereinafter SOKA České Budějovice), Archiv města České Budějovice (hereinafter AM of České Budějovice), Listiny 1276–1882, inv. no. 109, sign. I/40.

19 Puklice dominated the trade in fabrics, wine and spices, and bought the villages of Čejkovice, Houžná and Hůrka. In 1464 King George gave him the forest Světlík. He was elected to the city council for the first time in 1441 and sat there with short breaks until the end of his life. Despite this turbulent period, he managed to build an extraordinary position; we can even say that he stood at the top of the social ladder of the then Budějovice. He acquired the village of Vztuhy with its stronghold, and therefore began to use the aristocratic predicate, and later bought several more villages and a courtyard in the suburbs of Budějovice. ERBEN, *Ondřej Puklice ze Vstuh*, 163–211. PLETZER, *Ondřej Puklice ze Vstuh*, 9–14.

20 On him, PLETZER, *Dr. Václav Mondl z Budějovic*, 85–87.

21 His son Jan wrote the *Tragoedia Andreae Puklicz Budvicensis. Filius patrem occisus*. The most detailed publication on this topic was prepared by KOVÁŘ, *Tragédie Ondřeje Puklice*. Ondřej had two sons, the elder Václav and younger Jan, who entered the services of the Rožmberks.

22 In July of that year, Hilarius Litoměřický warned in a letter the people of Budějovice of an army which was being led from the west by the king’s son, Prince Henry, with the aim of conquering one of the main centres of the Zelená Hora League, Jindřichův Hradec, and which could besiege Budějovice – STRNAD, *Listář a listinář II*, 153, Nr. 160. Odupuštění od Jiřího z Poděbrad. ČELAKOVSKÝ, *Codex Iuris Municipalis*, 511–512, Nr. 296.

The people of Budějovice secretly promised the legate Lorenz Roverell that they would fall away from George, but they did not rush; why risk what they wanted, that already achieved by Puklice's murder, their gains seeming assured? They tried to imitate the position of Cheb and closely followed the waiting tactics of Jan II of Rožmberk. The appearance of loyalty to King George was reinforced by repeatedly refusing to allow the people of Sternberk into the city. This provoked bitter complaints from the Zelená Hora League before the Curia, which decided to intervene harshly: on 14 February 1468 the Pope declared an interdict over České Budějovice.<sup>23</sup>

Yet the city openly fell away from King George after Matthias Corvinus had entered the war and had enjoyed military successes in the summer of 1468, the defeat of George of Poděbrady and his removal from the Bohemian throne then seeming to be only a matter of time and it no longer seeming a greater risk to declare for his opponents. The final impetus was the July defeat of the Poděbrady army by the town of Vodňany under Jan of Šternberk.<sup>24</sup>

On 20 August 1468, Rudolf of Rüdeshheim (then already the bishop of Wrocław) and Zdeněk of Šternberk declared in Olomouc that they had accepted the town of České Budějovice into the League which they joined for the defence of the faith.<sup>25</sup> On 30 August, the end of the interdict was officially declared in the town and accepted into the city with a retinue of 200 riders was the leader of the Zelená Hora League and the most important Bohemian supporter of Corvinus, Zdeněk of Šternberk.<sup>26</sup> King Matthias could finally include České Budějovice in his camp.

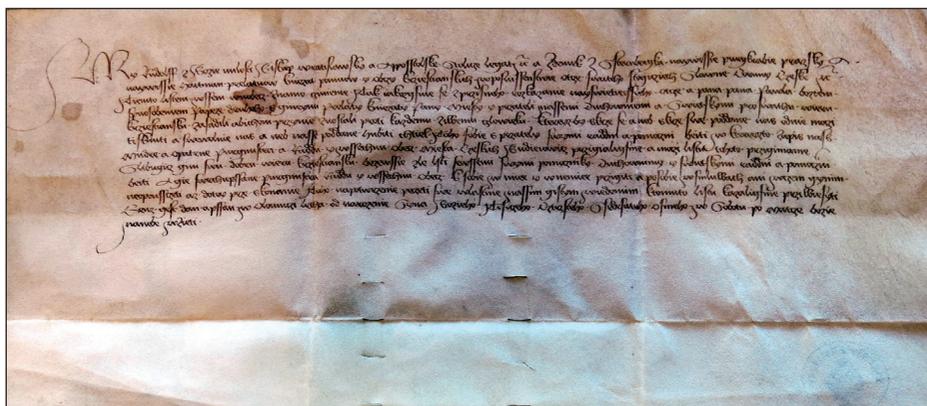


Figure 2: Rudolf of Rüdeshheim and Zdeněk of Šternberk's announcement to the town of České Budějovice of its admission to the Zelenohorská; dated 20 August 1468. SOKA České Budějovice, AM České Budějovice, inv. no. 111, sign. II/42.

23 The most synoptic treatment of this theme so far was brought by PLETZER, *České Budějovice za Matyáše Korvína*, 17–56, on the interdict p. 22. The parish priest Ondřej strictly adhered to it and did not allow the burial of the dead, who were therefore buried in the hospital church of St Wenceslas.

24 Jan's letter to his father from 22 July 1468, ČORNEJ, *Království dvojího lidu*, 179–181, Nr. 83.

25 Original declaration of Rudolf of Rüdeshheim and Zdeněk of Šternberk at SOKA České Budějovice, AM České Budějovice, inv. no. 111, sign. II/42.

26 On the abolition of the interdict over České Budějovice, see: SOKA České Budějovice, AM České Budějovice, Codex diplomaticus Budwecensis, 53; PLETZER, *České Budějovice za Matyáše Korvína*, 24.

However, a bigger and longer-term problem for Matthias's interests was the attitude of the most populous of the Catholic cities still subject to the Bohemian king – Cheb. If the economic motivation or at least a significant influence of this element influenced the falling away of Pilsen and České Budějovice, the situation was different in the case of Cheb. The town prospered under the stewardship and then the royal government of George of Poděbrady: it had received new economic privileges; the royal efforts to intervene in the self-government were minimal; and the town was mentioned as a venue for important congresses with imperial princes.<sup>27</sup> The prestige and the material gains and foreign political and trade contacts grew. Here, too, was a strong man who had stood at the helm of urban policy for several decades and who owned extensive property – Kašpar Juncker – but there was no strong opposition group to strive to eliminate him. The town was internally fully stabilized and the wealthiest urban families – besides the Junckers, also the Ruduschs, the Pachmanns, the Püchelbergers – also achieved a remarkable symbiosis; the king did not prefer any narrow group or particular individuals. There was also an absence of the element of national disputes: the city was predominantly German and nothing threatened this position. Falling away from King George did not promise any economic gain and the community saw only unpleasant complications in submission to Matthias Corvinus.<sup>28</sup>

A ruler wishing to conquer this city by pressure or direct military force had to take into account that Cheb is not only a town but also controls a vast area where at the end of the fourteenth century it had clearly defeated the local nobility; it was not in error to speak of a Cheb city state, able even without extreme strain to put up nearly 3,000 soldiers, and which in addition, anticipating the impending conflict in Bohemia, had invested considerable sums in equipment.<sup>29</sup>

However, Cheb sent its messengers to the meeting of the Zelená Hora League in Wrocław in 1467, where both papal legates for Central Europe were present – Laurentius Roverella and Rudolf of Rüdeshheim. Nevertheless, they did not succeed with their arguments and the Curia acted even faster than in the case of České Budějovice. In December 1467, the interdict came into effect. Regardless of the position of Pilsen and České Budějovice, Cheb persisted in its neutrality and for it Corvinus was only the ruler of a foreign state leading a war in Moravia and it had not yet been forced to adopt any clear position on that; the interdict was for the time being only a form of punishment for refusing to announce hostilities towards George of Poděbrady, not for refusing allegiance to Matthias Corvinus. At the same time, the Hungarian king announced to the town on 8 April 1468 that he was taking over the protection of Catholics in the Bohemian Crown.<sup>30</sup> However, Cheb felt no need to respond to this statement.

Nonetheless, this was to change very soon after. On 3 May 1469, Matthias Corvinus was declared Bohemian king by the representatives of the Zelená Hora League in the presence of the Moravian, Silesian and Lusatian Catholic estates in Olomouc's cathedral of St Wencelsas. The ceremonial act was also watched by the representatives of Pilsen

27 THIEME – TRESP, *Eger* 1459.

28 KUBŮ, *Chebický městský stát*, 84–85.

29 Státní okresní archiv Cheb [State District Archives Cheb] (hereinafter SOKA Cheb), fund I, book Nr. 2447, p. 43. At the end of 1465, he bought in Nuremberg 203 rifles and 52 harquebuses for almost 200 Rhinish guildens and furthermore 100 helmets – iron hats for 84 guildens. They were intended mainly for the town Landeswehr, whose captain (hejtman) was Oto of Sparneck.

30 Matthew's Letter of 8 April 1468 – original in: SOKA Cheb, fasc. 4, B/69.

and České Budějovice.<sup>31</sup> Pilsen had undoubtedly already negotiated with Corvinus in the previous weeks and it was not by chance that immediately after being declared Bohemian king Matthias confirmed for the town its existing privileges, especially then the golden bull of Emperor Sigismund of 1434, which made Pilsen one of the most privileged towns of the kingdom.<sup>32</sup> In a special deed, he then both donated to the town a magistrate, which the town gladly fell upon because Ondrášek Oremus had joined his enemies, and granted the community the right to freely choose from his centre the magistrate.<sup>33</sup>

The Pilsen city council thus showed more foresight than its colleagues in Wroclaw, who on the contrary considered the gain from the previous periods in the form of the office of captain (hejtman) of the Duchy of Wroclaw to be certain and were in this way very unpleasantly surprised after the arrival of Corvinus.<sup>34</sup> České Budějovice did not immediately benefit and on the contrary had to undertake to accept the garrison of Matthias.



Figure 3: King Matthias donates a village reeve's house; dated 1 May 1469. AM Plzeň, AMP, Listiny, sign. I 190, inv. no. 76.

31 PALACKÝ, *Urkundliche Beiträge zur Geschichte*, 577, Nr. 482.

32 STRNAD, *Listář a listinář II*, 185, Nr. 161.

33 The original is in the Archive of the Town of Pilsen: AM Plzně, AMP, Listiny, sign. I 190, inv. no. 76. See appendix Nr. 1, edition of STRNAD, *Listář a listinář II*, 185, Nr. 161. The deed is dated 1 May 1469 (though Matthias uses the title Bohemian king here and had the small Bohemian-Hungarian secret seal hung here). KALOUS, *Matyáš Korvín*, 367, note 14 defends the position that it was not a mistake in the dating but a "later writing of an earlier negotiation".

34 ČERNÝ, *Zklamané naděje*, 187–194. On that, see also: ČAPSKÝ, *Hejtmanský úřad*, 77–102.

Corvinus considered himself also the lord of Cheb and in June the Bohemian Hofmeister appointed by him, Bohuslav of Švamberk, with an introductory letter of the legates Lorenz of Ferrara and Rudolf of Lavanta addressed the burgomaster and the councillors with the demand that the town serve Matthias Corvinus its mandatory tribute, the promise of obedience. Cheb refused and based this refusal not on the fact that it still recognized the heretic Poděbrady as its king; it was willing to renounce that, but did not consider the only alternative in such a case to be submission to Corvinus. The councillors very cleverly argued that Cheb was an imperial city by an imperial pledge and, even from a religious point of view, did not belong to the Prague Archdiocese, but to the Bishop of Regensburg, so should not be subject to an interdict. However, they failed with this tactic, and as the ban on worship was now observed and very unpleasantly affected the Cheb residents, the city council decided to partially retreat. When Cheb renounced George of Poděbrady on 17 January 1470, the interdict, announced in 1467, was conditionally discontinued.

However, the city continued to oppose Corvinus, still refusing to recognize him as Bohemian king and as a result its pledge lord. After a repetition of the request by Corvinus's officials, the people of Cheb responded with a small box – they were not obliged to pay any tribute to him, because Matthias had not yet been crowned King of Bohemia nor did he actually rule in Bohemia! The town sought support from Duke Albrecht of Brandenburg, through whom they wanted to acquire imperial patronage, and even the imperial diet was to help Cheb against the pressure of the Curia. Albrecht suggested to the margrave that in this situation the Emperor should be considered the Supreme Lord of Cheb again, which would be much more useful than leaving the town and territory of Cheb to the King of Hungary.

The Cheb emissaries Franz Juncker and Prokop Voidersreuther argued that the people of Cheb always willingly listened to the words of their holiest father the Pope as loyal children of the Holy Church, but that according to the pledge deed they were subject only to the crowned and recognized king of the Czech lands: that when such a good Christian were to arise in Bohemia, they would gladly recognize him.<sup>35</sup> But the Curia insisted uncompromisingly on Cheb's submission to Corvinus. The appeal to the Emperor and the Empire's position lost any chance of success when in 1472 the Emperor openly acknowledged Matthias as King of Bohemia.<sup>36</sup> Cheb, in its resistance, could no longer be shielded by this authority, and for the promise of abolishing the interdict was finally willing to pay tribute to the king. Corvinus came out of the long-standing dispute as a winner, mainly due to pressure from the Curia. However, as further developments have shown, the city's rulers understood their move as a formal act, now betting on passive resistance, and were prepared by a delaying tactic to dampen his real impact on the town.

### **What did Corvinus's recognition mean for the town?**

It can be assumed that the westernmost European cities in his power would be considered by the king primarily as strategic points, important bases where he could

<sup>35</sup> On the imperial diet in Regensburg in June 1471, where in Corvinus's name also members of the Zelena Hora League appeared, namely Bohuslav of Švamberk and Lord Dobrohost – BACHMANN, *Urkundliche Nachträge*, 155, Nr. 139. Abschrift im StadA Eger im SOKA Cheb (Sign. Archiv města Cheb (hereinafter AM Cheb), Box 4, fasc. 4 B 70/26), Pap. (15. Jh.); HOLTZ, *Regesten Kaiser Friedrichs III*, 297, Nr. 676.

<sup>36</sup> CHMEL, *Monumenta Habsburgica*, 19–27. NEHRING, *Matthias Corvinus*, 58.

place his garrisons, the cost of maintaining which would sooner or later be transferred to the municipalities. Furthermore, information would there be gathered on the situations in enemy territories and on the activities of its opponents, and the cities would also serve as venues for the congresses of his Bohemian adherents and would utilise their human and economic resources to the maximum in the interests of the king, although the tax revenues these cities would contribute to his budget would in fact be just a drop in the ocean. It was also expected that city officials would be required to attend convened congresses and meetings of the Matthias Party in Bohemia (we have evidence that he sent them directly to them)<sup>37</sup> and some of them would be called to his court were he to be residing in the neighbouring constituent lands of the Bohemian Crown. What was the real status, how much could Matthias realize these ideas and how did the towns themselves treat him?

We will first pay attention to Pilsen. As opposed to České Budějovice, Pilsen retained a greater degree of internal autonomy, leaning on the bull of Emperor Sigismund confirmed by King Matthias (the town still submitted in 1474 its copy in the presence of the main Bohemian land officials of Corvinus, Matthias perhaps with this step alerting them that they were violating privileges they had promised to respect)<sup>38</sup> that provided the town with a number of economic privileges including the limiting of the royal financial demands. Moreover, Pilsen also enjoyed a certain form of the protection of the Roman Curia (including the repeated granting of the right of indulgence not only to the parish church in Pilsen, but also to other churches). Curial protection against the Utraquist king, however, did not mean protection against the Catholic king; Pilsen fortunately was not as strongly affected as its Silesian colleague, Wrocław.<sup>39</sup>

In addition to confirming all existing privileges immediately after his declaration as the Bohemian king, Matthias very favourably benefited the city when he gave it a special charter to his magistrate, because Ondrášek Oremus had joined his enemies, and granted the village the freedom to choose from his centre. However, as it turned out, even Matthias's privilege did not definitively ensure this important gain for the city; the Pilsen councillors had to face restitution attempts at the land diet in 1474 and the entire dispute was finally ended only by monetary compensation paid to Oremus in 1480.<sup>40</sup>

During the reign of Corvinus, the names of the following townspeople appeared most frequently in the post of councillors: burgomaster Jakub Žatecký, Vávra Pšenička, Prokop Sviňák, Ondřej Němeček, Jan Chrt, Prokop Sviňák, Přech the maltster, Ondřej Hořovský, Jan Tomášek, Šimon Blažkův, Vavřinec Pekař, Václav Homole, Jíra Mečíř,

37 See Šternberk's letter from January 1475, where he states, PALACKÝ, *Archív český IV*, 82, Nr. 31. Corvinus's letter printed in PALACKÝ, *Archív český IV*, 52, Nr. 12.

38 STRNAD, *Listář a listinář II*, 154–155, Nr. 174 and 184–186, Nr. 221–222. The legate Rudolf pardoned the Pilsen burghers for taking valuables from the closets of the abbot of the Teplá Monastery when he refused to leave George of Poděbrady.

39 Indulgences to Churches, STRNAD, *Listář a listinář II*, 184–185, Nr. 220, 221.

40 The original is in the Archive of the Town of Pilsen: AM Plzně, AMP, Listiny, sign. I 190, inv. no. 76. See appendix Nr. 1, edition STRNAD, *Listář a listinář II*, 185, Nr. 161. The letter dated 1 May 1469 (although Matthias uses the title of Czech King here and had a small Czech-Hungarian secret seal stamped on it), KALOUS, *Matyáš Korvín*, 367, Note 14 defends the position that it was not a mistake in the dating but a "later writing of an earlier negotiation". At the diet in Benešov in 1474, Ondráček Oremus demanded that the people of Pilsen return the reeve's house and other estates, but "they did not wait for the judgment, the instructions of the land directors, and left Benešov; therefore they are ordered not to use any payments and benefits resulting from these assets and to defend themselves at the nearest diet" – *Listář královského města Plzně* (STRNAD, *Listář a listinář II*), 177, Nr. 210.

Zdeněk Lukavice, Jan Panoška (until 1470), and the magistrate Mikuláš Ulraich. The city council was dominated mainly by the representatives of the richest trades in the city – cloth makers, butchers and maltsters – who were also patrons of the three largest altars in the dean's church of St Bartholomew.<sup>41</sup> Since Corvinus left the office of under-chamberlain unoccupied, Zdeněk of Šternberk confirmed the council under the title of Matthias's supreme hejtman (governor), and he might have claimed this power at least occasionally as the king's newly established hofrychtěř (Hof-magistrate), as suggested, moreover, by his behaviour in the second half of the 1470s.

The most influential person in the city was the former councillor Jan Panoška, also known as Laštovice, whom King Matthias named the hofrychtěř (Hof-magistrate) of the Bohemian royal towns in 1470; it represented an instance to whom it was possible to appeal from the town courts or directly execute judicial power in affairs of importance exclusively for the king or in decisions laid aside by the town courts for their complexity. However, for independent judgement he handed over his own dispute over a meadow with the family of the Muchovkýs to the Pilsen town court, which found fully for him.<sup>42</sup> Jan's real authority was limited to only three towns in Bohemia (the rest respected Poděbrady's hofrychtěř (Hof-magistrate) Samuel of Hrádek or later Vladislav Jan of Radeč) and moreover Cheb refused to recognize Corvinus as Bohemian king for two more years, let alone an official appointed by him. In times of ceasefire, the city did not hesitate to address the current adversary of his master Vladislav of Jagiellon and Cheb about the imprisoned Pilsen burgher Jan Kulper to entrust the decision to the chamber court. Although Jan Panoška demanded considerable money from the town, he was not able to effectively intervene and help the Pilsen Town Council in Cheb.<sup>43</sup> Nevertheless, he stayed in the office of hofrychtěř (Hof-magistrate) until his death in 1477. He repeatedly and, it can be judged, even relatively regularly informed King Matthias about the situation in the towns and maintained regular correspondence with Zdeněk of Sternberg (whom even in April 1471 urged him to convince King Matthias for the fastest possible arrival in Bohemia).<sup>44</sup> He was considered a very knowledgeable person throughout Corvinus's side in Bohemia, the king repeatedly sent his instructions through him, and West Bohemian Catholic nobles asked Panoška about the news at Matthias's court.<sup>45</sup> Evidently, King Matthias was pleased with his services, which is clearly demonstrated by Panoška's ennoblement – Corvinus's official named himself in

41 The archival collection that would document the composition and change of the town council is unfortunately missing; we have to make do with the data from the charters, testimonies in sales and tax obligations and the municipal judiciary. See: AM Plzně, *Kniha soudní stranou usnesení majetnosti počínají od roku 1454 až po rok 1484*, inv. no. 147; AM Plzně, *Kniha testamentů*, inv. no. 223. From the literature on that, see: BURKOŇOVÁ, *Vztah královské politiky Jiřího z Poděbrad*, 368; e.g. the clothmakers' guild was connected with the specific altar of St Peter at St Bartholomew's church.

42 On the dispute over the meadow bought from Jan Muchek, see: STRNAD, *Listář a listinář II*, 166–167, Nr. 192.

43 STRNAD, *Listář a listinář II*, 179, Nr. 213.

44 PALACKÝ, *Archív český V*, 317. "And go advise HRM that it is time to come to the land". He is titled in the letter as *Jan Laštovice of Pilsen, supreme hofmagistrate over the flies (!) of the Hungarian king*; omitting the title of Bohemian king is remarkable.

45 PALACKÝ, *Archív český IV*, 152–153: Writing of various persons in 1471–1490: 20 January 1477: Jindřich of Hradec writes to Bohuslav of Švamberk and informs him about the complaint of priest Hynek about Mr Petr. And he asks for news from King Matthias sent by the Pilsen hofmagistrate. In reply Bohuslav of Švamberk informs that King Matthias wishes to cancel the ceasefire and the covenant with the Moravian lords. He also mentions that Mr Dobrohost of Ronšperk and the lords of Pilsen and Budějovice will come to visit him and then inform Jindřich of Hradec of what they agreed on.

the deeds as the notorious squire Jan of Pilsen, the royal hofrychtér (Hof-magistrate).<sup>46</sup> After becoming a noble, Jan apparently began to act haughtily towards the Pilsen populace and intervened in the authority of the town council. A particularly sensitive question was his salary, which the town was to pay him instead of the sovereign, and this was logically resisted and it was argued that the office occupied by Panoška was not municipal but land, and should therefore be paid by the monarch. Evidently John's demands were very extensive, but Corvinus moved them to the town, later to reimburse these expenses and help the city council to fast pay off their debts. It was only a promise. The tension between Panoška and the city council reached such a level that the burgomaster and the councillors threatened to resist his pressure by armed force. Considering the lack of royal units in the city, that force was substantially closer than the monarch's power. The dispute was at least temporarily settled thanks to Vok of Rožmberk, and soon Panoška died. The possibility cannot be ruled out that his early natural death protected Panoška from a worse end. There was no news preserved that King Matthias would have filled his office with a new person.<sup>47</sup>

Panoška had a significant interest in the fact that King Matthias could use Pilsen as a spy centre.<sup>48</sup> Communication between Pilsen, Budějovice and Cheb, however, to their detriment lacked wider coordination, and the search for a common approach in political issues was lacking. Individual city councils chose their own strategy and Jan Panoška kept the distribution of a series of pieces of information from Mathias's court in his own hands and rarely used city offices for it.<sup>49</sup>

The town Pilsen also served King Matthias as a venue for his party's congress, although in this respect he preferred České Budějovice, which, thanks to his own military garrison, he held more firmly in his hands. The most important gathering convened at the instigation of the ruler, on 12 April 1474, was a congress of the states of three West Bohemian regions – Pilsen, Prácheň and Podbrdy. Zdeněk of Šternberk and leading nobles from Matthias's side were present, but only Pilsen is mentioned from the royal towns.<sup>50</sup>

46 PALACKÝ, *Archív český V*, 316–317, STRNAD, *Listář a listinář II* – 4 January 1474, p. 117, Nr. 210; 26 October and 29 December 1476, p. 192, Nr. 225 and 25 August 1477, p. 198, Nr. 232.

47 For the settlement of the dispute between Panoška and the city council see the letter of the Zvíkov burgrave Linhart to Had from 5 August 1477 – PALACKÝ, *Archív český IX*, 20–21, Nr. 44. For the promise of helping the city out of debt, see note 50. A comparison is offered with Mathias's leading Wrocław supporter Heinz Dompig, whose position seemed unshakable. However, just two months after Corvinus's death, he was imprisoned by the city council, accused of betraying city interests, of usurping powers, and of trying to remove the city council from the management of the city. In July of the same year he was beheaded and his body subsequently quartered – KUROWSKI, *Heinz Dompig*; RADEK, *Vratislavský měšťan Heinz Dompig*, 123–136.

48 On 2 April 1471: Jan Laštovice of Pilsen informs Zdeněk of Šternberk that Castle Loket is besieged by Saxon princes and warns that the arrival of King Matthias Corvinus is necessary. Jan mentions talks with Pilsen lords about possible help. PALACKÝ, *Archív český V*, 316–317. It was from Pilsen that a letter was sent out in which the early death of King George was prophesied (withdrawn that he will not eat red eggs any more).

49 On the wider communication of the group of cities generally, see: KREUTZ, *Ständebunde und Städtentendenz (Städtebünde und Städtenetze)*, 375–379; for an overall view of the latest historiography, see: ČAPSKÝ, *Komunikace ve středověkém městě*, 15–18. On the role of city offices as communication centres, see: VOJTÍŠKOVÁ, *Středověké a raně novověké městské kanceláře*, 85–93.

50 PALACKÝ, *Archív český IV*, 476–478: Akta veřejná i sněmovní v království Českém, r. 1473: Zápis ze sjezdu krajů Plzeňského, Prácheňského a Podbrdského z roku 1474.

### Spiritual life

However, a more important role in providing information not only from the West Bohemian region, but from all over Bohemia, was that Pilsen continued to be the centre of the Catholic Church administration. Until 1478, the aforementioned metropolitan chapter was housed in the city, and at the sedevacantism of the archbishop's seat it became the supreme body of the Catholic Church administration in the country. After the death of the famous administrator Hilarius Litoměřický in 1469 his place was taken first by Hanuš of Kolovraty and later by Václav of Krumlov.<sup>51</sup> Also, the nominally highest spiritual dignitaries for the Pilsen region, the Pilsen archdeacons, were always chosen from among the Metropolitan canons at that time.

The former influence of the Order of Teutonic Knights on who held the Pilsen parish was already a thing of the past under the reign of Corvinus and with his consent this post was held by the priest Tomáš (proven to have been in office 1461–1477), administering the largest municipal church, that of St Bartholomew, but also the churches of All Saints, St Nicholas, the spittal church of St Mary Magdalena and the suburban church of St Roch and Anna.<sup>52</sup>

The increased preaching activity was reflected in the increased piety of the upper and middle classes of the city. Pilsen burghers apparently prospered despite the state of war in the country (another thing was the state of the city's treasury, especially after 1476) which in their wills they recognized with rich bequests in favour of the churches and cloisters.<sup>53</sup> In 1474, the town was witness also to the expensive funeral of the cloth-making master Vít, the costs reaching almost 11 threescore Prague groschen. Yet no will of this time vouchsafes directly to help the ruler in the fight against the Czech heretics or Turks; of his officials only hofrychtěř (Hof-magistrate) Jan was mentioned. Corvinus's actions did not gain great sympathy.<sup>54</sup>

On the other hand, the reconstruction of the dean's church of St Bartholomew took place and the three-nave construction was completed thanks to the favour of the burghers and the donors of the temple included even the Šternberks. This is illustrated by a record from 1472 when Jaroslav of Šternberk, son of Ladislav of Šternberk, was buried in the church in the just completed chapel.<sup>55</sup>

51 On 14 November 1469 he sent a priest, Jan the Minorite, from Pilsen to collect alms, STRNAD, *Listář a listinář II*, 4, Nr. 188.

52 STRNAD, *Listář a listinář II*, 4, Nr. 188. In the mentioned dispute with the Minorites. On the attached churches, see: SOUKUP, *Katedrála svatého Bartoloměje v Plzni*, 86–87.

53 Pilsen was even in need of cash to sell for 200 threescore of Prague groschen to claim 20 threescore a year from all the property of the municipality in the town and around to Liutpold of Někmiř and his sons. STRNAD, *Listář a listinář II*, 187–190, Nr. 223. The financial difficulties of the city were later mentioned by King Matthias himself with the promise of help – see the letter of Řehoř Klaric to the Krumlov burgrave: PALACKÝ, *Archiv český IV*, 159, Nr. 41, "The king told the people of Pilsen he would help them from all their debts in a short while".

54 See legacies in favour of the parish church, among others in the wills of the burgher Ambrož, Barbora Puškářka or Prokop Reš. AM Plzně, *Kniha testamentů*, inv. no. 223, sign. 1c24, edition. STRNAD, *Listář a listinář II*, 166–157, Nr. 175–176, and 192, Nr. 225. Reš bequeathed to the hofmagistrate Jan Panošek with gold an embroidered shawl. The sum for the funeral of Vít the clothmaker includes the cost of wax, cloth for priests and pupils, a requiem mass for ringing, but also for beer – STRNAD, *Listář a listinář II*, 183.

55 FAIT, *Gotika v západních Čechách*, 262–263; the method of vaulting construction was "incomprehensibly archaic". Most recently on that, SOUKUP, *Katedrála svatého Bartoloměje v Plzni*. Church of St Bartholomew – In the 1470s to 1480s, the Šternberk Chapel was attached to the south side of the presbytery.

The Minorite cloister of Our Lady enjoyed great popularity among the burghers of Pilsen, in which the metropolitan chapter itself deposited valuable deeds and jewels.<sup>56</sup> The friars here also had an influential protector in Křištof of Vitbach, the commissioner of the legate Roverrela, who visited the town in January 1471. A number of the people of Pilsen preferred to go to the cloister church for the sacraments, which provoked a sharp dispute between the parish priest and the friars, which the canon of St Vitus had to decide in March 1471, but he decided in favour of the Minorites.<sup>57</sup>

Thanks to Hilarius of Litoměřice and his successors, the city's pride in Pilsen became the Latin city school, focusing on the teaching of rhetoric and stylistics, which maintained contacts also with the German universities in Leipzig and Cologne, and then extended them in the Jagiellonian period to Vienna and Krakow as well. Graduates of the Pilsen School were even ordained as priests.<sup>58</sup> One of the first printing houses operated by Mikuláš Bakalář Štetina was also active in Pilsen in this period, which at the instigation of the metropolitan chapter issued in 1476 the Latin diocese Statute of Ernest of Pardubice.

Corvinus did not intervene very significantly in the spiritual administration of the town (again unlike České Budějovice). The exception was the protection that he provided to the provost Jiří from the Premonstratensian cloister in Chotěšov. The cloister was plundered in 1468 by the soldiers of the Zelená Hora League, among which there were also armigers from Pilsen. Yet the city had to respect Matthias's will and grant asylum to the provost, but resisted returning the valuable assets seized from the monastery. The hofrychtér (Hof-magistrate) recovered for him at least the return of some rural estates.<sup>59</sup>

The Jewish community, although faced with verbal criticism due to the presence of the Chapter and the increased number of clerics in the city, was at the time of Matthias's reign satisfied with devoting themselves not only to lending but, above all, to the spice trade and was not significantly constrained by the townspeople.<sup>60</sup>

Not too pleasing for the city was the king's attitude to the local mint. He tried to mint his own coins here in 1469, but he soon decided to establish an entirely new mint in České Budějovice (see p. 16). While he did not close the one in Pilsen founded by imperial authority, he was not interested in its success, its establishment actually being an intervention into his rights as the Bohemian king. No deed has been preserved by which the king officially ended its activity, but after the beginning of minting in České Budějovice he lost interest in it completely and without royal support and patronage

56 ŠVÁB, *Nápisy u fresek*, 196–197.

57 AM Plzně, Františkáni Plzeň, 208, VI/4. On the visit of Commissioners Kryštof and Vitbach – STRNAD, *Listář a listinář II*, 171, Nr. 201. The dispute between the Minorites and the parish priest Tomáš, STRNAD, *Listář a listinář II*, 77, Nr. 212.

58 MACEK, *Jagellonský věk 3*, 231. BĚLOHLÁVEK, *Dějiny Plzně*, 123–124. An interesting approach to the interpretation of municipal schools in the late medieval city is displayed by SULITKOVÁ, *Město, fara a škola*, 279–296.

59 PALACKÝ, *Archív český IV*, 51–55: Zápisy kláštera Chotěšovského: apparently without a date since 1474: the prior at that time living in Pilsen under the protection of Matthias Corvinus informs the Prague Chapter about the crimes of the Múchkový brothers. There is an interesting document associated with it, when the legate's secretary Křištof of Vitbach promises the prior indulgences if he contributes something to fight heretics – STRNAD, *Listář a listinář II*, 171, Nr. 201.

60 Jews in Pilsen – ŠPIRKOVÁ, *Židovská komunita v Plzni*, 9.

it could not function. There is only one remark that suggests that in 1474 the issues related to its former operation had been resolved.<sup>61</sup> The activity of the mint, although short lived, has also made its impression in Pilsen toponomastics, its seat designating the name of a corner house on the square: "Na rázu" (At the Mint).

### Military garrison

The first evidence we have of the presence of a military garrison in Pilsen after the town recognized Matthias Corvinus as the Bohemian king is from July 1469. Zvíkov's burgrave then sent his servant with a request to bring people from the Pilsen garrison and help against the knights Malovecs, who had caused great damage to Matthias's partisans in the surroundings of Milevsko. However, it is not certain whether units were then sent directly by Corvinus.<sup>62</sup>

Pilsen did not rush in its obligation to place a royal garrison in the town, but the townspeople understood it only as a temporary measure and soon had significant problems in supplying the troops; the issue was mainly forage for a large number of horses. We are also informed in this context of the presence of Corvinus's garrisons, because in March 1470 the Pilsen councillors wrote to the magistrates and inhabitants of the villages of Uherec, Šlovice, Nýřany and Týne for them to bring a wagon of hay for the riding of horses every week after Sunday. If they continued to refuse, it would be suspected that they would rather support heretics than the orthodox Pilsen, and in that case the councillors would have to allow the "*royal people, who lie with us, to forage you for themselves*".<sup>63</sup> These villages did not belong entirely to the broader urban estate and Pilsen therefore tried to pass part of the cost of maintaining the garrison to the surrounding areas and did not hesitate to use threats. Unfortunately, no reliable source has been preserved on the number of Matthias's soldiers and their commanders, unlike in České Budějovice. They left Pilsen at the latest after the conclusion of a ceasefire in the land in June 1472.

There was no direct threat to the city, so it could meet the plea of the Loket burghers, who feared that they would be besieged by the army of the Meissen margrave Albrecht.<sup>64</sup> Yet in April 1471 the people of Cheb apologized that they would not be able to come to a meeting convened in Pilsen, even though it was about inhabitants of theirs captured in the town by a knight of Wolfštejn, on the basis that the roads were not safe, although the journey would only have taken a day.<sup>65</sup>

In the long ceasefire of 1474–1477, Corvinus's soldiers already having departed the area, the town managed with its own armigers and the surrounding villages were finally relieved of the obligation to contribute supplies for their maintenance. Unlike České Budějovice and Cheb, Pilsen at that time did not have any protracted open conflict

61 BĚLOHLÁVEK, *Dějiny Plzně*, 104.

62 PALACKÝ, *Archív český XIV*, 176, Nr. 1892.

63 PALACKÝ, *Archív český IV*, 168–169, Nr. 14–17; the text of the challenge was the same in all cases; it is a question whether the threat was a reaction to a failure to respond to previous requests, or whether the city was aware that it required these supplies beyond the usual serfdom of these villages and was trying to use Corvinus's garrison to pressure their neighbours.

64 Zápisy Domažlické, r. 1471, 1480: 6 March 1471 – Dobrohost from Ronšperk declares a ceasefire with Racek from Švamberk and the town of Domažlice. On this occasion, he accepts a truce with Bohuslav of Švamberk, with Břeňek of Ronšperk and the city of Pilsen. On sending an infantry unit to List, see the letter of Jan Laštovice to Zdeněk of Šternberk. Omluva Chebských STRNAD, *Listář a listinář II*, 170, Nr. 199.

65 AM Plzně, Sbirka opisů [Collection of copies], sign. 16.

with its neighbours to resolve. The next round of the Bohemian war was instigated by Matthias Corvinus in reaction to Emperor Frederick in 1477 joining with Vladislav Jagiellon and the Pilsen populace not wanting Corvinus as Bohemian king and imperial elector at all. They even at first refused to allow into the town the equestrian unit sent by the king under the guidance of Jan Planknar of Kynšperk, relenting only after they received a direct order to do so from Šternberk's successor to the post of the supreme Bohemian captain (hejtman) Bohuslav of Švamberk. On 5 July, it received a direct rebuke for its position from Matthias Corvinus. In a letter written in Czech from Buda he expressed great displeasure to the people of Pilsen over the fact that they "could take such boldness that they should respect our servant more than be allowed to value the master of their hereditary command". He reminded them how he had assisted in the past and instructed the people he now sent to accept no excuses or delays from the city: "we therefore demand of you all diligence, and command according to the duty to which you are obliged to your hereditary master".<sup>66</sup> It would not have to worry about damage; on the contrary his soldiers would faithfully protect his city in the coming battles.

Pilsen backtracked; Corvinus's commander Jan Planknar and his men entered the town and his title "supreme hejtman (captain) in Pilsen and Budějovice" made it clear that at least in military matters he felt superior to the town councils. He indisputably appears as a capable warrior; he first entirely destroyed a foraging unit of 400 riders, who were sent to the surroundings of the town by the commander of the army Vladislav Burian of Gutštejn, and then on 28 March he defeated Burian himself at Chotěšov, who drew his people to help him. It was an unexpectedly cruel defeat: Vladislav's army left behind on the battlefield over 400 dead, the sources speak of 800 captured, whom the victors took to Pilsen, and among the prisoners were four members of the aristocracy and 16 knights.<sup>67</sup> Shortly afterwards, Planknar received a letter with information that his lord was preparing to sign a peace treaty in Brno, but after the report of the victory near Pilsen King Matthias withdrew from the prepared treaty and called on Planknar to continue in the fight.<sup>68</sup> He even renounced hostilities to the renegade town of Cheb, but the surrounding Catholic aristocracy did not support him, and at the end of the summer Pilsen and České Budějovice tried to get rid of Matthias's soldiers, because they had not been paid for by the king and his officials. Part of them actually left the city.<sup>69</sup> In November, Pilsen officially joined the ceasefire with King Ladislav and Matthias's rule over the town was coming to an end.

On 25 July 1479 Vladislav accepted the tribute of the town of Pilsen as Bohemian king; he promised that its behaviour in the previous years would not be "remembered in a bad way in speech or in act"; he promised not to interfere in the spiritual administration of the town and confirmed all of the previous privileges.<sup>70</sup> The question of the validity of the Vladislav Act of 1477, when King Vladislav admitted claims to

66 STRNAD, Listář a listinář II, 197, Nr. 231 and PALACKÝ, *Archív český III*, 336, Nr. 37. Corvinus even criticised the burghers, that unlike them "Our people and our other needs to defend you of all our subjects were not regretful, we took no damage, we did not seek our benefits (...)."

67 On the defeat of Vladislav's troops near Pilsen ČORNEJ, *Království dvojího lidu*, 156–158.

68 Corvinus's call to Planknar to continue to war – PALACKÝ, *Archív český IV*, 59, Nr. 21. Here also the intention to permanently occupy Horažďovice.

69 About that letter of Václav Lhotský of Zámek to Vok of Rožmberk from June 1478 – PALACKÝ, *Archív český X*, 28.

70 PALACKÝ, *Archív český X*, 205–206, Nr. 249.

Pilsen magistrate Ondřej Oremus, arose. The final point was in the next year, 1480, when a compromise acceptable to both sides resolved everything. The municipality of the city of Pilsen retained the reeve, but it paid Ondřej Oremus a financial compensation of 1,200 Hungarian forints.<sup>71</sup> Only Pilsen's Jews were to remember Matthias's reign as a calm time; for them the Jagiellonian era was unfortunately to bring a series of limitations in the existing areas of business and normal life and in 1503 complete expulsion from the town.

České Budějovice should have felt Corvinus's hand more strongly than Pilsen. The town was popular with Zdeněk of Šternberk; he often stayed there and the town council had to subject itself to his will whether it liked it or not, Zdeněk not having forgotten how it had refused his calls in 1467–1468.<sup>72</sup> Not even Jan of Rožmberk, according to whom the city had managed its political actions so many times, could help; he himself faced pressure and had to give Šternberk, as a contribution to the war costs, his subject city of Soběslav.<sup>73</sup> On the contrary, from him and his officials were sent repeated reproaches to České Budějovice for the wrongs which precisely the royal soldiers encamped in České Budějovice did to his serfs. The route to Prague, on which communication headed through Vodňany and Písek to Pilsen was broken, was now hostile territory for the Budějovice merchants, whereas crucial importance for Šternberk and his allies from the ranks of the original Zelená Hora League was assumed by the routes leading to Nové Hradky and Vitoraz, and to Třeboň and further to Vienna. We therefore first devote attention to the royal garrison in the town.

A unit of riders had already been placed in Budějovice in 1468, brought there after the victory over Poděbrady's forces near Vodňany by Šternberk's captain (hejtman) Jindřich of Dobrovítov. They were at most 200 armigers. At the request of Jan of Rožmberk, these people participated in June 1469 in the campaign for the stronghold Dubno against Jindřich Roubík of Hlavatece.<sup>74</sup> However, the České Budějovice population was soon to be confronted by much more numerous forces.

As a consequence of the Olomouc oath of May 1469, the town was to accept Matthias's garrison and it was clear that the existing garrison of Šternberk would be replaced by a new, even larger contingent. In June, King George cancelled the ceasefire with Matthias Corvinus, and therefore shortly afterwards a unit of crusaders (mercenaries amassed in 1467–1468 on German territory under the pretext of a new crusade against heretical Bohemia)<sup>75</sup> was placed in České Budějovice, led by the English aristocrat John Rod de Winshorne. Nevertheless, with his behaviour he aroused such resistance in the town and the wider surroundings that on another excursion from the town with an unspecified number of soldiers Rod was in October 1469 attacked by a group of České Budějovice armigers, who were assisted even by the people of Jan of Rožmberk. The attacked escaped without loss of life, but were deprived of money

71 Award of the reeve's post to Oremus, STRNAD, *Listář a listinář II*, 199–200, Nr. 233. The final full stop to the dispute over the reeve's post – STRNAD, *Listář a listinář II*, 208–210, Nr. 252.

72 STRNAD, *Listář a listinář II*, 165, Nr. 189. On 14 January 1470 he was in town with his retinue and from there he wrote a letter in German to Pilsen.

73 On the situation of Jan II of Rožmberk in the most detail, see: ŠÍMŮNEK, *Správní systém*, 82–83, 370–371.

74 About their campaign to April PALACKÝ, *Archiv český VII*, 358–359, Nr. 334.

75 On their activities on Czech territory KUMPERA, *Dějiny západních Čech I*, 158–160 and JÁNSKÝ, *Kronika česko-bavorské hranice IV*, 68–70.

and equipment. This incident is clear evidence that the crusader commander was not the master of the city. He did not respond with arrests and exemplary punishments, but asked for the intervention of the city council and its intervention with Jan of Rožmberk in the matter of returning the stolen property. The councillors themselves, notwithstanding their lack of sympathy for Jan Rod, understood that the event was “a great shame on the lord majesty and us” and they turned to the Rožmberk governors for remedy. Surprisingly, the whole dispute was settled amicably by Zdeněk of Šternberk as the Supreme Captain (Hejtman) of Bohemia.<sup>76</sup>

It was clear that this Crusader troop was not enough to do the job. In January 1470 John Rod and his men left České Budějovice, and Jan of Šternberk therefore placed in the city a garrison of 600 riders, later to add 400 more.<sup>77</sup> These were mostly Polish mercenaries, but they were commanded by the Czech captain (hejtman) Jan Bílý. It was soon clear that even this garrison would cause the town large problems. The soldiers were paid irregularly and moreover in money coined in the České Budějovice mint, the acceptance of which Jan of Rožmberk had forbidden to his subjects.<sup>78</sup> The issues with supplying such a large number of armigers led to repeated supply excursions into the surrounding areas, in which the Poles did not distinguish between the estates of supporters of King George and Matthias's adherents. Jan of Rožmberk in particular bitterly complained about their behaviour and soon it was as if the situation of October 1469 was repeating itself, but this time without the involvement of the burghers of České Budějovice and their people.<sup>79</sup> When the commander of the Poles, Jan Bílý of Stračkov, went with several people to Český Krumlov to discuss Rožmberk's complaint, capture and imprisonment awaited them. As a consequence of the lawsuit regarding the behaviour of the Polish garrison, which reached even Matthias's court, a new royal captain (hejtman), Markvart of Rakovice, the then commander in Jindřichův Hradec, was sent to České Budějovice.<sup>80</sup> Jan Bílý was released after the king's intervention and returned to Budějovice as Markvart's assistant. The new captain (hejtman) was shocked at the state of the garrison, which was unable to be deployed to fight in the field and could not even help in the siege of a nearby stronghold of knights loyal to Poděbrady: “the journeymen do not have enough money and have pawned their armour and are in debt to good people and if we were to ride, we would have to go naked and without weapons”. It is no wonder these mercenaries were not shown

76 On that letter to the České Budějovice burgrave in Krumlov PALACKÝ, *Archív český XXI*, 380–381, Nr. 334. On the English mercenaries, see: ŠIMEČEK, *Angličtí křižáci*, 14. It is very unlikely that John Rod would have been of the status of a count, even if he claimed it himself.

77 PALACKÝ, *Urkundliche Beiträge zur Geschichte Böhmens un seiner Nachbärlander im Zeitalters Georg von Podiebrad (1450-1471)*, Wien 1860, 615, Nr. 605.

78 PALACKÝ, *Archív český V*, 315–316.

79 The damage caused by the Polish mercenaries from Budejovice was complained about even by the governor of Třeboň, John of Kozi; see: PALACKÝ, *Archív český VII*, 392–393, Nr. 357. Jan of Rožmberk himself made a complaint about Zdeněk of Šternberk for his behaviour – PALACKÝ, *Archív český V*, 313–314, Nr. 4. On 11 March 1471 he literally wrote: “Poles from Budějovice are unchristianly destroying my estates” and criticised Jan Bílý, accusing that when Bílý's soldiers came to Trhové Sviny they took not only forage but that “what they found, they took”. Rožmberk turned with his complaint about the Polish garrison in Budějovice even to King Matthias himself – Státní oblastní archiv Třeboň [State Regional Archives in Třeboň] (hereinafter SOA Třeboň), *Historica*, inv. no. 3044, sign. 2469.

80 Markvart is titled the “governor of Budejovice” in the letter to Jan Tluks of Vrábí of 24 March 1471 – PALACKÝ, *Archív český V*, 314–315, Nr. 5. On the state of the garrison, the letter from Rožmberk – PALACKÝ, *Archív český V*, 315–316, Nr. 7.

respect and sympathy in the town. During Markvart's time, the situation improved; he was apparently able to ensure better supplies and was able to speak to the town council with greater authority than Jan Bílý, but his administration did not take on the character of a military dictatorship. Even so, the city council accepted it with great relief when, in July 1472, as a consequence of the conclusion of the ceasefire between Corvinus and Ladislav, the Polish garrison was substantially reduced, a state which was to last until 1477.

The bad situation of Matthias's mercenaries was due in no small part to the failure of a plan from which the king apparently had promised much – the establishment of his own mint in České Budějovice. It was active there from April 1470, in March the king informing Jan of Rožmberk that “we give notice that we are sending our mint master to Budějovice, to coin here and make good and worthy money”. Nevertheless, its activity was limited to the minting of small silver coins of a diameter of 15 mm, the relation to the Prague groschen being set at 7:1 and to the Hungarian forint at 280:1. The coin's image was a halved coat of arms, on the right half of which was represented the old Arpád coat-of-arms and on the left the Bohemian lion. Although silver mines were open in the close proximity of the town in Rudolfovo in the sixteenth century, it is much more likely that in Corvinus's time in Budějovice the coinage was only from old re-melted coins. The king tried to enforce the acceptance of the Budějovice coins also in the Austrian borderlands, and he also asked the Bishop of Passau and Reinprecht of Walssee to do so in their holdings, claiming that the coin would be equal to the Vienna coin.<sup>81</sup>

Nevertheless, the coins encountered disinterest or direct fear from the merchants and peasants bringing foodstuffs and poultry to the market in Budějovice and it was no different at the markets in the Rožmberk townships. The captain (hejtman) Markvart warned the Rožmberk officials that if Jan's subjects refused to sell goods to the Budějovice garrison's soldiers for the new coins, he would not be able to stop them from taking these needs by force and moreover he would have to address a complaint to King Matthias himself.<sup>82</sup> Jan of Rožmberk in fact received in May a letter from the king containing a sharp rebuke.<sup>83</sup> In Soběslav, Šternberk's officials even brutally beat a tavern woman who refused to accept the coins.<sup>84</sup> The Budějovice coins did not succeed even in the Šternberk-controlled Polná and Vitoraz, and encountered resistance even in Jindřichův Hradec and, to great anger from Matthias, even in Jihlava.

We can only estimate the amount of the production; the Budějovice “Corvinus's” money has been preserved only sporadically, which may not evidence a small number of coins being minted, but more, rather, their recall and re-melting. No clear opinion

81 The original of Corvinus's Czech-written letter has been preserved in the SOA Třeboň, Historica, inv. no. 2909, sign. 2344. On that letter, see note 84 below. On the later mining in Rudolfovo, see: HUYER, *Die Münzstätte*, 123–126.

82 Markvart's letter to the Krumlov burgrave from 24 May 1471, see: PALACKÝ, *Archiv český V*, 322–323, Nr. 17. “The Poles again robbed on the estates of your lord and the people of your lord will be harmed” – The Polish here mentioned are not meant as being on the Jagiellonian side as judged by KALOUS, *Matyáš Korvín*, 200, but as members of the Polish garrison in České Budějovice.

83 PALACKÝ, *Archiv český VI*, 46, Nr. 3; on the sending of mint masters, Corvinus literally said: “We also ask you again that when the coins that are made as they should be in Budějovice are issued, command his people to take no other coins for goods, because there will be a coin equal with the Viennese for once (...);” PALACKÝ, *Archiv český VI*, 47, Nr. 4; a letter from 17 May – on the ratio of groschen and Hungarian gold and the complaint that Rosenberk's subjects refuse to accept this coin.

84 On the beating of this woman, see: PALACKÝ, *Archiv český V*, 321, Nr. 15.

dominates among numismatic experts on when the Budějovice coinage ended; the most frequently presented year is 1471. This opinion is supported by the fact that the frequent complaints of resistance to this coin and the written admonitions by the king and his officials go quiet in 1471.<sup>85</sup> In Budějovice, Hungarian forints began to circulate in addition to Bohemian groschen; the city council also quantified values in these currencies several times and in them settled obligations: For example, Jakub the scribe received 45 Hungarian forints from the town council, and in an inheritance settlement we do not hear of the calculation of property, payment of loans or inheritance in “new monies”.<sup>86</sup>

We will now pay attention to the representatives of the town administration in the time of Corvinus’s reign and their activities. Although Josef Macek states that the captain (hejtman) renewed the town council, the source he gives only speaks of the presence of the royal captain (hejtman) and deputy captain (místohejtman) in Budějovice, not their participation in or execution of the renewal or confirmation of the town council.<sup>87</sup> Considering the frequent presence in the town of the office of Corvinus’s supreme captain (hejtman), it was most likely done by Zdeněk of Šternberk, who repeatedly renewed, for example, the town council in Jihlava, but it is not possible to rule out with certainty even hof-magistrate (hofrychtěř) Jan Panoška, who would only in fact execute such a step with direct support from Šternberk.<sup>88</sup>

Mikuláš Rabenhaupt, the leader of the conspiracy against Puklice, remained the most influential of the burghers of Budějovice. He then remained uninterruptedly on the town council until 1477, several times as the prima; other councillors included his son Matthias Rabenhaupt, Tomáš Fruauf, Mikuláš Pop, Prokop Šitter, Martin Holport, Hanuš Perl, Mikuláš Libovec, Hanuš the barber, Šimek the shooter, Matyáš Krensperk, Zikmund Kutner, Šimon the butcher, Ondřej Khoczehogel, Jan Plobl, and Hanzl the clothmaker, and a position was even maintained by the son-in-law of Puklice Prokop, Štraboch of Vztuchy. Several members of the Klaric family expelled by Puklice were returned and Beneš held the post of magistrate at that time.<sup>89</sup>

Such an influential person in Pilsen as Jan Panoška was did not rise from the ranks of the Budějovice burghers during the time of Corvinus’s reign. From 1471, the royal captain (hejtman) also sat in the town, which caused a certain limitation of the municipal self-government in favour of military leadership, although after the ceasefire in 1472,

85 On the Mint of České Budějovice, see: NECHANICKÝ, *Matyáš Korvín*. Further: MILITKÝ, *Mincovna Matyáše Korvína*, 63.

86 SOKA České Budějovice, AM České Budějovice, inv. no. 114, sign. II/45.

87 MACEK, *Jagellonský věk III*, 41; with a reference to the renewal of the town council in Budějovice by Corvinus’s hejtman PALACKÝ, *Archív český XXI*, 199, Nr. 40–45; however, this letter does not mention the appointment or any speech of the governors to confirm the city council. Macek also has no evidence to suggest that under the supervision of the governor of Corvinus, the function of the Budějovice municipality was substantially reduced, if not completely liquidated, except that Corvinus addresses solely the burgrave and councillors in the city. However, besides Budějovice, Corvinus acts analogically also in his letters to Cheb, where none of his captains were.

88 KALOUS, *Matyáš Korvín a moravská královská města*, 100.

89 An overview of the members of the town council was given by ERBEN, *Časopis Českého muzea*, 244. On the return of the Klarices, see: JANOUŠEK, *Rod Klariců*, 1–13.

his interference in the normal operation of the city was minimized, as testified by the activity of the municipal court and the functioning of property affairs.<sup>90</sup>

The Budějovice councillors did not resolve the dispute with the yeoman Petr Stoupenský from Hůzná (also from Hužná) through Corvinus's captains (hejtmen), but they turned directly to the sovereign. Stoupenský in 1473 attacked on the public highway a caravan of seven wagons commanded for Budějovice by Hilšar and going to Austria. The town council supported him, but the proud yeoman refused to return the loot; Hilšar was not to have deposited the goods in Budějovice but in Freistadt (Cáhlav), and besides that he himself stayed in Budějovice at Zdeněk of Šternberk's and never heard that Hilšar was to have been in the services of the town.<sup>91</sup> The people of Budějovice turned directly to the king then procrastinating in Brno and King Matthias personally answered them in a letter written in Czech on 23 March 1473. At his command, the dispute should have been investigated by unnamed nobles, and if they did not reach a clear conclusion, Zdeněk of Šternberk should have the final say. It was not an unfavourable conclusion, because the attitude of the king's supreme Czech captain (hejtman) towards the city had changed considerably since the end of the 1460s and although it would be an exaggeration to identify the lord of Šternberk directly as a supporter of the people of Budějovice, he actually helped the town in his conduct also in the following years.<sup>92</sup>

The town council also managed in 1474 to help the burgher Hanuš Richšler, who had property confiscated in Legnica for suspicion that he belonged to King Vladislav's side. When he proved by a letter from the Budějovice town council that he was their regular citizen, his property was returned to him.<sup>93</sup>

By a special letter addressed to the burgrave and councillors, not to the royal captain (hejtman), King Matthias announced the conclusion of a ceasefire with Vladislav and Poland's Casimir and called on them to send their representatives to the prepared land diet in Prague in January of the next year (1475).<sup>94</sup>

When, however, in a dispute with Knight Racek Kocovský they turned within the actual two governments in Bohemia to the "Prague king", because they expected a more favourable conclusion of the whole dispute than from their lord Matthias, the members of the royal council Vilém of Vrábí, Čeněk of Klinkštejn and Jan of Jenštejn

90 On the activities of the Municipal Court at this time, see: SOKA České Budějovice, *Kniha nesporného a sporného soudnictví 1396–1525*, inv. no. 1086, sign. D2.

91 On Stoupenský, see: PALACKÝ, *Archív český V*, 344. Matthias's letter to Budějovice of 23 March 1473, see: PALACKÝ, *Archív český VI*, 51–52, Nr. 11. Listy Budějovické městské rady: PALACKÝ, *Archív český VI*, 347–348, Nr. 57. From there we learn that crocks, beer and feather bags were taken.

92 On this letter by Stoupenský to Budějovice of 18 June 1474, in which he promises to submit to the will of Matthias – PALACKÝ, *Archív český V*, 348, Nr. 58. On Šternberk's changed approach to the town and his direct support of the town in its dispute with Kocovský, see: PALACKÝ, *Archív český VI*, 126–127 3 – "I stand and will not leave you of Budějovice in the affair of yours against him and so be worthy of you" and PALACKÝ, *Archív český VI*, 127, Nr. 4 – "against whomever I always want to advise and help you". Moravian cities also turned directly to the sovereign in a similar way repeatedly; see: KALOUS, *Matyáš Korvín a moravská města*, 118; also here the sovereign mainly turned the matter over for investigation by his officials and entrusted the final decision to one of the significant Moravian aristocrats.

93 The letter of the Wrocław town council to the burgomaster and councillors of České Budějovice – SOKA České Budějovice, AM České Budějovice, inv. no. 113, sign. II/44.

94 Matthias's letter to Budejovice of 30 November 1474, see: PALACKÝ, *Archív český VI*, 52, Nr. 12.

rebuked them, asking by what right they dare to turn to them, being councillors of King Vladislav, not "that one of yours".<sup>95</sup>

The people of Budějovice probably had no idea how thin was the ice onto which they were moving. As with Pilsen, Matthias considered himself to be their hereditary lord, and to turn, without his knowledge, to a foreign ruler, with whom only a ceasefire but not a peace had been concluded so far, could easily have been considered by Corvinus to have been an interference in his sovereignty. It was a precedent that none of the Moravian or Silesian cities under his rule had ever set.

King Matthias himself became involved in the whole thing, but the city still escaped his fury and everything returned to the usual framework when his supreme steward (hofmeister) Bohuslav of Švamberk took over further negotiations with Budějovice.<sup>96</sup>

The external problems were also reflected in a vigorous approach within the city, which was not surprising when remembering the violence which some burghers holding posts in the council in the 1470s had committed in 1467, as proven also by a mention from 1476, when the city council refused Soběslav's request to lend their executioner on the grounds that they themselves needed him in Budějovice.<sup>97</sup>

Yet from 1475 the city became embroiled in the already mentioned protracted private war with the knight Racek Kocovský, lord of the town of Horažďovice. An almost nine-year-long conflict arose from an entirely petty dispute over the issuance of a box with 10 threescore of Prague groschen, which Racek's fugitive servant had deposited at the Budějovice town hall. What was interesting about it in this context was the position of Zdeněk of Šternberk, who in the letter to the "wise and cautious burgomaster and council of the town of Budějovice, friends and neighbours" wondered why the city did not address the matter directly to King Matthias with a request for assistance, stating that "you would not have been abandoned by us".<sup>98</sup> All attempts to settle the dispute and the call for both sides to "not reach for any more power" failed.<sup>99</sup> The Budějovice burghers listed in detail the growing damage suffered by the violent approach of Kocovský: stolen horses, cattle, weapons and clothing, to which soon were added tributes, burnt subject villages, ransoms from captivity and several killed.<sup>100</sup>

Despite the sad experience of 1469–1472, the town at least for a time accepted with relief that after the commencement of a new round of the war with Ladislav Jagiellon in 1477 King Matthias decided to again place a strong garrison in the town. Racek Kocovský even claimed that the people of Budějovice "wrote to the Hungarian king, their lord, that they want to allow His Majesty's people who will come to the town", but the motive on Matthias's part was not in the first place to help the Budějovice burghers in their fight with their adversary.<sup>101</sup> The aforementioned commander of Corvinus's Jan Planknar of Kynšperk settled in Pilsen, but entrusted the Budějovice contingent to the equally vigorous captain (hejtman) Václav Lhotský from Zásmyky; also here was the under-captain (podhejtman) Mikuláš Pešík from Bělá. Now, there was truly a significant limitation of the town's self-government. Lhotský's correspondence

95 PALACKÝ, *Archív český IV*, 86, Nr. 35 and PALACKÝ, *Archív český IV*, 90.

96 On that, the letters to Bohuslav of Švamberk, PALACKÝ, *Archív český IV*, 87–88, Nr. 36, 37.

97 HUYER, *Zur Geschichte des Stadthauses*, 4.

98 Šternberk's letter of 5 January 1475, PALACKÝ, *Archív český IV*, 84, Nr. 31.

99 On the damage that Racek Kocovský caused to České Budějovice, PALACKÝ, *Archív český IV*, 73–75, Nr. 18.

100 List of damages calculated in 1479, PALACKÝ, *Archív český IV*, 93–96, Nr. 46.

101 PALACKÝ, *Archív český IV*, 90.

with the well-known warrior Václav Vlček of Čenov, who expressed the conviction that what Lhotský sets, the Budějovice burghers will fulfil – “for I know they are under your captaincy (hejtmanství)” – testifies well to the situation in the city. Another sizeable unit of riders, who were brought here in January 1477 by Jaroslav of Boskovice under the pretext of strengthening the Budějovice and Pilsen garrisons, remained in the town only for several days and only served to capture Bohuslav of Švamberk (see below).

Nevertheless, the events of 1470–1472 were repeated. The mercenaries of the garrison again plundered in the surrounding areas. On 3 January 1478, Lev of Rožmitál wrote from Castle Blatná to the people of Budějovice: “The strange thing is that from the town of your beginnings things always happen against the Christian truce”.<sup>102</sup> Václav Lhotský of Zásmuky strongly opposed the complaint. The royal garrison in České Budějovice was then apparently more numerous; a preserved report speaks of 900 mercenaries.<sup>103</sup> The city itself was, however, already exhausted and not even this strong a military contingent gave the local populace the feeling of safety from external enemies; after all, their own militia was in conflict in 1478 simultaneously in three different places: near Horažďovice, where according to the preserved sources only 40 armigers of České Budějovice took part in the siege<sup>104</sup> (at least in that the town the benefit could be seen in the presence of Corvinus’s mercenaries); practically in sight of the city walls where they had conflicts with the garrison from Castle Hluboká; and with an experienced opponent in the form of the aforementioned Václav Vlček of Čeňkov, who had become the lord of Castle Helfenburk. Although a truce was to be in effect, Vlček did not hesitate to capture several merchants of České Budějovice and even burnt down the town and one subject village.<sup>105</sup> Matthias’s garrison in Budějovice did not show the least willingness to act against Čeňkov, and even though the cavalry units repeatedly left the city, they focused only on “foraging” for their own needs.

The dissatisfaction with such a situation grew in the town and a notional slap on the face of the burghers came when their worst opponent, Racek Kocovský, secretly established contact with King Matthias. His people were to break through the circle of besiegers (among whom, as was already stated, were also people of Budějovice) and take the town! It did not happen; he escaped from the siege, and his estates were confiscated and sold. České Budějovice received a mere 40 Hungarian forints! Unlike some Moravian towns under Corvinus’s rule, České Budějovice could only dream of the attribution of real estate, villages or courtyards, although it would have directly offered itself had they been compensated from the real estate of Racek Kocovský.<sup>106</sup>

However, at the end of the summer, Budějovice attempted to get rid of Matthias’s soldiers, because they had not been paid on the part of the king and his officials and part of them had truly left the town; Václav Lhotský himself had offered to serve Vok of Rožmberk!<sup>107</sup> From the same period is a report placing the executions of ten

<sup>102</sup> Rožmitál’s letter of 3 January 1478, PALACKÝ, *Archív český VI*, 159, Nr. 4.

<sup>103</sup> PALACKÝ, *Archív český VI*, 161, Nr. 43.

<sup>104</sup> This number is stated in a letter from Hynek of Švamberk with great wonder: “weird that you do not have in this matter, as you should have, and that the trouble all arose for you” – PALACKÝ, *Archív český IV*, 91, Nr. 41.

<sup>105</sup> PALACKÝ, *Archív český XXI*, 199, Nr. 42.

<sup>106</sup> For a detailed account of the damage that Kocovský caused to the city of Budejovice and its subject villages, PALACKÝ, *Archív český IV*, 93–97. On the gift of the Moravian towns, KALOUS, *Matyáš Korvín a moravská města*, 111–112. On Corvinus’s plan to acquire Horažďovice, see his letter to Jan Planknar, note 62.

<sup>107</sup> On that, see the letter of Václav Lhotský from Zásmuky to Vok of Rožmberk of June 1478, PALACKÝ, *Archív český X*, 28.

journeymen who had resisted arrest and fatally injured the magistrate. The traditional notion of the conspiracy of the poor has been abandoned by urban historians and they rather support the opinion that they were in fact undisciplined garrison soldiers. Even so, it is unlikely that the city council would issue an order to execute them without the direct consent of Jan Planknar or at least Václav Lhotský.<sup>108</sup>

So far, attention has been paid to the aspects of administrative power and the military, but what were the ecclesiastical conditions at the time when the town recognized Matthias Corvinus as their lord?

In March 1470, after a long 26 years in office, the parish priest Ondřej Ondřejův died during his stay in Passau, and his body was transferred to Budějovice and buried in the parish church of St Nicholas.<sup>109</sup> The Budějovice parish priests then had three vicars and 13 altar boys, in just the parish church itself; the Budějovice presbytery was very lucrative: it had two entire villages, a number of arable courtyards, a group of smaller homesteads in Staré Město and a large courtyard attached to it; therefore several interested parties appeared for the open post.<sup>110</sup> King Matthias took advantage of the right of patronage belonging to the Bohemian king and with reference to the old recommendation of Hilarius Litoměřický presented to the Budějovice presbytery the priest Dr Václav (apparently meaning Václav Křižanovský) and Jan of Rožmberk, who had turned to him in the same matter. He announced in a letter of 17 March 1470 that he had already made a positive decision on the matter. Another candidate was Dr Jindřich Erzger, also a friend of Hilarius, who then even visited Budějovice. The city council wanted him, but it did not dare to enter a dispute with the sovereign over it as it had done under the reign of Ladislaus the Posthumous. Jindřich did become the parish priest in the end, but only thanks to the fact that Křižanovský had unexpectedly died (it being a question whether he ever managed to assume the assigned office).<sup>111</sup>

The monastery of Our Lady of the Dominican Order with the large church of the Sacrifice of Our Lady, which was directly incorporated into the town fortifications, also enjoyed considerable importance. In Matthias's times, another recovered from a fire that struck it in 1463 and enjoyed similar popularity with the Budějovice burghers,

108 The event probably occurred in 1478 and was an unwitnessed disturbance of greater magnitude in which the town magistrate or his assistants were fatally injured. The severe punishment was obviously exemplary in order to prevent the recurrence of similar cases. The convicts can hardly be considered the sons of the townspeople, and it is far more likely that they were from the Hungarian army of Matthias Corvinus, who was supposed to protect České Budějovice and who was known to have acted violently. PLETZER, *České Budějovice za Matyáše Korvína*, 16: "Perhaps, therefore, several members of the Hungarian military garrison violated city law in some way and armed resistance when arrested by the magistrate, which was twice as serious and aggravating as a mass execution sentence".

109 About his death and deposition in the parish church of St Nicholas SOKA České Budějovice, AM České Budějovice, Liber memorabilium decanatus Budvicensus I, f. 127 b. About Zdeněk's death and Corvinus's letter to Jindřich of Rožmberk, PALACKÝ, *Archív český VI*, 54, Nr. 14.

110 List of the clergy at the church of St Nicholas to 1467 survived in SOKA České Budějovice, Pamětní kniha českobudějovického děkanství, inv. no. 719, sign. V/1. On that, ADÁMEK, *Oltářnická benefícia v Českých Budějovicích*, 34; a total of 16 people, the parish priest Ondřej, three vicars and 13 altar boys.

111 Corvinus's letter of 17 March 1470, PALACKÝ, *Archív český VI*, 46, Nr. 3. King Matthias was very sensitive in these matters and he did not even hesitate later in Wrocław to speak very sharply to the members of the chapter when they dared to oppose him, considering another candidate for the post of bishop of Wrocław instead of Jan Roth proposed by him – URBAN, *Skizcie (Szkice) z dziejów diecezji wrocławskiej*, 13.

and the cloth makers' guild in particular was among the leading adherents.<sup>112</sup> Just like its "Franciscan colleague" in Pilsen, this cloister also came into conflict with the local parish priest in the affair of providing the lay with the right to confession, absolution and the last anointment. The administrators in Pilsen apparently preferred the parish priest, but the secular power including Matthias's land officials had sympathy for the cloister.<sup>113</sup> The monastery received significant accolades when it was chosen as the final resting place by Matthias's highest captain (hejtman) in Bohemia Zdeněk of Šternberk. When he died in December 1476 in Vienna's Neustadt, his body was buried in Budějovice's Dominican cloister and the magnificent tombstone made then was still remembered in the eighteenth century.<sup>114</sup>



Figure 4: The Dominican monastery in České Budějovice, where Zdeněk of Šternberk, the main Czech follower of King Corvinus, was buried.

112 SOKA České Budějovice, AM České Budějovice, Cech soukeníků České Budějovice, listina I/6.

113 The most recent elaboration of the history of the monastery was given by KOVÁŘ – LAVIČKA, *Dominikánský klášter v Českých Budějovicích*, 103–107. Thanks to the foundation of the cloth makers, we know for 1472 the composition of the convent there – the prior was Johannes Fullonis, superior Georg Hilczenspopper and among the other 9 brethren a "boemus prepositus" Kašpar is also listed.

114 On the death of Zdeněk of Šternberk and the deposition of his body in the Dominican monastery, see: SOKA České Budějovice, AM České Budějovice, kniha Nr. 1996.

In the legacies of the townspeople, the hospital of St Wenceslas was often remembered, temporarily administered by the knights of the cross with the red star and having its own chaplain. It had enjoyed increased attention since several deceased burghers were buried here at the time of the interdict over the city.<sup>115</sup>

The town also served as the venue for the congresses of Corvinus's side in Bohemia, and in January 1477 the king himself convoked the diet of his party in Bohemia, to which he sent as his plenipotentiary the Bishop of Oradea, Jan Filipec, and the Moravian lord Václav of Boskovice. It was directly symbolic that at the time of the body of the late Zdeněk of Šternberk being deposited at the Dominican cloister there, at the Budějovice diet his successor at the head of the Zelená Hora League and also in the post of Matthias's supreme captain (hejtman) in Bohemia was elected, namely Lord Bohuslav of Švamberk. Only a year had passed when, in the town where Bohuslav's career started, it also ended very dramatically. Bohuslav acted in his office all too independently: I previously recalled the position of Pilsen, which, referring to his lack of consent, refused to allow into the town the army led by Jan Planknar. Corvinus therefore used České Budějovice as a place where his arrest would not provoke the resistance of the populace. Bohuslav of Švamberk was lured by Václav of Boskovice from the safety of Castle Zvíkov under the pretext that he was waiting in Budějovice with an urgent message from the king. The actual arrest was not guided by the lord of Boskovice; this was executed by Jan Planknar of Kynšperk. The denizens of České Budějovice had no part in this act, but they were accused by Bohuslav's relatives of cooperation in his capture.<sup>116</sup> Although the city was only a passive spectator and bore virtually no guilt for Bohuslav's captivity, it would be in considerable danger if the Švamberk family decided to take revenge on its populations and property; it is enough to remember what problems Brno had after 1444, when Heralt of Kunštát was executed there.<sup>117</sup>

The last direct order of King Matthias to the town of České Budějovice was a letter of 26 November 1478, where he demanded that the burgomaster and councillors subject themselves to the peace treaty that he had concluded with Vladislav Jagiellon.<sup>118</sup> On 15 July 1479 the legal final end came for Corvinus's episode in the history of the town, and King Vladislav forgave the town of České Budějovice for the wrongdoings it had committed during the reign of King George and especially for the reign of, and

115 On the burials of burghers during the time of the interdict, see: PLETZER, *České Budějovice za Matyáše Korvína*, 22.

116 On the person of Bohuslav of Švamberk and his public life, see: JÁNSKÝ, *Páni ze Švamberka*, 150–157. On his captivity in České Budějovice PALACKÝ, *Archiv český VI*, 60, Nr. 22; "And as you write to us of Lord Švamberk, know that we did not capture him without good causes, as then today we have him accused before the court and judge him."

117 NEUMANN, *Nové prameny k dějinám husitství na Moravě*, 121, Nr. 76. Brno then even wrote to Emperor Friedrich III that Jiří and Proček of Kunštát sent out letters in which they questioned the honour and good behaviour of the people of Brno. Heralt of Kunštát was justly punished by the land captain (hejtman – Jan of Cimburk at Tovačov), the bishop of Olomouc (Pavel of Miličín) and the other land lords of Moravia for his clear violence and the acts he had committed. It was thus state and not municipal power that bore responsibility for the execution. URBÁNEK, *Věk poděbradský I*; and ŽILA, *Společenské změny na Moravě*, 76–78. Brno at that sent Heralt and his retinue a safe passage for the journey to the city – in the case of České Budějovice and Švamberk's captivity, the city did not issue any similar document and therefore could not be blamed for breaking the promise. On the situation in the Kunštát family after the death of Heralt, see: PLAČEK – FUTÁK, *Páni z Kunštátu*, 448–450.

118 PALACKÝ, *Archiv český VI*, 60–61, Nr. 23.

particularly for the keeping of King Matthias.<sup>119</sup> At the same time he confirmed all privileges granted by the previous rulers.

### How did Cheb do under the sovereignty of Matthias Corvinus?

Cheb, after three difficult years, when it was heavily affected by the interdict, although twice briefly interrupted (its observance was to be cared for under the commission of the legates by the commander of the commandery of the Order of the Teutonic Knights, Johan Stier), could finally breathe out.<sup>120</sup> Nevertheless, Cheb remained the town where King Matthias had the least real power and influence despite his success in 1472. In June 1472, representatives the town attended discussions in Německý Brod and with great satisfaction joined the ceasefire in Bohemia.<sup>121</sup>

The dextrous municipal policy continued; the representatives from the 1460s, who had so long worked well with King George of Poděbrady, still held power. The composition of the town council had not changed much and these names regularly defended their places in the documents from the 1470s – Caspar Juncker, Jorg Schmidel, Clemens Püchelberger, Sigmund Pachmann, Franz Juncker, Wentzel Meinel and Thomas Wernher, and in 1476 also Niklas Bayer and Niklas Kessler, Prokop Woderssrewter, Erhardt Wendel and Franz Scheller. The town magistrate was Jorg Schmiedel. The decisive influence then was in the hands of the wealthy merchants.<sup>122</sup>

While Cheb paid the required tribute and began to communicate with Matthias's Bohemian officials, it did not allow the king to use Cheb soldiers in his actions, much less accept Corvinus's garrison inside their walls, although the castle there – the famous Pfalz – directly offered itself for this purpose. They could argue that it had a sufficiently strong urban Landeswehr and if necessary was capable in its "state" to raise as many as 3,000 soldiers. The town was willing to obey his orders, if of course they matched its own interests.

At the same time, Cheb practically throughout Matthias's formal rule was at war with its neighbours from the camp of Vladislav Jagiellon and even some of the Matthias's party, even founding members of the Zelená Hora League.<sup>123</sup>

The fonds of SOkA Cheb shows how carefully the town council documented the course of the disputes, amassing evidence and arguments as to why the opponent was guilty and everything that could support and justify its approach. It also understandably registered carefully all the damage incurred from the opponent and the costs connected with the conflict. It is noteworthy that unlike with Pilsen and České Budějovice, King

119 On 25 July 1479, King Matthias formally handed over to King Vladislaus II all of the population of the Czech lands, who were bound to him "by offices, subjection or any other obligations and duties" – Národní archiv [National Archives Czech republic] (hereinafter NA Praha), Archiv České koruny (hereinafter AČK), sign. 1764. Charter of King Vladislav SOkA České Budějovice, AM České Budějovice, Listiny 1296-1882, inv. no. 29, sign. I/29, Edition CIM III, p. 679, Nr. 404. The previous privileges of the town were confirmed also by Vladislav Jagiellon in 1479 (CIM III, 687–688 Nr. 406).

120 The interdict was taken from Rudolph of Rüdeshiem by the city, who told the people of Cheb of the withdrawal of the Bull of Sixtus IV, SOkA Cheb, Arciděkanský úřad Cheb (1388-2008), sign. 737.

121 On his participation at the meeting in Cheb PALACKÝ, *Archiv český XXXIV*, 116.

122 SOkA Cheb, Akten aus den Jahren 1061–1800, fasc. 287, A-810, Wahlbüchlein 1384–1550 (Rathswahlen). SIEGL, *Aus den Ratsakten der Egerer Stadtarchivs*, 32.

123 In March, Jan of Kolovraty and at Mašřov, a party member on the side of King Vladislav, complained about Kašpar Juncker and the damage he had suffered during the ceasefire. Letter of complaint to Cheb – PALACKÝ, *Archiv český V*, 246, Nr. 55. Kolovrat complained about the people of Cheb directly to Vladislav – PALACKÝ, *Archiv český V*, 354–355, Nr. 68.

Matthias did not intervene personally as the judge or mediator, and evidence is also lacking for Cheb, unlike for České Budějovice, having turned to him personally. In the period 1468–1478, only three of his letters (written in Czech) to Cheb have been preserved, but that does not mean that Cheb did not attempt to take advantage of the appurtenances of Matthias's party and in October 1473 the town council did not hesitate to turn to Matthias's Bohemian supreme chancellor Jan Zajíc of Házmburk with a complaint regarding damage caused to it by the lords of Plavno.<sup>124</sup> Jan advised to make Zdeněk of Šternberk aware of it too and promised to raise their issue himself at the closest diet, although they should themselves send envoys to it. On 8 November, Zdeněk of Šternberk and Zajíc wrote to Cheb.<sup>125</sup>



Figure 5: The Letter by Bohuslav of Švamberk to Cheb requesting that the town recognize Matthias Corvinus as its lord; 8 april 1471. SOkA Cheb, Fund 1, A70/42.

Cheb did not have damaged relations only with some aristocrats of Matthias's party but there were disputes with Pilsen as well. I have already mentioned the situation

124 Answer of Jan Zajíc to the people of Cheb in PALACKÝ, *Archív český* V, 349, Nr. 61.

125 SOkA Cheb, Akten aus den Jahren 1061–1800, fasc. 4, B70/23 (2).

in 1471 when Wilhem of Wolfštejn captured a group of merchants in Pilsen.<sup>126</sup> In Cheb, Pilsen burgher Jan Kulper was captured and imprisoned. On 20 March 1474, King Vladislav called on the people of Cheb to release Kulper and presented his case to the chamber court, because the people of Pilsen had undertaken to take him to the court.<sup>127</sup> However, the registry of the Chamber Court from this and the following year did not detect any case of "Kulper", so Cheb most likely disobeyed Vladislav's call.<sup>128</sup>

Cheb did not rush into the war of the three kings in the autumn of the same year, and therefore obeyed with unhidden pleasure Matthias's letter written in Czech on 4 December 1474 for the burgomaster and town council to join the ceasefire, which he had concluded with Vladislav Jagiellon in Wroclaw. In the letter of admission, they explicitly referred to Corvinus as the Bohemian king, Vladislav only with the title as the firstborn son of the Polish king.<sup>129</sup>

The ceasefire with the party of King Vladislav allowed Cheb to put all its strength into the private war with Jindřich III of Plavno, Jan of Janovice<sup>130</sup> and Hyncík Pflug of Rabenstein.<sup>131</sup> Jindřich was a strong competitor and the balance of forces was relatively equal, but Pflug felt the military superiority of Cheb much more painfully, and in 1477 they even conquered his subject town Neustadt an der Waldnaab.<sup>132</sup>

The ambivalent position of Cheb did not escape the Prague court; the leading advisor of the king, Prince Jindřich Minsterberský, the third son of the late King George, received precise reports from his father-in-law Albrecht Achilles, lord of not only Brandenburg, but also the Franconian areas of the Empire near Cheb. Paradoxically, more of Vladislav's letters have been preserved from 1472–1477, whereas only three of Matthias's are available (1468, 1474, 1478). Vladislav thus contacted the town more often than Corvinus, to whom Cheb had promised obedience.<sup>133</sup> In 1476, Vladislav's bride, the daughter of the Elector of Brandenburg Albrecht Achilles, Barbara of Brandenburg was even to enter the territory of the Bohemian kings through Cheb. In Cheb, the king's leading advisor, Prince Jindřich Minsterberský, was to welcome the bride (having in February 1467 married her old sister Ursula there) and accompany her in a ceremonial entourage to Prague. How would Corvinus react if a genuine welcome of the bride and a clear demonstration of the Jagiellonian-Hohenzollern alliance took place in a city that had promised him obedience, irrespective of the fact that there was a three-year truce with Vladislav? After Corvinus's ally John II of Zágan deprived Barbara of the Duchy of Głogów, Vladislav Jagiellon began to procrastinate over the wedding, the marriage

126 SOKA Cheb, Akten aus den Jahren 1061–1800, fasc. 6, A-76, Fehde mit Wilhelm v. Wolfstein und Benesch von Kolowrat 1469–1477.

127 STRNAD, Listář a listinář II, 179, Nr. 213.

128 ČELAKOVSKÝ, *Registra soudu komorního 1472-1482*; PALACKÝ, *Archív český VII*, 446–568.

129 PALACKÝ, *Archív český VI*, 53, Nr. 13.

130 SOKA Cheb, fund no.1, fasc. 5, 17/74, Fehde Egers mit dem Jan v. Janovitz.

131 SOKA Cheb, Akten aus den Jahren 1061–1800, fasc. 5, 17/72, Fehde Eregers gegen Heinrich III von Plauen und Planknar and 17/74, fasc. 5, and 17/76.

132 Akten aus den Jahren 1061–1800, Fehde Egers mit Hinzik von Rabenstein 1470–1480. fasc. 6, A-76. GRADL, *Die Chroniken der Stadt Eger*, 35–36.

133 SOKA Cheb, Akten aus den Jahren 1061–1800, Gegenkönige Wladislaus u. Mathias, fasc. 6, Nr. 72.

never took place, and Barbara of Brandenburg never had her spectacular procession through the gates of Cheb.<sup>134</sup>

### Spiritual life

Cheb was not subject to Pilsen administrators and tried to benefit from its membership of the Regensburg diocese. At the time of Matthias, it was a town of four cloisters. Thanks to the patronage right to the parish church of St Nicholas, the commandery of the Order of the Teutonic Knights held a strong position, with its headquarters in the places of today's Kasární náměstí (Barracks Square). Not even it was subject to "Bohemian superiors" and claimed the Teutonic Order's Bailiwick of Thuringia. It was guaranteed popularity with the burghers by its spittal fields of the Blessed Virgin, which was remembered by a number of Cheb denizens in their legacies from the 1470s. The actual spittal fields in Cheb were run by the knights of the cross with the red star. The importance of the local Knights of the Cross Commandery was also underlined by a large group of villages and other estates it owned in the Cheb region. In the Hussite Revolution, the Grand Master of the Order took refuge here, who resided here until the 1450s.<sup>135</sup>

The largest cloister complex in Cheb was held at that time by the reformed branch of the Franciscans-Observants, which in the course of the 1470s returned the good reputation of the cloister, damaged by the previous immoral behaviour of the Minorites here. There was also a women's monastery of the Poor Clares in Cheb, whose abbess in Corvinus's times was Uršula Pirk, who came from the local patrician family. The times of the interdict were soon forgotten, and on 21 March 1475 Cardinal Filip, the bishop of Oporto, even granted indulgences to the castle chapel of St Eberhardt.<sup>136</sup>

In comparison with České Budějovice and Pilsen, Cheb could boast of a much better state of the municipal coffers and a more expensive lifestyle of its populace. In 1476, the town council did not regret expending money on wandering actors who enriched the Easter festivities in the city. Influences from Germany manifested more strongly than in any of the West Bohemian cities, and a town dancehall was opened, albeit temporarily; burghers indulged in hunting with greyhounds and birds of prey, indeed pastimes which were not even thought of in Pilsen or Budějovice.<sup>137</sup> There was also a rise in gambling to such an extent that the councillors felt the need to intervene, banning gambling in pubs.<sup>138</sup>

The relative calm despite the many minor resentments in the region was disrupted in 1477. Cheb then obeyed the call of Emperor Frederick III (it after all being an imperial

134 PRIEBATSCH, *Politische Korespondenz*, 144. RIEDEL, *Codex diplom. Brandenburgensis Hauptth.* III Bd II, p. 190. For the greatest detail on this issue, see: MACEK, *Tři ženy krále Vladislava*, 22–31 and in MACEK, *Jagellonský věk I*, 206–211. After him with a similar evaluation FELCMAN – FUKALA, *Poděbradové*, 119. Albrecht's letter on the postponement of the wedding: BACHMANN, *Urkundliche Nachträge*, 405, Nr. 405. On the role of Henry of Münsterberg and the prepared "taking delivery of the Brandenburg bride" in Cheb, see: ŠANDERA, *Syn husitského krále*, 104–105.

135 JANDEROVÁ, *Působení řádu křižovníků*, 24–30. RADEC (BĚLOHLÁVEK – HRADEC), *Dějiny českých křižovníků*, 45–46.

136 ERGBET (ERGERT), *Eger, seine Vergangeheit und Gegenwart*, 396–400; HALLA, *Umění gotiky na Chebsku*, 156–159. Cardinal's indulgence charter – SOKA Cheb, Arciděkanství Cheb, Nr. 775.

137 SOKA Cheb, Archiv města Cheb (hereinafter AM Cheb), Ausgbsbücher 1475, f. 35.

138 SIEGL, *Alt-Eger in seinen Gesetzen und Verordnungen*, 86–96.

pledge!), ended its manoeuvring and delaying tactics and recognized Vladislav Jagiellon as the Bohemian king and its lord.<sup>139</sup>

Corvinus was very indignant. He was considering military retaliation, and precisely České Budějovice and, especially, Pilsen should have played a significant role in punishing the city, which had dared to fall away from him, but that turned out to be an illusory idea. Combined Hussite armies had once besieged Pilsen for 9 months and Cheb was stronger, more powerful, more populous and better fortified (towards the River Ohře even by a triple belt of walls) and was not scared by Corvinus's threats. Matthias was thus to be helped again by pressure on the part of the church; Wrocław's Bishop Rudolf wrote to Cheb and tried to change the position of the town council, but the Silesian Estates themselves at the diet in Broumov to Matthias's disillusionment rejected the invitation of the Prague court to obey the will of Emperor Frederick and acknowledged Vladislav as their master, but refused to continue the war and concluded a new truce with King Vladislav.<sup>140</sup>

Corvinus might not have had sufficiently precise information; in any case his adherents did not stop the Cheb emissaries reaching Prague, and on 25 November 1477 Cheb representatives (three members of the town council, three knights of Cheb and three representatives of the larger municipality) swore an oath of loyalty to King Vladislav and two days later King Vladislav confirmed all of its existing privileges to the town of Cheb.<sup>141</sup>

The situation in West Bohemia already differed significantly; after the imprisonment of Bohuslav of Švamberk, King Matthias could no longer rely on the aid of the representatives of the Zelená Hora League, who could otherwise endanger connections and the Cheb merchants. A year later, however, the Cheb residents were worried that the military response to their previous year's apostasy would not come from the king after the victory of Corvinus's army at Chotěšov. Matěj Šlik warned the city council in writing that, according to a report by Burian of Gutštejn, Corvinus's army from Pilsen intended to strike at him or Cheb.<sup>142</sup> Although Jan Planknar of Kynšperk was too experienced a warrior to try and create the illusion that he could successfully besiege such a strong city, Cheb borough villages and courtyards could have been a tempting and much easier target. Concerns in Cheb could be supported by the knowledge that Planknar also had a personal motive for such an intervention, repeatedly drawing the attention of the city council to the debt that the Cheb burghers had towards his father. And now there was real military power behind him. On 16 May 1478, Planknar wrote to the Cheb town council and declared defiance under hostilities to Cheb and its servants.<sup>143</sup>

The victory near Pilsen did not have such an effect as Corvinus had expected and the campaign for the Cheb region did not take place. Despite that, in October 1478,

139 On Corvinus's reaction to the emperor's recognition of King Vladislav Jagiellon, see: NAGY – NYÁRY, *Magyar diplomáciai emlékek*, 357, Nr. 245. NEHRING, *Matthias Corvinus*, 84–86. OPLL, *Nachrichten aus dem mittelalterlichen Wien*, 206f.

140 Rudolf's letter SOKA Cheb, fund I, fasc. 5, A72/74, about the congress and concluded truce in Broumov, where Prince Henry presented the Silesian and Lusatian estates with the charter in which Emperor Frederick III urged the Silesians and the Lusatians to take the oath of obedience to King Vladislav, *Listina z Broumova z 12. 8. 1477* – Archiv České koruny VI, 115, Nr. 221, on the overall course and results, see: WINTERA, *Der Beifriede von Brannau (Braunau) im Jahre 1477*.

141 SOKA Cheb, Akten aus den Jahren 1061-1800, fasc. 7, A86.

142 Letter from 26 May 1478, STRNAD, *Listář a listinář II*, 203, Nr. 244.

143 Planknar announced hostility to Cheb – original of the letter in SOKA Cheb, sign. B70/45.

King Vladislav asked the people of Louny to provide the Cheb emissaries whom he had called to himself with an escort to the town of Most, so they would not suffer damages from enemies.<sup>144</sup> In the conclusion of the Olomouc Peace, Cheb was already understood even by Matthias himself to be Vladislav's town.

### Conclusion

The ten-year reign of Matthias Corvinus in Pilsen and České Budějovice (in the case of Cheb only five years in the end) meant economic losses for them (from the expected efforts to pass on war costs to the towns) and limitations of rights, but Corvinus's reign did not bring a merciless financial vacuuming of these municipalities and did not leave behind a beggared population. Corvinus and his officials were less hard on the representatives of the municipal administration even in comparison with Wrocław in Silesia.<sup>145</sup>

Pilsen, Budějovice and Cheb had a significant influence on Corvinus's Bohemian policy, but they did not more significantly influence his overall behaviour towards royal cities, although the approaches to each of them showed partial differences. Situations where obedience to the sovereign's order bound the city to the consent of his subordinate official, or when the city council contacted a foreign monarch, were unusual within the overall view of royal cities in the Bohemian Crown and the Kingdom of Hungary, but there were rare episodes in Bohemian Catholic cities which passed without greater consequences.<sup>146</sup>

The stay of Matthias's garrisons was generally unpopular everywhere, but none of the towns experienced the institution of a dictatorship, imprisonment or the execution of opponents. The city councils (Corvinus never addressed the broader municipal community in his correspondence in any of the proven letters) even turned not only to Matthias's Bohemian officials, but directly to his person as Bohemian king with a request for assessment or even a direct intervention in their disputes with the nobles of his party. However, Matthias's garrisons did not help these towns much in defending the rural property that suffered invasions by Poděbrady's and later Vladislav's supporters as a consequence of leaning towards Corvinus. The towns felt their presence especially unpleasantly in 1477–1478, whereas, with most of King Vladislav's followers, they had found an acceptable *modus vivendi* in previous years. The burghers, who were brought to power by the fall of Poděbrady's supporters and who remained there through

144 PALACKÝ, *Archiv český VI*, 92, Nr. 24.

145 On Wrocław and its position during the reign of Corvinus, see: GOLIŃSKI, *Wrocław od potovy XIII do początków XVI wieku*, 96–222. *Slezsko v dějinách českého státu I*, 392–396. WOJTUCKA, *Český král ve Vratislavi*, 145–158. CZECHOWICZ, *Miedzy katedra I ratuszem*; CZECHOWICZ, *Wratislavia – caput Coronae Regni Bohemiae?*, 151–161. ČAPSKÝ, *K postavení Vratislavi*, 346–383.

146 An idealized view of Matthias's approach to royal cities – the king himself gives a list of freedoms of Hungarian cities that go beyond the Italian cities A. KALOÚS, *Království a republika*, 227. An overall comparison of royal cities under Matthias's rule within the Bohemian Crown lands has not yet been processed, syntheses and partial studies of Silesian history have focused their views on Wrocław (and to a much lesser extent on Swidnica), see: DRABINA, *Historia miast śląskich w średniowieczu*; or *Slezsko v dějinách českého státu I*; or CZECHOWICZ, *Idea i państwo*. Although Matthias did not spare privileges for Lusatian cities in the beginning – see: NA Praha, AČK, sign. 1736, 1746, 1746 and 1748, the attention of Czech and German historians has focused mainly on their fates in the years of the Hussite Revolution. The situation in Moravia was substantially more favourable, were Corvinus's policy is generally reviewed, see: VÁLKA, *Matyáš Korvín a Česká koruna*, 313–323 and especially the mentioned KALOÚS, *Matyáš Korvín a moravská královská města*, 97–127, which in his monograph Matthias Corvinus: Hungarian and Bohemian King, 88–90 he set out also briefly, but balanced assessment of Matthias's approach to the Hungarian royal towns.

membership in the party of King Matthias, did not await a cruel fate and retaliation even after the Olomouc Peace.

King Vladislav did not persecute his former opponents and they did not even face an internal retaliation on the part of the urban population, whom they could legitimately blame for the enforcement of Corvinus' demands. A demonstrative bloody settlement with the past, as represented in Wroclaw in Silesia by the aforementioned execution of the leading pretender of Matthias's policies Heinz Dompnig, did not take place in Pilsen or even in České Budějovice. There was, rather, only a gradual retreat from fame and a decision to prefer to purchase in the countryside. The representatives of the former clique of Poděbrady did not return to power and only achieved partial compensation; neither Oremus nor the sons of the murdered Ondřej Puklice regained their property.

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# ***Water Supply to the Small Cities in the Northern Region of the Russian Empire, 1890–1910s (Vologda, Staraya Russa and Cherepovets)\****

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The article is devoted to the analysis of the process of the organization of centralized water supply systems in small Russian towns at the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century. The causes and the process of pipeline building in three small cities, each of which became significant transport hubs by 1914 and had populations of less than 50,000 people, are described in the research. The research interest in these towns is led by understanding how the transport position of small cities promoted the improvement of water supplies in them. It was essential due to the growth of the urban populations and increasing cases of cholera epidemics in transport-hub cities.

Keywords: Russian Cities. Russian Empire. Urban Environmental History. Urban Sanitation. Urban Water Supply. History of Technology.

## **Introduction**

At the end of the nineteenth century centralized water supplies became one of the useful measures in the fight against cholera epidemics. Not only big Russian cities but also small and mid-sized towns needed water pipelines. The urban population used water from rivers, lakes or underground sources. As a rule, the cities had mixed types of water supply (well and river at the same time). The mix would be determined according to the natural conditions in a particular city and the quality of the water in these sources. Residents took river water from the rivers on their own or bought it from water carriers. Therefore, well water supplies were used by inhabitants who had groundwater sources with pure water or who lived far away from rivers or lakes. At the same time, the quality of river water was often unsatisfactory. Even in cities with water pipelines (St Petersburg, Tsaritsyn, Saratov, Astrakhan, Kyiv, Mogilev), the tap water stood cloudy after filtration.<sup>1</sup> Primarily quality water supply was necessary for the cities located near the main transport ways. There was regular immigration of permanent or temporary population (vacationers, seasonal workers). This factor, together with the poor quality of water supplies, threatened the emergence and rapid spread of epidemics. By the end of the nineteenth century, outbreaks of cholera epidemics were quite rare in Europe, which allows historians not to associate the victory over cholera with the emergence of centralized water supplies in cities.<sup>2</sup> Meanwhile in the Russian Empire, providing clean water was one of the main anti-epidemic measures. Moreover, state policy in this area had been changing significantly in the 1880s–1910s. In 1883,

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1 BELYAKOV, *Artezianskiye kolodtsy*, 13–14.

2 ABELLAN, *Water Supply*, 7–8. BROWN, *Coping with Crisis?*, 307–316. BRIGGS, *Cholera and Society*, 85–86. EVANS, *Epidemics and Revolutions*, 145. MORRIS, *Cholera*, 228.

the ministry of internal affairs ordered the local authorities to establish supervision over the quality of water used by the population. In the 1800s, the city administration could receive financing through a bond loan for the building of a water pipeline, which had to be approved by the state authorities. During the years of the economic crisis of 1900–1903 and the Russo-Japanese War, the implementation and financing of sanitary and anti-epidemic measures were entrusted entirely to local governments. Only in 1911 did the central government begin to provide systematic financial assistance to cities and zemstvos in the fight against epidemics and improve water supply sources. By the end of the nineteenth century, the population of most Russian cities (55 %) did not exceed 30 thousand people,<sup>3</sup> and in 1913, only 219 out of 1,231 Russian cities had water pipelines (17.79 %).<sup>4</sup> Sewerage was only present in 63 Russian cities (5.12 %).<sup>5</sup> In the studied cities, sewerage was built during the Soviet era, and during the study period, urban waste was taken out by flushers to city dumps or by peasants to fertilize the fields. Surface runoff was released without treatment into local rivers from city streets through open channels. The aim of this research is the analysis of the process of the centralization of water supplies in small towns of the Russian Empire. The research is based on three cases. The first is Vologda, which was the administrative centre of Vologda province and one of the most populated cities in the northern regions of the Russian Empire. The second case is the water supply in Staraya Russa of Novgorod province. It was a resort town with a military settlement, where the first water pipeline was built in 1848. The third case is the building of a water pipeline in Cherepovets of Novgorod province. This town is located on the Mariinskaya waterway system and the Northern Railway (Figure 1). These three cases allow us to analyse the change in state policy regarding urban water supplies in small towns in the pre-crisis period (Vologda, 1898–1899), during and after the Russo-Japanese war (Staraya Russa, 1904–1909) and after the transition to financial assistance from the state (Cherepovets, 1911–1916). The article raises the questions of the need and conditions for the organizing of centralized water supplies in small Russian towns. Was water supply an objective necessity in small towns? How could city administrations provide a centralized water supply? What difficulties did city administrations encounter and how did they overcome them? How did city administrations interact with the central government?

3 MIRONOV, *Sotsial'naya istoriya*, 287.

4 *Territoriya i naseleniye*, 4–5.

5 *Territoriya i naseleniye*, 4–5.



Figure 1: Map of the northern region of European Russia<sup>6</sup>

The year of 1870 was the turning point in urban pollution and urban sanitation in the Russian Empire. After the reform of city self-government of 1870, the urban environment and its sanitary conditions became the object of the policy of local authorities, upon which fell the responsibility to address the economic issues of local importance. Moreover, Russia was a country with delayed modernization, where industrial development and population growth started in the last third of the nineteenth century. The Vologda and Novgorod regions had had an agrarian specialization; therefore, bacteriological pollution was the main environmental problem in the cities of both regions. This type of pollution has been an object of some historical research since the 1980s. Works by A. Corbin, D. S. Barnes and R. Evans allow us to follow the evolution of the perception of everyday odours in French society (A. Corbin), the role of the miasmatic and the bacteriological theories in the environmental measures of a government (D. S. Barnes) and the dramatic consequences of bacteriological pollution due to a misguided policy of sanitary protection (R. Evans).<sup>7</sup>

Hygienists were the first to study the problems of urban sanitation and water supply in pre-revolutionary Russia. Their essays and theses have described natural and sanitary conditions of cities or counties with characteristics of sources of water supplies in the USSR. N. I. Falkovsky researched the evolution of techniques and technologies

<sup>6</sup> ILYIN, *Novyy uchebnyy geograficheskiy atlas*.

<sup>7</sup> BARNES, *The Great Stink*. CORBIN, *The Foul and the Fragrant*. EVANS, *Death in Hamburg*.

of water supply in Russia from the tenth to the beginning of the twentieth century.<sup>8</sup> K. G. Vasiliev and A. E. Segal analysed the influence of water quality on the incidence of intestinal infections in Russia from the eleventh to the early twentieth century.<sup>9</sup> V. A. Nardova has been studied problems of water supply in St.-Petersburg through the development of municipal Government and urban beautification in the last third of the nineteenth century.<sup>10</sup>

Post-Soviet historiography continued to develop in the directions of Soviet historiography. At the same time, urban water supply has become the subject of research on the history of everyday life<sup>11</sup> and environmental history.<sup>12</sup> A. K. Smith and C. E. Henze studied bacteriological pollution in Russian cities and its influence on Russian society.<sup>13</sup> Both researchers noted an authoritarian style of government as a limiting factor in the improvement of sanitary conditions in the country. Generally, in Russian studies, urban sanitation and water supply in small towns were not specific topics for environmental historians. This study complements existing research on the history of water supplies to cities in the Russian Empire, focusing on the importance of high-quality water supplies in small northern towns. The analysis is based on the methodology of urban environmental history. It highlights the problems of water supplies in small northern Russian cities with unfavourable sanitary conditions and changes in state policy regarding the water supply. The study used the method of comparative analysis, which made it possible to identify commonalities and differences in the conditions and policies of the administrations of three northern Russian cities concerning the organization of their centralized water supplies.

The sources for this research consist of materials from national archives, the press of the local government, reports of physicians and statistics. In the study were used contents of the Russian State Historical Archive (RSHA), the State Archive of the Vologda Region (SAVR) and the Cherepovets Documentation Storage Centre (ChDSC). The city regulations of 1870 were used to describe the structure and functions of the city administration. The data of the first general census of the population of the Russian Empire and statistical data of memorial books, statistical yearbooks of the Russian Empire and the analytical survey of the Russian Empire were used to analyse the socio-demographic processes and the economic structures of the towns people. The study also used the current documentation of state and local authorities from the funds 1288 – “Main Directorate for Local Economy of the Ministry of Internal Affairs”, 1298 – “Office of the Chief Medical Inspector of the Ministry of Internal Affairs” of RSHA, 475 – “Vologda City Government” and 911 – “Cherepovets City Government” of SAVR. These documents helped in reconstructing the history of urban water supply. The periodical press helped in understanding the attitudes of city authorities and citizens toward municipal water supplies.

8 FAL'KOVSKIY, *Istoriya vodosnabzheniya v Rossii*.

9 VASIL'YEV – SEGAL, *Istoriya epidemiy v Rossii*.

10 NARDOVA, *Gorodskoye samoupravleniye v Rossii v 60-kh – nachale 90-kh godov XIX veka*.

11 KOS, *Vodosnabzheniye provintsial'nogo goroda*, 50–55. POZNYAK, *Zhil'ye*, 103–111. SCHERBINA, *Sanitarnoe sostoyanie gorodov*, 37–42. SHAPKO, *Stroitel'stvo*, 37–39.

12 AKOL'ZINA – KANISHCHEV, *Izmeneniya okruzhayushchey sredy*, 64–69. DAVYDOV, *Vodosnabzheniya*, 60–79. KANISHCHEV, *Promyshlennoye zagryazneniye okruzhayushchey sredy*, 225–238. MAZANIK, *Sanitation*. OBERTEIS – MALINOVA-TZIAFETA, *Istoriya gorodov*, 173–201.

13 HENZE, *Disease, Health Care and Government*. SMITH, *Public Works*, 319–342.

### Urban management, environment and economy

The City Reform of Alexander II established new organs of local government. Added were city electoral assemblies, dumas and city councils.<sup>14</sup> The city electoral assembly included city inhabitants who were subjects of the Russian Empire of over 25 years, who had real estate in the city or who had paid fees to the city treasury for the previous two years and did not have arrears in city fees.<sup>15</sup> The primary function of the assembly consisted of the election of city council members every four years. A city дума was elected every four years from persons who had suffrage.<sup>16</sup> The head of the city was the head of the city дума, but the дума was directly subordinate to the governor, who could cancel the дума's decisions. The city дума established the size of city fees, appointed elected officials and approved resolutions on urban improvement. Also, the city дума elected members of the city council every four years. The city council compiled estimates of city revenues and expenses, collected information about the urban economy at the request of the дума, and resolved issues pertaining to municipal services.<sup>17</sup>

The city regulations of 1870 put responsibility for urban sanitation and urban improvement in the hands of city administrations. The scope of urban management included such issues related to the development of the city as street repairs, squares, bridge sidewalks, city public gardens, boulevards, water pipes, sewers, ponds, ditches and bridges, as well as city lighting. However, more importantly, issues regarding the protection of public health, including air cleanliness protection and measures against epidemic diseases, became the object of urban governance policy.<sup>18</sup> It was under this remit that the centralization of water supplies was undertaken as a measure to limit the incidence of disease among the population, a responsibility which after 1870 fell under the jurisdiction of the city public administration.

The city дума had the right to levy fees on an assessment of real estate, on documents for the right to trade, from taverns, inns and snack bars, from transporters and from owners of private horses and dogs.<sup>19</sup> Meanwhile, a city budget was intended for the maintenance of the city administration, police, officials, fire service, city buildings and monuments, educational and charitable institutions, streets, squares, roads, ponds, water pipes and sewers.<sup>20</sup> Therefore, city budgets were minimal, as has been proven by N. A. Nardova, who pointed out that funding sources limited the economic independence of a city administration.<sup>21</sup>

Vologda, Staraya Russa and Cherepovets were provincial cities of the Russian Empire. They are located in the north of European Russia. Vologda was an administrative centre of Vologda province, and Staraya Russa and Cherepovets were county towns of Novgorod province. Vologda is located downstream on the Vologda River. The eastern part of the city was marshy. Meanwhile, the average height of the city above sea level

14 *Gorodovoye polozheniye, vys. utv. 16 iyunya 1870 g.*, 8.

15 *Gorodovoye polozheniye, vys. utv. 16 iyunya 1870 g.*, 8–9.

16 *Gorodovoye polozheniye, vys. utv. 16 iyunya 1870 g.*, 19.

17 *Gorodovoye polozheniye, vys. utv. 16 iyunya 1870 g.*, 29–30.

18 *Gorodovoye polozheniye so vsemi otnosyashchimisya k nemu uzakoneniymi*, 4–5.

19 *Gorodovoye polozheniye, vys. utv. 16 iyunya 1870 g.*, 115.

20 *Gorodovoye polozheniye, vys. utv. 16 iyunya 1870 g.*, 156–158.

21 NARDOVA, *Gorodskoye samoupravleniye v Rossii vo vtoroy polovine XIX – nachale XX v.*, 49.

was 56–57 m.<sup>22</sup> The Rivers Vologda and Zolotukha divided the city into three parts. They flowed slowly through the city, and the flow of the Vologda river could take the opposite direction sometimes. Also, at some places in the city centre there were lowlands where surface drainage accumulated.<sup>23</sup> Vologda was the biggest city among the cities of the Vologda and Novgorod regions. It had 50,000 persons by the beginning of the First World War.

Staraya Russa was a county town and the second most highly populated city in Novgorod province. The city was located on a plain, which was a part of the Valdai Hills.<sup>24</sup> The Rivers Polist, Porusje and Pererytitsa flowed through the city. However, their water could not be used for drinking due to the high concentration of salt. Inhabitants of Staraya Russa had been taking pure water from an underground source, which was located three versts (about 3.2 km) from the city. Moreover, Staraya Russa was a resort town due to an abundance of salt sources. This status contributed to the improvement of the city.<sup>25</sup>

Cherepovets was located on elevated terrain at the confluence of the Yagorba River into the Sheksna River.<sup>26</sup> Before 1777 it was a settlement of the Cherepovets Resurrection Monastery and became a city on 4 November 1777.<sup>27</sup> The part of the city containing Resurrection Monastery was the highest. The north-western part of Cherepovets was located in the lowland. Therefore, some of the northern quarters did not become developed with houses due to boggy soil.<sup>28</sup> In spring, the dirt on some streets reached a height of 0.5 arshins (35.6 cm).<sup>29</sup>

According to the classification of the Russian cities by V. P. Semenov-Tyan-Shansky, Vologda and Staraya Russa were mid-sized towns where less than 50,000 people lived, and Cherepovets was a small town with a population of 5,000–8,500.<sup>30</sup> By 1897, the Russian Empire had 655 towns and cities.<sup>31</sup> There were 185 Russian towns (28.24 %), including Cherepovets, with populations of 5–9.9 thousand people, 129 cities (or 19.69 %), including Staraya Russa, with populations of 10–19.9 thousand people and 49 cities (or 7.48 %), including Vologda, with populations of 20–29.9 thousand people.<sup>32</sup> The cities were situated at considerable distances from each other and larger cities, including the capital. The development of the railways favourably affected the growth of the urban population. This was most noticeable in Vologda, which became a large railway junction connected to St Petersburg, Arkhangelsk, Yaroslavl and Vyatka at the

22 PERFIL'YEV, *Kratkiy geograficheskiy ocherk*, 1–2.

23 *Sanitarnoye sostoyaniye gorodov Rossiyskoy imperii v 1895 godu*, 223.

24 ROKHEL', *Starorusskiye mineral'nyye vody*, 3.

25 *D.R. Staraya Russa*, 438.

26 *Materialy po statistike Novgorodskoy gubernii za 1889 god*, 72.

27 *Materialy po statistike Novgorodskoy gubernii, 1887 god*, 143.

28 *Plan g. Cherepovtsa*.

29 *Sanitarnoye sostoyaniye gorodov Rossiyskoy imperii v 1895 godu*, 106.

30 SEMENOV-TYAN-SHANSKIY, *Gorod i derevnya v yevropeyskoy Rossii*, 80–84.

31 excluding the Caucasus, Kingdom of Poland, Finland, and Central Asia.

32 Also, two cities (0.31 %) had populations of over 1 million, 12 cities (1.83 %) had populations of 100–500 thousand people, 31 cities (4.73 %) had populations of 50–99.9 thousand people, 14 cities (2.14 %) had populations of 40–49.9 thousand people, 12 cities (1.83 %) had populations of 30–39.9 thousand people and 221 towns (33.74 %) had populations of less than 5 thousand people. Source: MIRONOV, *Sotsial'naya istoriya*, 287.

beginning of the twentieth century. Intensive railway construction provoked population growth in the city from 27.7 thousand people in 1897 to 50.2 thousand people in 1914.<sup>33</sup> At the same time, Staraya Russa and Cherepovets became significant transport hubs by the 1910s. Staraya Russa was located on the Moscow–Vindava–Rybinsk railway, which contributed to its economic development,<sup>34</sup> while Novgorod lost its economic status due to it being away from the main railway lines.<sup>35</sup> Due to the development of the Mariinsky water system and the Northern Railway, Cherepovets acquired the status of a major transportation hub at the beginning of the twentieth century. It was the nearest port for ships travelling from the Volga basin to St Petersburg.

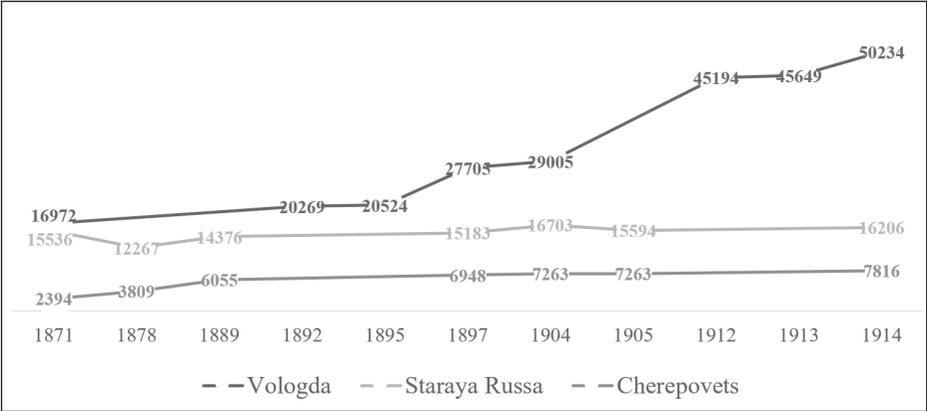


Figure 2: Dynamics of population growth in the cities, 1871–1914.<sup>36</sup>

In general, the urban population increased from 4.31 % to 6.02 % in Vologda province, and it decreased from 6.89 to 5.33 % in Novgorod province.<sup>37</sup> This was less than the average for the Russian Empire, where the urban population increased from 11 to 14 % in the period 1870–1919.<sup>38</sup> In Vologda and Cherepovets, the population tripled between 1871 and 1915. In Staraya Russa, the population barely increased, but more than a thousand vacationers and sick annually came to the mineral water resort in

33 *Vedomost' o chisle zhiteley, 1914 god. Pervaya vseobshchaya perepis' naseleniya Rossiyskoy imperii, 1897. VII, 4–5.*

34 KURKUTOV, *V oblasti sanitarii, 2.*

35 SALONIKOV, *Promyshlennost' i promyshlenniki, 19–20.*

36 *Statisticheskiye materialy, 11. Statisticheskiy vremennik, 1893–1894, 48–49. Statisticheskiy vremennik, 1896–1897, 58. Vedomost' o chisle zhiteley, 1913 god. Vedomost' o chisle zhiteley, 1914 god. Statisticheskiy otdel, 3–13. Materialy po issledovaniyu, opisaniyu i statistike Novgorodskoy gubernii, 60–63. Materialy po statistike Novgorodskoy gubernii za 1889 god, 5–6. Materialy po statistike Novgorodskoy gubernii, 1907 god, 18–20. Materialy po statistike Novgorodskoy gubernii, 1916 god, 24–25. Pervaya vseobshchaya perepis' naseleniya Rossiyskoy imperii, 1897. VII, 4–5. Pervaya vseobshchaya perepis' naseleniya Rossiyskoy imperii, 1897. XXVI, 4–5. Goroda Rossii v 1904 godu, 5–9.*

37 The relative decline in the urban population of the Novgorod province was due to the increase in the rural population significantly outstripping the increase in the townspeople. Sources: *Statisticheskiy ocherk, 15. Vedomost' o chisle zhiteley, 1914 god. Statisticheskiy otdel, 3–13. Materialy po statistike Novgorodskoy gubernii, 1916 god, 24–25.*

38 LIVRON, *Statisticheskoye obozreniye Rossiyskoy imperii, 37. Territoriya i naseleniye, 57.*

the city. Accordingly, the administrations of all three cities should have been ensuring sanitary living conditions for the short-term and permanent populations.

### Sanitary conditions and problems of water supply in the cities

In the period 1892–1897, the Medical Department of Interior Affairs was researching the sanitary conditions of Russian cities. The department collected statistics on 1,063 cities and published them in the volume “Sanitary condition of the Russian Empire cities in 1895”. This source makes it possible to reconstruct the main problems of the urban areas in Vologda, Staraya Russa and Cherepovets on the eve of the building of a centralized water supply system. It describes the water supplies, sewage disposal systems and sanitary conditions of the streets. Vologda had 49 streets with cobblestone paving out of a total of 130 streets, Cherepovets had only three paved streets out of a total of 16 streets, and most parts of Staraya Russa streets were paved and cobbled.<sup>39</sup> However, 75 % of Vologda streets were paved only in the centre, and their roadsides accumulated dirt. Unpaved streets on the outskirts of Vologda were impassable in the spring.<sup>40</sup> The moving of household waste into landfills outside the city was the most common method of disposal. Usually, waste was transported in barrels on horse-drawn carts. In houses, waste disposal technologies were the most primitive of those in all the cities. Everywhere there were toilets with cesspools and garbage pits in the yards.<sup>41</sup> Only 10–15 Vologda houses had water closets or backlash closets (*luftklosett*).<sup>42</sup>

The water supply was one of the primary problems of urban sanitation in the Russian Empire in the last third of the nineteenth and the early twentieth century. According to K. G. Vasiliev and A. E. Segal, centralized water supply systems were lacking in most of the vast cities. Where they did exist, only 10 % of houses had access to them; that is, only wealthy homeowners had access to tap water at home. At the same time, the rest of the townspeople could take tap water from public taps located in different parts of the city. This was due to the high cost of installing water supply equipment in the homes of inhabitants.<sup>43</sup> Tap water was usually not filtered. In small cities, water was supplied to the city inhabitants by water-carriers, who delivered river, lake or well water to districts that were removed from water sources. In Staraya Russa, 15 men and some women had been delivering water to the city inhabitants.<sup>44</sup>

Rivers and wells were primary sources of urban water supply in the Russian Empire during the second half of the nineteenth century. Inhabitants of Vologda and Cherepovets took water from local waterbodies. Staraya Russa was the only city of Vologda and Novgorod provinces where water plumbing was installed. The first water supply system of Staraya Russa was built in 1848. It was a public well that received water from an underground source in the village of Dubovitsy three versts from the city. The source was found in the winter of 1825–1826 and after 20 years it was connected to the well on Vvedenskaya square in Staraya Russa by wooden pipes. The sources water

39 *Sanitarnoye sostoyaniye gorodov Rossiyskoy imperii v 1895 godu*, 105–107, 223–224.

40 *Sanitarnoye sostoyaniye gorodov Rossiyskoy imperii v 1895 godu*, 223.

41 *Sanitarnoye sostoyaniye gorodov Rossiyskoy imperii v 1895 godu*, 105–107, 223–224.

42 *Sanitarnoye sostoyaniye gorodov Rossiyskoy imperii v 1895 godu*, 223.

43 VASIL'YEV – SEGAL, *Istoriya epidemiy v Rossii*, 218–219.

44 Rossijskij gosudarstvennyj istoricheskij arkhiv [Russian State Historical Archive] (hereinafter RSHA), O vydache gorodu Staroy Russe iz kazny ssudy v 150000 rub. na predmet ustroystva vodoprovoda, F. 1288, Op. 4, D. 216, p. 8b.

was clear, and it consisted of very little organic matter and only traces of ammonia and nitric acid.<sup>45</sup>

However, the water quality in most local water bodies was unsatisfactory. Industrial and domestic sewage were discharged into the nearest open ditches or ponds, as was widespread almost everywhere at that time and considered not only permissible but almost mandatory. Rivers had become receivers of domestic sewage and the discharges of brewing, tanning, dyeing and other factories, laundries, baths and hospitals, along with surface runoff from the city, which further contained waste that did not fall into cesspools.<sup>46</sup>

In the 1880s, the engineer N. Zimin made the first chemical analysis of well water in Vologda. The result showed that this water was unsuitable for cooking and drinking due to the high content of organic impurities and significant hardness. It turned out that water in two of the eight springs flowed through the territory of the cemetery before it came to the point of water intake.<sup>47</sup> A chemical analysis of the Vologda river water showed its quality and allowed sources of pollution to be identified. In the first half of the 1880s, the Pervushin distillery contributed significantly to river pollution by organic substances and nitrates. Meanwhile, the Zolotukha River flowed into the Vologda River, polluting it with organic waste, chlorides, nitrates and ammonium ions. Sidorovsky's public baths polluted river water with easily soluble organic substances and chlorides.<sup>48</sup>

The water of the Vologda River significantly changed in its chemical properties within the city limits. In the lower reaches of the river, the concentration of suspended solids was eight times, and that of chlorides was 13 times higher than in the upper reaches outside the city. This put the Vologda River on a par with the Rhine and the Thames, leaving behind the Neva, Dnieper, Don, Seine, Danube and Desna, according to the content in its waters of solid residues.<sup>49</sup> According to research conducted by Dr A. A. Snyatkov in December 1884, the river water contained micrococci, hay bacillus, ciliates and helminth eggs below the confluence of the River Zolotukha into the Vologda River.<sup>50</sup> Another chemical analysis of water from the Vologda River was carried out on the eve of the construction of the city water supply in February 1897. Its results showed that the water was utterly unsuitable for drinking and cooking due to the high content of dissolved salts, chlorine and sulfuric acid.<sup>51</sup>

Moreover, according to the engineer N. Zimin, the water from this river could not be cleaned entirely even by filtration, since it was extremely polluted with wastewater

45 POLYANSKIY, *Illyustrirovannyi istoriko-statisticheskiy ocherk*, 244–245.

46 KURKUTOV, *V oblasti sanitaria*, 10. ORNATSKIY, *Medikotopografiya*, 60–62. POLYANSKIY, *Illyustrirovannyi istoriko-statisticheskiy ocherk*, 244. Gosudarstvennyj arkhiv Vologodskoj oblasti [State Archive of Vologda Region] (hereinafter SAVR), *Zhurnaly Vologodskoy gorodskoy sanitarnoy ispolnitel'noy komissii*, F. 475, Op. 1, D. 363, pp. 63–63b.

47 ZIMIN, *O vodosnabzhenii g. Vologdy*, 2.

48 ORNATSKIY, *Medikotopografiya*, 60–62. Medikotopography was a type of medico-geographical research that had been done at the initiative of state authorities since the eighteenth century. These studies described the natural, geographical and economic features of regions of the Russian Empire. The goal of this research consisted in the analysing and summarizing of information about diseases of the population, and the systematization of economic, geographical and other information by the Russian regions.

49 ORNATSKIY, *Medikotopografiya*, 62–63.

50 ORNATSKIY, *Medikotopografiya*, 64.

51 BELYAKOV, *Artezianskiye kolodtsy*, 3–4.

from sewers, the distillery, bathhouses, rafts for rinsing clothes and other sources of pollution.<sup>52</sup> A senior doctor of the hospital of the provincial zemstvo, which was situated on the lower reaches of the river Vologda, noted that due to the use of river water in cooking, patients were vomiting and suffering diarrhoea. According to "The sanitary condition of the Russian Empire cities in 1895", the water in the Vologda River was muddy and contained mucus and litter.<sup>53</sup> In the summer, the water stagnated and had an unpleasant odour.

In Staraya Russa, the river water was not suitable for use due to its organoleptic and chemical properties. The water of the Polist River contained impurities of organic substances and salts from effluents of the salt works. The water of the Porusje and the Pererytitsa rivers could not be used for drinking due to high concentrations of organic substances that got into these rivers with wastewater from many villages upstream.<sup>54</sup>

Before the centralized water supply system was devised, residents of Cherepovets, like most residents of the county, used well water. Only a few inhabitants used water from the Sheksna River; for most people, the river was too far away from the city to be using its water. Water from the wells was clean, but it had very high hardness.<sup>55</sup>

The quality of drinking water influenced the spread of the cholera epidemic in cities. At the same time, the frequency of outbreaks depended on the intensity of transport links between cities. So, cholera came to Vologda most often from the Moscow, Yaroslavl, Vyatka and Kostroma provinces,<sup>56</sup> and to Novgorod province from St Petersburg. Among the studied cities, cholera more often appeared in Vologda. In particular, in that city in the years of 1866 and 1871 respectively, 352 and 183 persons died from cholera.<sup>57</sup> In 1909, cholera killed 98 out of 155 cholera patients in the city,<sup>58</sup> and another 79 out of 141 patients died the next year.<sup>59</sup> Meanwhile in 1909 in Staraya Russa, 25 died out of 33 patients with cholera, and in Cherepovets, five out of seven cases did not survive.<sup>60</sup> The incidence rate of cholera amounted to 5.36 cases per 10,000 people, taking into account clinically confirmed cases in Cherepovets in 1908, and it was 12.06 cases per 10,000 population taking into account cases of cholera disease not confirmed by laboratory tests. Similar indicators amounted to 0.31 for Novgorod province and 14.71 cases per 10,000 population for the Russian Empire.<sup>61</sup> In the epidemic of 1909, the incidence was kept at 9.3 cases per 10,000 people in Cherepovets, and 20.95 cases in Staraya Russa,<sup>62</sup> while this indicator was 4.9 in the province and 11.21 cases per 10,000 population in Russia. In Vologda, the incidence rate of cholera was 31.38 cases per 10,000 people in 1910.<sup>63</sup>

52 ZIMIN, *O vodosnabzhenii g. Vologdy*, 4.

53 *Doklad № 3. Po voprosu o prisoyedinenii k gorodskomu vodoprovodu zdaniy Gubernskogo Zemstva*, 12–19.

54 POLYANSKIY, *Illyustrirovannyi istoriko-statisticheskiy ocherk*, 244.

55 *Sanitarnoye sostoyaniye gorodov Rossiyskoy imperii v 1895 godu*, 105.

56 KUDRYAVTSEV, *O meropriyatnykh*, 39.

57 KUDRYAVTSEV, *O meropriyatnykh*, 37.

58 KUDRYAVTSEV, *O meropriyatnykh*, 52.

59 KUDRYAVTSEV, *O meropriyatnykh*, 63.

60 KUDRYAVTSEV, *O meropriyatnykh*, 50.

61 AGAFONOVA, *Sanitarnaya i epidemiologicheskaya obstanovka*, 82.

62 *Vedomost' o estestvennom priroste*, 34–35.

63 *Spravochnyye svedeniya*, 111.

Thus, the urban environments' pollution and unsanitary conditions were significant problems of Vologda, Staraya Russa and Cherepovets. They affected the water quality and made fertile ground for the spread of cholera, which came to the cities by waterways and railways.

### Organization of the centralized water supply in Vologda

For the organization of the centralized water supply, the city administration had to find funds for construction work, select a contractor and a water source, and expand the water supply network to keep pace with the town's growth.

The city дума recognized a need to supply Vologda residents with pure water in 1874. Given the unsuitability of polluted river water for consumption, members of the дума regularly discussed building a water pipeline over the next 20 years. However, these discussions had no result due to the lack of sufficient funds in the city budget to construct a water supply system. Budgetary constraints prevented the city administration from carrying out large urban improvement projects without the attraction of loans. In the late nineteenth century, provincial towns' administrations began to use city bond loans<sup>64</sup> to resolve such issues.<sup>65</sup> The possibility of issuing a bonded loan with the permission of the government of the Russian Empire allowed the city дума and the city council to back the provision of the water supply in October 1895. In late 1896–early 1897, the city дума applied to the government for permission to issue bonds. The government allowed the city to issue bonds for 200 thousand roubles on 24 December 1898.

In pre-revolutionary Russia, the design and construction of water supply and sewerage systems were carried out by several Russian and foreign firms (the partnership of engineers "N. P. Zimin and Company", the firm "K. Siegel", the construction and technical office "Drzhevetsky and Ezioransky", the Moscow partnership "Widespread artesian water supply to B. I. Von Wangel", "The Bromley Brothers Mechanical Works Society",<sup>66</sup> joint-stock company "The Gustav List" and others).<sup>67</sup> In Vologda, the water supply project was prepared by the engineer M. I. Alutkhov, and the Bromley Brothers Mechanical Works Society<sup>68</sup> won the tender for the construction of the water pipeline in April 1898.

The choosing of a source for the water supply was a primary step in the plumbing project. The most thorough selection of natural springs was made in Vologda. The engineer N.P. Zimin carried out the first research and survey of levels of the urban territory in 1882. These surveys revealed the unsuitability of using well water for the water supply. The Vologda River, with water intake from upstream of the city, was reported as the only possible source of water for the Vologda inhabitants.<sup>69</sup> The issue of choosing the source was raised again on the eve of the building of the plumbing.

64 City bond loans were first issued by St Petersburg in 1875 and Moscow in 1886. Bonded loans became widespread in provincial cities at the turn of the twentieth century. S. Z. Moshenskiy pointed out that the spread of this practice had long been constrained by the prejudice that existed in society that only private individuals could engage in commercial activities, and that it was inappropriate for city authorities to do so.

65 MOSHENSKIY, *Rynok tsennykh bymag Rossijskoj imperii*, 146–147.

66 The Bromley Brothers Mechanical Works Company was a Russian Company that was founded in Moscow in 1896. Its founders, Edward and Frederick Bromley were Russian subjects from Hanover.

67 ZALESOV, *Inzhenerno-stroitelnye firmy*, 6.

68 The engineers Alutkhov, Shcherbakov and Kamenev also participated in the tender.

69 ZIMIN, *O vodosnabzhenii g. Vologdy*, 1–3.

In April 1895, Vologda physicians and members of the medical department of the provincial government summarized all the information about the quality of the local river water. They concluded that it was necessary to build a city water supply system because the pollution sources of the Vologda River were numerous; they could not be eliminated. Disinfectants were not available to most of the inhabitants. Besides, 10 % of the patients of the city hospital had gastrointestinal diseases from river-water consumption.<sup>70</sup> On 20 December 1896, the Vologda city дума instructed the city council with the assistance of a specially organized water commission to collect complete information on possible water. The Shogrash, Vologda and Toshnya rivers, as well as artesian wells that belonged to N. A. Volkov and I. A. Pervushin, were potential sources of water. Each of the selected water samples was sent for tests to the laboratory of the Hygiene Institute of Moscow University. The results of the analysis showed that the river waters were not suitable due to the content of organic substances in them. At the same time, the Hygiene Institute recommended the use of artesian water, since it was softer than the river water and contained half as much organic material. On 17 July 1897, the water commission recognized the possibility of supplying the city only with water from artesian wells, and the дума approved this proposal on 11 September.<sup>71</sup>

For funding of the construction, the Vologda city дума applied to the government for permission to issue bonds for 200 thousand roubles to cover the associated costs. This permission was received only on 24 December 1898, when the Bromley Brothers Mechanical Works Company completed the construction of a network of street water pipes in Vologda. In this regard, the mayor applied to the ministry of internal affairs for the release of a short-term loan of 100,000 roubles. It was intended to cover the costs of the contractor. The credit was issued to the city in August 1898 with the condition that it be repaid within a year from funds of the bonded loan with charges of 4.5 % per annum.<sup>72</sup> The construction of the water pipeline was completed in November 1899. The cost of construction work was 147.5 thousand roubles, and another 15 thousand roubles was allocated by the city to the Bromley Brothers Company to maintain the plumbing for the next three years. Water for the system was supplied from two wells by two steam pumps, was filtered, flowed into a reservoir with a capacity of 10 thousand buckets,<sup>73</sup> and then was distributed to eight public taps.<sup>74</sup>

Meanwhile, the expansion of water supply networks became the subject of discussions between local governments. So, on 17 November 1898, at an extraordinary assembly of the provincial zemstvo, Vologda provincial council made a report on the issue of connecting the buildings of the provincial zemstvo to the city water supply. The report described a need to join the main building of the hospital of the provincial zemstvo, a medical school and the house of a senior doctor and interns, as well as almshouses, to the water supply. The costs amounted to 700 roubles for these purposes, and the water charge was set at a quarter of a kopeck per bucket. The issue of connecting the buildings of the provincial zemstvo was decided on at an extraordinary meeting of the provincial zemstvo in June 1898, where there were discussions on the financial and economic aspects of this issue. First was discussed the cost of water supplied. Since the

70 *Postanovlenie Soveschatelnogo Prisutstviya Vrachebnogo Otdeleniya.*

71 BELYAKOV, *Artezianskiye kolodtsy*, 1–5.

72 NEPEIN, *Vologda prezhde i teper'.*

73 One bucket was approximately equal to 12.3 litres of water.

74 NEPEIN, *Vologda prezhde i teper'.*

provincial zemstvo was a large consumer of water, its member V. M. Vasiliev proposed to lower the price for a bucket of water to 1/10 kopecks. However, the city water commission and the consultative meeting of the provincial zemstvo administration and the audit commission decided that the price of water would be 1/8 kopecks. Moreover, the provincial zemstvo should pay the cost of laying the water pipes to its building (2,300 roubles) should it refuse to use a minimum of 365 thousand buckets of tap water per year due to unsatisfactory quality of the water.<sup>75</sup> V. M. Vasiliev did not agree with this decision. As a result of further discussions, the water commission decided to oblige the provincial zemstvo to reimburse the costs of laying the mains water pipes in case of refusal to use tap water, as this pipe was arranged to meet the zemstvo's needs. Also, the commission obligated the provincial zemstvo to pay the full amount for 365 thousand buckets of water per year (456 roubles and 25 kopecks) both in the case of the total consumption of this volume and in case of its underutilization. Water consumed in excess of 365 thousand buckets was costed at 1/8 kopecks per bucket. Due to the subsequent disagreement of the provincial zemstvo council with these conditions, the Vologda дума with the water commission decided to abandon the construction of the main water supply line for the provincial zemstvo.<sup>76</sup> After that, the provincial zemsky administration had to make concessions and agree to the proposed conditions.

Accordingly, at the turn from the nineteenth to the twentieth century, local governments of provincial towns did not discuss the issue of the need for water pipelines as a way to improve their water supplies and reduce the incidence of disease in their populations. Only financial and economic aspects of these problems were discussed. At the same time, in this particular case, the city administration, as the owner of the city water pipeline, was in a more advantageous position than the provincial zemstvo administration, which was forced to agree to unfavourable financial conditions in the absence of worthy alternatives for the supply of good quality water.

According to the Vologda city public administration, the water pipeline met its expectations. It made it possible to solve the problems of fire safety and of supplying the city inhabitants with clean water. In the period 1905–1908, there was an increase in water consumption of 31 % with the expansion of the water supply network by only 682 linear meters. It testified to the high demand for the tap water that was distributed among inhabitants via eight public taps. While in 1905, 3.98 million buckets of water were released from them, in 1908, this volume increased to 4.78 million buckets of tap water. In the 1910s, the Vologda water pipeline daily released 80 thousand buckets of water, which amounted to about 29.2 million buckets per year.<sup>77</sup> At the same time, there were about two buckets of water per person daily, which was not enough. The volumes of free tap water for city institutions, military units and low-income inhabitants were increasing. The city дума provided issuance of 3,000 buckets of tap water daily through priests and district trustees. Although the actual consumption of this water was below the established norm, in 1908 there were 52,500 buckets of water allocated to the poor townspeople. In total, that year 310 thousand buckets of tap water were provided free of charge, which amounted to 2.17 % of the total annual consumption.<sup>78</sup>

75 *Doklad № 3. Po voprosu o prisoyedinenii k gorodskomu vodoprovodu zdaniy Gubernskogo Zemstva*, 14–16.

76 *Doklad № 3. Po voprosu o prisoyedinenii k gorodskomu vodoprovodu zdaniy Gubernskogo Zemstva*, 16–17.

77 ZHBANKOV, *Sbornik po gorodskomu vrachebno-sanitarnomu delu v Rossii*, 340.

78 *Vologodskoye Gorodskoye Obshchestvennoye Upravleniye*, 61–62.

Thus, polluted river water was the main reason for the construction of a water pipeline in Vologda. Local physicians did not consider cholera as a reason for the improving of the water supply, but they did highlight the high incidence of gastrointestinal infections in general. Accordingly, the city objectively needed pure water, and the city administration recognized it. However, the city budget deficit had prevented the construction of a water supply system from starting for two decades; the proliferation of urban bond loans solved this problem within 3 to 4 years. The main burden of organizing the water supply was assigned to the city administration. Simultaneously, the participation of the state authorities was limited only to the issuance of permission to issue bonds.

### Reconstructing the water pipeline in Staraya Russa

In Staraya Russa, the first water pipeline was built in 1848. It was a wooden pipe through which water flowed by gravity from an underground spring of the Dubovitsy village into a well in the town square. The village was located three versts from the city. The population of Staraya Russa grew from 9,453 people in 1861 to 16,283 people in 1915.<sup>79</sup> At the same time, the underground source could not provide sufficient pure water for all inhabitants and resort visitors. In 1848 the source gave 9,600 buckets of water every day, and one year later, when another well was built, the city took 12,000 buckets of water every day. Then, in 1854, the performance of the central well was reduced to 5,400 buckets of water, and in the 1880s, the second well stopped functioning.<sup>80</sup> At the turn of the century, no more than 3,500 to 4,000 buckets of water were delivered to the city each day.<sup>81</sup> The regular decrease in water volumes was attributed to the deterioration of the wooden pipes. Also, the peasants of the surrounding villages had been making additional holes in the pipe for their own water use that additionally caused water pollution. In 1893, Dr Malchevskiy made a chemical analysis of the spring water in the five sections of the pipeline, comparing it with the results of an analysis of 1890. He concluded a significant deterioration in the quality of water in the urban water intake, caused by a four-fold increase in the concentration of organic matter and a doubling of ammonia levels.<sup>82</sup>

The lack of pure drinking water was a significant problem for the city, one that the city council tried to solve repeatedly. Meanwhile, the problem's solution was complicated by the fact that the wooden pipes were partly located under the Novgorod railway; therefore, they could not be replaced. In this regard, the city дума decided to build new plumbing for the centralized water supply of Staraya Russa.<sup>83</sup> The дума appealed to the engineer-technologist M. I. Altukhov to determine the cost of this new water supply, and he estimated its price at 150,000 roubles.<sup>84</sup> The city council planned to get the money by the issue of city bonds in 1898 because this amount was

79 *Materialy po statistike Novgorodskoy gubernii, 1916 god*, 25. *Ekonomicheskoye sostoyaniye gorodskikh poseleniy Evropeyskoy Rossii v 1861–1862 gg*, 23.

80 POLYANSKIY, *Illyustrirovannyi istoriko-statisticheskiy ocherk*, 245–246.

81 RSHA, O vydache gorodu Staroy Russe iz kazny ssudy v 150000 rub. na predmet ustroystva vodoprovoda, F. 1288, Op. 4, D. 216, p. 8.

82 RSHA, O vydache gorodu Staroy Russe iz kazny ssudy v 150000 rub. na predmet ustroystva vodoprovoda, F. 1288, Op. 4, D. 216, p. 12.

83 RSHA, O vydache gorodu Staroy Russe iz kazny ssudy v 150000 rub. na predmet ustroystva vodoprovoda, F. 1288, Op. 4, D. 216, pp. 2a, 8.

84 RSHA, O vydache gorodu Staroy Russe iz kazny ssudy v 150000 rub. na predmet ustroystva vodoprovoda, F. 1288, Op. 4, D. 216, p. 8b.

not available in the city budget. Therefore, the mayor applied to the government for permission to issue these bonds, but his application was rejected. After that, the city дума petitioned the ministry of agriculture and state property for the issuance of a government loan for the construction of a water supply system of 150,000 roubles. This loan was planned to provide urban real estate and to be repaid over 50 years. A decision on this question was passed to the ministry of finance, which agreed with the necessity of building the water supply system in Staraya Russa. Nevertheless, due to the beginning of the Russo-Japanese War and related state budget savings, the ministry rejected this petition.<sup>85</sup>

At the same time, the quality of the spring water had been deteriorating year by year, which was causing increasing morbidity from intestinal infections. In 1909 cholera took 25 lives of the city's inhabitants, and typhoid fever was in the city regularly.<sup>86</sup> The spread of diseases caused damage to the resort city and the city government renewed petitions for the construction of the water supply. The government approved one of these petitions, and 50,000 roubles were allocated from the state treasury on 31 August 1908. At the same time, the maturity of the loan was reduced to 15 years, and it was planned to give the other 100,000 roubles to Staraya Russa over the next two years in equal shares.<sup>87</sup> The water pipeline was built and began to work on 8 November 1909.<sup>88</sup> At the early stage of plumbing exploitation, less than 5 % of houses were connected to the water supply network. One year later, total annual water consumption was about 9 million buckets, including about 4 million buckets of water that were released free of charge.<sup>89</sup>

Thus, Staraya Russa, like Vologda, needed pure water due to the deterioration of the old water pipeline. The city dumas of both cities submitted their first applications for the issue of a bond loan at almost the same time. However, the government refused to issue consent to the administration of Staraya Russa. Even in the pre-crisis period, the government was not ready to issue permits for the issuing of bonds to the county towns, even though these bonds were not government securities.<sup>90</sup> At the end of the nineteenth century, Vologda, unlike Staraya Russa, was the administrative centre of the province, had a railway connection with Moscow, Yaroslavl and Arkhangelsk, and its population was almost twice that of Staraya Russa. Accordingly, the government prioritized the provincial centre and saved money on the small county town, given that the old water supply system was still functioning. The economic crisis and the Russo-Japanese War forced the government to resort to even more significant saving of money, including to the detriment of public health in provincial cities. The persistence of the city administration, regular epidemics of typhoid fever and the threat of cholera allowed the city to obtain a loan for the construction of a water supply system. Accordingly, the lack of funding was the main problem in improving the water supply in Staraya Russa.

85 RSHA, O vydache gorodu Staroy Russe iz kazny ssudy v 150000 rub. na predmet ustroystva vodoprovoda, F. 1288, Op. 4, D. 216, pp. 2a–2ab, 17.

86 *Otchet o sostoyanii narodnogo zdравиya*, 50. RSHA, O vydache gorodu Staroy Russe iz kazny ssudy v 150000 rub. na predmet ustroystva vodoprovoda, F. 1288, Op. 4, D. 216, p. 2a.

87 RSHA, O vydache gorodu Staroy Russe iz kazny ssudy v 150000 rub. na predmet ustroystva vodoprovoda, F. 1288, Op. 4, D. 216, p. 36.

88 RSHA, O vydache gorodu Staroy Russe iz kazny ssudy v 150000 rub. na predmet ustroystva vodoprovoda, F. 1288, Op. 4, D. 216, p. 44.

89 "Vek vody". Accessed October 22, 2013. <http://gkh.nov.ru/about/history/vekvody/>.

90 EDRONOVA, *Istoricheskiy opyt*, 57.

The city administration spent almost ten years on its solution, regularly soliciting loans from the state authorities.

### **Building the water pipeline in Cherepovets: problems with funding and technological decisions**

After a series of cholera pandemics and the signing of international conventions for the control of plague and cholera by the Russian Empire, the state power began regularly funding cities and zemstvos for sanitary improvements and the fight against epidemics in cities and provinces. In 1911, the law "On the giving of funds on anticholera and anti-plague events from the state treasury" reflected these measures.<sup>91</sup> As a result of the adoption of this law, city and zemstvo authorities could receive state funds through a specially created anti-plague commission for the improving of water sources. These funds were often spent on improving water supplies due to most cities having deficits both of quality drinking water and budgetary funds for water improvement. In 1911, the governor of Novgorod province, V. A. Lopukhin, recommended Cherepovets city administration to apply to the ministry of internal affairs for a loan of 50 thousand roubles from the government anti-plague commission to improve the city water supply.<sup>92</sup> This application of the Cherepovets city administration was granted on 9 November 1911, and the funds were provided on the security of urban land.<sup>93</sup> At the same time, after getting funds, the city administration faced two more significant problems. They were the choice of a water source and the most suitable technical and technological solutions for the construction of the water pipelines. As in most Russian cities, especially small ones, Cherepovets had no specialists in water supply construction. The city construction commission decided that Cherepovets should be supplied by water from an artesian well. This choice would turn out to be an unjustified waste of seven thousand roubles for the city in the absence of a positive result:

The city construction commission presented the results of its research at a meeting of the city дума on 15 May 1912. The commission reported on the absence of sources of good water. Also, it excluded the possibility of a system supplying water from the Sheksna river due to its remoteness from the city. As a result, the city construction commission decided to dig an artesian well in the town, the depth of which would be greater than those of other city wells. It was assumed that an artesian aquifer would contain cleaner water. The Moscow company "Oskar Shlikht" was the contractor for the artesian well, and the city administration allocated four thousand roubles for these works.<sup>94</sup>

Meanwhile, the decision of the construction commission was not proven by preliminary research on artesian water sources in Cherepovets. The drilling of the artesian well was such an exploration. Obviously, the widespread using of wells as sources of water supply for the Cherepovets inhabitants and the experience of neighbouring cities in using artesian wells for water pipelines influenced this decision.

91 RSHA, O merakh bor'by s zabolevaniyem kholeroy i obshchikh raskhodakh na bor'bu s epidemiyey po guberniyam, F. 1298, Op. 1, D. 2336, p. 3b.

92 ANONIM 1, *Cherepovets 5 yanvarya 1914 g.*

93 RSHA, O merakh bor'by s zabolevaniyem kholeroy i obshchikh raskhodakh na bor'bu s epidemiyey po guberniyam, F. 1298, Op. 1, D. 2336, p. 6.

94 K voprosu o gorodskom vodoprovode. In: *Severnyy torgovjy posrednik*, 1912, no. 2.

The construction of the artesian well began on 1 July 1912, with the drilling of a test well on Sennaya Square behind the building of the First City School.<sup>95</sup> The city construction commission chose the place for the well. After four months of work, a 362-foot-deep well had been drilled, and the same number of pipes with a diameter of 6–10 inches was laid in it. The total cost of the work was 7,057 roubles.<sup>96</sup> However, water was not found. Such results caused a lively discussion at a meeting of the city *duma* on 11 and 12 November 1912, which was chaired by Mayor A. I. Milyutin. At the same time, opponents were divided into two camps. The first of them criticized the decision of the city council to conduct exploration work to find artesian water. They believed that the *duma* had embarked on a "risky path", spending a large sum of money and not receiving positive results. As a solution, they proposed to stop drilling the well and to conduct water from the Sheksna river. However, most of the *duma* members and the mayor argued for the need for a water supply only from an artesian source.

During the debate, the majority position was adopted. The decision was to continue drilling the well to a depth of 400 feet. Also, the *duma* petitioned Governor V. A. Lopukhin to allocate 50 thousand roubles for the construction of the water supply in Cherepovets, which was given by the government anti-plague commission.<sup>97</sup> The governor granted the application of the *duma* and reimbursed half of the costs of trial drilling from the funds allocated to the city by the government anti-plague commission.<sup>98</sup> At the same time, Mayor A. I. Milyutin invited Mr Pogrebov, a geological engineer, to join the research of aquifers and rocks composing them. Pogrebov reported to the meeting of the city construction commission on 22 November 1912 that the nearest aquifer with good drinking water was located at a depth of 900 feet.<sup>99</sup> After that, drilling operations were temporarily suspended because deepening a 382-foot well to a depth of 900 feet was very expensive.

Once again, the question of the water supply was raised by individual members of the city *duma* in February–March 1913. Their position was argued by the need to use 50 thousand roubles allocated by the government because a time limit for the using of these funds was to end on 1 January 1914.<sup>100</sup> Members of the mutual fire insurance company joined the members of the *duma*, fearing the loss of the government appropriation due to the slowness of the decision on the installation of the water supply. At their meeting on 31 March 1913, they decided to allocate 25 thousand roubles for the installation of fire hydrants in several places along the pipeline.<sup>101</sup>

The inability to solve the technological problems of water construction by local specialists forced the city public administration to turn to outside experts. One of them was a process engineer, a member of the state *duma* of the 4th convocation, nephew of I. A. Milyutin, Vasily V. Milyutin. He, after consultation with the specialist in hydraulic engineering Professor I. G. Esman and a member of Brothers Bromley Company, presented three options for the location of the source of water intake from the Sheksna River at a meeting of the Cherepovets city council. The water intake could

95 Mestnaya khronika. In: *Severnnyy torgovyy posrednik*, 1912, no. 7.

96 Zasedaniye Dumy. In: *Severnnyy torgovyy posrednik*, 1912, no. 26.

97 Zasedaniye Dumy. In: *Severnnyy torgovyy posrednik*, 1912, no. 26.

98 Gorodskaya zhizn'. In: *Severnnyy torgovyy posrednik*, 1913, no. 3.

99 K voprosu ob ustroystve Gorodskogo vodoprovoda. In: *Severnnyy torgovyy posrednik*, 1912, no. 27.

100 Gorodskaya zhizn'. In: *Severnnyy torgovyy posrednik*, 1913, no. 10.

101 Gorodskaya zhizn'. In: *Severnnyy torgovyy posrednik*, 1913, no. 13.

be located on an island on the south of the technical school, or near the steamboat pier or in the upper stream before the city harbour.<sup>102</sup> V. V. Milyutin recommended choosing a place for the water intake above the Cherepovets harbour, in a place where passing ships would not excessively pollute the river water.

The city water supply project, developed by the company "Bromley Brothers Mechanical Works Partnership", was discussed and adopted at the city council meeting. The cost of the water supply amounted to 150 thousand roubles. After that, it was submitted to the Novgorod provincial assembly for zemstvo, and urban affairs, where the project was approved on 22 June 1913, and agreement between the Cherepovets administration and the Bromley Brotherhood Partnership was signed.<sup>103</sup> This document was sent to the minister of internal affairs for approval. At the ministry of internal affairs, the project of the Cherepovets water supply system was submitted to the ministry's technical and construction committee. On 22 August 1913, the committee made a decision, but with the condition of deepening and protection from mechanical shocks of the suction pipe of the water supply system, as well as an increase in the filter area.<sup>104</sup>

The construction of the city water supply system began in September 1913.<sup>105</sup> By 26 June 1914, about 1,600 linear meters of water pipes had been laid.<sup>106</sup> However, financial problems meant completion of the construction of the city water supply system was not possible by mid-September 1914. A shortage of funds was discovered even before the start of construction when the city budget was found to contain 145,696 roubles and 38 kopecks instead of 150,000 roubles.<sup>107</sup> The missing amount, as well as 35,000 for additional work on the installation and final equipment of the water supply system, were obtained by new loans.<sup>108</sup> The building of the city water pipeline was completed in 1916.

The water supply had two water lifting stations. Water from the Sheksna River flowed by gravity through cast-iron pipes to a concrete water intake well. From here, by two electric pumps the water was fed into a tank at the first water lifting station through suction pipes, the length of which were 135 m. The capacity of the electric pumps was four thousand buckets of water per hour. Further, water was pumped to a second lift station located in the city.<sup>109</sup> At the station of the second rise, water entered for sedimentation to a reservoir of volume 6,000 buckets. After settling, the

102 Gorodskaya zhizn'. In: *Severnnyy torgovyy posrednik*, 1913, no. 15.

103 RSHA, Ob ustroystve vodoprovoda v gor. Cherepovtse Novgorodskoy gubernii, F. 1288, Op. 9, Razdel 1913, D. 35, p. 3.

104 RSHA, Ob ustroystve vodoprovoda v gor. Cherepovtse Novgorodskoy gubernii, F. 1288, Op. 9, Razdel 1913, D. 35, pp. 17–18.

105 Sentyabr' 1913. In: *Severnnyy torgovyy posrednik*, 1913, no. 38.

106 Gorodskaya zhizn'. In: *Golos Cherepovtse*, 1914, no. 39.

107 SAVR, Doklady gorodskogo golovy o finansovom polozhenii goroda, ob izyskanii sredstv na stroitel'stvo v gorode, F. 911, Op. 1, D. 103, pp. 9b–10.

108 SAVR, Doklady gorodskogo golovy o finansovom polozhenii goroda, ob izyskanii sredstv na stroitel'stvo v gorode, F. 911, Op. 1, D. 103, pp. 10–11.

109 Cherepovetskij tsentr hraneniya dokumentatsii [Cherepovets Documentation Storage Center] (hereinafter ChDSC), Smety, pojasnitel'naya zapiska k smetam po rasshireniyu vodoprovoda v g. Cherepovtse, F. 702, Op. 1, D. 4, p. 13.

water was filtered and fed into the city water supply network.<sup>110</sup> The network of water pipes had a ring system that covered all residential quarters of the small city. There were few users of the water supply network. Even in the mid-1920s, only 36 users had access to the water pipeline. There were seven residential buildings and 29 industrial enterprises, state institutions and hospitals, as well as the Cherepovets station of the Northern Railway, which was the largest consumer of the tap water.<sup>111</sup> Meanwhile, most of the city inhabitants took water through five public water taps.

Thus, the state policy in the field of water supply had changed drastically in 1911. The state had moved from passive monitoring of the sanitary problems of small towns to providing regular financial assistance to them. In general, it was a decisive turn in the history of urban water supply, which allowed more settlements in the Russian Empire to solve water quality problems. However, the case of Cherepovets showed the other side of this policy. The haste in choosing a water supply source in the absence of local hydraulic engineers led to unnecessary wasting of money and a slowdown in water pipeline construction for several years. At the same time, it cannot be said that the water supply was a whim of the city administration and an attempt to get government funding quickly. Cherepovets needed pure water due to the growing urban population and the regular introduction of cholera into the city by waterways and railways.

### Conclusion

Thus, by the end of the nineteenth century, centralized water supplies were in demand in small Russian cities as a means of improving the sanitary and epidemiological situation. The solution of two essential tasks accompanied the organization of centralized water supplies: the searches for sources of financing and sources of water. The problem of financial support for water construction was common to almost all Russian cities due to the high cost of work and limited budgetary funds. Also, a significant slowdown in the pace of, or the postponement of, their construction was a typical feature of the arrangement of water pipelines with the involvement of state capital due to the state budgetary policy of saving financial resources which was associated with the wars of the early twentieth century.<sup>112</sup>

The lack of pure water was the main reason for the improvement of the water supplies in Vologda and Staraya Russa. Cholera was an additional argument in the issue of obtaining a bonded loan. However, the threat of cholera outbreaks was high due to the location and population growth in all three cities. Nevertheless, the townspeople had often been falling ill with other intestinal infections due to the use of contaminated water.

Unlike St Petersburg and Moscow, small towns everywhere faced a lack of experts and budget deficits. Specialists in hydraulic engineering, physicians and hygienists were educated in the capital's institutes. Therefore, their number was significantly higher in St Petersburg and Moscow than in the provinces, where 1–2 doctors might serve an entire city's needs. Accordingly, as noted by A. Mazanik,<sup>113</sup> J. Obertreis, and O. Yu. Malinova-

110 I ChDSC, Smety, poyasnitel'naya zapiska k smetam po rasshireniyu vodoprovoda v g. Cherepovtse, F. 702, Op. 1, D. 4, p. 13b.

111 ChDSC, Smety, poyasnitel'naya zapiska k smetam po rasshireniyu vodoprovoda v g. Cherepovtse, F. 702, Op. 1, D. 4, p. 14.

112 NASIBULIN, *K istorii gorodskogo samoupravleniya*, 100.

113 MAZANIK, *Sanitation*.

Tziafeta,<sup>114</sup> experts and institutes played a significant role in drawing attention to the sanitary problems in the capitals. Hygiene experts initiated public discussions and entered into disputes with the authorities. Even though this confrontation was not permanent, in Vologda, Staraya Russa and Cherepovets, the confrontation between the city administration and local physicians was not clean. In the provinces, they cooperated in solving sanitary problems more often, since both sides were interested in overcoming the main obstacle – lack of funds. In the regions, city administrations were the main social actors in solving water supply problems. They were responsible for obtaining funding, attracting experts, making technological decisions and expanding water supply networks.

The study showed that until 1911 the government did not solve the water supply problems of small towns. As the case of Staraya Russa showed, the county town had difficulties in obtaining permission to issue bonds in the pre-crisis period but no longer faced impossibility in getting funding during the economic crisis and war. In this context, it is worth agreeing with C. Henze and A. Smith<sup>115</sup> that state power was a deterrent factor in solving Russian cities' sanitary problems. At the same time, the choice of ways by which to solve the problems of centralized water supplies was caused by economic factors, in spite of the alleged multi-variance. However, one cannot fail to note that the administrations of these cities approached the problem thoroughly, persistently seeking financial support from the government for years and bringing about results with the construction of water pipelines. A gradual increase in the number of water supply network subscribers was the efficiency indicator for the solving of the water supply problem. It reflected the population's need for this service and the quality of water delivered to the townspeople. Also, public taps helped streamline water withdrawal by city inhabitants, who no longer had to draw water in random places where it could be of poor quality.

As noted by J. Oberteis and O. Yu. Malinova-Tziafeta, the pre-revolutionary urban environmental history, hygiene and urban infrastructures currently remain insufficiently studied. In modern historiography, there are practically no comparative studies on the history of Russian cities.<sup>116</sup> It is believed that this article will contribute to this research area and expand discussions on the problems of water supply in small Russian towns and changes in state policy on urban water supplies.

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114 OBERTEIS – MALINOVA-TZIAFETA, *Istoriya gorodov*, 182.

115 HENZE, *Disease, Health Care and Government*. SMITH, *Public Works*.

116 OBERTEIS – MALINOVA-TZIAFETA, *Istoriya gorodov*, 183.

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## Collaborators, Informers and Agents in Occupied Krakow: A Contribution to Further Research

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This study contributes new research exploring cases of collaboration with the German authorities and the phenomenon of delators (denouncers), informers and agents in occupied Krakow, as well as letters of denunciation. Cases linked to the blackmailing at the beginning of World War II of Jews, and as the war continued of colleagues and neighbours working for the resistance and of disliked relatives and in-laws are also taken into account. Letters written by Krakow inhabitants – some anonymous, others signed – are appraised for information contained therein on political, racial, economic, social and financial matters. The article also describes the activities of the Polish resistance against collaborators and the post-war settling of scores through the Krakow Special Criminal Court in the early post-war years.

Keywords: Collaboration. Informers. Agents. Krakow. Denunciation.

According to estimates made after the war, approximately 800–1000 people collaborated with the Krakow Gestapo during World War II. The historian Leszek Gondek suggests that at the end of the occupation the Gestapo could call on the services of 2000 informants. They came from various social and professional backgrounds, and their contacts with the German authorities were both regular as well as spontaneous, depending above all else on the dynamics of the occupation and the conditions at any given time. Their ranks were mostly made up of Poles and Volksdeutsche, as well as a small group of Ukrainians and Jews – of which there were around 20.<sup>1</sup>

The subject of the present analysis is not entirely unknown to researchers; however, the source literature is rather limited. Many papers have been published on the subject of collaboration in occupied Poland,<sup>2</sup> as well as on the history of Krakow during World War II as a whole.<sup>3</sup> On the other hand, no separate study has focused on individual cases of collaboration with the invaders or the phenomenon of delators (denouncers)<sup>4</sup> in the

1 GONDEK, *Polska karząca 1939–1945*, 114. See: JARKOWSKA-NATKANIEC, *Wymuszona współpraca czy zdrada?*

2 See e.g.: KOTT, *Obrońcy kolaboracjonizmu*, 179–183. SZAROTA, *Okupowanej Warszawy dzień powszedni*, 125–137. MADAJCZYK, *Polityka III Rzeszy w okupowanej Polsce*, 256. MADAJCZYK, *Między neutralną współpracą ludności terytoriów okupowanych a kolaboracją z Niemcami*, 181–196. RINGS, *Leben mit dem Feind*. FRIEDRICH, *Problem polskiej kolaboracji*, 46–52. GROSS, *Themes for a Social History*, 24 sqq. GROSS, *Upiorna dekada*, chapter *Upiorna dekada*. STRZEMBOSZ, *Rzeczpospolita podziemna*, 88–123. MADAJCZYK, *Zdrada – współdziałanie – pasywność*, 112–121. MADAJCZYK, *Zdrada i kolaboracja*, 91–103. TAUBER, *'Kollaboration' in Nordosteuropa*.

3 The most important studies on this topic include: CHROBACZYŃSKI, *Postawy, zachowania, nastroje*. CHROBACZYŃSKI, *Kraków 1939–1945*, 247–254. STRÖDER, *Pokłosie pobytu w Krakowie*, 141–146. SOWA, *Kraków i krakowianie*, 7–13. KULER, *Kraków 1939–45*, 26–40. CHWALBA, *Dzieje Krakowa*, vol. 5. CHWALBA, *Kraków w historiografii*, 79. KLUCZEWSKI, *Bez zaciemnienia*. CZOCHER, *W okupowanym Krakowie*.

4 The first and, to date, only attempt to investigate the themes of collaboration and denunciation in occupied Poland, as well as study surviving anonymous denunciations, was undertaken by ENGELKING, *Szanowny panie glistapo*. This problem is also addressed in passing in studies on the history of the Jewish community in occupied Krakow, in the context of denunciations of Jews. The most important publications on denouncers

capital of the General Government.<sup>5</sup> These problems have yet to be investigated as, to date, they have only been addressed in a few analyses, and even then merely in passing. The most important are those by Józef Bratko,<sup>6</sup> Anetta Rybacka,<sup>7</sup> Andrzej Chwalba,<sup>8</sup> Jacek Andrzej Młynarczyk,<sup>9</sup> Elżbieta Rączy,<sup>10</sup> Ryszard Kotarba,<sup>11</sup> Martyna Grądzka-Rejak,<sup>12</sup> Witold Medykowski<sup>13</sup> and Alicja Jarkowska-Natkaniec.<sup>14</sup> The abovementioned authors cited specific examples of collaboration, including in the context of relations between Poles and Jews.

The main goal of this paper is not only to describe the activities of individuals (denouncers, informers and agents) who collaborated with the authorities of occupied Krakow, but also to analyse their fates after the war, especially in terms of the way society settled scores with them. Seeing as this is a broad and complex area of research requiring a separate analysis, I shall not focus on the problem of institutionalized collaboration.

The outbreak of World War II and the ruthless policy of the Third Reich towards the residents of occupied territories led not only to the erosion of social ties, but also to the loss of any sense of solidarity. Individuals pursued their own selfish goals, with their sole interest in mind. That sort of behaviour was encouraged by economic and institutional chaos, as well as by the precarious structure of the German rule, consisting of rival agencies, constantly competing with each other. Many people took advantage of those circumstances to settle old scores, for example by denouncing their enemies to the Nazis. This kind of attitude was common in most cities of occupied Europe – for instance, in and around Lyon, France.<sup>15</sup> The situation in Western Europe was, however, different from the situation in Poland during World War II; there, death sentences were delivered without hesitation on a daily basis, by all the parties involved.

The character of occupied Krakow was defined by its multi-layered nature. This nature was due to the marginality of the Polish local government in the city, the “polyphonic” nature of the resistance movement and the structure of the Polish Underground State. Various authorities decided on the direction of the denunciations: citizens of Krakow denounced people not only to the Germans, but also to the PUS. From the point of view of social behaviours, there was little difference between those

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are: FITZPATRICK – GELLATELY, *Accusatory Practices*. GELLATELY, *Denunciation as a Subject of Historical Research*, 16–29. WILLIAMS, *Letters of Denunciation*.

5 This subject has been tackled in more depth by researchers of the history of Warsaw and the Warsaw region during World War II. Barbara Engelking has provided particularly valuable insights into the activities of blackmailers and informers: ENGELKING *Jest taki piękny słoneczny dzień*. Others include: GRABOWSKI, *Ja tego Żyda znam!* PERSON, *Jews accusing Jews*, 225–247, as well as a collective study: ENGELKING – GRABOWSKI, *Dalej jest noc*.

6 BRATKO, *Gestapowcy*. BEDNAREK, *Kraków – czas okupacji 1939–1945*.

7 RYBICKA, *Instytut Niemieckiej Pracy Wschodniej*.

8 CHWALBA, *Dzieje Krakowa*, vol. 5.

9 MŁYNARCZYK, *Pomiędzy współpracą a zdradą*, 103–132.

10 RĄCZY, *Zagłada Żydów*.

11 KOTARBA, *Niemiecki obóz w Płaszowie*.

12 GRĄDZKA-REJAK, *Kobieta żydowska*.

13 MĘDYKOWSKI, *Przeciw swoim*.

14 JARKOWSKA-NATKANIEC, *Wymuszona współpraca czy zdrada?*

15 See: WILLIAMS, *Letters of Denunciation*, 136–152.

forms of denunciation. In Krakow, this phenomenon was volatile and complex, which I shall attempt to emphasize in the main part of the paper.

### Krakow during World War II

In 1939, Krakow had a population of 259,000; two years later, this number had grown to approximately 321,000.<sup>16</sup> Several factors were behind the constant and rapid changes in Krakow's population. First of all, after the city was made the capital of the General Government in October 1939, it began to attract increasing numbers of civil servants (i.e. clerks) and military personnel, along with their families. Furthermore, the city had to cope with a mass influx of refugees from territories annexed to the Third Reich, in particular from the Greater Poland, Pomerania, and Silesia regions, many of them Jews and Ukrainians. Finally, in 1941 two municipalities and 28 rural communities were incorporated into Krakow, thereby establishing "Die Regierung Stadt Krakau".<sup>17</sup> According to the census carried out by the Nazi authorities in the GG in May 1943, Krakow's population was comprised of the following: 251,912 Poles (85.5 %), 20,997 Germans (7.4 %), 8,753 Jews (3 %), 1,947 Ukrainians (0.6 %) and 1,184 representatives of other nations, e.g. Austrians, Hungarians, Bulgarians, Latvians, Czechs, Slovaks and Italians (0.4 %), giving a total of 284,793 persons.<sup>18</sup> These estimates are imprecise, as the number of citizens may have reached as high as 319,000<sup>19</sup> or more.

One of Krakow's unique features was that, besides functioning as the capital of the General Government<sup>20</sup> and the administrative centre for the Krakow region, where all central-state civil and political institutions were located, it was also divided (in 1942) into three separate urban spaces: the "Aryan" quarter (inhabited by Poles, Germans and others), the Krakow ghetto<sup>21</sup> and the German camp in Płaszów.<sup>22</sup>

16 *Maty Rocznik Statystyczny, 1939*, 152. *Małopolska Agencja Prasowa*, 8 May 1943, no. 7, p. 3.

17 CHWALBA, *Okupowany Kraków*, 33–37. CHROBACZYŃSKI, *Kraków – „stolica” Generalgouvernement*, 237–238.

18 *Małopolska Agencja Prasowa*, 1940, no. 7, p. 3.

19 *Goniec Krakowski*, 26 October 1944.

20 General Government – an administrative body established on 26 October 1939 (pursuant to a decree issued by Adolf Hitler on 12 October 1939) in that part of occupied Polish territory which had not been annexed to the Reich.

21 The Krakow ghetto was created in March 1941 by the Nazi authorities in Podgórze district. It covered an area of approx. 20 ha in size and included 320 buildings and houses, in which 15–20,000 Jews were quartered. The final liquidation of the ghetto began on 13 March 1943, when the SS, police and Sonderdienst units drove 6,000 to 8,000 Jews out of the ghetto and transported them to the concentration camp in Płaszów.

22 The German camp in Płaszów functioned between 1942 and 1944, approx. 5 km from Krakow; it covered an area of 80 hectares. Initially, it functioned as a labour camp; later, it was transformed into a concentration camp. At its height it had a prisoner population totaling 30,000 (27,000 Jews and approx. 3,000 Poles).

The authorities of the General Government established their headquarters in Krakow,<sup>23</sup> as did the security services, the public order, district,<sup>24</sup> regional and city authorities,<sup>25</sup> and many different units of the German police, including its political (Gestapo), security (Sipo), and criminal (Kripo) branches as well as the 'Order' police (Orpo) and Protection police (Schupo).<sup>26</sup> The Germans occupied the headquarters of the city's most important offices as well as those of its social and economic institutions, including the General Directorate for Eastern Railways, the German Postal Service in the East, and the Central Welfare Council. Jan Dąbrowski recalled:

Krakow was swarming with Germans, both in uniform and civilian clothes, yelling and shouting, and acting more and more brutally towards the Polish citizens [...]. Impoverished refugees who returned to the city after many months of wandering often found their homes had been robbed by the Germans.<sup>27</sup>

National policies constituted an important part of Nazi occupation policy in Poland during World War II. The German authorities made every effort to deepen the divide between ethnic groups and antagonize the different communities that made up Polish society at the time. Krakow became one of the most important links in the chain of the Nazi German system of organized oppression. Two mutually hostile subsystems came to life inside this system: that of the invaders, and that of the citizens of the occupied territory. Over the years, relations between those contrasting worlds evolved, depending on various factors – but they remained hostile nonetheless; they were also strongly dependent on processes taking place inside those subsystems.<sup>28</sup>

The relationship between the local population and the Nazi authorities, especially in terms of collaboration in the first months of the war, was shaped by the tradition and the history of the city (the outcome of relations between the Kingdom of Poland and Galicia, and the attitudes of Krakow's 'intelligentsia'),<sup>29</sup> which had been brutally and viciously dismantled by the occupiers. The German occupation changed, rather radically, the city's ancient social fabric, violating many long-established values and

23 From April 1941, the GG government was headed by the state secretary who oversaw 12 main departments: internal affairs (in German: Hauptabteilung Innere Verwaltung), the treasury (Hauptabteilung Finanzen), justice (Hauptabteilung Justiz), economy (Hauptabteilung Wirtschaft), food (Hauptabteilung Ernährung und Landwirtschaft), forests (Hauptabteilung Forsten), labour (Hauptabteilung Arbeit), propaganda (Hauptabteilung Propaganda), science and education (Hauptabteilung Wissenschaft und Unterricht), construction (Hauptabteilung Bauwesen), railways (Hauptabteilung Eisenbahn) and post (Hauptabteilung Post). See: Administrative Regulation no. 1 of 7 April 1941 to the 3rd Regulation on the Reconstruction of the Administration of the General Government (Organization of the General Governor's Government) of 16 March 1941. In: WEH, *Prawo Generalnego Gubernatorstwa*, A122a.

24 Krakow was administered by the following governors: Otto Wächter (November 1939 to 12 January 1942), Richard Wendler (31 January 1942 to 26 May 1943), Ludwig Losacker (26 May to 10 October 1943), Kurt Ludwig von Burgsdorff (1 December 1943 to January 1945).

25 The regional governors of Krakow during the occupation were as follows: Ernst Zörner (September 1939 to February 1940), Carl Schmidt (February 1940 to March 1941), Rudolf Pavlu (April 1941 to April 1943) and Josef Kramer (April 1943 to January 1945).

26 On the structure of the GG Government, the RSHA etc., see: MAĆZYŃSKI, *Organizacyjno-prawne aspekty*, 467–482. For more on this subject, see: MADAJCZYK, *Polityka III Rzeszy w okupowanej Polsce*. MADAJCZYK, *Generalna Gubernia w planach hitlerowskich*.

27 DĄBROWSKI, *Rządy niemieckie w Krakowie*, 14. See also: BEDNAREK – ZIMMERER, *Okupanci*.

28 CHROBACZYŃSKI, *Kraków 1939–1945*.

29 BIENIARZÓWNA – MAŁECKI, *Dzieje Krakowa*, vol. 3.

standards. It also changed the mentality of society, disrupting citizens' sense of stability and security.

Many underground newspapers in circulation in occupied Krakow published articles focusing on the need for effective resistance against the Nazis while at the same time promoting what it deemed appropriate moral stances among citizens. The main features of the "civil struggle" against the Germans included the following:

1. Maintaining the fighting spirit and moral stances worthy of the Polish Nation;
2. Counteracting the destruction of humanity resulting from Nazi doctrine;
3. Preventing the plunder and theft of the nation's cultural and material assets;
4. Spreading word abroad that the fight continues in Poland;
5. Forcing the invaders to maintain a large military presence inside Polish borders so as to weaken their forces elsewhere;
6. Refusing under any circumstances to weaken the will resist.<sup>30</sup>

However, the terror of the occupation led citizens in Krakow to react in different, often extreme ways, from passive and active resistance through to submission, and even to collaboration with the Nazi authorities.<sup>31</sup> These actions destabilized the fabric of society (through fear, uncertainty, the threat of arrest, imprisonment or execution). People feared for their own lives and the lives of their families, and mistrusted their neighbours – and the underground press fuelled this sense of terror and foreboding, warning readers about the presence of agents and informers, and publishing the names of individuals suspected of committing acts of high treason. Gossips, busybodies, newsmongers, denouncers and snitches were reviled and stigmatized. The last two named groups comprised both people who openly or anonymously denounced others to the Germans, and intelligence agents or persons who (occasionally or regularly) cooperated with them, thereby becoming instruments of terror at the hands of the invaders.

### **Agents and individual collaborators in occupied Krakow<sup>32</sup>**

During the occupation collaborators working for the German authorities in Poland, and in particular for the Nazi security apparatus, fell into various categories. The Gestapo initially divided its agents into two groups based on formal criteria: *Werk-Personen* (W-Personen) and *Vertrauens-Personen* (V-Personen). In 1943, two more categories were introduced: *Auskunfts-Personen* (A-Personen) and *Gewährs-Personen* (G-Personen), whereas Orpo agents were called *Zuträger-Personen* (Z-Personen), as they ran their own informer networks. However, the broadest category is that used by the author of the present study, namely informers of security services in the occupied territory, which comprised the following groups:

1. V-Leute – most trusted agents, members of the NSDAP,
2. Agenten – agents who were not members of the NSDAP,
3. Zubringer – regular informers, such as doctors, members of the clergy etc.,

30 CHROBACZYŃSKI, *Postawy, zachowania, nastroje*, 100.

31 See: CHROBACZYŃSKI, *Postawy, zachowania, nastroje*, 100.

32 The present author first analysed this problem in her work entitled *Wymuszona współpraca czy zdrada?* This study deepens the analysis as a part of research under a grant of the National Center of Science (SONATINA 2). The author is currently working on a project entitled *Zjawisko donosieltwa w powiecie krakowskim w latach 1939–1945* [Phenomenon of collaboration in the Krakow district, 1939–1945] (project no. 2018/28/C/H53/00108).

4. Helfershelfer (H-Leute) – occasional informers, and
5. Unzuverlässige (U-Leute) – criminals and corrupt individuals, occasionally used by the SD.<sup>33</sup>

The main aim of this study is to describe the activities of the last three groups of informers and denouncers: occasional and regular collaborators of the Krakow Gestapo. It was they who usually provided the occupying authorities with vital information concerning members of communities with which they were in contact every day. They functioned in their social environments and gathered information concerning their neighbours, relatives, families and colleagues. Envy, jealousy, revenge, score-settling, fear of repression, economic competition and family quarrels were the most common factors motivating individuals to denounce their neighbours and begin collaborating with the German authorities and police.<sup>34</sup>

In my research, I use terminology that was adopted during World War II, with a few exceptions. In this study, "agents" are synonymous with "informers" and "confidants", i.e. persons regularly or occasionally in contact with the Gestapo. "Denouncers", on the other hand, are synonymous with "snitches", i.e. persons who reported to the Gestapo sporadically or had a one-off interaction with the authorities. The "services" of the latter grouping were employed as a weapon against a particular community, and their main motive was personal gain, to the detriment of other people, which often resulted from the fact that these individuals had no other means of subsistence for their families, or simply treated "snitching" as a mode of survival.

Another incentive for contacting the security apparatus was the remuneration that informers could expect to receive – in cash or in kind (vodka, cigarettes, clothes, sugar etc.); they could also count on the authorities' help in overcoming "red tape" regarding their economic activities. Moreover, any information deemed useful by the authorities could be given in exchange for an individual's exemption from forced labour in the Third Reich.

There were also those who chose to barter their freedom for collaboration with the Germans.<sup>35</sup> Reportedly, a relatively large number of occasional agents were willing to do so. According to Borodziej, in Tomaszów province, for example, the military police was itself served by two to eight informers.<sup>36</sup> The number of German collaborators based in the Krakow region remains unknown; however, the archives of the Krakow district of the home army provide us with the names of more than 500 informers.<sup>37</sup> Kazimierz Albin, a member of the Krakow underground, recalled after the war:

Krakow was unlike other cities. Many civilians, along with countless Germans, an exceptionally large garrison of soldiers and police, and a spider's web of agents and confidants made any combat mission in the city almost impossible.<sup>38</sup>

33 BIERNACKI, *Okupant a polski ruch oporu*, 71. For a classification of different types of agents, see: ARONSON, *Reinhard Heydrich und die Frühgeschichte*, 155.

34 For more on denunciations and reports made by the local population to the German authorities in occupied Poland, see: ENGELKING, *Szanowny Panie gestapo*. GONDEK, *Polska karząca 1939–1945*, 100.

35 See e.g.: *Dziennik Polski*, 1943, no. 613, p. 4. *Małopolska Agencja Prasowa*, 1943, no. 11, p. 12.

36 BORODZIEJ, *Terror i polityka*, 89.

37 MOSKALIK, *Zbrodniarz*, 82.

38 ALBIN, *List gończy*, 146.

Regular agents of the security apparatus were individuals who maintained regular contact with the Nazi authorities and who decided to cooperate with them on a permanent basis. These confidants were given new identities, apartments and jobs. Usually, they reported to their "guardians", i.e. German police officers who met them in public places or private homes. Borodziej claimed that the average monthly remuneration of such agents amounted to 100–200 marks, plus bonuses and additional compensation "in kind". Effective cooperation often resulted in, among other things, the informer's relatives being released from German prisons or concentration camps. An agent's principal task was to infiltrate the Polish underground, even at the lowest levels. The security police recruited professional agents from among active members of the resistance. Agents were selected based on their past activities and their role in the underground.

Professional agents were the most valuable source of information for the security police. Their anonymity was particularly guarded, and details of their cooperation were kept in different places for safety purposes. These agents declared their willingness to collaborate with the authorities in writing. The security police assigned them a coded number, and subsequently acquainted them with the area they were supposed to cover. Informers for the security apparatus often used the help of the Volksdeutsche, who recruited snitches and agents among Poles.<sup>39</sup> They reported on the prevailing moods of the local population, and often provoked individuals into expressing their views on the occupation and the authorities, and the data gathered in this way was registered by security police functionaries.<sup>40</sup>

In addition to sounding out the attitudes of their fellow Poles occasional denouncers primarily informed the Germans (willingly) of Jews residing illegally in the city.<sup>41</sup> As Barbara Engelking rightly observed, agents became, in a way, cogs in the terror machine and an integral part of the system the Gestapo relied upon – especially by sending letters of denunciation that supported German authorities not for money, but out of sheer cynicism.<sup>42</sup> The unpaid "snoops" of the security services deliberately stoked up fears of repression among the local population, and reinforced the conviction that the occupier was omnipotent and omnipresent in their everyday lives. These snoops were, undoubtedly, as much of a threat to Polish people and the Polish underground as "professional" or "paid" German agents. Anonymous letters sent to the Gestapo provide insights into political, economic, social and "racial" (i.e. in accordance with the provisions of the Nuremberg Laws) lives of Krakow citizens. In addition to reports informing the authorities of failures to comply with German regulations, activities of the underground and crimes committed by Jews (e.g. smuggling or illegal presence outside the ghetto), delators also sent in anonymous tip-offs against personal enemies.

### **Informers and denouncers in occupied Krakow**

During the war, officers of the Krakow Gestapo had at their disposal a large number of denouncers and several intelligence networks comprising 10–20 agents. At the end of the occupation, the Krakow Gestapo reportedly had approximately 2000 informers

39 BORODZIEJ, *Terror i polityka*, 86.

40 RAMME, *Stuzba Bezpieczenstwa SS*, 194–195.

41 FITZPATRICK – GELLATELY, *Accusatory Practices*, 1.

42 ENGELKING, *Szanowny panie gistapo*, 17.

on their books.<sup>43</sup> Kurt Heinemeyer,<sup>44</sup> a functionary of the Krakow Gestapo, testified after the war that "in mid-1940 he was ordered to examine every detainee to assess their usefulness as potential informers".<sup>45</sup> His first agent was a Pole, Karol Pfeiffer, who, during an operation against the Polish resistance at the beginning of the occupation, allegedly helped Heinemeyer gather intelligence on political organizations such as the Polish Socialist Party, the People's Party and the National Radical Camp.<sup>46</sup> Records show that the Kwast brothers, Gustaw and Maks, also regularly reported to the Nazis.<sup>47</sup> In 1939, they signed the Volkslist and volunteered for service as translators at the KdS Krakow. Because of their place of residence, they knew the local environment and customs, as well as their "way around" the area.<sup>48</sup>

The 3rd and 4th departments of the KdS also oversaw an extensive network of agents, informers and residents.<sup>49</sup> Their activities were mainly directed against Polish underground organizations. The scope of the responsibilities of these people depended on the department to which German functionaries belonged. Before the informer networks were reorganized in 1942,<sup>50</sup> Gestapo collaborators' personal files were held in Referat [Department] IV-N, which was supposed to manage and supervise the work of the informers and assign them missions. In reality, the SD and the Gestapo ran partially separate networks. The SD managed to retain only a certain number of informers, whereas the Gestapo, thanks to financial support from the Referat, was able to expand its intelligence group significantly.<sup>51</sup>

Heads of departments and subdivisions of the Krakow Gestapo had their own informers and agents: Adolf Spilker, Albert Schulz, Heinrich Hamann, Paul Emil Groner,

43 GONDEK, *Polska karzqca 1939–1945*, 114.

44 SS-Obersturmführer Kurt Heinrich August Dietrich Heinemeyer – born in Hannover on 27 December 1907; from 1940, a functionary of KdS Krakow; between 1943 and 1945, he was head of the Podreferat [subdivision] IV-A-1 responsible for fighting against Polish left-wing organizations. He was handed over to the Polish justice system in 1947.

45 Archiwum Instytutu Pamięci Narodowej w Krakowie [AIPN Kr], sign. 502/2246, Kurt Heinemeyer criminal case file, p. 130.

46 AIPN Kr, sign. 502/2246, Kurt Heinemeyer criminal case file, pp. 130–131.

47 Maks Kwast was born on 15 August 1909 in Łódź; he moved to Krakow before the outbreak of WWII. On 13 January 1939, he volunteered to work for the Gestapo. He was employed as a translator for the political police in the Jewish Department. His supervisor in his first weeks was Oskar Brandt; later, he was assigned to a group managed by Becher, in which, according to Kwast, he worked as an auxiliary police officer until May 1941. In May 1941, Kurt Heinemeyer became his supervisor; Kwast claimed Heinemeyer had appointed him criminal secretary. However, Heinemeyer did not mention any such promotion in his testimony. It is more likely that Kwast continued to work as a translator for the Gestapo, and remained a salaried member of staff in that department, located on Pomorska street, until the end of the occupation. He was sentenced to death after the war and executed on 18 August 1948. AIPN Kr, sign. 010/3900, Maks Kwast case file; AIPN Kr, sign. 425/302, prisoner file: Kwast Maks.

48 AIPN Kr, sign. 010/3900, Maks Kwast case file; AIPN Kr, sign. 425/302, prisoner file: Kwast Maks, p. 11.

49 KdS – German Office of the Commandant of the Security Police and the Security Services for the Krakow District.

50 The overhaul was a result of organizational changes in the RSHA in 1942 and a renumbering of departments. It was also in response to large-scale operations launched by the security services against the Polish underground. See: STRZEMBOSZ, *Akcje zbrojne podziemnej Warszawy*, 115–116. In 1943, more than a thousand agents and informers of the German security services located in the GG were eliminated. See: GONDEK, *W imieniu Rzeczypospolitej*, 138.

51 BIERNACKI, *Okupant a polski ruch oporu*, 73. Information regarding goings-on in the city was also gathered by "field agents" of the Orpo, the military police, administration, and the military. Furthermore, the "blue uniforms" had their own informers. See: PIETRZYKOWSKI, *Hitlerowcy w Częstochowie*, 107.

Kurt Heinemeyer, Rudolf Körner, Erich Vollbrecht, Kurt Thomsen, Wilhelm Raschwitz, Erich Mittman, Paul Siebert, Oskar Brandt, Wilhelm Kunde, Heinrich Mayer, Friedrich Popping, Otto von Malotki, Herman Hische, Otto Gundlach, Herman Hische, Edward Fischer, Edgar Schultz and Robert Weissman;<sup>52</sup> their job was to monitor the local population based on strict criteria.

Many occasional snitches who collaborated with the Nazi collaborators had a poor reputation for trustworthiness – they included a certain number of pathological liars, mythomaniacs and swindlers, and only a handful were reliable agents. The Gestapo were, in a way, resigned to relying on their own regular informers for help. As Klaus-Michael Mallmann and Gerhard Paul have concluded, “without an army of volunteer informers, the Gestapo would have been forced to operate blindly”.<sup>53</sup> Those who do not agree with this theory claim that the Gestapo used reports from private parties; but, on the other hand, they argued that there existed an entire web of German institutions whose mission was to surveil society and facilitate the work of the Gestapo. German researchers also claim that approximately 70 % of trials held in courts were based on anonymous letters sent to the Gestapo.<sup>54</sup> In the case of the Krakow Gestapo it is impossible to draw such clear conclusions based on what remains of its archives. Of the approximately 2500 cases investigated by the district court in Krakow during the war only 264 case files have survived. Of these, the prosecutor initiated proceedings based on 5 anonymous letters and more than 30 reports submitted by denouncers.<sup>55</sup> In several cases, individuals making false accusations in such reports were themselves convicted.

The Krakow underground intercepted several hundred anonymous or signed letters written by inhabitants of Krakow and the surrounding areas and sent to the police or the occupying authorities containing information on political, racial, economic, social or financial matters. The examples of denunciations that I was able to obtain and use as reference in the paper are insufficient to recreate the so-called “denouncer profile”<sup>56</sup> or to approach the problem statistically, dividing that group according to their social/professional affiliation, education, sex, patriotic sentiments or lack thereof. It is, undoubtedly, a subject that should be treated and discussed separately. For the purposes of this paper, I shall present the dominant aspects of the denunciations I have managed to study, along with their characteristic features. They were usually handwritten; several were typewritten – the latter were longer and more detailed. Only in several cases is it justified to suspect that the authors of those denunciations had – or did not have – elementary or higher education. Some conclusions might be drawn based on the vocabulary, grammatical or spelling correctness, overall coherency of the text, and the authors’ ability to convey information. I am thinking particularly of denunciations written on postcards – some of them were logical, others chaotic. Subjects tackled by authors were either thematically related or completely devoid of sense. Some denunciations were written with a pen, others with a pencil. Some were

52 JARKOWSKA-NATKANIEC, *Wymuszona współpraca czy zdrada?*, 248–250.

53 MALLMANN – GERHARD, *Herrschaft und Alltag*, 158.

54 MALLMANN – GERHARD, *Herrschaft und Alltag*, 158.

55 JARKOWSKA-NATKANIEC, *Criminal Cases*.

56 The analysis of that problem demands separate research. Due to the limited length of the paper and the fact that it is only loosely related to the main subject, I shall present only the most important conclusions from my research to date.

very neat, others very sloppy. Some authors took care to retain the structure of a formal letter, dividing the text into the usual "introduction – main body – conclusion pattern", providing their contact details (!) and using terms of respect: "Yours sincerely", "Best wishes" etc. Understanding the intentions of other denouncers demanded, however, a lot of concentration, and in some cases, imagination. Sentences were short and incoherent. Most of them were written on postcards, with big, capital letters and large spacing between lines.

Denunciations were addressed both to the police authorities (Gestapo, Polish police, criminal police) and to the administration (e.g. the housing executive). One of the addressees of those letters was the aforementioned Hans Frank, the general governor. Documents were written mostly in German, less often in Polish, even though Polish citizens' knowledge of the former language was usually poor. It is hard to say, at this stage of my research, if the addressees' motivations – most of them social – were more prone to use "legality" or "patriotism" as an excuse for their actions. The latter category especially was absent in the documents I have studied; the most common reason was dislike towards the targeted person. Less frequently, the reason was economic or anti-Semitic. The subjects tackled in the denunciations, however, corresponded with the dynamically changing situation in the country. For instance, from 1942, the number of denunciations targeting Jews increased; even before that, prior to creation of the ghetto, the opportunistic public frowned upon Jewish families occupying houses in Polish and German residential quarters. New tenants were treated with mistrust and suspected of illegal activities or collaboration with the Nazis; they were seen as a threat to the status quo. In 1944, denunciations related to finance started appearing – authors informed on frauds and their illegal businesses. It should be noted, however, that the dramatic increase in the number of denunciations was purely social in nature and was not particularly sought after by the German authorities due to their insignificance. This was often confirmed by the denouncers themselves, who wrote letters to the Gestapo complaining of lack of reaction to their previous offense reports.<sup>57</sup>

Denouncers communicated with the Nazi administration in both Polish and German (in writing or in person at the police station). When contacting the Kripo or the Polish police (PP), informers used Polish. Most policemen had served in the national police before the war; however, few of them were stationed in Krakow at the time. Those who took part in investigations supervised by the prosecutor were not originally from the city, but came from neighbouring provinces: Bochnia or Miechów. Franciszek Kózka served in the PP in Chrzanów,<sup>58</sup> while Jan Błoński was employed in an automobile repair workshop in Lviv.<sup>59</sup> Stanisław Turski "Wojtek" was born in Krakow and worked as an intelligence agent for the Polish police in Krakow, while at the same time cooperating with the ZWZ/AK [Union of Armed Struggle/Home Army – from 1943 he was a member of the 'Prostokąt' ['Rectangle'] unit).<sup>60</sup>

57 I shall analyse those problems in more detail in a book that I have recently been working on, dedicated in particular to the phenomenon of denouncing in the occupied Krakow, as part of the aforementioned research grant.

58 AIPN Kr, sign. 502/527, Franciszek Kózka case file.

59 Both of them were accused of treason but acquitted after the war. At the time, they lived at the same house on P. Popieła Street (no. 12).

60 AIPN Kr, sign. 502/ GK 164/380, vol. 1, p. 82, case file: Nordmann Ewald vel. Nordynski.

The police mostly intervened in political and racial matters, many of which were merely an excuse to settle scores with neighbours. That was the case with Józef Korajda, accused not only of illicit trading in pigs, but also of the unlawful possession of a firearm. However, the real reason was different – one of the inhabitants of Luboszyca wanted revenge on his neighbour who had been terrorizing the locals.<sup>61</sup> An analysis of the remaining documents shows that other denunciations were less interesting to the police. It took three anonymous letters to persuade them to take an interest in the illegal practices of Marian Sikora, who worked at the tobacco production plant. An investigation failed to produce any evidence of illicit practices.<sup>62</sup>

Denouncers and occasional agents were, as I have already mentioned, rewarded for their work – in cash or in kind, i.e. they were given food, vodka, cigarettes, clothes, underwear or textiles by their German supervisors. According to Kwast, a translator for the Gestapo, confidants did not receive recompense for their work: “they were given things only when they’d done something useful. If it was something big, they earned more; if it was something less significant, they earned less for it”.<sup>63</sup> Among those who did not seek compensation were delators: their contact with German authorities was regular, one-off or spontaneous; they acted either overtly or covertly. They wrote reports or appeared at police stations, informing the authorities of any violations in occupation law committed by their neighbours. Their actions were often motivated simply by personal grudges and only some of them treated it as a source of profit, often through the blackmailing of Jews hiding from persecution.<sup>64</sup>

Informers came from various social groups, among them members of the liberal professions (e.g. businessmen, clerks, teachers, academic teachers, farmers), former policemen and soldiers, as well as petty criminals and members of the ZWZ/AK underground. However, Sławomir Buryła, literary scholar also observed that “a significant number of those people were poorly educated”.<sup>65</sup> Understandably, the war gave rise to a new class of people who specialized in informing on Jews and people who failed to comply with the occupation law as well as on members of the resistance. Their motives were always the same: money, personal conflicts originating from before the war, fear or anti-Semitism.

While informers and denouncers posed a threat to inhabitants of the Krakow ghetto and Płaszów concentration camp, their actions could have even deadlier consequences for those Jews still hiding on the “Aryan side”. Jews seeking refuge in bunkers in the ghetto (after its liquidation) in 1943 were sometimes denounced not only by Poles who made a living out of seeking out the hiding places of Jews in the city and surrounding areas,<sup>66</sup> but also by their own co-religionists, which was especially painful.<sup>67</sup> The latter

61 Archiwum Narodowe w Krakowie [ANKr], sign. 29/1988/2124, Marian Sikora case file.

62 ANKr, sign. 29/1988/2124, Marian Sikora case file.

63 AIPN Kr, sign. 010/3900, Maks Kwast case file, p. 43.

64 See: ENGELKING, *Szanowny panie gistapo*.

65 BURYŁA, *Wokół Zagłady*, 122.

66 The search for Jews in and around Krakow was also conducted by a special task force of the German police (known as the Jagdkommando), composed of regular police and MP functionaries, created on 2 February 1943. Its main mission was to find and kill Jews who had gone to ground. See: AIPN Kr, sign. 1/857, J. Buszko, R. Kotarba, *Działalność represyjna okupanta wobec ludności polskiej za pomoc udzielaną Żydom (w rejonie krakowskim)*, p. 5.

67 This was at a time period during which the Nazi authorities were liquidating all the ghettos in the region, seeking out Jews trying to avoid arrest or deportation. The Krakow ghetto ceased to function on 13 March 1943. Mojżesz Brodman and Szymon Szpic were among those Jews who collaborated with the Germans, along with

group, however, were not very numerous;<sup>68</sup> their actions were motivated by other reasons. They also faced moral dilemmas. This fact should always be borne in mind when analysing this phenomenon. Polish police functionaries were also engaged in hunting down Jewish fugitives.<sup>69</sup>

Some confidants and informers “specialized” in denouncing Jews living incognito on the “Aryan side”, which I shall mention only briefly in order to outline the problem. They were denounced not only by their neighbours and agents, but also by their friends and relatives. In October 1939, the German authorities seized possession of Henryk Stecki’s medical practice after he had been accused of being a Jew. The informant was Stecki’s colleague who had known him before the war.<sup>70</sup> The Polish Underground State started to condemn these actions in the fourth year of the war, which I shall discuss in more detail later. Many Jews from Krakow concealing their identities were blackmailed, and the blackmailers threatened to report them to the Germans. This was the reason why Anna Landermann was forced to move from place to place so as to avoid arrest.<sup>71</sup> The Garus family, who began using fake IDs in 1940, were less fortunate. In 1943, Jan and his daughter, Maria, were arrested after they were reported to the Krakow gestapo by Jan’s second wife, who subsequently took over her husband’s fortune. Jan Garus did not survive the occupation; his daughter returned to Krakow after the war and took Wanda Garus to court.<sup>72</sup> In 1945, Mr Goldfinger testified before the Jewish Historical Commission:

After the liquidation of the Krakow ghetto and other cities, a great number of Jews and children took shelter in other quarters and in the neighbouring villages. Most of them were caught by agents and the “blue uniforms”; the detainees were kept in bunkers on Pomorska street without air, food or water; they were beaten; they kept them there for a few days, and then they were taken, half-dead,

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a few Jewish policemen. However, members of the Jewish Order Services were often confused with denouncers. Aaron Geldwerk mentioned the search for Jews hiding in the former ghetto area; in his testimony, given after the war, he recalls: ‘During the liquidation of the ghetto on 13 March 1943, I hid with my wife and my three children, along with 110 other people, in the attic of one of the houses abandoned during the relocation. Our hiding place was bricked up and concealed; we had a water supply, toilets, and reserves of food. The bunker was approx. 30 m long and 12 m wide. Odeman Brodman’s brother-in-law was hiding with us; Brodman came for him on the following day and promised that he would rescue all of us. We felt, however, that we were already doomed, as we were fairly certain that Brodman would report us. And we were right: Kunde came looking for us the next morning and when we saw him through a concealed window, we knew we had been betrayed. Kunde kept looking, knocking on walls; we knew he had been told exactly where to look, because he approached the correct wall, where the exit was very thoroughly masked with old bricks and lime, and he kept calling: »Juden, öffnet, er wird euch nischt geschehen, ich in auch Jude«. [...] On the following day, Kunde came with an entire OD unit led by Brodman. [...] We were taken to the OD station. When we walked down the stairs, my son, Salomon, who was 20 at the time, saw Brodman and said that his fate would be far worse than ours, that God would punish him for it. We knew that around 100 people from the bunker had been arrested on the previous day and shot on the spot’. Archiwum Żydowskiego Instytutu Historycznego [AŻIH], sign. 301/3366, pp. 1–2.

68 Most importantly, we should be aware of the actual scale of Jewish collaboration in occupied Krakow. Of the 800–1000 Nazi collaborators only 20 were Jewish. See: JARKOWSKA-NATKANIEC, *Wymuszona współpraca czy zdrada?*

69 See: FRYDEL, *Ordinary Men?*, 68–125.

70 AŻIH, sign. 301/445, an account by Henryk Stecki.

71 AŻIH, sign. 301/622, an account by Anna Landermann.

72 AIPN Kr, sign. 502/510, Maria Garus criminal case file, pp. 72–120.

to Montelupich, where they were beaten all over again; every day, the corpses of a few murdered Jews were transported out of the prison.<sup>73</sup>

Informers in Płaszów usually tipped off the commandants of illegal smuggling, planned escapes or hidden valuables. Most of them, with a few exceptions, remained anonymous or were merely mentioned by their last name, according to surviving records from the occupation. The information we have on them mostly comes from reports written by underground organizations and the "Żegota" Council to Aid Jews from 1943 and 1944. On 16 December 1943 the latter organization noted the death of 40 people murdered in Płaszów, i.e. Jewish policemen and informers who had become liabilities.<sup>74</sup> A separate issue concerned rumours that circulated in the camp regarding individuals often seen in the company of the most eager prisoner functionaries or camp personnel.<sup>75</sup>

Those reports, made either in writing or personally, initiated specific procedures based on legal and administrative regulations. They usually began with a notification sent to a police station or an application register and were followed by an analysis of its contents. Subsequently, the notification was referred to the relevant police unit working in conjunction with its Polish or German counterpart (Polish police, Kripo<sup>76</sup> and Gestapo, especially); a case-handling functionary was appointed and an investigation was launched, which was then referred to the state authorities; the prosecutor's office initiated criminal procedures, and the case was brought to trial and concluded with a final verdict. Between 1939 and 1944, several hundred cases were referred to Krakow's district and municipal courts by police units; many of them based on anonymous and signed denunciations. These were addressed to the Gestapo, Kripo, the Polish police, security police, the governor's office, the directorate of German police, the public security division, the military police or even Hans Frank, the general governor himself.

The number of denunciations was relatively high in occupied Poland; post office employees working for Polish underground organizations managed to intercept some of them.<sup>77</sup> In 1942 one of the cells of the "Skąta" Independent Guerilla Battalion in Krakow was responsible for intercepting denunciations addressed to the Gestapo; it was led by Józef Baster, a.k.a. "Rak",<sup>78</sup> and it succeeded in "confiscating thousands of anonymous letters".<sup>79</sup> The counterintelligence unit overseeing the area covered by the main post office in the capital of the GG, where anonymous denunciations were intercepted, was

73 AŻIH, sign. 301/574, an account by Mr Goldfinger.

74 AŻIH, sign. 136, Varia z okresu okupacji 1939–1945 [Miscellanea from the occupation], a report by the Council to Aid Jews of 31 December 1943, p. 3.

75 For more on this subject, see: JARKOWSKA-NATKANIEC, *Wybrane formy kolaboracji w obozie Płaszów*.

76 In Poland, before World War II, the criminal police, known as the *Stuzba Śledcza* ("Investigation Bureau"), was part of the state police (PP). At the end of October 1939, however, it was separated from the PP and incorporated into the German Kriminalpolizei (Kripo), where it was referred to as *Polnische Kriminalpolizei*, i.e. the criminal police (PPK). Thus, PPK officers became part of the *Sicherheitspolizei* (Sipo; security police). On the other hand, the Polish police of the General Government (the so-called navy blue one) was subordinate to the command of the order police (*Kommandeur der Ordnungspolizei*; KdO).

77 See: MADOŃ, *Pracownicy Poczty i Telekomunikacji*.

78 The cell was created at the end of 1939 under the aegis of the "Orzet Biały" [White Eagle] organization. During WWII, it continued to function under the supervision of the Krakow "Kedyw" Diversion Directorate. Its main goal was to intercept letters addressed to the Nazi authorities in which the sender's details remained empty. Particular attention was also paid to the sender's handwriting.

79 Based on an interview with Janusz Baster, Józef Baster's son (5 February 2016).

headed by Stefan Faber, a.k.a. "Stefan", who supervised one of Baster's cells.<sup>80</sup> One file that has survived contains 250 reports to the German authorities from the years 1940 and 1941, mostly concerning Warsaw and other towns (e.g. Otwock, Pruszków, Grójec, Lublin, Radom, Łódź and Biała Podlaska).<sup>81</sup> Most of these denunciations were written by Poles, but some also came from Volksdeutsche and Jews. Their authors had a variety of professional backgrounds and represented various social groups and classes. This type of activity qualifies, without a doubt, as collaboration.<sup>82</sup> This was also the case with reports sent by Krakow citizens; however, they were harder to identify, mainly because most of them were written in German.

### Activities of the Polish resistance

Underground organizations, such as the Secret Military Organization of the Krakow Garrison, which was incorporated into the Union of Armed Struggle, and later into the Home Army, were responsible for exposing and eliminating collaborators with the Gestapo. A civil resistance division was established towards the end of 1941. In 1942 articles condemning "snitches" began to appear in the underground press, a trend that coincided with the establishment of the courts of Krakow's District Government Delegation for Poland. Two years earlier, lists of Volksdeutsche were published; Poles acting to the detriment of the nation, e.g. working in or for German institutions, subscribing to the newspaper *Goniec Krakowski*, using the German names of streets and squares in their letters or "acting friendly towards the Germans" – were all put on a black list. In the third year of the war, the press warned of the threat posed by Poles returning to Krakow from POW camps, and published their personal details. As stated in one of the issues of *Goniec Krakowski*: "We do not want to condemn those gentlemen preemptively; however – as we are fairly sure of the credibility of this information – we would like to warn our citizens to steer clear of them".<sup>83</sup> The reasons for which the underground press warned citizens to be wary of these people are unknown, but they were probably suspected of acts of espionage.

A list of individuals accused of possible collaboration and of denouncing their fellow citizens was published in 1943. From that year onwards, the "Żelbet" group stepped up their intelligence operations under the auspices of the Home Army.<sup>84</sup> Members of the "Alicja" platoon<sup>85</sup> and the 'B' II unit of the Krakow Home Army, whose files covered five divisions, also took it upon themselves to expose Nazi informers. The diversion and sabotage groups were composed of around 20 soldiers, which in turn were divided into patrols numbering five or six individuals. The activities of the intelligence and

80 DĄBROWA-KOSTKA, *W okupowanym Krakowie*, 43–44.

81 ENGELKING, *Szanowny panie gestapo*, 5.

82 ENGELKING, *Szanowny panie gestapo*, 5.

83 *Goniec Krakowski*, 1941.

84 J. Proficz, *Hasło 'Jemiota'. 'Sowiniec'* Archiwum Dokumentacji Czynu Niepodległościowego [Archives of the Documenting Acts for Independence], sign. 364b; *ibid.*, sign. 80 Adam Żuława aka 'Gołąb'. *Walki oddziału partyzanckiego 'Żelbet I'*; *ibid.*, sign. 382, *wspomnienia Karola Łysogórskiego aka 'Gzymśik'*; *ibid.*, sign. 78 a, *wspomnienia dowódcy Oddziału Partyzanckiego 'Żelbet': Kraków z walk stoczonych przez Oddział z Niemcami w 1944 r.*

85 See: SKROBECKI, *Podgórski pluton dywersyjny 'Alicja' Szarych Szeregów w Krakowie*.

counterintelligence were supervised at the time by Stanisław "Sprężyna" Czapkiewicz, who drew up a list of agents and confidants suspected of working for the Gestapo.<sup>86</sup>

On 15 July 1943, the Directorate of Underground Resistance was established. Considering the fact that the first reports on informers date back to the first years of the war, the resistance's response was somewhat belated.<sup>87</sup> Reports compiled by the resistance, partially preserved in Polish archives, were written in 1943. They contain brief details on individuals whose actions were being monitored (first and last name, charges, address) or detailed reports on reconnaissance operations in a suspect's place of residence; in some cases, testimonies of witnesses were collected. The final result of the diversionary unit's efforts was a list of names of agents, partially published in the "Małopolski Biuletyn Informacyjny" [Newsletter of the Lesser Poland Region] or the "Małopolska Agencja Prasowa" [Lesser Poland Region Press Agency], together with the following verdicts: public condemnation reprimand or death, which I shall discuss in more detail in the following sections. Another matter concerned the resistance movement's failed operations, for example, unsuccessful attempts to liquidate informers or innocent people being accused of collaborating with the German authorities based on, for example, hearsay and unsubstantiated reports. There were also cases in which a diversionary unit was unable to gather the evidence required to execute a sentence – criminal reports often contained vague information on the suspect and their crimes, as well as reports made to underground organizations.

The Civil Special Court acting under the auspices of the Directorate of Civil Resistance for the Krakow district began to function in the first half of 1943. It maintained contact with the Special Military Court at the headquarters of the Home Army's Krakow district. Underground courts enforced the orders of the Directorate of Civil Resistance. Serious crimes against the vital interests of the nation, state and its citizens, requiring immediate punishment, fell under the jurisdiction of the Special Civil Courts. Functioning at the lowest level of the underground justice systems were the Civil Resistance Court Commissions.<sup>88</sup>

The Special Civil Court operated in Krakow until October 1944.<sup>89</sup> According to official releases of the underground press, the Krakow district SCC pronounced 67 death sentences against those guilty of collaborating with Nazi security and administration institutions.<sup>90</sup> Officially, 34 of those sentences were carried out before the end of the occupation (according to information provided by the underground press). Among those convicted were 15 Krakow citizens (seven death penalties, five public condemnations, two reprimands). The others originated from such places as Brzesko, Trzebinia, Sokołów, Łańcut and Trzcina.<sup>91</sup>

Not all sentences were published in the underground newspapers; more were probably carried out in reality. For example, the "Żelbet" diversionary unit reported that between mid-1943 and July 1944, 29 people were executed (including two individuals

86 J. Proficz, *Hasło 'Jemiota'*.

87 OSTASZ, *Krakowska Okręgowa*, 162.

88 OSTASZ, *Krakowska Okręgowa*, 159–162.

89 OSTASZ, *Krakowska Okręgowa*, 159–162.

90 OSTASZ, *Krakowska Okręgowa*, 165.

91 Calculations made by the author based on underground press releases: *Biuletyn Informacji Małopolskiej*, no. 16–47 (1943–1944); *Wolność*, no. 46–57 (September–November 1943), where information on executions was published.

whose names remain unknown).<sup>92</sup> Only two of those deaths were announced by the press.<sup>93</sup> The documents suggest that 63 Nazi collaborators were executed in the Krakow district. This may be a rough estimate, as only part of the file of the Krakow district of the ZWZ/AK has survived.

Some of the information regarding executions was actually false, and a number of individuals supposed to have been executed in fact escaped punishment: they left the city before they could be arrested. There is also the question of verdicts based merely on hearsay or the desire of the accuser for revenge. According to order no. 840/1 of the commander in chief of the Home Army of 11 August 1943, in the event that there was an immediate danger of Home Army soldiers being exposed, commanders were "entitled, as stated in the regulations, to eliminate the suspect on sight". In the fall of 1943, the civil courts adopted a more "tolerant attitude" as a consequence of the merciless response of the German authorities (10 Poles were executed for every one informer killed by the resistance). As a consequence, many collaborators escaped punishment, and only some of them were held accountable for their actions after the war. Accusations against informers and denouncers were especially difficult for post-war prosecutors to investigate, as they were as hard to prove after the liberation as they were during the war.

### The post-war settling of scores

In the final year of the war, pursuant to the decree of 31 August 1944 "on the sentencing of Fascist-Nazi war criminals guilty of murder and torture of civilians and prisoners of war, as well as of traitors of the Polish Nation" the handling of cases involving war crimes became the primary concern of Polish DA offices of Special Criminal Courts, Administration Courts, District Courts and the Supreme National Tribunal.<sup>94</sup> By 22 July 1946, 8,838 indictments had been submitted to the Special Criminal Court; 4,593 cases were resolved; 306 people were sentenced to long-term imprisonment and 631 to death.<sup>95</sup> The Supreme National Tribunal was established on 21 January 1946; it continued to function until 1948. During that time, the tribunal convicted 40 war criminals; 20 of them were sentenced to death.

The archives of the Krakow branch of the Institute of National Remembrance show that 2,263 criminal cases were brought against defendants based on the above-mentioned decree of 31 August 1944.<sup>96</sup> According to the records of the Krakow Special Criminal Court, most of the cases cited above concerned denunciations and collaboration with the Nazi authorities during World War II. At this point in my research, I am unable to give an estimated number of post-war criminal cases concerning denunciation-

92 J. Proficz, *Hasło 'Jemioła'*. Calendar of operations of the "Żelbet" Group Guerilla Units by Stanisław Plucha, Kowary 1999 (manuscript in possession of the author). Details concerning sentences were presented by Piotr Szmigielski in his PhD dissertation entitled *Pododdział IIB/Żelbet – rodowód, działalność i struktury jednostki Armii Krajowej w obrębie Obwodu Kraków-Miasto Inspektoratu Krakowskiego*, Archiwum Pracy Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego [JU Theses Archive].

93 OSTASZ, *Krakowska Okręgowa*, 159–162.

94 Special Criminal Courts were initially set up by state authorities in Lublin, Warsaw (with temporary headquarters in Siedlce) and Krakow (with temporary headquarters in Rzeszów), and later on, in reinstated and newly created districts of the Courts of Appeals.

95 RZEPLIŃSKI, *Przystosowanie ustroju sądownictwa*, 16–21.

96 Data based on the inventory of criminal case files held in the archives of the Krakow branch of the Institute of National Remembrance.

related offenses *stricto sensu*; it requires a more in-depth study. It results, among other things, from the fact that indictments rarely mentioned those charges. It was qualified as treason or collaboration with the Nazis; more often than not, the fact that the defendant was a Nazi denouncer was not revealed until the criminal investigation. One of the examples is the case of Aniela S., Jan Ł., Mieczysław K. and Ludwik S., charged in 1945 with "acting to the detriment of Polish nationals". As it turned out during witness hearings, in the autumn of 1943, Mrs Tańcul denounced two female Jews, who had lived at her house with a child, to the village leader, Mr Łańcuszka. The latter reported that to the Polish police station in Trąbki. M. K. and L. S., based on the abovementioned reports, came to Przebieczany and shot three Jews, i.e. two Jewish women and a child, and seized their property.

The prosecutors were unable to find sufficient evidence to sentence them for their crimes. They were, instead, found guilty of participating in denouncing people assigned to forced labour in the Third Reich.<sup>97</sup>

Terminology introduced by the August Decree, defining collaboration with the German authorities, covers also overt or anonymous informants of the Gestapo who reported Poles and Jews wanted by the secret police, revealing their location, intimidation of tenants by threatening to denounce them to the Nazis, and sometimes also ostentatious support for the Nazi policy (such as hanging Hitler's portrait on the walls, organizing meetings for Germans or using their protection). The post-war interpretation of the decree was rather general in nature and allowed punishment for various offenses. It mentioned numerous ways of acting to the detriment of the Polish state and its citizens, e.g. the reporting or arresting of wanted persons or those persecuted by the Nazis on grounds of their nationality, religion, race or for political reasons (which was all part of the denouncers' activity during the war), extortion, participation in the killing of civilians or prisoners of war, participation in organized crime or otherwise acting to the detriment of the Polish state, Polish legal entities, civilians, military personnel or prisoners of war. It was also mentioned that "acting or failure to act under threat or upon orders does not release the accused from criminal responsibility" (art. 5, par 1).

It was often hard to verify those accusations, not only due to the chaos that reigned at the time in the new, post-war reality, but also to other, more obvious reasons. Witnesses either died or left the country during the war or shortly afterwards, or it was impossible to locate them: they had in many cases gone into hiding for political reasons or had not returned from concentration camps. Others chose not to appear at hearings for fear of the revenge of those against whom they were supposed to testify. Old animosities were very much alive, and victims often lived close to their abusers or passed them on the streets of Krakow.<sup>98</sup> The atmosphere in the entire country, at the time, was that of widespread insecurity and mistrust, which was yet another obstacle preventing victims from bringing denouncers – their neighbours or relatives – to justice.

Investigations that the authorities succeeded in opening were launched on the basis of oral or written statements usually submitted personally to a Citizens' Militia station in the presence of a functionary; initial procedures were then put in motion, in accordance with protocols similar to those from the occupation period, including for the

97 AIPN Kr, 07/490.

98 OLCZAK-RONIKIER, *Wtedy. STĘPIEŃ, Miasto opowiedziane. STĘPIEŃ, Powroty krakowskich Żydów*, 255–266.

investigation proper and the court trial. Not every report led to criminal proceedings; sometimes proceedings were suspended during the verification stage. If a person decided to submit such a report after the war, they would usually chose the police station located closest to their place of residence – just as was the case during the occupation. The victims would testify against alleged informers, but then again so would people who, acting out revenge, made false accusations in their statements.<sup>99</sup> Thus, courts heard cases involving not only real informers, but also innocent people. Most cases concluded with acquittals, many of them, as I have already mentioned, being suspended during the investigation. It should also be mentioned that some cases were closed as the allegations had been deemed unfounded; some of the offense reports were based on conjecture, rumours or – quite often – desire for revenge, the settling of old scores or pure malice. Those cases had little in common with actual facts, and they became (similarly as during the occupation) a means to an end, such as the seizure of property, prospects of promotion at work etc.<sup>100</sup> As this particular research area is broad and complex, and requires a separate study, I shall present below only a few selected examples of cases that came to trial.

On 5 March 1945, the inhabitants of the tenement building at 4 Hetmańska Street wrote to the new, communist authorities of Krakow:

Mr. and Mrs. Konik, who, between 1941 and 1944, were the caretakers at our house, during that time harassed and blackmailed almost all the residents for no reason whatsoever, insulting them, and using the most offensive language. They were regular informers of the former "blue uniforms"; they frequented the police stations, reporting made-up "crimes", allegedly committed by the tenants.<sup>101</sup>

### **The court found them not guilty**

Many other cases ended in acquittal or the prosecutors simply suspending proceedings. For example, the residents of Bawół Square were blackmailed by their neighbours, the P. family. In their trial after the war, several male and female caretakers from neighbouring houses testified as witnesses, describing in detail the meetings of the accused with the Gestapo. They were not convicted, as the court found the evidence lacking – the testimonies of the witnesses were deemed insufficient, even though they confirmed that these events had indeed taken place.

99 False reports of offenses not committed were supposed to be prosecuted as offenses against the course of justice consisting in reporting an offense to an authority responsible for instigating criminal proceedings in full awareness of the fact that the said offense was not committed. Those guilty of that crime were to be subject to adequate sanctions, in accordance with procedures similar to those from WWII. During the war, these offenses were punished, based on evidence gathered, with several months to a year in prison. After the war, as I have already mentioned, it was more difficult to gather information, witnesses were dead or feared revenge from those closest to them, or were impossible to locate. In the post-war chaos accompanying the creation of new legal and state structures, as well as numerous crimes (see: ZAREMBA, *Wielka trwoga*), many cases and proceedings instigated by the prosecution were discontinued, the defendants being exonerated due to lack of evidence.

100 I am currently unable to give more accurate statistical data. I am still working on that problem as part of the aforementioned National Center for Science grant-funded research.

101 AIPN Kr, 502/120, Leon K. case file; he was accused of collaborating with the Gestapo and denouncing a Polish man to the Nazis who in turn later on arrested him.

In November 1945, a judge by the name of Bartynowski discontinued an investigation into a report made several months earlier by the caretaker of 5 Biskupia Street in Krakow in which he accused Irina Albon of threatening civilians that she would denounce them to the Gestapo. He also claimed that she extorted money and blackmailed the local community. An investigation showed that Albon, who was a Czech Jew, went into hiding in 1942 using false Aryan papers, and tenants' suspicions regarding her behaviour were due to mistrust and prejudice. They feared her because she kept to herself and met with strangers at different times of the day. She was a newcomer who kept her distance from her neighbours.<sup>102</sup>

### Conclusions

Collaboration with the Germans during World War II was both institutionalized and informal, forced and voluntary, and people who decided to become Nazi informers and, among other things, denounced their Jewish neighbours, their colleagues working for the resistance, or brothers-in-law they disliked and wanted out of the apartment, did so overtly or anonymously. They made oral statements at German or Polish police stations or wrote letters to the Gestapo. Sometimes they even used both channels, counting on a swifter response from the authorities. Those who were more desperate provided the date of their visit at the station or the time that had elapsed since their last letter ("I informed the police a week ago").<sup>103</sup> They emphasized the fact that it was their second or third report. Such a letter would begin, for example, with the heading: "To the Secret State Police in Krakow. This is letter no. 2".<sup>104</sup> One of the characteristic features of written statements was their matter-of-factness and the multiplicity of problems addressed in those letters. They often contained more than one accusation, such as illegal trading engaged in by a person of Jewish origin, or the crime of working for the resistance (for example, "he trades in coal without a permit, selling coal to Jews at prices bordering on usury"),<sup>105</sup> which shows the authors' determined efforts to have their enemies punished.

Very few of the informers and confidants were part of the criminal underworld before the war.<sup>106</sup> Collaborators were an entirely new category created by the occupation. Their actions were motivated mostly by the rapidly changing situation in the city, forcing them to adapt to the new totalitarian regime, which created many opportunities for the making of "easy money" or the finding of lucrative jobs, while at the same time allowing them to settle old scores or resolve new conflicts. In the first years of the occupation, informers primarily kept a lookout for any infringements of the law committed by their fellow citizens; less frequently they were asked to report on those in contact with the resistance or Jews concealing their identity. This changed in 1942 and 1943, when the top priority for agents became the exposing of members of the underground and Jews with illegal Aryan papers etc., as well as the people helping them.

Informers and denouncers were the most effective means by which the occupier could maintain control over society. They filled the "gaps" in police activities,

<sup>102</sup> Contents of denunciations. Private collection of the author.

<sup>103</sup> Private collection of the author.

<sup>104</sup> Private collection of the author.

<sup>105</sup> Private collection of the author.

<sup>106</sup> See: ENGELKING – GRABOWSKI, *Żydów tamięcych prawo należy karać śmiercią!*. JARKOWSKA-NATKANIEC, *Criminal Cases*.

ensuring Krakow and its citizens were under complete and constant surveillance. As a consequence, the Nazi authorities were informed, on an ongoing basis, of the situation in the city. Caretakers monitored the behaviour of tenants, neighbours were suspicious of new residents – and after the war, they accused one another of being Nazi informers. Those who actually reported on them often wrote letters in German in an effort to remain anonymous.<sup>107</sup> They feared for their safety (and were afraid of collective responsibility), or – conversely – were trying to get attention. Stefania S., the author of one denunciation from 1943, provided her personal details in the letter, along with a note stating that “I, the undersigned, may testify under oath in a court of law”. Besides, as Wolfgang Sofsky wrote: “Informers and spies were smuggled into areas of possible activity that eluded surveillance – a second, secret, auxiliary band of traitors to keep tabs on the official agents”.<sup>108</sup>

SS-Obersturmführer Kurt Heinrich August Dietrich Heinemeyer, an officer of the Krakow Gestapo, interrogated after the war by the prosecution of the Special Criminal Court in Krakow, testified that the number of denunciations received by the German authorities during the occupation was so high that they had been unable to verify all of them.<sup>109</sup> This is a rather general statement; however, considering the fact that even in September 1939, the Gestapo in Łódź received approximately 40 denunciations per day,<sup>110</sup> it might have been true. Heinemeyer, who in 1940 was appointed head of the Krakow KdS and in 1943 head of Subdivision IV-A-1 responsible for combating Polish left-wing organizations, relied on his colleagues or subordinates for information. Maria Hochberg-Mariańska, a Jew using “Aryan papers”, who worked with a local resistance cell, claimed that “Krakow was less infested with denouncers and blackmailers than Warsaw was”.<sup>111</sup> Hochberg-Mariańska’s words also explain little. However, unlike Heinemeyer, she was part of a group that was in immediate danger of being denounced by informers – she was a Jew in hiding who worked with members of the Home Army, which did not begin trying to eradicate this vile practice until 1943, even though the underground press had officially condemned denouncers a year before.

The efforts of the Krakow resistance to combat Nazi collaborators were far from a resounding success. In the entire Krakow district, only 63 individuals were executed, and 15 individuals from the city were denounced in the public press, whereas almost 2000 agents were active in the district. It should be noted that not all the information provided on confidants and denouncers was credible – which probably explains the limited results of the resistance in this area; the overwhelming presence of the Germans in the city was also not without significance.

The German occupation of Krakow changed, and somewhat radically, the deeply entrenched social fabric of the city and the mentality of its inhabitants, violating many values; it deepened the divide between ethnic groups, heightened mistrust and stirred up latent anti-Semitism. Jews fell victim to post-war pogroms (particularly in Kielce and Krakow in 1945 and 1946) or were forced to leave the country.<sup>112</sup> Those who

107 Anonymous denunciations intercepted by the resistance. The author’s own private collection.

108 SOFSKY, *Ustrój terroru*, 213.

109 AIPN, sign. 502/2246, Kurt Heinemeyer criminal case file.

110 BORODZIEJ, *Terror i polityka*, 57.

111 HOCHBERG-MARIAŃSKA – MARIAŃSKI, *Wśród przyjaciół i wrogów*, 29.

112 These events were described by: STĘPIEŃ, *Miasto opowiedziane*. TOKARSKA-BAKIR, *Pod kłótwą*. TOKARSKA-BAKIR, *Okrzyki pogromowe*. CICHÓPEK, *Pogrom Żydów w Krakowie*. KWIEK, *Wydarzenia antyżydowskie*, 77–89.

decided to stay in Krakow often had to pass their oppressors on the street. Only some of them reported their crimes to the Citizens' Militia; usually, they testified before local branches of Jewish Commissions. The two institutions cooperated, exchanging documentation.<sup>113</sup> The same witnesses were interrogated repeatedly. Many members of the militia had also served in the criminal police or the Polish police. As a consequence, they were mistrusted, as many members of the Jewish community remembered their participation in the operations launched against them.

The courtroom became the perfect platform for resolving neighbourly or political conflicts – it gave the claimants an instrument to bring (real or alleged) collaborators to justice. In the years that followed, the new Communist regime used the August Decree to deal with its political enemies.

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<sup>113</sup> Records of the SCC and the Social Court of the Central Committee of Polish Jews include the correspondence between the two institutions. In specific criminal cases, the testimonies of witnesses made before Jewish commissions or the prosecution were transferred from one institution to the other.

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## Replacement of Municipal Political Elite as a Tool for Seizing Power and Consolidating an Authoritarian Regime in Slovakia 1938–1940\*

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The main aim of this article is to present a comparative historical analysis of the mechanisms for the replacement of the political elites after the collapse of interwar Czechoslovakia and the declaration of the Slovak State under the influence of Nazi Germany in the years 1938–1940 at the level of municipal self-government with regard to the onset of an authoritarian regime. The subjects of the research are two towns, Prešov and Nitra, which provide an opportunity to look for similarities and differences in the changes implemented in two socio-economically and demographically similar towns with different political climates. The research is based on primary and secondary historical sources confronted mainly with the theories of V. Pareto, R. Michels and J. J. Linz. Historical developments in Slovakia in the years 1938–1940 and the process of the replacement of municipal elites correlates with the framework formulated in the sociological theories of Pareto and Michels. The process of the replacement of municipal elites contributed also to the gaining of characteristic elements of the authoritarian regime in the sense of the definition of J. J. Linz established in Slovakia by the Hlinka Slovak People's Party.

Keywords: Municipal Political Elite. Authoritarian Regime. Slovakia. 1938–1940. Prešov. Nitra.

### Introduction

One of the consequences of growing internal political tensions in Czechoslovakia during the Munich crisis of autumn 1938 was the replacement of political elites and the associated rise of a non-democratic, authoritarian regime, inspired by Italian fascism and led by the Hlinka Slovak People's Party (Hlinkova slovenská ľudová strana, hereinafter the HSĽS) in the Slovak part of the common state. The crisis and the subsequent avalanche of events included extensive replacements of political elites at lower levels of governance, including of individual towns and villages. A knowledge of the nature of the incoming political elite – that part of the society which possessed power and was to determine the direction of further development – and an understanding of the mechanisms for the seizure of power at all levels of socio-political life are prerequisites for the understanding both of society at that time and of the everyday political practices, that is, the essence of the HSĽS regime itself.<sup>1</sup> Without knowing about the new elites and understanding the process of their formation, it is impossible to understand the overall scope of the application of non-democratic

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<sup>1</sup> For more details on the HSĽS and its regime in 1938–1940, see: LORMAN, *The Making of the Slovak People's Party*. BYSTRICKÝ, *Slovakia from the Munich Conference*, 157–174. TOKÁROVÁ, *Slovenský štát*. BAKA, *Politický systém*.

principles, which, among other factors, was based on the (seeming) legitimacy of the new political elites, their performance, abilities, values and, in particular, the degree of cooperation of their members at all levels of the bureaucratic machinery. While the seizing of power by the Hlinka Slovak People's Party considered at the state-wide level is a relatively well-researched area,<sup>2</sup> attention has not been paid in such detail either to the way in which the seizure of power and personnel replacements took place at the local level or to the resulting socio-political consequences.<sup>3</sup>

### 1 Theoretical background (municipal elite and state regime) and research goals

In general, there is little consensus on the definition of the term elite in sociological (and historical) research.<sup>4</sup> In our article the definition of the term elite and its analysis are based on four general principles (shared by all three prominent elitists – Gaetano Mosca, Vilfredo Pareto and Robert Michels) summarized by Robert D. Putnam: 1) political power is distributed unequally; 2) essentially, people fall into only two groups: those who have “significant” political power and those who have none; 3) the elite is internally homogeneous, unified and self-conscious; 4) the elite is largely self-perpetuating and is drawn from a very exclusive segment of society.<sup>5</sup> Therefore, we are confining it exclusively to the area of politics and the area of power understood in terms of Max Weber's definition as an ability to assert one's will in social relations. By the narrower term municipal political elite, we understand a relatively small cohesive social group whose members share common values and interests. In their hands is concentrated political authority allowing them to influence the direction of local socio-political developments in accordance with their own interests. The members of the municipal political elite hold the highest positions in the municipal self-government. They have executive or regulatory competences within their political area, so they are actively involved in (or they are at least very close to) political decision-making on serious issues relating to society's development (not only political, but also economic, cultural etc.). They monopolize their position. In contrast to this municipal political elite, there is a numerous mass of politically passive (inactive) people – residents who are more or less eliminated from the decision-making process, it being directed and controlled by the elite.<sup>6</sup>

Elite replacements in correlation with changes in state regimes were examined by Vilfredo Pareto, author of the theory and model of elite circulation.<sup>7</sup> Circulation amongst the members of the elite and non-elite (within or amongst classes) is a typical characteristic of the elite. Political, economic and ideological factors are responsible for continuing this process. Pareto distinguishes between large and small elite exchange cycles. The large cycle is associated with massive violent revolutionary changes; the small cycle is linked in particular to the processes of the replacement acting between

2 Most recently in Slovak historiography e.g.: FERENČUHOVÁ – ZEMKO, *V medzivojnovom Československu. HRADSKÁ – KAMENEC, Slovenská republika*. In addition: HOENSCH, *Die Slowakei und Hitlers Ostpolitik*. TÖNSMEYER, *Kollaboration als handlungsleitendes Motiv?*, 25–54.

3 For more details, see: BYSTRICKÝ, *Politické rozvrstvenie spoločnosti*, 120–137. NIŽŇANSKÝ, *Zmocnenie sa vlády*, 14–44. PEKÁR, *Zlomové udalosti*, 120–131.

4 WASNER, *Eliten in Europa*, 16.

5 PUTNAM, *The Comparative Study*, 3–4.

6 For more details, see: MOSCA, *The Ruling Class*. WEBER, *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft*.

7 PARETO, *The Circulation of Elites*, 551–558.

members of the ruling elite and members of various social groups outside the ruling elite. Whether particular elites stay in power or not, whether they are partially or fully replaced or not, the fact remains that they remain in vital positions. Natural small-cycle replacement processes, which according to Pareto are necessary, usually take the form of the co-opting of individuals with the desired characteristics or of individuals infiltration with the support of social groups that do not participate in the government.<sup>8</sup> According to Robert Michels, Pareto's theory must be accepted with reserve because in most cases there is not a simple replacement but a process of intermixture.<sup>9</sup>

The possibilities for joining the power elite are not open to all people in a non-democratic regime, but they are based on strictly defined conditions (ideological focus, membership in the ruling party, nationality, religion etc.). Generally, the elite in authoritarianism, according to Juan J. Linz, is characterized by a certain heterogeneity in its background, a smaller number of professional politicians (persons who have built their careers in purely political organizations) and conversely a large number of politicians from bureaucratic, military or religious circles or other interest groups.<sup>10</sup>

Based on this theoretical framework, the main aim of this article is a comparative historical analysis of the replacement mechanism of the political elites after the declaration of Slovak autonomy on 6 October 1938 and subsequently after the declaration of independence of the Slovak State on 14 March 1939 at the level of municipal self-government. The subject of the analysis and the comparison are two towns – Prešov and Nitra – and their selected self-government bodies as defined by then valid legislation<sup>11</sup> – mayor, municipal assembly and municipal council in the period before 1938 or government commissioner and advisory committee after 1938. Following above mentioned sociological characteristics, the primary historical research on this example of two selected towns can illustrate a number of accompanying features peculiar to the process of the circulation, the replacement of municipal political elites and the seizure of political power in a non-democratic regime on the local level – such as power interventions by central authorities, the replacement of elected bodies by appointed ones, changes in the competences of self-government, differences in the social profile of the new municipal political elite's members etc. – and will bring new knowledge about the state regime in Slovakia in the period 1938–1945 and the role of municipal elites in the process of transition from democracy to authoritarianism. Prešov and Nitra provide the opportunity to look for similarities and differences in the changes implemented in these two socio-economically and demographically similar towns with different political climates. In addition to the comparison between the replacement processes of the elites<sup>12</sup> and the mechanisms of the seizure of political power in the two selected towns, attention is also paid to the question of continuity within those elites.

8 WASNER, *Eliten in Europa*, 47–50. KELLER, *Dějiny klasické sociológie*, 309–310.

9 MICHELS, *Political Parties*, 378.

10 LINZ, *Totalitarian and Authoritarian Regimes*, 161.

11 Acts no. 75 and 76/1919.

12 Analogically, it would be interesting and important to analyse similar processes within that part of the that part of the civil service which is on the local level very close to the municipal political elite. However, this analysis is not our goal. Generally, it applies to the non-democratic regime in Slovakia 1938–1945 that municipal servants were replaced for political and racial reasons.

From the point of view of the theory of authoritarianism we want to demonstrate that the process of the municipal elite's replacement significantly contributed in the case of Slovakia in the years 1938–1940 to the shaping of the characteristics of the authoritarian regime. This is to say that the process of municipal elites' replacement can be also interpreted both as a tool for the seizure of power and as a tool for the establishing of an authoritarian regime, defined again by Linz in comparison to a totalitarian regime. According to him, the authoritarian regime only partially fulfils three key characteristics of the totalitarian regime – monistic centre of power, elaborated ideology and citizen mobilization<sup>13</sup> – due to administrative inefficiency, economic underdevelopment or external influences.<sup>14</sup> That this Linz definition applies to Slovakia 1938–1945 was convincingly proved by Z. Tokárová, who, however, did not deal with the process of municipal elites' replacement in her analysis.<sup>15</sup>

## 2 Subjects of the analysis and comparison (towns of Prešov and Nitra)

The town of Prešov entered the Munich crisis as a local centre of the economically poorly developed north-eastern Slovakia, which was in the shadow of the traditional regional metropolis – the city of Košice. However, after the occupation of Košice by Hungary as a result of the First Vienna Award, Prešov became the second most important town of Slovakia after Bratislava in terms of its strategic importance, which was reflected in the increase in the population (especially of soldiers and refugees). The increase in the importance of the town was naturally reflected in the rising interest in the gaining of control of the town leadership by the incoming political group represented by the HSLŠ, which had had no significant influence here in the interwar period.

In the interwar period, the town of Nitra suffered similar economic problems as Prešov – poor transport connections and a lack of capital. However, Nitra was located in a fertile area and therefore it was the regional centre of the food industry. In terms of population growth, this town stagnated. Nitra was one of the traditional historical and religious centres,<sup>16</sup> with a fixed position in the Slovak national history, and in the 1930s national mobilization took place directly in its area, so the position of the HSLŠ in Nitra's municipal government was stable, but until the establishment of the Slovak State was not clearly dominant.

Both towns had a varied nationality structure with a large Jewish community in the interwar period. This situation changed in the period under review in connection with the development of international relations and anti-Jewish policy.<sup>17</sup>

13 LINZ, *Totalitarian and Authoritarian Regimes*, 70.

14 LINZ, *An Authoritarian Regime*, 293.

15 TOKÁROVÁ, *Slovenský štát*.

16 Bishopric was established in Nitra already in 880. The bishop of Nitra between 1920 and 1948, Karol Kmeťko, was actively involved in the process of establishing Czechoslovakia in 1918, and in 1920 he was elected as Deputy of the National Assembly for the HSLŠ. However, he resigned shortly after his accession to the episcopal seat.

17 For more details on the history of Prešov and Nitra in the years 1938–1945 see: PEKÁR, *Prešov 1938–1945*, XVII–LIV. PALÁRIK – MIKULÁŠOVÁ – HETÉNYI – ARPÁŠ, *The City and Region*. FUSEK – ZEMENE, *Dejiny Nitry*.

Table 1: Residents of Prešov and Nitra<sup>18</sup>

	1930	1938	1940
<b>PREŠOV</b> <sup>19</sup>	21775	21016	24394
Slovak	-	15558	17479
Hungarian	937	745	626
German	947	253	487
Jewish	3965 (by religion)	3892 (by religion)	4381 (by nationality)

	1930	1938	1940
<b>NITRA</b> <sup>20</sup>	21283	21323	22552
Slovak	-	18835	16034
Hungarian	961	776	1319
German	558	197	467
Jewish	3809 (by religion)	3976 (by religion)	4320 (by nationality)

### 3 The process of the abolition of self-government (Slovakia, October 1938–1940)

On 6 October 1938, Slovak autonomy was unilaterally declared in the town of Žilina by representatives of the HSĽS. The occupation of the highest power positions by members of the Hlinka Slovak People's Party and the ban on the forced unification with the HSĽS of other political parties was immediate after 6 October 1938, and was accompanied by the adoption of several measures to take power at the regional and local political levels, although this was not supported by either the Žilina Agreement<sup>21</sup> or any other political document. This was a unilateral activity of the HSĽS and its supporters. The measures were based on an extreme interpretation of the Czechoslovak legal rules in force and led to the removal of political opposition representatives from municipal government authorities or to the complete abolition of democratically elected municipal governments.<sup>22</sup>

The process of the abolition of elected municipal government in Slovakia through the analysis of legislative measures has been studied in detail by O. Podolec, who divided the process into four phases. The first three phases fall within the period by the end of 1938, the fourth phase took place at the turn of 1943/1944 during the existence of the Slovak State.<sup>23</sup>

According to O. Podolec, interventions into municipal self-government began immediately after the declaration of autonomy on 6 October 1938. Instantly, there were created power centres of the HSĽS – regional or local national committees, more or less spontaneously formed, which usurped the competencies of self-governing

18 In 1930, the census stated Czechoslovak nationality, so it is not possible to state the number of Slovaks (a significant number of Czechs who lived in Slovakia left from the autumn of 1938, voluntarily or forced, for the Czech part of the country). The Jewish population maintained one religious identity, but changed their national identity situationally. Therefore, in the table we present data for the years 1930 and 1938 according to Jewish religion in addition to declared nationalities, allowing that the 1938 populations by category thus sum to more than the total town populations. By 1940, Jews were already legally obliged to declare their Jewish nationality in accordance with their religion. The difference in 1940 between the stated total populations and the sums of the four mentioned nationalities is formed by members of other national minorities.

19 Data source: PEKÁR, *Prešov 1938–1945*, XXII–XXV.

20 Data sources: Štátny archív v Nitre [State archives in Nitra] (hereinafter ŠA Nitra), Pamätná kniha mesta Nitra II, fol. 91. ŠA Nitra, Nitrianska župa III, box 119, no. 5914/1940-adm.

21 The Žilina Agreement was signed on 6 October 1938 by representatives of political parties who were invited by the HSĽS leadership to support their effort to gain the autonomy of Slovakia in Czechoslovakia. In practice, the agreement meant the forced unification of other political parties with the HSĽS.

22 In detail: NIŽŇANSKÝ, *Zmocnenie sa vlády*, 14–44.

23 PODOLEC, *Postavenie obecnej samosprávy*, 647–668.

bodies. The official instructions of the autonomous government of 12 October de facto legalized the existence of national committees and recommended that the authorities respect and pragmatically exploit the authority of these national committees. Slovak autonomous government ranged between the national committees and self-government bodies, while respecting the existence of elected municipal government and communicating with it; this meant the application of procedures within the limits of the legislation in force. In the next step, power interventions into the municipal assemblies were carried out in those towns or municipal assemblies in which the incoming political representation did not dominate or in which the mayor was politically "unsatisfactory". In these cases, the elected municipal government was completely dissolved, and the government commissioner of the town was appointed (pursuant to § 28 of Act No. 243/1922). As mentioned, the incoming HSLS regime used extreme legal measures in the form of temporary measures in the administration of municipal affairs to abolish self-government and seize power. The third phase of the interventions is associated with the consolidation of the new situation and the dissolution of national committees. The last phase, which is not the object of our attention in this article,<sup>24</sup> was supposed to definitively remove the remains of interwar self-government. As part of the practical implementation of the newly adopted Act No. 171/1943 on changes in the self-government of municipalities, which came into force on 1 January 1944, party elections to municipal committees were held.<sup>25</sup>

### 3.1 "Machtergreifung" in autumn 1938

#### 3.1.1 Prešov

As already mentioned, Prešov was not a town with a strong HSLS position.<sup>26</sup> The replacement of the political elite and the seizure of political power in 1938 took place dramatically and precisely according to the phases described by O. Podolec.

Immediately before the start of the autumn crisis, the town leadership was still in the hands of the political representation democratically elected in the municipal elections in 1932,<sup>27</sup> because the municipal elections planned in Prešov for the autumn of 1938 were not held due to the developments after Munich. After the municipal elections in 1932, advocate Alexander Duchoň became the mayor of Prešov. He was a candidate for the Czechoslovak National Democracy, for which he had been an elected member of the Slovak Land Assembly<sup>28</sup> since 1929. His position was not based on party affiliation, but on the fact that he was a famous person who had been active in regional politics and the public life of the town since 1913. The municipal assembly of Prešov had

<sup>24</sup> The comparison is impossible due to lack of primary sources in the case of Nitra. For details about the fourth phase in Prešov, see: PEKÁR – TOKÁROVÁ, *Výměny městských politických elit*, 153–154; or PEKÁR, *Změny v samosprávě*, 83–90. [http://dejiny.unipo.sk/PDF/Dejiny\\_1\\_2008.pdf](http://dejiny.unipo.sk/PDF/Dejiny_1_2008.pdf).

<sup>25</sup> PODOLEC, *Postavenie obecnej samosprávy*, 647–668.

<sup>26</sup> For example in the municipal election of 1927, the HSLS party in Prešov received only 7.2 % and in 1932 18.6 % of the votes. This was significantly less than in the elections to the Chamber of Deputies of the National Assembly, in which the HSLS received 28.27 % in 1929 and 30.12 % in 1935. (These results are in Slovakia, not nationwide. In 1935, the HSLS went into an election in coalition with three other peripheral political parties.) On the situation in Prešov in more detail, see: SZECHY-GAYER, „*Vrátme si mesto!*“, 56–68. PEKÁR – TOKÁROVÁ, *Výměny městských politických elit*, 144–157.

<sup>27</sup> The municipal elections did not take place on one date. They were held in the second half of 1931 (e.g. Nitra) and early 1932 (e.g. Prešov).

<sup>28</sup> Slovak Land Assembly – a body of state government territorially identical with Slovakia which was created together with Slovak Land Office in 1928.

42 members,<sup>29</sup> whose mandates were divided among 14 political parties or election groupings. The two strongest political parties – the Land Christian Socialist Party (party of the Hungarian minority) and the left-wing Communist Party of Slovakia – had eight seats; the other parties had one to three seats. The HSLS had three deputies – Vojtech Raslavský (he was also deputy mayor and a member of the municipal council), Vincent Šoltys and Štefan Haluška.<sup>30</sup>

On 6 October 1938, Slovak autonomy was declared in the town of Žilina. Already on 7 October, the local organization of the HSLS created the local Slovak National Committee in Prešov. Its founding was initiated by Gejza Fritz, active in national politics for many years – a parliamentarian since 1925, a senator since 1935, in 1938 elected to the autonomous Slovak parliament and after 14 March 1939 the minister of justice.<sup>31</sup> In the town he was an extended arm of the HSLS leadership. Fritz soon assumed the position of chairman of the Slovak National Committee of Prešov after “hesitant” Vojtech Raslavský, the chairman of the local party organization. The Slovak National Committee competed with elected bodies and organized rallies, mostly attended by high school youth, which applied pressure for political changes in line with the events of 6 October. In the municipal government, these changes were reflected first in the withdrawal of the mandate of the Communist Party deputies and the appointment of alternates. Mandates in the municipal assembly were received by four other HSLS supporters – Florian Staš, Ján Meličko, Alojz Válik and Alexander Chrappa (all members of the Slovak National Committee). However, the functioning of the modified assembly was episodic. The assembly met at a single formal sitting during which the honorary citizenship of the town was granted to the prime minister of the autonomous government Jozef Tiso.

Even these changes failed to ensure that the HSLS prevailed, and therefore on 24 October 1938, the Slovak Land Office in Bratislava dissolved the self-government bodies in Prešov and on 27 October 1938 appointed the government commissioner of the town, who subsequently appointed his advisory committee.<sup>32</sup> Alexander Chrappa (director of the grammar school) was appointed as the government commissioner, who took over the position from the aforementioned Alexander Duchoň. The members of his advisory committee were: Andrej Germuška (director of the teaching institute), Florián Staš (district secretary of the HSLS), Ján Meličko (bank clerk), Alojz Válik (bank clerk), Jozef Makara (teacher), Ján Onofrej (farmer), Titus Ripka (bank clerk) and František Pjontek.<sup>33</sup> All of them belonged to the middle class and were nationally oriented Catholics, but above all, all of them except Pjontek were members of the Slovak National Committee of Prešov.

Looking at the new “revolutionary” town leadership, we observe that continuity with the elected assembly of 1932 was represented by only one member – Jozef Makara, who, however, was not elected to the municipal assembly for the HSLS in 1932, but

29 The number of deputies was determined by § 9 of Act no. 75/1919. The 16-member municipal council was elected from among the elected deputies. There was a chief municipal notary, who was appointed by the Ministry of the Interior and who represented the state in the town leadership.

30 Štátny archív v Prešove [State archives in Prešov] (hereinafter ŠA PO), Okresný úrad Prešov 1923–1945, box 127. Also, in detail: *Pamätná kniha mesta Prešova*, 2.

31 For more details, see: PEKÁR, *Dr. Gejza Fritz*, 394–404.

32 PEKÁR, *Prešov 1938–1945*, XVIII–XX.

33 LUPTÁK, *Šariš v budovaní slovenskej štátnosti*, 2.

for the Catholic Association. He continued in the administration of the town after 14 March 1939.<sup>34</sup> The members of the HSLŠ, who had had a peripheral position in the previous period because the party did not have a significant background in the Prešov electorate, came into the town leadership. By the intervention of the new Slovak autonomous government, the two most powerful democratically elected parties in 1932 were eliminated. They were not only political opponents but also ideological enemies of the HSLŠ (Hungarians and communists). At that moment, there was no personnel continuity from the interwar period into the new town leadership. None of the three members of the HSLŠ elected in 1932 remained in the town leadership in these new circumstances. More radical members of the HSLŠ succeeded, members who were not long-term directly elected actors of local politics in the town hall but who were in the main active only under the influence of events in the breakthrough period through the Slovak National Committee – in a parallel “revolutionary” body. They remained active in public life after 14 March 14 1939, which means that they fully adopted and represented the policies of the HSLŠ leadership, the idea of independence and the ideological assumptions of the party formulated after 1939, but, as will be shown below, they did not generally become a permanent part of the town leadership.

### 3.1.2 Nitra

The municipal government in the town of Nitra was in a different situation in the autumn of 1938. Municipal elections had taken place in September 1931 and were again held in spring 1938, unlike in Prešov. Both took place under democratic conditions, although in 1938 they were already marked by increasing tensions.

In 1931, the HSLŠ received five seats in the municipal assembly, thus joining the spectrum of stronger parties. This included the Land Christian Socialist Party (eight mandates), the Social Democrats (eight mandates), the Communists (seven mandates) and the National Socialists (four mandates).<sup>35</sup> The HSLŠ fought for a dominant position in the town with members of the Hungarian minority and with the Social Democrats. The Jewish minority also had a relatively strong position in the town leadership. However, this position was fragmented, members of the minority being active in several political parties. A total of 12 political parties were represented in Nitra’s municipal assembly in 1931, among which, similarly to in the comparatively large Prešov, 42 mandates were divided.

The HSLŠ was represented in the municipal assembly by František Mojto (formerly a teacher and at that time and until 1935 a member of the Chamber of Deputies of the National Assembly), Peter Rovnianek (head of the station, at that time elected deputy of the Slovak Land Assembly), Jozef Bednárík (retired teacher, died in October 1932), Imrich Rečka (landowner) and Dr Ladislav Nýbl (lawyer).<sup>36</sup> Mojto and Rovnianek were also members of the municipal council.<sup>37</sup>

The five mandates did not entail any extraordinary position for the HSLŠ in the municipal assembly. Mojto did not succeed in the election of the deputy mayor. The situation changed in the spring of 1932, when the mayor of the town, Dr Vojtech Szilágyi

34 In Prešov throughout the period under review, before 6 October 1938, in the time of autonomy, but also after 14 March 1939, the function of chief municipal notary was held by Rudolf Lieskovský, who represented a certain element of continuity. At the same time, it can be concluded that the regime considered him politically loyal.

35 ŠA Nitra, Pamätná kniha mesta Nitry II, fol. 35.

36 ŠA Nitra, Pamätná kniha mesta Nitry II, fol. 36.

37 ŠA Nitra, Pamätná kniha mesta Nitry II, fol. 41.

(a Jewish lawyer and candidate for the Social Democrats), died. František Mojto was elected as the new mayor, and was to stay at the head of the town until 1945.<sup>38</sup> The election of a member of the Czechoslovak parliament with contacts in the HSLS party leadership as mayor created the preconditions for the strengthening of the positions of the HSLS in the town's leadership.

In the municipal elections of 1938, the HSLS won twice as many votes as in 1931, which meant nine mandates in the municipal assembly.<sup>39</sup> The Social Democrats with nine mandates and the coalition of the Hungarian and German minority parties, which received up to 11 mandates, remained the biggest competitors for the HSLS. Unlike in the previous municipal elections in the town, a candidate was also put up by the Slovak National Party (no mandate). F. Mojto was elected mayor with luck in August 1938. In a stalemate, with the same number of votes, the choice between him and the candidate of the Hungarian-German coalition was decided by lot.<sup>40</sup>

Nitra entered the autumn crisis of 1938 with the newly elected town leaders. Its composition emerged from democratic elections and reflected not only the society-wide development trends of the 1930s, such as the retreat of regional and local political parties or ethnic mobilization, but also a local specificity in the form of the symbolic importance of Nitra for Slovak society, which partly explains the gradual shift of voters to nationally oriented politics.

A direct participant in the autonomy declaration in Žilina, the HSLS district secretary Vojtech Višňovský, spoke about the declaration of autonomy at a public meeting on 7 October 1938. A few days later, on 10 October, the Slovak National Committee was established in Nitra. To the leadership was elected the chairman of the local party organization Dr Jozef Buday (a canonist of Nitra, at that time the vice-chairman of the Senate of the National Assembly and one of the most famous politicians of the party active in national politics since the establishment of the Czechoslovak republic in 1918). The vice-chairmen became F. Mojto, P. Rovnianek and the lawyer Dr Štefan Klučovský. Overall, the committee finally had more than 30 members. The Slovak National Committee was involved in organizing public manifestations, which were frequently attended by young people and which took on an anti-Czech character. It also played an active role in organizing aid for refugees coming to the town as a result of the First Vienna Award.<sup>41</sup>

Looking at the situation in the town of Nitra in the "revolutionary" autumn of 1938, it can be stated that the seizure of power by the HSLS was not associated with any rapid dramatic organizational changes in self-government. The HSLS regime did not proceed to the immediate dissolution of the newly elected municipal assembly at that time and was satisfied that the HSLS had a stable position in it. The significant strengthening occurred only after a delay in January 1939, when next 14 members were co-opted by the local party organization to the municipal assembly instead of left-wing and Jewish deputies, thus completing the personnel replacements.<sup>42</sup> The local Slovak National Committee in Nitra was also created a few days later after the

38 ŠA Nitra, Pamätná kniha mesta Nitry II, fol. 50.

39 F. Mojto, P. Rovnianek, I. Rečka, V. Višňovský, Imrich Chovan (builder), Ján Tomasta (worker), Dr Karol Ďurček (teacher), Ján Dinka (railwayman), Jozef Bobek.

40 ŠA Nitra, Pamätná kniha mesta Nitry II, fol. 88–89. See also: Slovák, 3 August 1938.

41 IZÁK-HVIEZDIN, Črty z pohnutých časov, 11. See also: Slovenský hlas, 15 October 1938.

42 ŠA Nitra, Pamätná kniha mesta Nitry II, fol. 91.

declaration of autonomy. Considering the vice-chairmen, it is clear that this committee did not represent a fundamental power alternative to the elected town leadership. The stronger position of the HSLS and the personnel and political links between the Slovak National Committee and the town leadership, but also the leadership of the town with the Hlinka Guard, were largely the result of the circumstances surrounding the First Vienna Award, which directly threatened the town and its inhabitants. The feeling of being threatened had a linking effect. In this context, more significant interventions of the regime into the self-government of Nitra, more or less controlled by the HSLS, would have had a counterproductive effect.

### **3.2 Consolidation after 14 March 1939**

#### **3.2.1 Prešov**

In the following period, after 14 March 1939, and after some stabilization of the HSLS regime, another phase of personnel replacements took place in the town leadership. From 1 May 1939, the Office of the Government Commissioner of the town was taken over by the politically agile representative of the HSLS regime Andrej Germuška, who was meanwhile, a member of the autonomous Slovak parliament elected in December 1938 and continuously working as a body of the independent Slovak State after 14 March 1939. He appointed Jozef Kováč (police counsellor), Jozef Makara (teacher, primary school director), Július Róvó (bank director), Jozef Hlavatý (director of NUPOD – Purchasing Office of Agricultural Cooperatives), Vincent Šoltys (farmer) and Alexander Duchoň (notary) as members of his advisory committee.<sup>43</sup> We can state the following features in this new advisory committee:

1. The returns from the interwar period:
  - a. The return of long-term local politicians from outside the HSLS to the town leadership. These were the last two mayors of the town – Alexander Duchoň (formerly Czechoslovak National Democracy) and Július Róvó (formerly Land Christian Socialist Party).
  - b. The return of an HSLS long-term elected municipal deputy from the interwar period and at the same time a member of the “revolutionary” Slovak National Committee – Vincent Šoltys, who had had no place in the first appointed town leadership of October 1938.<sup>44</sup>
2. The arrival of persons coming from outside the HSLS party structure or outside politics – from the economic sphere (Jozef Hlavatý – director of NUPOD) and from the state apparatus (Jozef Kováč – police counsellor, who, however, joined the Slovak National Committee in October 1938).

The new town leadership was appointed after the declaration of independence and after a short period of stabilization. The process of power consolidation was progressing, but the character of the town leadership had changed. Although in the narrow seven-member leadership were four former members of the “revolutionary” Slovak National Committee, at least three of them were certainly not members of the HSLS. Up to five out of the seven members of the new town leadership belonged to

<sup>43</sup> *Pamätná kniha mesta Prešova*, 119–120.

<sup>44</sup> There can be included the arrival of long-term chairman of the local party organization in Prešov and former deputy mayor Vojtech Raslavský to the position of government commissioner of the town in December 1940 (at a later stage of the period under review, see below), who, though little active, was swept away by the “revolutionary” events of autumn 1938. Overall, two of the three members of the HSLS from the interwar period returned, although not simultaneously.

the interwar municipal political elite, and their political past was not linked to the HSLŠ. Two new people had come into the town leadership from outside politics, but were apparently loyal to the regime. This situation indicates a relatively significant degree of continuity with the interwar period in combination with that limited political pluralism which is a typological feature of the authoritarian regime. It also suggests a possible shortage of acceptable candidates in the HSLŠ, a pool which was close to exhaustion with the co-opting of personnel from the external environment to meet the needs of the regime and the population's expectations. This heterogeneity in the town leadership had a significant impact on the practical performance of policy. It strengthened the position of the government commissioner. He could question the political reliability of his advisory committee in case of need, and, at the same time, situationally use inconsistencies on a situational basis to gain the support of this or that opinion group to legitimize his own political decisions towards the public.

Shortly after the Salzburg negotiations, on 31 August 1940, A. Germuška resigned from the post of government commissioner of the town. The door to higher politics had become open to him when, in addition to gaining his parliamentary mandate in January 1941, he became deputy secretary general of the HSLŠ. After the transitional period of office of Š. Malinovský the post of government commissioner of the town was occupied by member of the HSLŠ, notary V. Raslavský at the end of 1940.<sup>45</sup> A completely new advisory committee was also appointed. Unlike the previous ones, officially created by the government commissioners themselves, the advisory committee of December 1940 was based on a proposal of the Prešov local party organization. Apart from two exceptions (J. Makara and T. Ripka), there were new names, among them pioneers of the Prešov Hlinka Guard<sup>46</sup> J. Pavlík and A. Sabol-Palko (later the government commissioner of Prešov) and well-known construction businessman of Prešov and member of the German minority J. Patzelt, who were politically more radical. The members of the advisory committee were, for example, a priest, a worker, a teacher, a farmer, a baker, a businessman and a bank official. It can be stated that only as a result of the external intervention in the situation in Slovakia by Nazi Germany was the municipal political elite in Prešov replaced, the continuity of previous development completely disrupted and, at the same time, the character of the HSLŠ regime changed. The leadership of the town was taken over by an experienced local party official, V. Raslavský, who was a member of the opposition before 1938 in an elected municipal assembly. The members of his advisory committee were all HSLŠ nominees with predominantly more radical political positions (for example several members of the former "revolutionary" Slovak National Committee, active members of the Hlinka Guard and members of the German minority), which corresponded to the overall situation in the HSLŠ after the Salzburg negotiations. Despite the fact that the number of advisory committee members increased compared to in the previous period, its activities were even more effective from the point of view of the regime. The advisory committee was largely disciplined along the party line, so outwardly more homogeneous. In term of practical

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45 V. Raslavský resigned as the government commissioner in September 1942 after disagreements with the minister of the interior Alexander Mach. He was replaced by Anton Sabol-Palko who was supported by the minister and German consul Peter von Woinovich with his office in Prešov. ŠA PO, Notársky úrad Prešov 1930–1945, no. 400/1942.

46 Hlinka Guard – paramilitary organization of the HSLŠ, which was mainly associated with more radical members.

politics, this leadership contributed to an increasing of the share of totalitarian elements in the non-democratic authoritarian regime of the Slovak State.

### 3.2.2 Nitra

The declaration of independence on 14 March 1939 did not bring a fundamental change in the municipal government of Nitra. Since the municipal elections of 1938, the HSLŠ had dominated the municipal assembly. Their position was strengthened significantly after the replacement of left-wing and Jewish municipal deputies by HSLŠ nominees in early 1939. The town was still headed by F. Mojto. It seems that there were no major conflicts at the municipal level even among the members of the HSLŠ, although there were changes at the local level in the party. There were no interventions from the regime in the self-government of the town and its personnel composition in 1939.

The dissolution of the originally elected, later co-opted municipal assembly took place in Nitra only on 4 November 1940. The municipal assembly was dissolved by the county governor Štefan Haššík, who came to Nitra shortly before 13 October, coincidentally from Prešov. F. Mojto was subsequently appointed as the government commissioner of the town. Dr Jozef Závodný (director of the hospital) was appointed as deputy. The advisory committee of the government commissioner consisted of: Dr Ján Rybárik (president of the regional court and also the chairman of the local party organization in Nitra), Michal Boleček (parson and organizer of Nitra's Hlinka Guard in 1938), Anton Válik (director of Tatra Banka), Štefan Jankela (tinsmith), Ján Kaňuch (vine-dresser), Vincent Boháč (worker), Viliam Gregory (retired military officer, for the German minority) and Dr Ákos Gyúrky (for the Hungarian minority).<sup>47</sup> Until the adoption of the new legislation in 1943, this town leadership changed only minimally. J. Závodný resigned as deputy of the government commissioner in March 1941 and M. Boleček was appointed in his place. In 1943 Boleček was replaced by Vincent Hreusík (retired railwayman). In 1942, the advisory committee was expanded to include one more member, Štefan Letko (bishop's official and district leader of the Hlinka Youth<sup>48</sup>).<sup>49</sup>

It can be stated that shortly after external intervention by Nazi Germany in the summer of 1940 the municipal political elite in Nitra was replaced too, and the continuity through previous developments was disrupted. There was very limited personal continuity between the dissolved elected municipal assembly and the newly established appointed advisory committee. Apart from F. Mojto, from the 1930s only Á. Gyúrky, who was a candidate of the Land Christian Socialist Party and was elected as a deputy in the municipal elections of 1931 and 1938, was to continue as part of the town leadership.<sup>50</sup> Only Mojto, as a newly appointed government commissioner, and Gyúrky, appointed – to represent the Hungarian minority – as a member of the advisory committee, would represent continuity. The discontinuity also applies to former members of the municipal assembly elected for the HSLŠ in 1938. None of them were to become members of the appointed advisory committee in November 1940. Among the members of the advisory committee, there would be three people from

47 ŠA Nitra, Pamätná kniha mesta Nitry II, fol. 97.

48 Hlinka Youth – youth organisation subordinated to the HSLŠ.

49 ŠA Nitra, Pamätná kniha mesta Nitry II, fol. 105.

50 In 1938, J. Kaňuch was a candidate for the HSLŠ, but he was not elected.

the dissolved municipal assembly, but these were people who had been co-opted by the HSĽS in January 1939, not duly elected in the 1938 elections.<sup>51</sup>

### Conclusion

The replacement of municipal political elites associated with the deepening of the authoritarian character of the regime after the seizure of power by Hlinka's Slovak People's Party at the state-wide level was a gradual process that began in autumn 1938, but the most significant and final changes did not take place until the end of 1940. This process cannot be understood only on the basis of the analysis of legislation. In practice this process was accompanied by a number of typical features, such as a continuity of the old elite in various forms in combination with the infiltration or co-optation also of new members from outside politics, but also with breaks caused by certain social groups being denied the possibility of joining the elite (students, power interventions of Germany).

The starting points of the analysis were the municipal elections held in interwar Czechoslovakia in 1931–1932 and 1938. After the elections, but also in the following months, the creation of the town leaderships was carried out according to a certain act, but socio-political circumstances and personnel relations in the leadership qualitatively deteriorated in connection with the international and internal political crisis caused by Nazi Germany in the autumn of 1938.

In the leadership of Prešov, the elected bodies were immediately, through power interventions from the centre and public demonstrations, replaced by appointed authorities. Not only the method of selection, but also the number of people in the town leadership was changed, which was reduced by 80 %. Thus, there was a seizure of power and at the same time its concentration in the hands of a narrow, more or less closed, group of persons of similar political beliefs and social status. There was also a change in the way in which power was exercised, because de jure the town was led by one government commissioner and the other members of the town leadership had only an advisory function, without real competences. Apart from the different positions and roles of these two bodies, the new HSĽS leadership of the town was homogeneous in terms of political, social, national and confessional composition. It contrasted with the character of the elected assembly, which reflected not only the political and social, but also the national (Slovak, Hungarian, Jewish etc.) and confessional (Roman Catholic, Greek Catholic,<sup>52</sup> Protestant, Jewish etc.) composition of pre-war Prešov. Although the situation looked dramatic, the changes were not as fundamental and long-term as they might appear. The situation in Prešov changed even during the next months after the seizure of power by the HSĽS, because party members inwardly represented a very heterogeneous group with individual intentions. They were trying to occupy positions in the municipal government, which is to say they were attempting to gain political power. The dynamics of changes at the level of the municipal elite was also marked by the effort of the HSĽS members to change their own social statuses vertically.

Nitra represents another case. Shortly before the Munich crisis in 1938, a new town leadership was democratically elected. Although the HSĽS did not dominate in it, it gained a decisive influence in the overall strongly Catholic-oriented assembly through

51 For a full list of deputies, see, for example: ŠA Nitra, Mestský úrad v Nitre 1918–1948, Minutes of the Municipal Assembly, 10 March 1939, box 35.

52 The Slovak Greek Catholic Church is an Eastern Catholic church following the Byzantine rite.

gradual steps connected with the removal of part of their political opponents. In a crisis intensified by the outcome of the First Vienna Award, which affected the town more than in the case of Prešov, it was not important for the regime to dissolve the politically and personally loyal town leadership. The members of the HSLS in Nitra did not even face serious internal conflicts; therefore the HSLS in the town leadership represented an element of continuity. The fraction of deputies of other political parties elected in the municipal elections of 1938 cooperated with the HSLS.

In both cases, significant personalities of the HSLS linked to these two towns played an important role at the time of the autumn political crisis associated with the seizure of power. In Prešov it was Gejza Fritz, who had been active in high positions of the party since 1925 and who was involved at the local level in the breakthrough period of 1938. He held high state positions until autumn 1944. In Nitra it was Jozef Buday, who was one of the grey eminences of the HSLS from the establishment of Czechoslovakia until his death in November 1939, and František Mojto, who had been deputy of the National Assembly for the HSLS (1929–1935) and became a member of the constitutional body – the State Council – in 1943. All three of them contributed to the seizure of power by the HSLS at the local level with their experience and authority.

In discussions on the evolution of the HSLS regime, there is a consensus that historians see its roots in the period of autonomy between 6 October 1938 and 14 March 1939, when not only the foundations of the regime itself but also its parameters were laid. The regime was subsequently developed without any major changes. The change associated with the declaration of independence of the Slovak State brought some stabilization of the situation. While in Nitra the declaration of independence did not bring a change in the town leadership, in Prešov, where the HSLS was inconsistent, the government commissioner and all but one of the members of the advisory committee were changed. Half the seats in the advisory committee were received by loyal people from outside the HSLS at the expense of HSLS members active in the fall of 1938.

A fundamental change in the regime of the Slovak State took place after July 1940 in connection with the Salzburg negotiations between the highest representatives of Nazi Germany and the Slovak State. Following the direct intervention of Germany, a radical pro-German wing in the HSLS was strengthened, which resulted in personnel replacements directly in the government and in the structures of the HSLS. At the same time, a prerequisite for potential personnel changes at lower policy levels was created. The interventions of Nazi Germany, whether at the highest level in the form of the Salzburg negotiations in the summer of 1940 or in the case of Prešov also in the form of the interventions of the German consul Peter von Woinovich, significantly contributed to radicalization and increasing elements of totalitarianism in the regime of the Slovak State. It was these interventions that caused discontinuities in the process of the replacement of municipal political elites in Prešov and Nitra. In Prešov, the town leadership was changed completely, with a strong representation of radical politics, including a representative of the German minority. In Nitra, the municipal assembly was dissolved at the end of 1940, and the government commissioner of the town and his advisory committee, with representatives of the German and Hungarian minorities, were appointed.

At the end of 1940, both towns came to the same result by different routes – elected municipal government was replaced by appointed authorities, who accumulated decisive power in the hands of one official (the government commissioner) and its advisory committee. In both analysed cases, the personnel composition of these bodies

gave the impression of an effort to align the composition of the town leadership with the idea of corporate statism which was codified in the Constitution Act (No. 185/1939) on the one hand, but on the other hand did not correspond to the ideology of Nazism to which the radical wing of the HSLŠ leaned after the Salzburg negotiations. The German minority was represented in the leadership of both towns.

Our comparative analysis showed that the historical development in Slovakia in the years 1938–1940 and the subsequently-continuing process of the replacement of municipal elites correlates with the framework that we formulated mainly on the basis of the sociological theories of V. Pareto (circulation) and R. Michels (intermixture). The power interference into the municipal elites went hand in hand with the degradation of self-government, the establishment or reinforcement of an authoritarian regime and the transfer of its ideological and programme pillars to practical politics. We also showed that in the process of the replacement of municipal elites, the characteristic elements of the authoritarian regime in the sense of the definition of J. J. Linz were strengthened, especially the influence of the (state and party) centre and citizen mobilization (especially in 1938). We confirmed the importance of the Salzburg negotiations of July 1940 as a milestone in the development of the regime in Slovakia in the years 1938–1945. It should not be forgotten that these developments in Slovakia were part of the process of the total seizure of power ("Machtergreifung") by the HSLŠ, which was inspired by analogous processes in fascist Italy and Nazi Germany and aimed at the establishing of totalitarianism with fascist elements.

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**Appendix A**

Overview – the HSLŠ in the town leadership of Prešov in the years 1938–1940

(1932) to 1938-10-27	1938-10-27 to 1939-05-01	1939-05-01 to 1940-08-31	1940-08-31 to 1940-12-13	After 1940-12-13
Mayor, elected, A. Duchoň	Government commissioner, appointed, A. Chrappa	Government commissioner, appointed, A. Gemuška	Government commissioner, appointed, Š. Malinovský	Government commissioner, appointed, V. Raslavský (from September 1942 A. Sabol-Palko)
Municipal council (15 members <sup>53</sup> + notary ex off);  Members for the HSLŠ or connected later with the HSLŠ: J. Makara J. Róvó A. Duchoň V. Raslavský	Advisory committee (8 members), appointed:  J. Makara T. Ripka A. Gemuška F. Staš J. Meličko A. Válik J. Onofrej F. Pjontek	Advisory committee (6 members), appointed:  J. Makara J. Róvó A. Duchoň J. Kováč J. Hlavatý V. Šoltys	Advisory committee (6 members), appointed:  J. Makara J. Róvó A. Duchoň J. Kováč J. Hlavatý V. Šoltys	Advisory committee (10 members), appointed:  J. Makara T. Ripka J. Bombík Š. Gmitro Š. Hések A. Kobulský J. Pavlík J. Patzelt A. Sabol-Palko D. Sokolík
Municipal assembly – 42 elected members  Members elected in 1932 for the HSLŠ: V. Raslavský V. Šoltys Š. Haluška				

53 Selected from deputies of the Municipal assembly.

**Appendix B**

Overview – the HSL'S in the town leadership of Nitra in the years 1938–1940

Election of 1931	Election of May 1938	Co-optation of January 1939	Appointment of November 1940
Mayor, elected, from 1932, F. Mojto (for the HSL'S)	Mayor, elected, F. Mojto	Mayor, elected, F. Mojto	Government commissioner, appointed, F. Mojto  Deputy Government Commissioner J. Závodný
Municipal assembly – 42 elected members  Members elected in 1931 for the HSL'S: F. Mojto P. Rovnianek I. Rečka J. Bednárik L. Nýbl	Municipal assembly – 42 elected members  Members elected in 1938 for the HSL'S: F. Mojto P. Rovnianek I. Rečka V. Višňovský I. Chovan J. Tomasta K. Ďurček J. Dinka J. Bobek	Municipal assembly – 42 elected (1931) and co-opted members  23 members for the HSL'S (9 elected, 14 co-opted)  Among co-opted for the HSL'S: J. Závodný Š. Jankela J. Kaňuch	Advisory committee (8 members), appointed  J. Rybárik M. Boleček Š. Jankela A. Válik J. Kaňuch V. Boháč V. Gregory
Á. Gyúrky	Á. Gyúrky	Á. Gyúrky	Á. Gyúrky

## Address Unknown: Reshaping the Jewish Living Space and Social Mobility in the Slovak State (1939–1945)\*

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Social mobility is a relatively common phenomenon in society; however, in the period of the Slovak State (1939–1945) it was predominantly caused by the economic and social engineering of the single ruling Hlinka's Slovak People's Party. Anti-Semitism was made one of the main pillars of the internal state policy. Systematic pauperisation of the Jewish community gradually affected each perspective of everyday life of Jews in Slovakia, including the limitation of Jewish people's living space. This practice led to involuntary moving out from houses and flats in designated urban zones. Subsequently, this process culminated in the Aryanization of the housing formerly owned by Jews. The main aim of this contribution is to analyse spatial and social consequences of the reshaping of the Jewish housing opportunities with special interest in the entangled social mobilities of both Jews and Gentiles, which will be mainly exemplified through selected cases from the Banská Bystrica district.

Keywords: Jewish Space. Housing Units. Forced Migration. Banská Bystrica. Holocaust. Anti-Semitic Policy.

On 2 February 1941 a short article was published in the daily newspaper *Gardista* (Guardist), an official periodical of the paramilitary arm of Hlinka's Slovak People's Party (Hlinkova slovenská ľudová strana, HSĽS), the Hlinka Guard. With its typically radical mode of expression, an unsigned author informed readers of the current situation in the city of Banská Bystrica. It referred to negative moods within the majority society about the supposed intention of some Jewish residents to avoid the restriction to move out of designated apartments in the city centre:

One would think that each Jew would obey the measure without any required energetic intervention of the competent authorities. Regrettably, in Banská Bystrica one man came to a Jew and asked him to leave the rented apartment. He got an answer "in vain, I will not move out from here" and he [the Jew – M. L.] claimed that he had got permission for that. This Jew, we will reveal his name if needed, should remember that he will not live on Andrej Hlinka Square!<sup>1</sup>

The content of this article illustrates anti-Semitic policy and discriminatory measures of the HSĽS regime that were also massively spread via state-controlled means of propaganda, including the then dominant print media. One of the continuing dimensions of Jewish persecution in Slovakia was impacting the Jewish living space, which was being gradually limited. This was to include the adoption of a regulation regarding the restrictions on living in or renting apartments in any streets and squares named

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1 *Nariadenie sa vzťahuje na každého!*, 4.

after Adolf Hitler or Andrej Hlinka, the founder and first leader of HSĽS. Realization of this measure was scheduled for the end of March 1941 and dramatically affected the everyday lives as well as the social statuses of many Jewish families who were forced to change their home addresses. Actually, in many cases it was not for the first, and neither would it be for the last time.

The main goal of this paper is to address the impact of the forced downward spatial and social mobility of the Jewish community in Slovakia, in particular focusing on one specific sphere – changes in housing conditions. The entangled social mobilities of Jews and Gentiles will be discussed in relation to selected examples from the Banská Bystrica district.

### Jewish Living Space and Forced Intra-state Migration

An essential change in the status of the Jews in the Transleithanian part of the Dual Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, to which the territory of the Slovak State had once belonged, was caused by the emancipation following the Austro-Hungarian Compromise of 1867 (full civil rights for the Jews were confirmed and ratified in 1895).<sup>2</sup> The gaining of civil rights was simultaneously accompanied by a process of modernization which also brought about a rising position and social status for the quickly developing Jewish middle class, perceived with growing hostility especially in such traditional rural societies as the Slovak one.<sup>3</sup> The rapid upward social mobility of the Jewish middle class even accelerated during the democratic regime of the First Czechoslovak Republic (1918–1938), when some representatives of this community also actively participated in political life.<sup>4</sup> On the other hand, the general equality of economic conditions in the Czechoslovak Republic must not be overestimated. For instance, attempts to limit Jews in the business sphere were to appear in the 1920s when the Ministry of the Plenipotentiary for Slovakia ordered revisions to the regulations on Jewish business licenses.<sup>5</sup>

Due to the abovementioned political developments, it had only been since the last third of the nineteenth century that Jews had started to move to the city centres. Attempts to define the natural Jewish space in the city would inevitably lead to distinctions between sacred and profane, private and public places. Modernization also directly impacted the Jewish minority and its formerly strictly religious self-identification diversified, facing new social phenomena of secularization and nationalization. Patterns of Jewish “otherness” in contrast to the Slovak majority society were gradually perceived from various perspectives. Among the religious, political and economic ones, nationalistic discourses resonated. Many Jews living in the Slovak territory did not proclaim Slovak nationality or did not speak “proper” Slovak, which did not suit the nationalistic HSĽS regime. Although the nomenclature of Jewish as it applies in the mid-twentieth century, even in the Slovak territory, cannot be simply generalized as denoting a religious community, this aspect still represented a dominant feature among those who would identify as Jewish. Moreover, approximately 75 % of religious Jews in Slovakia belonged to the orthodox branch of Judaism.<sup>6</sup> The presence,

2 SALNER, *Židia na Slovensku medzi tradíciou*, 54.

3 BAUMAN, *Modernosť a holokaust*, 78.

4 KAMENEC, *Vývoj a organizácia slovenského židovstva*, 36.

5 SZABÓ, *Od slov k činom*, 206–219.

6 LÁRIŠOVÁ, *Židovská komunita v Bratislave*, 53.

status and economic power of a local Jewish religious community were demonstrated by the size of the synagogue, which would often attract attention because of its different architectural style.<sup>7</sup>

The main focus of this contribution is to analyse the interference in the private space, in particular in the housing opportunities, of the persecuted Jewish minority. The success story of rapid upward social mobility of the Jewish minority had been unprecedentedly stopped under the HSLŠ regime when anti-Semitism turned from an ideology to a political doctrine. The resultant decreases in the economic and social status of Jews inevitably led to lower housing conditions, but Jews were also facing a targeted engineering of the urban space and experienced, in many cases multi-layered, displacement even at the municipal level.

Several key contributions on the spatiality of the Holocaust have been produced in the past decades, especially by historian Tim Cole.<sup>8</sup> In general, scholarly analyses of particular Jewish neighbourhoods in urban areas are somewhat focused on the ghettos which were established under the Nazi occupation.<sup>9</sup> In this respect, the situation in the satellite Slovak State differed. The Slovak political authorities adopted discriminatory measures, including the limiting of spatial and living conditions, in accordance with Nazi policy before the occupation in 1944.<sup>10</sup>

Contrary to in the occupied territories, for instance Poland, a system of the sealed ghettos was not adopted in wartime Slovakia. An exceptional case occurred in the capital city of Bratislava where the municipal authorities announced a plan to relocate the Jewish residents into a traditionally Jewish district. This area used to be denoted as a "ghetto",<sup>11</sup> including in the periodical press.<sup>12</sup> In fact, after being expelled from their apartments, some Jews were forced to search for a new home address in precisely that zone. There was an evident logic behind this strategy because many of them had relatives already living there. Moving more people into a single house subsequently led to a squeezing of the private space, where possible into a provisory reconstruction of the housing unit.<sup>13</sup> Theoretically, in Bratislava's case we can consider an original intention to create some kind of dispersed ghetto,<sup>14</sup> but further state actions turned out to be different. State authorities had planned to relocate all of the Jews from the capital city. This so-called dislocation process was officially launched in the autumn of 1941. On the one hand, this act was a political response to the long-lasting lack of housing capacity in the city (a problem which had risen further after it became the

7 See: BORSKÝ, *Synagogue Architecture in Slovakia*.

8 COLE, *Traces of the Holocaust*. COLE, *Holocaust Landscapes*. KNOWLES – COLE – GIORDANO, *Geographies of the Holocaust*.

9 For example: COLE, *Holocaust City*. COLE – GIORDANO, *Bringing the Ghetto to the Jew*. COLE – GIORDANO, *Microhistories, Microbiographies*. ENGELKING – LEOCIAK, *The Warsaw Ghetto*. HORWITZ, *Ghettostadt*. BENDER, *Jews of Białystok*.

10 Nazi control over the process regarding the so-called Jewish question in Slovakia before the occupation was secured by nominating the advisor (Berater). For more details on the activities of Dieter Wisliceny, the first Nazi advisor in this field, see: HRADSKÁ, *Případ Wisliceny*.

11 Archív mesta Bratislavy (hereinafter AMB), Mestský notársky úrad (hereinafter MNÚ), box 3033, 1881.

12 For example: *V Bratislave sa vytvára židovské geto, 3; Tvorí sa židovské geto v Bratislave, 5*.

13 Visual History Archive USC Shoah Foundation, interview with A. M., IC 27769.

14 COLE – GIORDANO, *Bringing the Ghetto to the Jew*, 132.

capital city, with an urgent need to create an administrative centre there)<sup>15</sup> and on the other, it could be recognized as some rehearsal for the future mass deportations.<sup>16</sup>

The organisation of this process was in the competence of the Department for Special Operations of Jewish Centre (Oddelenie pre zvláštne úkony, Ústredňa Židov, ÚŽ), the only Jewish organisation allowed from 1940. According to its records some 6,206 out of 15,102 Jews had left Bratislava by the end of December 1941.<sup>17</sup> A comprehensive process was originally to have been completed by June 1942,<sup>18</sup> but it was intersected by the deportations to the Nazi concentration and extermination camps from March 1942.

In general, forced Jewish migration in Slovakia in the wartime period has commonly been researched from the perspective of the mass deportations beyond the state borders which were realized in two phases. Whereas the first, in 1942, was organized by the Slovak political representatives, the second was carried out by the Nazi occupying forces in 1944–45.<sup>19</sup> In total, approximately 70,000 out of 89,000 Jews in Slovakia were involuntarily deported to the Nazi concentration camps. Even though these events represented an unprecedented rupture in the everyday life of the Jewish community in Slovakia, closer insight into the migration trajectories of the Holocaust victims reveal a more complex experience with forced displacements within the country even before March 1942.

Apart from these state organized relocations, it is necessary to briefly mention how the leaders of HSLS were already misusing their political power against the Jewish minority in autumn 1938, less than a month after declaring Slovak autonomy. The Hungarian kingdom raised its territorial requirements towards Czechoslovakia soon after signing the Munich Agreement. The foreign affairs ministers of Germany and Italy, Joachim von Ribbentrop and Galeazzo Ciano, signed the First Vienna Award which obliged the ceding of the southern territories of Slovakia and Sub-Carpathian Ruthenia, both with dominantly ethnic Hungarian populations, to Hungary. On 4 November 1938 the changing of the state borders was accompanied by the organized expulsion of those Jews who were indigent or foreign citizens or who had the right of domicile in a different municipality to where they currently resided. Thousands<sup>20</sup> of them remained in the “no man’s land” of the provisory internment camps in Miroslavov and Veľký Kýr on the newly-established borderline. Neither country allowed them to enter, so the deportees were stuck literally in the fields in the cold weather until December 1938, when finally they were excepted by the Slovak side. Many of them, especially foreign citizens, did not have any other possibilities than to move to refugee camps such as the one in Bratislava.<sup>21</sup>

15 AMB, MNÚ, box 3032, 1830.

16 HRADSKÁ, *Holokaust na Slovensku* 8, 26.

17 Slovenský národný archív (hereinafter SNA), Policajné riaditeľstvo v Bratislave (hereinafter PR), box 2228, 170/42-ZÚ/216.

18 HRADSKÁ, *Holokaust na Slovensku* 8, 28.

19 See essential publications referring to the first and second wave of deportations: NIŽŇANSKÝ, *Holokaust na Slovensku* 6, 6–87. KOVÁČOVÁ, *Druhá vlna deportácií Židov zo Slovenska*.

20 In recent scholarship, the number of deportees has been estimated at 7,500 by Eduard Nižňanský (NIŽŇANSKÝ, *Židovská komunita na Slovensku*, 76–79) but the latest of Michal Frankl’s research doubted this calculation and leans towards 4,000 (FRANKL, *Země nikoho 1938*, 97).

21 JDC Archives, New York Office 1933–44, file 541, Report on the refugee camp in Bratislava – Rote Bruecke. Special thanks to Michal Frankl for this document.

Chronologically the last act of forced mass intra-state migration occurred in 1944. The evacuation process of the eastern parts of Slovakia was related to the dramatic approaching of the Red Army towards Slovakia.<sup>22</sup> Simultaneously with the voluntary evacuation of the majority society, members of the remaining Jewish community of Šariš-Zemplín County were ordered to move to various places in the Western territory.<sup>23</sup>

### Limitation of Jewish Living Space and Expropriation of Real Estate

As has already been stated and briefly described, the Jewish community was facing various forms of forced migration within the borders of the Slovak State. In my opinion, in terms of spatial studies and in order to achieve a complex analysis of the Jewish migration trajectories in the wartime period within (and then beyond and possibly back to) Slovakia, it is necessary to start from the lowest municipal level.

From the very beginning of the rule of the HSLs regime, Jewish property should have served to satisfy the economic demands of the Slovak majority, and politicians were promising its subsequent fulfilment.<sup>24</sup> Housing real estate also became a part of the so-called Aryanization process which was created and legalized by the state authorities to transfer former Jewish property to non-Jewish owners. For this purpose, a special institution, the Central Economic Office (Ústredný hospodársky úrad, ÚHÚ) was established in 1940.<sup>25</sup> Whereas the ÚHÚ was in charge of the Aryanization of corporate and residential property, the agenda regarding agricultural property belonged to the State Land Office (Štátny pozemkový úrad, ŠPÚ).<sup>26</sup>

The process of the Aryanization of residential property (V. Department) lasted longer than in the other cases. The sale of formerly Jewish houses and flats started only after their price estimation, in 1944. On the other hand, this procedural "delay" in the formal changing of ownership did not mean that Jewish residents had been allowed to stay in their apartments in the interim. Similarly, as in the case of the corporate property, the overall Aryanization was realized gradually by applying the same such strategies as the nomination of building managers in the first phase. According to ratified law no. 257/1940 Sl. z., in case of "severe economic and social reasons", the state authorities were allowed to impose temporary building managers.<sup>27</sup> It quickly became apparent that this position was a rewarding and beneficial side-job.<sup>28</sup> Apart from a regular wage, they could live in the managed building and expenses regarding the maintenance had to be financed by the owner. The requirements on the building

22 ZÜCKERT – SCHVARC – FIAMOVIÁ, *Die Evakuierung der Deutschen*, 169–258.

23 TOKÁROVÁ, *Slovenský štát*, 208.

24 This approach was frequently publicly expressed by the leading HSLs politicians. For example, see the notorious Alexander Mach speech of February 1939: *Na Slovensku nebude viac ani českého ani židovského režimu*, 4.

25 It was created as a successor to the Economic Bureau of the Prime Minister's Office (Hospodárska úradovňa predsedníctva vlády).

26 See: FIAMOVIÁ, "Slovenská zem patrí do slovenských rúk"; or her English contribution on this topic, FIAMOVIÁ, *Aryanization of Land in Slovakia in 1939–1945*, 298–312.

27 Law no. 257/1940 Sl. z., 407–408.

28 The position of the building managers presupposes a comparison with the situation in Budapest in 1944 when the dispersed ghetto was established there. In contrast to the traditional function in Hungary, the nominating of building managers in Slovakia was a strategy and agenda of the HSLs regime even before the occupation. These managers were imposed only temporarily. To compare see: ADAM, *Budapest Building Managers*, 37–62. RIGÓ, *Ordinary women and men*, 78–91.

managers were relatively low: the applicant had to be at least 24-years old and a morally upright Slovak citizen. As in the case of corporate property, many of the housing units in the building managers' hands started to lose their original value and they often refused to pay the annuity mortgages.<sup>29</sup>

The same law obliged the building managers to eject Jews from the apartments. Actually, this principle set the framework for further spatial engineering which significantly determined the urban population. One of the noteworthy features of the changing political system is the attempts to intervene in the public space. In the period of the Slovak State, it was common for the main streets and squares to be named after Adolf Hitler or Andrej Hlinka. This style of symbolic taking-over of the city centres was completely in accordance with the ideology of HSĽS, and at the same time it clearly demonstrated alliance with Nazi Germany. It was not a coincidence that ÚHÚ representatives decided to start a limitation of the Jewish living space by banning the living in or renting of real estate in areas named after leading political figures. Initially, this regulation was adopted in the capital city of Bratislava,<sup>30</sup> but from December 1940 it was imposed over the whole country. Designated apartments were to be emptied by the end of March 1941.<sup>31</sup>

The analysing of the application of this regulation in various municipalities also pointed at different approaches. Some of the local authorities used this situation to expand the designated zones where Jews were neither allowed to live nor to rent apartments, for example in the Eastern Slovak centre – Prešov. Additionally, Jews in Prešov could not rent any housing unit in the city without the permission of the municipal notary office.<sup>32</sup> This official procedure was not unified, and evident discrepancies can be exemplified by the situation in the city of Topolčany, where the district chief was in charge of giving this kind of permission.<sup>33</sup>

Probably most critical was the uncertainty of the municipal authorities in how to identify the precise flats from which Jews should unconditionally move out. In some cities, such as Nitra or Topolčany, the orientation of flat became decisive.<sup>34</sup> Consequently, it was primarily those flats with windows looking onto the main street that were to be emptied. Those which faced courtyards were often exempted from the regulation. For instance, the solution in Nitra inspired the representatives of the Jewish orthodox community in Kežmarok to lobby for the application of similar rules in their city too.<sup>35</sup> At first sight, it may seem that living in the city centre represented solely a higher living standard of the residents. In reality, especially where the courtyard-oriented units are concerned, city-centre residents frequently had a low living standard and their properties did not always meet the required health criteria.<sup>36</sup> As a result, it often happened that there were no applicants for these apartments after the eviction of their Jewish inhabitants. In this phase of the Jewish persecution, the contemporary

29 HLAIVINKA, *Vznik Ústredného hospodárskeho úradu*, 86-87.

30 ÚHÚ regulation no. 233/1940 Ú. n., 645.

31 ÚHÚ regulation no. 267/1940 Ú. n., 740-741.

32 ÚHÚ regulation no. 258/1940 Ú. n., 714.

33 ÚHÚ regulation no. 274/1940 Ú. n., 753-754.

34 ÚHÚ regulation no. 274/1940 Ú. n., 753-754. ÚHÚ regulation no. 275/1940 Ú. n., 754.

35 Štátny archív v Prešove, pracovisko Archív Poprad (hereinafter ŠAPO-PP), Okresný úrad v Kežmarku (hereinafter OÚ v KK), box 49, 15/41 prez.

36 ŠAPO-PP, f. OÚ v KK, box 49, f. 15/41 prez.

ÚHÚ chief, Augustín Morávek, in some cases ordered the emptying of only those flats in the designated zones which were already of interest to specific non-Jewish candidates.<sup>37</sup>

A long-time demand for real estate in the capital city of Bratislava led to the implementation of another extraordinary regulation: In the autumn of 1941, representatives of the ÚHÚ proceeded to toughen restrictions and Jews were consequently banned from living in any buildings which had been constructed since the 1920s.<sup>38</sup> This measure was confirmed by the municipal notary office, and exemptions were made only for active state and public employees, doctors licensed for medical practice, members of the board of directors of the Jewish Centre and, temporarily, foreign citizens who were living in their own houses.<sup>39</sup> The interval between this regulation coming into force and the decision to force all Jews to completely move out of Bratislava was a mere 22 days. This remarkably short intermezzo between 1 and 23 September 1941 was in fact intersected by the adoption of regulation no. 198/1941 Sl. z., known as a Jewish Code. Previously implemented anti-Semitic legislation was summarized in this measure and the plan to displace the Jews from the capital city was legally based on § 28.<sup>40</sup> Prompt realization of this order culminated in the abovementioned so-called dislocation process of 1941–1942.<sup>41</sup> Finally, based on regulation no. 238/1941 Sl. z.,<sup>42</sup> all of the formerly Jewish real estate, except the corporate and agricultural, passed into the ownership of the state and started to be sold to non-Jewish applicants in 1944.

### Unprecedented Downward Social Mobility of the Jewish Community in Slovakia?

Analysis of social mobility inevitably requires an understanding of social stratification. Sociologists speak of this phenomenon to describe the inequalities among the individuals and groups in societies.<sup>43</sup> The concept of class has been central in the studying of social stratification. In modern societies class divisions are not officially recognized but commonly are determined by economic factors. Stratification depends on inequality in possessions and material resources;<sup>44</sup> however, contemporary social mobility studies also take into consideration the dimensions of gender and ethnicity.<sup>45</sup> In general, social mobility, understood as the movement of groups as well as individuals between different socio-economic positions, is considered to be relatively common in society.<sup>46</sup> Social mobility is the leading factor, at least in the Weberian tradition, in explaining the structural transformations of various social structures.<sup>47</sup>

37 ŠAPO-PP, f. OÚ v KK, box 49, f. 15/41 prez.

38 ÚHÚ regulation no. 374/1941 Ú. n., 1482.

39 Municipal Notary Office regulation no. 411/1941., 1584.

40 Regulation no. 198/1941 Sl. z., 643–684.

41 HRADSKÁ, *Dislokácie Židov z Bratislavy*, 315–324. KAMENEC, *Po stopách tragédie*, 146–153.

42 Regulation no. 238/1941 Sl. z., 853.

43 See the classic contributions in the field of social mobility: SOROKIN, *Social Mobility*. LIPSET, *Social Mobility in Industrial Society*.

44 GIDDENS, *Sociology*, 470.

45 GIDDENS – SCRUTTON, *Essential Concepts*, 221. GRUSKY, *Social Stratification*. KATRŇÁK, *Třídní analýza a sociální mobilita*.

46 GIDDENS – DUNEIER – APPELBAUM – CARR, *Essentials of Sociology*, 195. ERIKSON – GOLDTHORPE, *The Constant Flux*.

47 ÅBERG, *Social Mobility*, 249.

It is necessary to emphasize that social changes regarding the Jewish community in wartime Slovakia were realized under anti-Semitic policies in a non-democratic system. This minority was first principally persecuted as a religious, then from 1941 like in Nazi Germany as a racial, group and systematic pauperization was reflected by decreased social and economic status. The previous system of norms and values that conferred social status upon individuals according to their education, property and achievements was transformed into a model of society which prioritized "racial status", personal assets coming to have only limited validity for the excluded.<sup>48</sup> This approach was adopted and applied in the Nazi as well as in the HSLŠ social model in the wartime period. In fact, the Slovak middle class was formed during the Slovak State<sup>49</sup> as a consequence of restrictions placed on the professional lives and the dismissals mostly of Jews and Czechs from their positions. The notion that all Jews were wealthy and belonged to high society would more suitably correspond to the contemporary propagandistic discourse than to the reality of, for example, the classic orthodox Jewish family in a small village in Eastern Slovakia in the late 1930s. Therefore, it is necessary to keep in mind that downward social mobility will be investigated mainly with regard to the cases of Jews who used to belong to the middle class (or higher) and who in consequence of state politics lost their position. In this particular perspective, Jews from the lower classes were not thus affected, not climbing any further down the social ladder. On the other hand, the chances of the poorest members of the Jewish community surviving the later phases of the Holocaust were considerably lower, gaining an economic exception or having money to manage living in hiding being that much less likely.

I make the presumption that the most efficient way to examine social mobility and its reflection in housing conditions is to focus on microhistory. In general, it seems that in recent years historians have produced several works specializing in the history of the local Jewish communities in Slovakia, including during the Holocaust.<sup>50</sup> For the purposes of this contribution, I have decided to analyse selected cases from the city of Banská Bystrica. This approach enables us to follow the forced vacating of apartments and the further Aryanization process at the municipal level. Therefore, targeted local historical research and knowledge of the broader local context seems to be the ideal presupposition for this kind of analysis.<sup>51</sup>

### Microcosmos: Banská Bystrica

In November 1941, 82-year-old Jewish pensioner A. Hó sent a letter to the district office in Banská Bystrica asking for permission to stay in a rented room in flats on Horná Street at least until he could find another apartment. His request was made due to he and his wife already having been forced to move out from three apartments which were in Jewish properties. He decided to compose this letter because the same scenario looked likely to be soon repeated, moreover in the coming wintertime. The

48 BAJOHR – LÖW, *Beyond the 'Bystander'*, 5.

49 NIŽŇANSKÝ, *Holokaust na Slovensku* 7, 7.

50 For example, see: PAULOVICHOVÁ, *Židovská komunita v dejinách mesta Hlohovec*. HLAVINKA, *The Holocaust in Slovakia: The Story of the Jews of Medzilaborce*. JAKOBYOVÁ – NIŽŇANSKÝ, *Dejiny židovskej komunity v Dolnom Kubíne*. FRANKL, *Židia v Žiline*.

51 Together with Eduard Nižňanský, we co-authored a monograph on the Jewish religious community in Banská Bystrica: NIŽŇANSKÝ – LÖNČÍKOVÁ, *Dejiny židovskej komunity v Banskej Bystrici*, 62–106.

building manager informed him that some non-Jewish applicant had appeared but Hó still had not succeed in finding another place to stay. His critical family situation was also exacerbated by the fact that two sons had been fired from their jobs for the state railway and both of the elderly parents were suffering from various illnesses. Finally, the local branch of HSLS delegated the solution of this situation to the building manager.<sup>52</sup>

Even though, according to the current state of research, I am not able to say how exactly the situation of the potential moving out of Hó and his wife from the room on Horná street proceeded, the experience of this Jewish family is representative of the rapidly decreasing social and economic status of the persecuted minority under the HSLS regime. It had taken barely three years for a man who had been working for 47 years in the service of the state to be forced to the margins of society. In 1942, A. Hó should have been covered by the "yellow legitimization" of his other son, a dental technician, and therefore released from the concentration centre in Žilina.<sup>53</sup> Registers in Yad Vashem claimed that he was deported to the Lublin district in October 1942.<sup>54</sup> Taking into account his advanced age and health problems, there is a high probability that he became a victim of the Holocaust.

As was stated in the quoted newspaper article in the opening paragraph of this contribution, Jews living in Banská Bystrica were also forced to move out from the designated urban zones.<sup>55</sup> The ideological taking-over of the public space by the renaming of streets in the city after Hitler and Hlinka and subsequent discriminatory restrictions impacted the living conditions of Dr K. Weisz. His apartment was in Súdobná Street, which was renamed Hitler Street (after World War II it became Stalin Street and nowadays, maybe paradoxically, it is called Skuteckého Street after a famous painter of Jewish origin). The former Weisz real estate was finally given to O. Balluch as compensation for his lost farm in the southern Slovak territory which was ceded to the Hungarian Kingdom after the First Vienna Award of November 1938. Balluch argued that he, a breadwinner and father of three sons, should be preferred among the other candidates.<sup>56</sup> This was only one of numerous examples of the HSLS regime using formerly Jewish property to satisfy the demands of the majority society, reasoning it as an alleged social justice. Furthermore, this particular case shows that changing the state borders caused more diverse migration trajectories, not only the forced expulsion of thousands of Jews and some, so far not precisely enumerated, Romani people<sup>57</sup> which was ordered by the state authorities. In his application, O. Balluch denoted himself as a "refugee" from the Dunajská Streda district. After the end of World War II it was two years before K. Weisz officially regained ownership of his apartment on what had become Stalin Street.<sup>58</sup>

At the same time, Balluch's case partially touched another important layer of the struggle for personal profit and better housing conditions – the involvement and

52 Štátny archív v Banskej Bystrici (hereinafter ŠABB), Okresný úrad v Banskej Bystrici (hereinafter OÚ BB), box 129, without no.

53 SNA, Ministerstvo vnútra, box 214, f. 106.150/42-Ir-M.

54 [https://yvng.yadvashem.org/index.html?language=en&rs\\_lastName=H%C3%BA3&rs\\_firstName=&rs\\_place=&rs\\_dateOfBirth=](https://yvng.yadvashem.org/index.html?language=en&rs_lastName=H%C3%BA3&rs_firstName=&rs_place=&rs_dateOfBirth=) [Accessed on 5 April 2020].

55 See also: *Poznámky. Židovčina*, 3.

56 SNA, Povereníctvo priemyslu a obchodu, VII. reštitučný odbor (hereinafter PPO, VII. RO), box 420, sign. 919.

57 FIAMOVÁ, *Deportácie Židov v novembri 1938*, 225.

58 SNA, PPO, VII. RO, box 420, sign. 919.

prioritization of the leading political representatives. Actually, if someone wanted to get an apartment which used to be Jewish property, they needed to be proactive and send an application on their own initiative to the ÚHÚ. Actually, Weisz's apartment was not mentioned in Balluch's original request: firstly he applied for a different house, but that real estate was preferentially given to the county secretary of the HSL'S, Alexander Andreides.<sup>59</sup> Political power and influential contacts regularly turned out to be decisive in the nominating of an adequate non-Jewish candidate. In general, corruption was a significant determinant within the whole Aryanization process<sup>60</sup> and the hunt for housing units was no exception.

Andreides was one of those political protégés who appeared to be a powerful player in the game of formerly Jewish residential property. In addition to the abovementioned Klopštock's house, he proactively expressed his interest in a former Jewish garden where he wanted to relax after working hard for the contemporary single-ruling party, as he rationalized in his application:

I have ill children and a 60-year-old widowed mother who needs, according to the doctors, to move in the fresh air. I am a beekeeper and fruiterer and I have not had an opportunity to spend my free time in this occupation for many years. As an active HSL'S worker I am often nervously exhausted, and having a garden I should be able to forget about worries and work while working in it.<sup>61</sup>

Based on the recommendation of the general secretariat of the HSL'S, Alexander Andreides got a chance to pursue his hobbies in the requested garden. Andreides personally profited during the HSL'S regime and his political position catalysed an upward social mobility which was also reflected by increasing living conditions. Ultimately, he did not continue to enjoy this benefit of his pro-HSL'S political career – the garden was given back to its former owner during the restitution process.<sup>62</sup>

Andreides cannot be counted as any exclusionary case of the misusing of a political position to apply for formerly Jewish real estate. Simultaneously as this regional politician, the contemporary speaker of the assembly of the Slovak Republic, Martin Sokol, decided to apply for an apartment in Banská Bystrica where he was running his notary office. The apartment on Hitler Street used to be a Jewish property and, due to the previously described scenario, the Jewish residents had had to move out when the street was renamed. Afterwards, from April 1941, Sokol had been renting a four-room flat in the ground floor of this building. When the selling of Jewish residential property began in 1944, Sokol, officially represented by his assistant P. Bukový, applied for this apartment. At the same time, he was asking for rooms to run his office, as well as for a private flat for Bukový on the first floor of the same building.<sup>63</sup>

A similar double apportioning, with the gaining of both a formerly Jewish business and apartment, took part in G. Klopčeková's strategy. In the first step, she succeeded

59 SNA, PPO, VII. RO, box 425, sign. 1077.

60 See: KAMENEC, *Fenomén korupcie*, 96–112. HLAVINKA, „Kapitál má slúžiť národu...“, 374–416.

61 SNA, PPO, VII. RO, box 421, sign. 932.

62 SNA, PPO, VII. RO, box 421, sign. 932.

63 SNA, PPO, VII. RO, box 421, sign. 942.

in getting A. Steiner's cloth shop<sup>64</sup> and then she later applied for his former house. She did not hesitate to try to make account of her personal relations. Widow Klopčeková did not forget to mention that her husband was a Slovak notary and "ľudak",<sup>65</sup> and that as such he would have experienced persecution under the previous political regime. Furthermore, she was applying together with her future son-in-law, the director of Hlinka Guard cinemas. Finally, the general secretariat of HSL'S recommended the approval of her demand.<sup>66</sup> After the fall of the HSL'S regime this real estate was returned to A. Steiner's legal heirs.<sup>67</sup>

Interest in using or later possessing formerly Jewish real estate was not shown only by individuals but also by state institutions such as ministries, administrative bodies, municipalities etc.<sup>68</sup> The government commissioner of Banská Bystrica city (Vládny komisár mesta) Michal Samuhel had already in 1942 informed the ÚHÚ that Jewish real estate should preferably serve public objectives. Samuhel proposed a plan for city regulations regarding road construction and the placing of some administrative offices in order to turn Banská Bystrica into a modern city. In his request, he reasoned that designated Jewish houses in the city centre should inevitably be used for this purpose.<sup>69</sup> In accordance with this argument, the city succeeded for instance in acquiring the house at 1 Moyzesova Street; however, another private applicant, P. Tóth, offered almost 200 thousand korunas more than the officially set price.<sup>70</sup> Tóth was demanding real estate as compensation for his house having been expropriated by the ministry of transport and public works, which aimed to build a new post office there. He was searching for a house where he could run a pub and he mentioned three alternatives acceptable to him, and finally he was allowed to get the house of R. Rothová.<sup>71</sup> One of the former owners of the real estate at 1 Moyzesova Street became its temporary administrator after the war and subsequently took part in the further restitution process.<sup>72</sup>

The last, but by no means least, of the selected examples of how people benefited from the limiting of the Jewish living space in Banská Bystrica points at the church's activities in this sphere. Andrej Škrábik, later to become bishop, made a claim in the name of Banská Bystrica bishopric for L. Szantó's garden, located in the neighbourhood of the bishop's residence. According to his words, staying there without this garden would be "practically impossible".<sup>73</sup> So far it is not clear to me how this initiative finished but the bishopric is not mentioned in the references of the general secretariat of HSL'S. On the other hand, this was not his only attempt to acquire some formerly Jewish property; Škrábik had already asked in 1941 for a house to use for the purposes of the bishopric and religious associations. Even though a local branch of HSL'S recommended

64 SNA, PPO, VII. RO, box 368, sign. 11697.

65 A supporter of HSL'S, it is not clear from the application whether he used to be a member of the party but it is highly probable that she would have used this argument if possible.

66 SNA, PPO, VII. RO, box 421, sign. 927.

67 SNA, PPO, VII. RO, box 421, sign. 927.

68 For more examples see also: HALLON – HLAVINKA – NIŽŇANSKÝ, *Pozícia Ústredného hospodárskeho úradu*, 59–62.

69 ŠABB, Mestský úrad v Banskej Bystrici (hereinafter MÚ BB), box 202, 698/1942.

70 SNA, PPO, VII. RO, box 420, sign. 917.

71 SNA, PPO, VII. RO, box 563, sign. 5354.

72 SNA, PPO, VII. RO, box 420, sign. 917.

73 SNA, PPO, VII. RO, box 420, sign. 909.

the bishopric as an adequate candidate to buy this real estate, the ÚHÚ rejected it because the government had not proceeded with its expropriation yet.<sup>74</sup>

### Epilogue

The unknown author of the newspaper article which I mentioned at the very beginning criticized the reputed unwillingness of Jews in Banská Bystrica to fulfil the measure to leave the apartments on Hlinka Square. Actually, Jews were not the only ones who were denounced in the contemporary anti-Semitic discourse. The image of the “internal enemy” incorporated also those non-Jewish members of the majority society who were trying to help persecuted Jews. Those helpers were denoted as “white Jews”.<sup>75</sup> The local periodical *Naše Pohronie* (Our Pohronie<sup>76</sup>) published a resentful article with the symptomatic heading “White Jewess in Banská Bystrica and Her Flats”. This public verbal attack on C. Turzová referred to her alleged preference in renting the apartments in her building to Jewish families when there was a lack of housing opportunities in the city. She was blamed for rejecting the application of a member of Hlinka Guard as well as other “Christian” candidates and, according to the last paragraph of this article, she was allegedly an avowed Hungarian and politically against the Slovak State.<sup>77</sup> This case represented one of the propagandistic methods by which to identify potential scapegoats and to accuse them of being responsible, in this instance, for the ongoing housing crisis in the city – if it was not a Jew, it could be their helper. Even negative experiences of both Jews and Gentiles with the HSLS regime were sometimes literally entangled.

Actually, such significant changes as the targeted persecution of Jews necessarily impacted upon the whole society. The demographic imbalance of persecuted Jewish minority and Slovak majority society under the specific political circumstances of the Slovak State developed into the defining of the opposite and mutually-causal directions of these groups’ social mobilities – the Jewish downward in contrast to the Slovak upward one. Although this was the general trend in the analysed period, it must be strictly highlighted that this scheme cannot be automatically applied to all individuals belonging to both of these groups. Furthermore, the entangled ascents and descents of the social ladder were not a result of some “natural” development but of the intentionally anti-Semitic policy of the HSLS regime and its systematic intervention into the Jewish private space and the expropriation of Jewish-owned real estate. More of the abovementioned examples demonstrated this process, reflecting the changes in the housing policy in Banská Bystrica. At the same time, these cases also correspond to arguments about the opportunistic and not necessarily anti-Semitic motives of part of the majority society – from ordinary people to high ranking politicians – for participating in the division of the formerly Jewish property.

74 NIŽŇANSKÝ – LŇNČÍKOVÁ, *Dejiny židovskej komunity v Banskej Bystrici*, 97.

75 LŇNČÍKOVÁ, *Zakazovaná solidarita?*, 190–202.

76 Name of the Slovak Region.

77 *Biela Židovka v Banskej Bystrici a jej byty*, 3.

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# REVIEWS

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REVIEWS

A BOOK REVIEW OF *NEW URBAN SPACES*

BRENNER, Neil. *New Urban Spaces: Urban Theory and the Scale Question*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2019, 461 p. ISBN 978-0190627195.

The current urban landscapes of Slovakia and the Czech Republic were largely shaped in by the territorial planning policies of the former Czechoslovakian regimes of the twentieth century. A copious amount of literature on post-socialist urban studies produced in the last three decades has ranged from focusing on smaller-scale urban issues regarding the aesthetic functionality of specific urban forms to discussing the urban transformations in large cities such as suburbanization. Nevertheless, urbanization is multi-faceted, impacted by globalization, digitalization, expansion and marketization of the economy. The cities of Prague, Bratislava, Košice, Budapest, Krakow and Warsaw underwent massive urban restructuring during state socialism and this further intensified after 1991 under government-backed neo-liberalization projects. In addition, this particular region of Europe was a part of COMECON from 1949 to 1991, and these states then became members of the European Union early in the first decade of the twenty-first century. This significantly facilitated changes in spatial planning frameworks, leading not only to economic prosperity but also to urban changes.

Neil Brenner's *New Urban Spaces: Urban Theory and the Scale Question* offers an interdisciplinary insight in analysing the history of urban transformation of this region from the mid-twentieth century onwards, and how it informs the current issues affecting the cities today. Brenner (2019) essentially argued that it is not enough to define urbanization by the growth of cities, but that it is also necessary to discern its complexity through economic, political and institutional dynamics and to relate to it to a broader hierarchy of scales. Therefore, rather than seeing the changes in cities on an urban scale, the consideration of how they are embedded within the dynamic regional, national, supra-national and hence global systems of interconnectivity would illuminate a deeper understanding of how cities have developed

and are constantly evolving. While the of the book focuses mainly on cases in North America and Western Europe, these approaches can also be applied in Central and Eastern Europe or other parts of the world, within an understanding of how industrialization and the development of national economies affect the urbanization process.

The first part of the book deals with whether the urban question is a scale question. Brenner draws extensively from the theories of Henri Lefebvre, David Harvey and Karl Marx to substantiate his arguments. In the second chapter, "Between Fixity and Motion: Scaling the Urban Fabric", the author highlights Harvey's concepts of spatial fix, and the tensions between fixity and motion when discussing the circulation of capital. Capital accumulation is spatialized when certain geographical locations and urban spaces or forms are viewed as commodities, yet its value is not stable over time due to capitalism's fluctuating nature, rendering some spaces derelict and some profitable depending on the market (pp. 57–59). Brenner pays homage to Lefebvre's *State Mode of Production* on the topic of the spatial logistics produced and managed by the state (pp. 74–77), particularly during the Fordist-Keynesian period (1950–1970). Lefebvre's claim, states Brenner, is that architecture and the urbanization of cities during this period were directly or indirectly affected by the centralized and standardized projects funded by the government (p. 81). The strategies employed by the state in establishing territorial infrastructure and networks between cities on a larger national scale formed the basis upon which to activate urban conditions for the supra-national and global-scale economy in the post-Keynesian era.

This leads us to the second part of the book, which addresses how globalization affects the formation of cities, starting from Chapter 4, "Global City Formation and the Rescaling of Urbanization". As the economies of cities become global, their traditional administrative structures are dismantled as local and regional governments gradually lose control to powerful corporate actors following gradual privatization, as happened after the global economic crises in the 1970s. In this chapter, Brenner introduces the concepts of perceiving cities as nodes of

capital accumulation and as coordinates for state territorial power. The former regards cities as “loci of industrial production, as centres of command and control over dispersed circuits of capital, and as sites of exchange within local, regional, national and global markets”. In the latter concept, as coordinates of state administration, “cities are regulatory-institutional levels within each state’s organizational hierarchy” (pp. 138–139). Brenner gives the example of state restructuring in West Germany in the 1980s, as policies to boost the economy gave way to decentralization. The built environment in cities such as Frankfurt am Main was reshaped as financial institutions grew more powerful. These new approaches spread across the EU, as its cities and regions became “engines” of economic development, eventually integrating them within fortified global networks (pp. 153–158). At the same time that Thatcherite policies took hold in Great Britain, these approaches only served the neoliberalization agenda in the rollback of government intervention in issues such as social housing. Brenner stresses the importance of the EU in “mediating territorial polarization through redistributive regional structural policies” through its spatial planning policies, which its member states were subject to. This meant encouraging economic competition between regions by getting the local municipalities and governments to induce capital investment in major metropolitan cities, and improving transnational infrastructural networks (p. 159). In the first decade of the twenty-first century, as the EU enlarged to include the Visegrád countries, the structural funds programme was reconfigured and economic growth was prioritized unanimously across the trade bloc. Thus, the goals of the EU Spatial Planning policies were not to support a “balanced” national development, but to “favour” certain cities and regions within strategic locations, inadvertently leading to polarization and uneven socio-spatial developments (pp. 159–160).

In the final three chapters of the book, Brenner explores, paradoxically, the limits of the expanding scale in the urban question. In the twenty-first century, cities are linked to one another and major corporations have more influence on urban development,

undermining state institutions and local governments. In quoting Jonas and Ward (2001), Brenner makes a valid point in emphasizing that today’s urban development theories should not be asking the question of who is ruling our cities today, but “At what spatial scale is territorial governance crystallizing?” (p. 229). Clearly, the volatile nature of the market economy and the monopolization of urbanization by private developers have ironically, despite neoliberal beliefs, “provided neoliberal political alliances with new institutional capacities through which to (...) insulate the urbanization process from democratic control, and to normalize the intensified patterns of uneven spatial development” (pp. 231–232).

In retrospect, the urban planning problems facing post-socialist cities today are similar to those of cities in North America and Western Europe. As the world becomes more connected than ever before, challenges arising from segregated communities, lack of social housing and gentrification are commonly found in Prague and Bratislava, as entrepreneurial urban policies take precedence over community- and participatory-based planning all over the globe. This book may not reveal a solution to the current problems because of “planetary urbanization”, and the theories Brenner has put in motion may not fully capture the complexities facing cities today. However, the remarkable breadth and depth of intellectual analysis in the decades’ worth of research shown in this publication does provide impetus to rethink the way we view our cities and how interconnected the global economy has become. In the production and expansion of cities, the abstraction of buildings and urban spaces into commodities renders them vulnerable to the market, leading to further changes in the future as political, economic and social processes influence their value. The theories presented in *New Urban Spaces* would greatly benefit not just urban and architectural scholars, but also professionals in architectural and planning practice and policy makers, regarding the implications of their decisions upon the urban fabric.

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A BOOK REVIEW OF *FLYING PANELS*

ALONSO, Pedro Ignacio – PALMAROLA, Hugo. *Flying Panels: How Concrete Panels Changed the World*. Stockholm: ArkDes, DOM Publishers, 2019, 264 p. ISBN 978-3-86922-563-0.

There could not have been a better time for the *Flying Panels: How Concrete Panels Changed the World* exhibition than in 2019, the one-hundredth anniversary of the founding of the Bauhaus school and the thirtieth anniversary of the collapse of the Berlin Wall. These events are significant. The first influenced the way people think about simple forms and function in design, architecture and urban planning in the face of industrialized building techniques and mass production. Prefabricated panel buildings took on a big role in twentieth century urban planning in the rebuilding of cities following the destruction in Europe caused by World War II. The technology soon spread across the globe as countries in other parts of the world sought to urbanize using rapid modern building techniques, in the face of the Cold War and political tensions. Utilitarian mass panel housing estates – built using prefabricated panels – changed the urban landscapes of cities and were later viewed critically through a postmodern lens and negatively associated with communism. Hence, after 1989 when communist regimes fell apart in Europe, this method of building was put aside in favour of more diverse tastes in building styles and restoration of more historic town centres. While prefabricated panel buildings are rarely considered works of art or worth preserving by the general public, the *Flying Panels* exhibition, curated and held from October 2019 to March 2020 at ArkDes, the Swedish Centre for Architecture and Design in Stockholm, aimed to raise awareness about the history and value of these underestimated building styles. The consortium of urbanHIST, which included experts, planning professions and doctoral researchers on twentieth century urban planning history visited the exhibition on October 22, 2019 as part of the second urbanHIST Conference programme.

The artefacts, collections and research results have been captured in the

accompanying book of the same name, edited by curators and authors Pedro Ignacio Alonso and Hugo Palmarola. *Flying Panels* details not just the history and technology of modular systems, but also the ideals, hopes and desires that they embodied, as well as their depictions in media and popular culture. Research in modular housing systems and prefab mass housing estates is not new and has been emerging since the 1990s with books such as Miles Glendinning's *Tower Block: Modern Public Housing in England, Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland* (1994). It later became a recognizable trend in the 2010s with Henrieta Moravčíková's *Bratislava: Atlas of Mass Housing* (2011) and *The Paneláks: Twenty-Five Housing Estates in the Czech Republic* (2017) by Czech authors. Indeed, while other researchers tend to be provincial and focus on their own regions, *Flying Panels* is unique in the sense that it includes narratives from many countries by authors from different continents.

The book comprises 13 chapters dealing with diverse themes including the history of how modular prefabricated housing systems came into being, how they spread internationally, the significance of advanced technology in the building industry, the inclusion of women in construction, and cultural depictions in films and arts. The first chapter, written by both the editors, discusses the general background and the idea behind the exhibition. The verb “flying” in the title reflects not just the literal meaning of the panels being hoisted up in the air by cranes to be assembled on site; it also refers to the spirit of the mid-twentieth century and the hope of a better life that concrete panel technology could bring, and the technology's mobilization from one country to the next (pp. 13–15). In the second chapter, *Prolegomenon to a Global History of Large Concrete Panel Systems*, Ignacio Alonso recounts how this technology came to be disseminated worldwide, from Germany, France and Poland to Cuba, Chile and China. He charts the unexpected journeys that took place, based on the exchange of knowledge between professions made possible through political alliances, trade corporations, or through technical assistance provided by Western Europe, the USSR and state socialist Europe to other developing countries at the time. Pages 44–53 include

photographs of the staggered and exploded axonometric models of different typologies of modular systems around the world, which were part of the exhibition, including the famous WBS70 from East Germany, Larsen & Nielsen from Denmark and G57 from Czechoslovakia. In the third chapter, *Panels on Film*, Palmarola lists popular films that featured panel housing, including the USSR's well-known *The Irony of Fate, or Enjoy Your Bath!* (1976), Czechoslovakia's *Panel Story or How the Urbanizations are Born* (1980) and *Goodbye Lenin* (2003). These films show that strange encounters, romantic relationships or turbulent marriages in everyday life still take place against the backdrop of the perceived monotonous uniformity of architecture in panel housing estates. Once marketed as a socialist utopia by governments that erected them, often the despair and misery of the protagonists in these films are heightened by the vast visual greyness of these panel blocks.

The next section of the book includes contributions from ten other authors. Jimena Castillo documents the Soviet Union's female workers in the building industry in her chapter, "Women Steering the Wheel... of a Crane: An Interview with Ten Women Who Decided to Swap Their Household Duties for Machines, Screws and Cranes", in which the title says it all (pp. 104–111). In another chapter, Michael Abrahamson reflects on the use of the system in the USA in his contribution, "Rocket Science or Representation? Notes on Concrete Panel Construction in the United States". Despite the Fair Housing Act of 1968 and the study of Soviet Union construction techniques by American architects, implementation of panel housing systems was not as popular in the USA because of the strong consumerist desire for single-family housing, though it was fairly accepted as accommodation for low-income groups. Notwithstanding, Abrahamson demonstrates that concrete panel buildings found a niche in college dormitories and housing for senior citizens (pp. 136–148). Panel housing construction is not just an architectural feat, but an engineering success story, and the modern technologies it employs are attributed to a famous engineer and his company, as recounted by Natalya Solopova in her contribution, "When Panels Learned to Fly: Raymond Camus and his

Panel Factories". In the years 1949–53, French engineer Raymond Camus perfected the methods of panel construction, from production to transportation and assembling. Through his company Le Havre, and thanks to his multilingual personnel, in the late 1950s his patented construction techniques were exported to Germany, Britain, Italy and the USSR, among others (pp. 152–170).

While the editors and contributors should be commended for their efforts, the volume does not mention many of the social, political and economic processes of the 1970s to 2010s that determined the fate of panel buildings long after they were built. It also lacks more nuanced contributions from urban planners on how these mass-produced panel housing blocks changed cityscapes around the world, and the state's failure to maintain or take accountability for their condition by transferring them to private owners or housing co-operatives. Whether from abolition, depopulation, deterioration, income segregation, the problems facing these buildings cannot be solely blamed on architecture or urban planning. Insufficient government support, social infrastructure and belief in neoliberalization projects have only accelerated their demise and unpopularity. In that regard, certain mass panel housing estates have had positive experiences, as rehabilitation through privatization or community initiatives have made these places liveable for years to come. It is only Boris Groys, in his chapter "Genealogy of the Panel", who brings up the topic of postmodernism, insinuating this to be one of the reasons for their demise. The "postmodern aesthetic sensibility" he says, "rejects everything that is universal, uniform, repetitive, geometrical, minimalist..." (p. 100) and instead favours the "classical avant-garde" to paint a picture of cultural and aesthetic diversity. We must not forget that the intentions behind these uniform dull panel housing blocks were based on utopic socialist ideals aiming to provide equal housing opportunities. Groys argues that the postmodern taste is "fundamentally an anti-radical and anti-utopian taste" and that "one needs to have a certain aesthetic preference for the uniform (as opposed to the diverse), to be ready to accept and to endorse radical political and artistic projects" (p. 101).

Despite these shortcomings, readers would be hard-pressed to find another edited collection on panel housing construction that includes a diverse cast of authors, intersecting arts with technology while celebrating the achievements of this often-misunderstood architecture, intentionally produced to solve problems in housing and construction. The book pays homage to otherwise unknown periods, locations and actors in the history of panel housing. Even though the editors and contributors cannot and do not have the capacity to cover all the complex issues related to these “flying panels”, it is nevertheless an informative, multi-faceted book that should be on the shelves of every panel housing enthusiast or anyone interested in the history of modern architecture or urban planning.

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**NEGOTIATING MEMORY, HISTORY AND  
IDENTITY: TRANSFORMATIONS OF POST-  
SOCIALIST URBAN LANDSCAPE**

IRA, Jaroslav – JANÁČ, Jiří (eds.). *Materializing Identities in Socialist and Post-Socialist Cities*. Prague: Karolinum Press, 2017, 180 p. ISBN 978-8024635903.

Over the last thirty years, societies that have emerged from the collapse of the communist states in Europe in 1989–1991 have been mostly referred to as “post-socialist”. While they have certainly had divergent paths in terms of political, economic and societal development, this generalization continues to act as one of the defining historical denominators for most of Central and Eastern Europe. According to Beissinger and Kotkin, the historical experience of communism still significantly influences trajectories of post-socialist development.<sup>1</sup> Indeed, cultural landscapes of contemporary post-socialist cities mirror over half a century of political, economic, social and cultural

patterns of socialism and, as such, display particular systems of values, preferences, beliefs, fears and “truths”.<sup>2</sup>

The urban history of post-socialist Europe has long been neglected by scholars, as it was difficult to nestle research in this field into a particular discipline. Over the last 30 years, several publications have contributed to filling that gap, such as Tsenkova and Nedovic-Budic (2006) on urban space, institutions and policies in post-socialist Europe;<sup>3</sup> Andrusz, Harloe and Szelenyi (1996) on urban change in European cities after socialism;<sup>4</sup> Tsenkova and Lowe (2003) on housing changes in Eastern Europe;<sup>5</sup> Neill (2004) on urban planning and cultural identity;<sup>6</sup> Diener and Hagen (2016) on the politics of architecture and urban planning;<sup>7</sup> Kliems (2010) on continuity and urban change in post-socialist urban space;<sup>8</sup> Czepczynski (2008) on the cultural landscapes of post-socialist cities;<sup>9</sup> Hamilton, Dimitrovska Andrews and Pichler-Milanovic (2005) on Central and Eastern European cities in the context of globalization;<sup>10</sup> and Sonkoly (2017)

2 CZEPCZYNSKI, Mariusz. *Cultural Landscapes of Post-socialist Cities*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008.

3 TSENKOVA, Sasha – NEDOVIC-BUDIC, Zorica (eds.). *The Urban Mosaic of Post-Socialist Europe Space, Institutions and Policy*. Heidelberg: Physica Verlag, 2006.

4 ANDRUSZ, Gregory – HARLOE, Michael – SZELENYI, Ivan (eds.). *Cities after socialism – Urban and regional change and conflict in post-socialist societies*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1996.

5 TSENKOVA, Sasha – LOWE, Stuart (ed.). *Housing change in Central and Eastern Europe*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003.

6 NEILL, William J. V. *Urban Planning and Cultural Identity*. London; New York: Routledge, 2004.

7 DIENER, Alexander C. – HAGEN, Joshua (ed.). *From Socialist to Post-Socialist Cities: Cultural Politics of Architecture, Urban Planning, and Identity in Eurasia*. London: Routledge, 2016.

8 KLIEMS, Alfrun – DMITRIEVA, Marina (ed.). *The post socialist city: continuity and change in urban space and imagery*. Berlin: Jovis, 2010.

9 CZEPCZYNSKI, *Cultural Landscapes of Post-socialist Cities*.

10 HAMILTON, Ian, F.E. – DIMITROVSKA ANDREWS, Kaliopa – PICHLER-MILANOVIC, Natasa (eds.). *Transformation of cities in Central and Eastern Europe: Toward globalization*. Tokyo: United Nations University Press, 2005.

1 BEISSINGER, Mark R. – KOTKIN, Stephen (eds.). *Historical Legacies of Communism in Russia and Eastern Europe*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014.

on the historical urban landscape.<sup>11</sup> In “The Post-Socialist City: Urban Form and Space Transformations in Central and Eastern Europe after Socialism”, Stanilov and colleagues explore a variety of consequences of urban spatial restructuring in Europe after 1989.<sup>12</sup> An important contribution on this topic was also published in early 2020 – “A Modern History of European Cities: 1815 to the Present” by historian Rosemary Wakeman.<sup>13</sup>

*Materializing Identities in Socialist and Post-Socialist Cities*, edited by Jaroslav Ira and Jiří Janáč from Charles University in Prague, represents another important contribution to the vast field of urban transformations and symbolic revisions of public spaces in post-socialist Europe. Printed by Karolinum Press in Prague in 2017, the book collects chapters from lecturers, doctoral students and graduates of the Erasmus Mundus Master Programme *TEMA: European Territories – identity and development*, tracing identity struggles in urban landscapes in the aftermath of communism in Europe. The contributors to the volume reflect on the post-socialist city as a laboratory of different, very often contested ideas and negotiated national identities and collective memories. They offer personal interpretations of post-socialist transitions in urban areas and various changes in the organization and meaning of public spaces, especially ones invested with symbolic meaning and emotional potential.

Tracing the dynamic interactions between urban landscape and national identity, the book reveals various layers of socialist urban memories in European cities. It investigates how different political, economic and social processes reshaped socialist cityscapes post-1989. New ideological frameworks introduced new urban forms and dynamics, changing not only urban planning and functions, but also relationships and modes of interaction

between individuals (and societies) and urban spaces. The chapters in the book analyse, in a thought-provoking manner, various forms and consequences of post-communist landscape cleansing and various cases of the instrumentalisation of urban memories. As Ira and Janáč explain in the introduction to the volume, “The memory of socialism has been replaced by a new narrative, predominantly shaped by discourses of national identity. Some authors even argue that the eradication of the socialist past was a result of the nationalization of urban space, rather than a consequence of the transition to capitalism” (p. 20). Indeed, the book provides an interesting account of post-socialist appropriations and manipulations of urban space and different mechanisms for transforming urban identities and assigning new meanings to urban areas.

Due to the common educational and disciplinary background of the authors who participated in the same Master programme, the book as a whole represents a coherent image of post-socialist urban identity transformations, with the exception of the chapter on Minsk which deals with the post-war reconstruction and thus thematically jumps out of the book’s focus. Similarly, the book deals with European cities, but includes examples from Kazakhstan, which geographically belongs to Central Asia, although due to its Soviet history is sometimes considered as post-socialist Europe. Regardless of that, the chapters interact with each other in a meaningful way, using urban identities and urban memories as a “red thread” of the book. They analyse post-socialist identity reconstruction using tools such as urban toponymy, relocation of capitals, modernization and sovietization, various historical references and urban rebranding.

The opening chapter “Society and Space in (Post-)Socialist Cities: Directions in Research” by Natalia Linitzskaya uses papers presented at the conferences of the European Association for Urban History (EAUH) between 2006 and 2014 to trace changing perspectives in research on the socialist and post-socialist city. She identifies three major topics emerging throughout the years: the architectural transformation of socialist cities, local responses to those processes,

11 SONKOLY, Gabor. *Historical Urban Landscape*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017.

12 STANILOV, Kiril (ed.). *The Post-Socialist City: Urban Form and Space Transformations in Central and Eastern Europe after Socialism*. Dordrecht: Springer, 2007.

13 WAKEMAN, Rosemary. *A Modern History of European Cities: 1815 to the Present*. London; Oxford: Bloomsbury Academic, 2020.

and transformations of spatial memories. In the chapter which explores tendencies in urban history scholarship and progress in the historiography of socialist cities, the author argues that the legacy of socialism will be the subject of re-interpretation and re-thinking for generations to come, as we refine our reading of layers of meaning within post-socialist cityscapes. "Urban space tolerates lending itself to diverse stories coexisting one next to the other" (p. 51) and socialist urbanity undoubtedly left numerous traces in the public space which continuously create a palimpsest of memories and urban forms.

Linitskaya's second chapter, "Tractor at the Avenue: Post-War Reconstruction of Minsk, 1944-1960", explores the construction of socialist Minsk and of Soviet Belorussian identity in the city. The paper questions the application of Soviet urbanity methods in reconstruction of the Belorussian capital, resulting in the creation of a "monumental" city centre and an industrial periphery dominated by a tractor factory and various housing, cultural and social facilities typical of socialist urban design. Exploring urban life in Soviet Minsk, the author argues that Belorussians somewhat appropriated Soviet urban identity and the socialist promise.

Two chapters authored by Nari Shelekpavev both address the urban rebranding of the Kazakh cities of Almaty and Astana. The first one, "Public Spaces and Nation Building in Post-Soviet Kazakhstan (1991-2001)" investigates the relocation of the socialist capital city from Almaty to Astana (renamed Nur-Sultan as of March 2019) as a tool in the nation-building process after the collapse of Soviet Union. It argues that ideological re-appropriation of space in Kazakh cities was actively used in order to create physical and social detachment from the past and legitimise new national identity. In words of the author, "If one compares Almaty and Astana, the former transformed its existing material space in order to fill it with a new symbolic content while the latter created the space anew in order to signify, not only by its materiality but also by the very fact of its creation, a desire for a new symbolic order" (p. 96). Removal of the old and the inception of new symbols in urban space as a tool for nation-building is one of the topics

which repeatedly emerges throughout the book.

In his second chapter, "Is Name Destiny? On Some Cases of Post-Soviet Street-Naming in Almaty and Astana", Shelekpavev deals with post-Soviet street renaming as an instrument to "purge" the unwanted past and consolidate the post-socialist national identity. In his analysis of Almaty and Astana, street renaming appears as a practice of legitimation, commemoration and naturalization. He argues that toponymical changes are used to promote certain versions of history and specific local memories, eradicating the Soviet past and referring instead to the history of the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, in order to foster the identity-building process.

In the chapter "Skopje 2014: The Role of Government in the Spatial Politics of Collective Memory", Ivana Nikolovska questions the reinvention of the Macedonian capital through the controversial *Skopje 2014* project. This initiative of the Macedonian government aimed at rebranding the city and inscribing new layers of history and new heroes into the urban landscape of Skopje, and turned out to be one of the most widely debated urban transformations in the last decade. Nikolovska traces public discourse, including statements from the government and debates within the academic community, civil society, professional platforms of architects, social media, etc. By doing so, she showcases the variety of voices involved in the process of ideological appropriation of public spaces and conflicting memory narratives stemming from the new organisation of urban landscape.

The closing chapter "Searching for Identity: the Cities of Tiraspol and Chisinau" by Olga Niutenko, reflects on the creation of Moldovan and Transnistrian identities in the city. Niutenko's analysis reveals how localised approaches to the use of urban symbols, the politics of monument, industrial development and street names in Chisinau and Tiraspol led to the construction of different urban identities in Moldova and Transnistria. The chapter illustrates how the Soviet past was instrumentalised in Tiraspol and discharged in Chisinau, demonstrating the power of collective memories in reinforcing a particular national identity and urban development.

Urban space has always been a tool for the legitimization of contemporary political agendas, and as such it displays and reflects history and memory in a way that corresponds to the ideological framework of the time. Nowhere is that process as visible and as compelling as in post-socialist cities, in which layers of memory, history and identity interact, dispute and re-arrange the urban landscape. *Materializing Identities in Socialist and Post-Socialist Cities* collects case analyses of urban rewriting as a practice of identity reconstruction in East European cities, where communist legacies have been deeply embedded in the public space. It represents an original contribution to the field, highlighting various strategies of post-socialist urban development which strived to accommodate new political, economic and cultural patterns. Undoubtedly, socialist cityscapes will remain a source of inspiration for generations of geographers, urban planners, urban historians and architects to come.

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#### COMMON PATTERNS WITH INTERDISCIPLINARITY – THE LIFE STORIES OF AUSTRO-HUNGARIAN TOWNS

LOVRA, Éva. *Városok az Osztrák-Magyar Monarchiában: Városszövet- és várostipológia 1867–1918*. Budapest: Terc Kiadó, 2020, 240 p. ISBN 978-615-5445-65-1.

Eva Lovra's great monograph represents a supplementary work not only in the Hungarian historiography, but within the Central European medium, too, due to the voluminous English summary in the final section of the book. It is fair to state that a city is a composite phenomenon. Its architecture and town planning should not be analysed separately but should be studied as equal components of the same entity. For a historian, this could be the most straightforward message of Lovra's monograph, which embarks upon a journey dealing with both the history of architecture and urban development.

This book is an imperative, which recalls for us the importance of interdisciplinarity. Why can we claim that? For the answer, we must understand the actual situation with regards to Hungarian architecture studies and urban morphology research, and must review the subject of the monograph, which is an achievement of a long-term study.

Lovra's work seeks interactions, parallels and common patterns in city planning in the territory of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. The era it examines begins in the year of the Compromise – the so-called Auleich, in 1867 – and ends with the First World War and the moment the monarchy finally split up. The urban development of Austria-Hungary took a new direction from the 1870s, partly because of the state-regulated city development of Vienna and Budapest, but economic alignment by that time also had a strong impact on urbanization processes in Hungary. Essentially, the book aims to discuss the urban typology of this eventful era and to create a taxonomy despite the great variation of urban characteristics that can be observed within the monarchical period. The typological research is conducted in order to enable the taxonomic classification of urban forms based on common characteristics. The purpose behind this goal is to define the ideals of the age concerning town structure, and Lovra is successful in reaching a broader classification of towns through her special matrix of variables.

The author examines 70 towns in total, all from the area of the former Kingdom of Hungary, and compares their characteristics with 10 towns from the Habsburg Austrian territories. Nowadays, these places are scattered across 12 different countries. The taxonomy of the selected cities covers the entire expanse of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. The cities show a diverse range of geomorphological characteristics and a high variety of urban development levels. (At the end of the book the author provides orientation by means of a detailed catalogue of urban tissues and a large classification table.) Lovra's distinct system of classification reveals basic and combined urban categories.

The taxonomic designation of urban types was, by necessity, preceded by the determination of urban fabric types, their various combinations, and the existing

spatial relationships within the town. In this regard, the writer can confirm the possibility of creating an urban typology based on confinable conditions and Lovra's typology distinguishes 41 types of urban tissue, 16 basic urban types and nine main types of town. These types are categorized at the end of the study as stagnant towns, regulated towns, towns with linear urban development lines, four types of town with ring and radial roads, multi-nuclei towns and completely enclosed towns. The formulation of this urban typology contradicts the accepted urban morphological statement that any typology is effectively impossible because of the high variety of forms. The study of the given cities not only explores the urban types but also discovers the factors creating urban identity in a wider context, by means of comparing the towns of Hungary with those in Austria. As we can read in the foreword, this unique taxonomic classification of urban fabric types and urban types from Hungary between 1867 and 1918 has been created and defined by urban morphological methods for the first time in its scientific field.

The results are based on Lovra's own synthesis of two significant schools in urban morphology, namely that of Michael Robert Günter Conzen, the founder of the Anglo-German school of urban morphology, and Saverio Muratori, a disciple of the famous urbanist Gustavo Giovannoni and a pioneer of typomorphological research. Muratori's method was developed further by his former assistant, architect Gianfranco Caniggia. In essence, Lovra's typo-morphological analysis system closely follows the Conzenian cognitive approach, combined with Caniggia's research methodology, which focuses on how built form is influenced by historical processes and inherited shaping.

The book also offers a complex picture of theoretical works and ideals from the era it covers. Camillo Sitte and Josef Stübben's contemporaneous doctrines can be discerned. Lovra also presents a general overview of urban morphology-related studies up to contemporary methods. Camillo Sitte had a vision of the modern and progressive city which could involve the past in its new development. A designer must incorporate the aesthetic point-of-view during the planning process, according to him. However,

while the routes, streets, open squares, and networks must take efficiency into account, the main purpose never should be only symmetry, regularity or the deliberate separation of functions within the tissue. The fluid continuum with the past is accented in his detailed vision. His counterpart was Otto Wagner, who presented a different direction. He tried to organise the city in blocks according to their functional relation, creating sometimes strongly regular and tight cityscapes. Josef Stübben also has a major role in the implied research as his planning guide and city descriptions were accurate impressions from the analysed era. Stübben, among other things, defined the hierarchy of open spaces, a system which is very much central to Lovra's approach.

From specific chapters, we highlight the works of Antal Palóczi, whose work focused on theoretical fields in Hungarian town planning, and who incorporated German and Austrian ideas about dynamics of flow into his practice. Like Stübben, he intended to subordinate public buildings in the system planning. But the essential influence over his thinking was Camillo Sitte's assertion that a continuum with the past is inevitable. Sitte mainly analysed historic remains and old monuments, which he felt should determine the concepts in city drawing. The book offers a conspicuous and stunning example: the planning competition for the Wekerle estate in the early 1900s – a major government intervention to fund housing projects for government employees. Construction began in 1908, and lasted until 1925, producing 1,007 houses containing 4,412 apartments. In the end, Ottmár Gyóri's plan, which followed a symmetrical form with functional organization, was accepted and eventually built. However, the project was initially awarded to awarded Antal Palóczi, whose work broadly followed the philosophy of Sitte, with a plan which would have resulted in a more organic city quarter. In Sitte's opinion, towns are artworks and all should be masterpieces – not just administrative units. Lajos Lechner, another famous Hungarian engineer, declared Pozsony (Bratislava) to be the first fine example of modern city planning in the terms defined by Sitte.

One of the great virtues of this work is that it also offers a complex overview of city

development processes in the Kingdom of Hungary in the medieval age. It presents the types of cities from a geographical point of view, but also separates the systems according to their administrative backgrounds. Knowledge of these early types of urban space is essential, as the analysed era and its associated typographies depend on these historical origins. Without this background analysis, neither experts nor lay readers could follow the conclusions of the book. These sections of the book list all the transformations driven by economic and geographical factors which took place in the age of the Industrial Revolution and under the dualist form of government. In this period, Budapest and Vienna underwent sudden economical development, in which the towns were the most important catalysts. In certain chapters, the writer deploys archival maps as well as various acts and other archival documents originating from the area. As many history and architecture researchers focus only a narrow aspect and too few explore the relevant context and parallel phenomena in sufficient depth, this book represents an essential tool in broadening the range of perspectives on its topic.

Another extremely useful contribution is that it supplies a proper overview of legislation processes – an incomplete and poorly served field in the literature on Hungarian architecture. Effective regulatory systems for urban development and architecture only existed from the 1870s, when the Council of Public Works in Budapest established a basic legislative background on the occasion of the Unification of Pest and Buda. Traffic regulation was of great importance in this legislation, and Lovra lists and compares the various acts and laws established to govern city development. From this, we can gain a complex picture of all the laws' which had an effect on city morphology.

Towards the end of the book, we come to the main aim of the work: the classification system. As mentioned above, Lovra's methodology involves integrating urban morphology and urban typology matrixes. Her complex urban morphological methodology analyses forms and establishes their specific typology. She outlines the system through the formation of a matrix of characteristics,

using the description and combination of basic urban types and urban fabric types which are defined by different features and combination of city forms, taking into account the dominant urban fabric types.

"Towns have a life history. Their development together with the cultural history of the region in which they lie, is written deeply into the outline and fabric of their built-up areas."<sup>14</sup> This research opens a new chapter in urban and architectural surveys: a combination of urban morphology and architectural typology. In Hungary, studies on the architectural historicism during the dual monarchy period is still a developing field, dating from the 1980s, with multiplying studies now extending into all the neo-styles. There are already many publications that report not only on the most significant architects and buildings of the era, but also analyse several lesser-known individuals and their works. However, we still can say that the architecture of the dual monarchy era is a largely unexplored territory. Despite all the academic attention devoted to Hungarian and Central European architecture of the dualist era, coverage of certain disciplines within the field is still strongly deficient, with too few analyses from urbanists and urban morphology scientists, and only rare studies which successfully integrate research into building history and urban history. Eva Lovra's monograph does a great deal to fill this gap, not only for Hungary, but for all the modern states which were part of the historic Austro-Hungarian Empire.

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14 Intra-Visegrad Scholarship research: Lovra, E. Comparison of the Structural Pattern in Case of Different Approach: Typology of the Structural Changes. The Impact of the Technological Development on the Public Spaces. Case Study Parallels: Prague, Budapest, Vienna. 2015.

THE NARRATIVE SOURCES AND THE HISTORY  
OF THE TOWNS

TOŠENROVÁ, Mária – KVĚTOVÁ, Miroslava.  
*Paměť měst. Narativní prameny k dějinám  
Prahy, Českých Budějovic a Litoměřic do roku  
1800.* Praha: Masarykův ústav – Archiv AV ČR,  
2020, 430 p. ISBN 978-80-88304-21-0.

Memory and city are not only two words: they also act as two interesting research problems, the interconnection and mutual relationship of which is reflected in the present publication. Mária Tošnerová and Miroslava Květová present a selected issue within this topic in a monograph entitled: *Memory of Cities. The Narrative Sources to the History of Prague, České Budějovice and Litoměřice (until 1800)*. Topics in ethnology, cultural and social anthropology and history, as well as research in other sciences and social sciences are the focus of attention. In the Slovak and Czech areas, urban ethnology/anthropology began to be discussed more intensively after 1989, but this does not mean that the city was no longer a research topic. *Memory of Cities* is beneficial thanks to its summarization and collection of a large number of narrative sources from the early modern period up to 1800. They represent a rich source of knowledge of the past of the towns and their inhabitants, and both the data and the authors' contemporary literary style complement the knowledge about towns from other sources. It is these sources that help us know the thinking and mentality of those who lived at that time, not only in terms of social functions, but also with regards to individuals and their personal characteristics. Urban chronicles (especially since the sixteenth century) have played a key role in the creation of urban identity, as well as being a source of knowledge of the origin and history of cities. The value of chronicles of urban provenance were initially underestimated in the study of urban history; a change occurred around the middle of the twentieth century, when they began to be considered from other sites. Chronicles are not only of factual benefit: above all, they provide sources for the study of the collective memory of certain social groups.

*Memory of Cities* evaluates the preserved chronicle-type sources and records of the

memory of three Czech towns – Prague, České Budějovice and Litoměřice. The authors state in the introduction that these cities were chosen because they had similar degrees of internal institutional development; from the beginning all three were formed as free royal towns which were part of the Third Land State. Their property situation was similar and, especially in the pre-White Mountain period, they were the richest Czech towns.

The publication is divided into three chapters, the first entitled “Urban Historiography”, with a subchapter on “Narrative Sources in the Past and the Beginnings of their Access”. From the end of the seventeenth century, the attitude of scholars towards historical sources as well as to their value was gradually changing. Criticism of sources was part of the work of the historian, but evaluation corresponded directly to the state of the art and focused mainly on factual studies, while interpretation of events was not considered an aspect of historical knowledge. Representatives of the so-called scholarly historiographies (seventeenth to eighteenth centuries) focused mainly on the study of national history, but there was also some benefit from the perspective of urban historiography. A critical approach to the study of historiographic sources emerged during the Enlightenment, when historicism penetrated into thinking, bringing a new perception of history and a new way of using it. The origins of this movement are associated with Gelas Dobner. In the same period, we also encounter the oldest attempts to declare sources.

By the first half of the nineteenth century, approaches to processing sources had changed. From “rewriting”, the historical science of that time also began to require that the acquired information be placed in a historical context, in the sense of the historical understanding of the past. Most editions of city chronicles were created in the second half of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century; these are the oldest city books that have attracted the attention of researchers. Works from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries for a long time attracted little interest, being primarily used by regional historians. Only the second half of the twentieth century brought a change in researchers' approach,

with growing interest in the study of narrative sources for which credibility is no longer the most important criterion in assessing a text's importance. Nevertheless, the issue of urban historiography remained a marginal topic. An increase in the production of monographs on the history of towns has been recorded, especially after 1989, when the older works were being repeatedly published. A number of new histories, created through more modern processes, have also appeared.

In the subchapter on "Urban Historiography of the Early Modern Period and its Sources", the authors present the basic characteristic features of the sources of urban historiography in the Early Modern Period, which, in their words, represents a difficult task. The main criterion was to identify works that captured the past and present of the cities and their inhabitants, in all their forms. This wide definition is represented by a range of sources of varying scope written by authors from different social groups. The benefit is that they preserve both the collective and individual historical memory of the local residents. The beginnings of attempts at the typology of narrative sources date back to the nineteenth century, when an effort was made to clearly identify sources. Historians continued these efforts in the twentieth century, without reaching a clear classification. As narrative historiographical sources contain several genres, the clear classification of sources of urban historiography is currently being abandoned. Early modern chronicles are represented by official city chronicles; the subchapter focuses on explaining the term chronicle, the main function of chronicles, types of chronicles, city commemorative books, city topographies, and the printed flyers that carried news across regions and land borders. Messages in the form of songs were also popular, supplemented by illustrations or Latin occasional verses, the authors of which were members of the city's elite.

The chapter concludes with a section on "Urban Historiography and its Development", with a passage dedicated to the "Beginning of Urban Historiography in Bohemia". The historical memory is known mainly from written sources, but for the oldest period only a limited amount was preserved. At the end of the Middle Ages, the first chronicle reports

appeared in city books, in addition to official records. This oldest stage of historiography, represented by national chronicles, persisted until the Hussite period, when the economic and political power of individual cities was significantly strengthened. That is why it is possible to speak about the origin of urban historiography. The authors describe the development of the town chronicle in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Alongside the territory of the Czech Republic, they also focus on neighbouring countries in Southwest, Central and Eastern Europe. In urban historiography the publication focuses, in terms of time, on the Pre-White Mountain period, post-White Mountain historiography, and urban history at the end of the Baroque period.

The last part, which forms part of a rich summary of narrative sources, is on the "City from the Point of View of Early Modern Authors". Chronicle records offer a broad view of the life of the Early Modern city. The city describes the official city chronicle its own way; another work arises from the workshop of private initiative, other interesting features are described in the encyclopaedic character, and so on. The image of the city was influenced by the social status of the writer. All the authors pursued the same goal but their choices about what they considered important differed.

The second chapter, the main part of the work, is entitled "Historiography in Prague, in České Budějovice and in Litoměřice". All available narrative sources are broken down by city in the reference period. The history of Prague is inextricably linked to the history of the Czech nation, since it was the capital of the Czech State since its inception and also the seat of monarchs for centuries. The oldest written reports on Prague date back to the tenth century. The chapter contains references to manuscripts, chronicles and literature, which are listed in chronological order.

The final chapter presents a summary of all narrative sources used, and on which the publication is based. The title of the chapter, "List of Narrative Sources for the History of Prague, České Budějovice and Litoměřice", informs readers about the archives and libraries of these cities that contain the given sources, together with their specific

collection, signature and brief description. The emphasis, as stated in the introduction to the third chapter, is on the text of the relevant chronicle; in the case of municipal memorial books, entries are omitted without a closer reference to the chronicle. Historical works related to the Jewish city are based primarily on literature. Since there are a large number of sources with appropriate notation, a more detailed introduction would be useful to better clarify this material. The accompanying text for each fund could be also more comprehensive so that the information is more accessible to non-experts.

The publication offers up an extensive list of sources and literature, divided into unpublished and published sources, period print, literature and Internet resources. It is characterized by a high-quality output in the study of urban historiography primarily focused on chronicles, urban memorial books, urban topography and so on. Properly selected methodological bases, as well as the wide range of examined archival material, domestic and foreign literature, underline the relevance of the work.

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#### THE DOMINICANS IN KOŠICE IN THE TIME OF RECATHOLICIZATION

DÓCI, Viliam Štefan OP. *Die seelsorgliche Tätigkeit der Kaschauer Predigerbrüder. Ein Dominikanerkonvent im Ambiente von Pfarrei, Stadt und Staat im 18. Jahrhundert.* Berlin; Boston: Walter de Gruyter, 2018, 327 p. ISBN 978-3-11-053884-7.

In 2018, the publishing house Walter de Gruyter brought to public attention the monograph *Die seelsorgliche Tätigkeit der Kaschauer Predigerbrüder. Ein Dominikanerkonvent im Ambiente von Pfarrei, Stadt und Staat im 18. Jahrhundert* [The Pastoral Activity of the Friar-Preachers of Košice: a Dominican Priory in the Surroundings of the State, Town and Parish in the Eighteenth Century]. The author, Viliam Štefan Dóci OP, is a historian and theologian and the reviewed book is based on

the research made during his PhD studies at the University of Vienna.

The importance of this book lies in three main dimensions of historical research. First, the monograph represents a very important contribution to the history of Dominicans in Košice. It was in 1932 that Vojtech Wick published in Košice his book on this topic (*Dáta k dejinám košických dominikánov*). After almost a century, Viliam Štefan Dóci carried out deep research into archival documents and historiography in order to bring a broad view on the history of Dominicans in Košice throughout the eighteenth century after their return to the city in 1698. The book contains new historical data about the history of the Dominican cloister in Košice and will from now serve as the primary source for further research in any way connected with Dominicans in Košice in the early modern period.

The second dimension is the history of the Church, of religions and of the Reformation and Counter-reformation/Recatholicization in Košice. The Dominicans left Košice after the Fire in 1556, together with Franciscans, and their properties fell into the hands of the Protestant city council, according to a policy that had lasted from the Medieval, pre-Reformation period, that all properties of church institutions residing in the city actually belonged to the city. The end of the seventeenth century and the rule of Leopold I saw a short but intensive conflict between the royal institutions and the city magistrate over those formerly Dominican properties. The Recatholicization of the free royal city of Košice started at the beginning of the seventeenth century and during this period the orders of Jesuits and Franciscans were supported by the royals to settle in the city in the middle of the century, and the Ursulines and Dominicans followed at the end of this century. The author made a considerable effort to illustrate for readers the previous two centuries of the Church's history in the city and the situation, both political and military, at the time of the Dominicans' return.

One of the main goals of the book is to shed light on the relations between the friars and the parochial ecclesiastics. The competencies were, after the Council of Trent, territorially accorded to the parish priests. In the first chapter of the book, the author pays

attention also to the historical development of this issue. During the seventeenth century, the Catholic priests were struggling to regain previously Catholic churches and other buildings and properties in order to maintain their presence in the city, and no controversies rose up between themselves. At the beginning of the eighteenth century, the majority of the city's inhabitants were protestant, but this changed during the first half of this century. The situation for the Catholic Church and its local institutions became stable and discussion about competencies, territory and *piae fundationes* between the orders and the parish church took place. The author gives various examples of instances, including over processions, sermons, testaments, compulsories and funerals, in which the Dominicans entered into some kind of conflict with the parish priests. Some of these cases had to be resolved by the bishops of Eger.

The third dimension represents the secular, civic and lay sphere of life in the city, in which the Dominicans played a part as well. The traditional tools of the pastoral charge connected these two worlds in appointed places, times and occasions. The national, social, political, economical and religious life of the city's inhabitants was partly tied to the Dominican church or cloister. The book covers these research topics by analysing testaments, uses of public space and sacred places, the *Ars Moriendi* spirituality and the brotherhoods founded by the friars. The end of the eighteenth century saw important events in the history of the Dominican cloister in Košice. In 1773, their cloister was transformed from a residence into a convent. In the same year, after the Jesuit order's suppression, the bishop invited the Dominican friars to teach at the University

of Košice. The job was undertaken only with difficulties due to a lack of appropriate persons. In the 1780s, the Dominican cloister in Košice was one of just a few (Dominican) cloisters in Hungary not to be closed by Joseph II. In the 1790s, several sermons conducted by the Dominicans showed the political and national context to be reflecting also the political situation in Europe and the revolutionary changes in North America. A nationwide impact was had by a sermon of 1790 in which a Dominican preacher of German origin addressed some critical notes towards the Hungarian nation. It brought a huge reaction between the Hungarians in Košice and residual baron families still complied with at the highest levels. The sermon was considered a provocation which could lead to turmoil between the Germans and Hungarians in the city.

The reviewed book *Die seelsorgliche Tätigkeit der Kaschauer Predigerbrüder* represents an important and substantial contribution to the history of Košice. Methodologically, the monograph and the research were carried out and presented according to the chosen research topic and to the trends of Church history in Middle Europe, so the structure is logical, being partly chronologically and partly thematically oriented. The research and conclusions specifically highlighted in the monograph are more than suitable for use in comparisons and further broader analyses on similar historical research topics regarding Hungary and Europe more widely as well.

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# REPORTS

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REPORTS

## STRATEGIES OF SURVIVING THE HOLOCAUST AND URBAN ELITES – INTERIM REPORT OF THE PROJECT IMPLEMENTATION

Since 2017, grant project no. 1/0254/17, funded by the Scientific Grant Agency (VEGA) and entitled *Stratégie prežitia holokaustu a mestské elity* [Strategies of Surviving the Holocaust and Urban Elites], has been running at the Department of History of the Faculty of Arts of Pavol Jozef Šafárik University in Košice. The main academic intention of the project is the analysis and interpretation of specific cases of Holocaust survival strategies in confrontation with various reactions of members of urban elites in order to significantly advance knowledge in the field of research of the social background of the Holocaust in the Slovak State in the years 1939–1945, especially in relation to specific survival strategies and activities of local rescuers and local aggressors. The project team, under the leadership of the principal investigator Martin Pekár, was composed of Zuzana Tokárová (deputy principal investigator), researcher Slávka Otčenášová and doctoral students, and involved analyses, through micro-historical probes and case studies, of the issues of Holocaust survival strategies and of the types of aid that were given to Jews by the majority population, as well as of intergenerational discourse between the generations of direct actors and subsequent generations.

The issue of elite transformation in connection with fundamental social changes, changes which took place especially at key turning points, is one of the increasingly intensively discussed topics in the forums of historians; however, research on the theoretical basis in regard of this issue has so far stagnated in Slovak historiography. Thus, in the first phase of the project's implementation, after the settling of the structure of individual outputs and discussions on how best to proceed, significant interest was paid to the researching of theoretical background and methodological procedures for the researching of elites.

The second working phase of the project included ongoing research and the presentation of research results of individual researchers in domestic but especially international scientific forums. Of all the conferences, the international scientific conference *European Social Science History Conference* (ESSHC), which took place in Belfast on 4–7 April 2018, deserves special mention. The conference's rich programme, which covered a wide range of socio-historical issues and reflected the latest trends in academic research, consisted of 1,400 papers, organized into more than 380 specific sessions, grouped into 27 major thematic research networks. As part of the project implementation a special session at this conference was organized by Martin Pekár in cooperation with a partner, Andrea Pokludová, from the Department of History of the Faculty of Arts of the University of Ostrava. The session "The Urban Elite at Breaking Points in the Political History of Small European Nations in the 19th and 20th Centuries" provided an excellent opportunity to present the latest research in the field of character and transformation of municipal elites of so-called small European nations in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. In this session the project researcher Zuzana Tokárová spoke about the mechanisms of legislative interventions into the composition of municipal self-government as an instrument of anti-Jewish policy during the Holocaust period in four selected countries (the General Government, the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia, the Slovak State and Hungary) and she offered a comparative view. The current state of research in the field of administrative and political elites in the twentieth century was also reflected in the session "Walking the Line between Great Opportunities and Broken Careers: the Administrative and Political Elite in Central and Eastern Europe in the Years 1917–1921". In this session, Martin Pekár and Zuzana Tokárová presented a paper on the transformation of Slovak political elites in Slovakia after 1918, when the multi-ethnic Austro-Hungarian Empire disintegrated and, in the newly formed Czechoslovakia, the Slovak national-emanicipation process accelerated, resulting in new demands in relation to the political elite and its worldview. The process of elite replacement was captured through the example of the selected political figure of Gejza Fritz. Furthermore, interim results of research conducted within the project were also presented at the international scientific conference *Proměny elit v první polovině 20. století* [Transformations of Elites in the First Half of the 20th Century] in Prague in October 2018, which was organized by the Faculty of Arts of Charles University in cooperation with the

Institute for the Study of Totalitarian Regimes and the University of Vienna in order to discuss some of the major issues regarding the transformation of elites in relation to fundamental political and social changes in the first half of the twentieth century. Lectures analysed the process of elite transformation, in particular the context and manifestations of this transformation, as well as the relationships between old and new elites. Martin Pekár and Zuzana Tokárová presented a case study capturing the nature of municipal political elites and their transformation after the taking over of power by Hlinka's Slovak People's Party in Slovakia in the autumn of 1938 and after 14 March 1939. The discussion forum, composed of an international audience for diverse presentations, offered different but at the same time very inspiring views on the researching and interpretation of the elites transformation in the first half of the twentieth century, leading to quality academic dialogue.

Part of the second phase of the project implementation was the publication of ongoing outputs. The most important publication output of the project is a monograph by Martin Pekár *Príbeh Juraja Szánta. Rozhovor o záchrancoch a obeť* [The Story of Juraj Szánto: Interview about Rescuers and a Victim], which was published in 2018.<sup>1</sup> The book is the personal testimony of Juraj Szánto, native of Prešov of Jewish origin, who in the interview with Martin Pekár narrated his own life story and elucidated how he survived the Holocaust in Slovakia during World War II. The interview is prefaced by historian Ivan Kamenec and supplemented by an accompanying study by Martin Pekár on the issue of anti-Jewish policy in Slovakia in the years 1938–1945. The conclusion of the book was written by Juraj Szánto. The publication was publicly presented in Prešov and Košice in March and May 2018, and almost the entire printing of 1,000 copies was distributed free of charge for educational purposes to schools in the Košice Region. Since its publication, the book has received many positive responses and special interest from both professionals and the public. The interest of the public proves that personal stories of antisemitism and the testimonies of Holocaust survivors are, even after many years, greatly fascinating. But more importantly, with the rise of extremism and neo-Nazism, the capturing and preserving of the survivor's memories and Holocaust remembrance are more relevant than ever. From among the more significant publications of the project team, it is necessary to mention the foreign papers or papers published in academic journals registered in prestigious databases. Martin Pekár and Zuzana Tokárová published a joint research output focused on the process of municipal political elites' replacement in Slovakia in the period 1938–1944 in relation to interventions in the municipal government in connection with important socio-political events (Post-Munich crisis, declaration of the Slovak state, Salzburg negotiations etc.). These processes are analysed by the authors in the case of the city of Prešov, a city in which the followers of the incoming Hlinka Slovak People's Party had to fight for the seizure of power, which required the use of all available means.<sup>2</sup> As part of the project research Zuzana Tokárová published a paper focusing on the issue of legislative interventions of the state in local administrations and bodies of self-government resulting in the formation of new local political elites whose representatives played significant roles in the implementation of anti-Jewish policy during the Holocaust era. In the paper, she analyses the mechanisms of legislative interventions in the creation of new local political elites in selected examples of Nazi-occupied countries and allied regimes of Nazi Germany.<sup>3</sup> Slávka Otčenášová in cooperation with Eszter Bartha published papers focusing on the issue of Holocaust research in relation to memory and politics. The authors analyse the politics of memory and the impact of new theoretical currents on Holocaust research in two selected

1 See: PEKÁR, Martin. *Príbeh Juraja Szánta: Rozhovor o záchrancoch a obeť*. Košice: Univerzita Pavla Jozefa Šafárika, 2018.

2 See: PEKÁR, Martin – TOKÁROVÁ, Zuzana. Výmeny mestských politických elit na Slovensku po páde medzivojnovej československej demokracie (Prešov, 1938–1944). In: *Studia Historica Nitriensia* 1/2019, pp. 144–157.

3 See: TOKÁROVÁ, Zuzana. Legislative Interventions into the Creation of Local Political Elites as an Instrument of Anti-Jewish Policy during the Holocaust (A Comparative View). In: *Mesto a dejiny*, 2019, vol. 8, no. 1, pp. 80–109.

countries, Hungary and Slovakia. They introduce some major historical debates of selected countries which illustrate the ideological and political struggles in Holocaust research and its interpretation.<sup>4</sup>

Special attention was paid to the organization of professional, as well as popular-science and educational events during the implementation of the project. One of the main planned outputs of the project was an internal academic seminar, *Sociálna mobilita v prostredí mestských elit na Slovensku v období holokaustu* [Social Mobility in the Environment of Urban Elites in Slovakia during the Holocaust], which was held in Košice on 3–4 September 2019. The seminar was organized by the Department of History of the Faculty of Arts of Pavol Jozef Šafárik University in Košice with the financial participation of the Holocaust Documentation Center. The event was arranged in the format of a two-day seminar, during which six papers by invited guests were presented. In addition to project researchers Martin Pekár and Zuzana Tokárová, the invited speakers Eduard Nižňanský (Faculty of Arts of Comenius University in Bratislava), Ján Hlavinka and Michala Lónčíková (Holocaust Documentation Center) and Veronika Szeghy-Gayer (Közép-Európa Kutatóintézet, Nemzeti Közzolgálati Egyetem – Eötvös József Kutatóközpont, Budapest) participated. The aim of the internal seminar was to introduce and evaluate the current state of relevant research, to provide an accessible forum in which to compare methods and procedures and to open a deeper discussion on issues of the replacement of municipal elites and social mobility in the context of anti-Jewish policy during the Holocaust period (especially Aryanization and the eviction of Jews at the city level) and the question of Holocaust survival strategies. To this end, invited guests introduced original themes which offered a cross section of the whole complex of problems regarding the social environment of the Holocaust and social mobility in Slovakia in the period 1938–1945. Purposefully selected experts with specific topics formed a perfect setting for inspiring discussion and constructive criticism which indicated questions for further reflection and research. In addition, exhibitions, discussions and screenings of documentaries were organized within the project. In May 2017 an interactive exhibition entitled *Kto bude ďalší?* [Who Will Be the Next?] was organized. The exhibition was devoted to the genocide and was its second edition after the successful running of an exhibition of the same name in 2016. From 8 November 2017 to 8 December 2017 the Department of History of the Faculty of Arts of Pavol Jozef Šafárik University in Košice hosted a traveling exhibition *Obraz nepriateľa v propagande počas II. svetovej vojny na Slovensku* [The Image of the Enemy in Propaganda during World War II in Slovakia] presenting examples of the visual component of the propaganda of the Slovak State in the form of dozens of propaganda posters, official photographs, contemporary cartoons, newspapers and quotes placed on double-sided banners describing the reality in the period of the Slovak State and its war, pro-German, anti-allied and anti-Jewish propaganda. The official opening of the exhibition was linked to a guest lecture by historian Eduard Nižňanský on the issue of official propaganda. In terms of attendance, the exhibition exceeded all the expectations of the organizers, and in just four weeks it was visited by several hundred visitors, including students of primary and secondary schools from Košice and the surrounding area. As one of the outputs of the project, a presentation of Eduard Nižňanský's book *Obraz nepriateľa v propagande počas II. svetovej vojny na Slovensku*<sup>5</sup> was also organized in Košice in November 2017. From among the events organized within the project's implementation it is important to mention at least briefly the screening of the series of films entitled *Seredské svedectvá* [Testimonies from Sered] which took place on 7 February 2019 in Košice. The event was organized by the Department of History of the Faculty of

4 See: BARTHA, Eszter – OTČENÁŠOVÁ, Slávka. Memory and Politics: "Totalitarian" and "revisionist" approaches to the study of the Holocaust in Hungary and Slovakia. In: *Central European Papers*, 2019, vol. 8, no. 1, pp. 9–24. BARTHA, Eszter – OTČENÁŠOVÁ, Slávka. A holokaust az emlékezet és a politika vonzásában: Totalitárius és revizionista irányzatok a magyar és a szlovák holokaust-irodalomban. In: *Eszmélet: Társadalomkritikai és kulturális folyóirat*, 2019, no. 124, pp. 94–117.

5 See: NIŽŇANSKÝ, Eduard. *Obraz nepriateľa: v propagande počas II. svetovej vojny na Slovensku*. Banská Bystrica: Múzeum Slovenského národného povstania, 2016.

Arts of Pavol Jozef Šafárik University in Košice on the occasion of the International Day of Commemoration in Memory of the Victims of the Holocaust in cooperation with Sereď Holocaust Museum, Association Ester and Civic Association Edah. With the participation of two actors in short documentaries and of many important personalities, including the Consul General of Hungary, the Honorary Consul of Israel and leading representatives of the Catholic Church, the testimonies of Holocaust survivors in the form of short films were screened. As mentioned above, personal stories of survivors capturing the tragedy of the Holocaust arouse extraordinary interest from the public, as evidenced by this event.

The final phase of the project (until the end of 2020) includes the finalization of project deliverables. The COVID-19 pandemic did/does not allow Martin Pekár and Zuzana Tokárová to present project outputs at the planned international conference ESSHC in March 2020 in Leiden or at the *15th International Conference of the European Association for Urban History (EAUH)* in September 2020 in Antwerp (where the organization of a section was also planned), both of which have been postponed to 2021. In the following months, the project researchers will focus on finalizing publication outputs.<sup>6</sup>

It is important to note that in addition to the academic benefits of the project in the form of new knowledge on the survival strategies of the Holocaust in the context of relations between the Jewish minority and the Slovak majority populations and the deepening of existing knowledge in elite research, especially at the level of urban elites, the project brings benefits in the field of education. Previously mentioned popular-educational activities and some publication outputs serve as important sources of information in the educational processes for students of different types of schools. At the same time, the involvement of an internal doctoral student (in the last year of the project, PhD student Lukáš Katriňák was replaced by PhD student Patrícia Fogelová) connected the academic part of the project with education and provided space for those candidates own research and for them to practice presentation skills and to receive valuable feedback as early stage researchers. And another of the project's outputs will be the doctoral dissertation entitled "Politika vo verejnom priestore na Slovensku v rokoch 1939–1945. Prípadové štúdie miest Prešov, Ružomberok, Nitra" [Politics in Public Space in Slovak Republic in the years 1939–1945: Case Studies of Prešov, Nitra and Ružomberok] which will be defended in August 2020. Finally, it is necessary to see the benefits of the project also in the social field. Due to the increase of extremist tendencies and controversy regarding Slovak statehood in the years 1939–1945, it is necessary for Slovak society to deal with the past to avoid the relativization or even denial of the Holocaust in Slovak historiography. The project responds to this problem not only at the level of research but also by dissemination in the form of the aforementioned popular-science activities and by the intention to link research to the educational process.

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<sup>6</sup> For example, see the study by Martin Pekár in this issue of the journal *The City and History*: PEKÁR, Martin. Replacement of Municipal Political Elite as a Tool for Seizing Power and Consolidating an Authoritarian Regime in Slovakia 1938–1940. In: *The City and History*, 2020, vol. 9, no. 1, pp. 93–111.

## FIRST TOUCH WITH FREEDOM: ONGOING PROJECT REPORT

The project *First Touch with Freedom* is being implemented within the internal grant scheme (VVGS) of the Pavol Jozef Šafárik University in Košice under the code VVGS-2019-1385, from January 2020 to January 2021. The main idea of the project is a multi-layered reflection of the events of November 1989 in Czechoslovakia, with special regard to Slovakia and Košice and its didactic-historical mediation, at several levels. The main goal of the project is to create interactive multimedia study materials with a focus on teaching the Velvet Revolution. It will consist of an interactive website and an electronic textbook available as a free download.

In addition to factual material, the study material should also help to develop the basic dimensions of historical consciousness, namely “identity”, “historicity”, “space”, “time” and “memory”. The added value is that the concept of developing the dimensions of historical consciousness presented in the materials will be freely applicable to the teaching of various historical topics. The secondary objective of the project is to actively support the practical application of e-learning, not only for university students, but also for primary and secondary school pupils. The project also aims to present and promote the Pavol Jozef Šafárik University in Košice as a modern scientific research and educational institution under whose auspices the material will be distributed to the target groups.

The first activity, on which the implementation and output of the project conceptually stand, was an exhibition of the same name, organized on the occasion of the thirtieth anniversary of the Velvet Revolution. The event was organized under the auspices of the Košice Self-Governing Region, the Pavol Jozef Šafárik University in Košice, the Nation’s Memory Institute, the Ján Bocatio Public Library in Košice and the Radio and Television of Slovakia (RTVS). In addition to commemorating the November revolutionary events, it accentuated the broader contexts of policy and economics, as well as significant socio-cultural depth and multigenerational overlap bringing us to the present, which was the key aspect of conveying the didactic concept of the dimensions of historical consciousness.<sup>1</sup> Equally important was the application of theoretical principles of public history as a second conceptual platform,<sup>2</sup> closely linked to memory locations in a public (in this case, urban) space that generally act as communication channels between past and present.<sup>3</sup> Significant value was added by the implementation of the didactic tool called Universal map (U-map). It enables the observation of “great” and “small” history: local, national and European historical events taking place at different times in different places. In addition to space and time, it integrates in a coherent concept the other categories mentioned, namely identity, historicity and memory, as well as current problem-based concepts of global education.<sup>4</sup> The project *First Touch with Freedom* is therefore conceptually based on the initial exhibition, which in this context has largely served as a practical application or verification of the theories in practice. The planned implementation of the project has four basic working

1 For the content and realization of the exhibition, see the event report: JANČURA, Mikuláš. Prvý dotyk so slobodou [First Contact with the Freedom], Košice, 14. november 2019. In: *Mesto a dejiny*, 2019, vol. 8, no. 2, pp. 91–93. For a virtual tour of the exhibition, see: <https://nezna.3-d.sk/>.

2 For the definition, basic characteristics, problems and pitfalls of public history concepts, see, for example: BOJKOVÁ, Alžbeta. „My“ historici a „Oni“ učítelia dejepisu. Public history ako nástroj narušenia status quo. In: JANČURA, Mikuláš – BOJKOVÁ, Alžbeta (eds.). *Dejiny tvoríš Ty! História-škola-verejný priestor*. Košice: Univerzita Pavla Jozefa Šafárika, 2019, pp. 9–23. Online version: [https://www.upjs.sk/public/media/17371/Dejiny\\_tvoris\\_Ty\\_komplet\\_nahlad.pdf](https://www.upjs.sk/public/media/17371/Dejiny_tvoris_Ty_komplet_nahlad.pdf). Regarding public history in general, see, for example: <https://public-history-weekly.degruyter.com/>.

3 One of the key authors approaching memory concepts is Pierre Nora. For example, see: NORA, Pierre. Mezi pamětí a historií. In: BENSA, Alban (ed.). *Politika paměti: Antologie francouzských společenských věd*. Praha: Francouzský ústav pro výskum ve společenských vědách, 1998, pp. 7–32.

4 See for example: *Rozvojové vzdelávanie. Témy a metódy IV*. Bratislava: Nadácia Pontis, 2018. Prínosnou je najmä štúdia: BOJKOVÁ, Alžbeta. Dejepis globálne. In: *Rozvojové vzdelávanie. Témy a metódy IV*. Bratislava: Nadácia Pontis, 2018, pp. 6–54.

phases. The first, currently ongoing phase is focused on the conceptualization of the forms and content of the study material, as well as on heuristics and summarization of the source base.

The basis of the website will be a graphic depicting a standing cordon of police officers and a crowd of demonstrators. A girl will be in the foreground, handing a flower to one of the police officers. This graphic will be complemented by a background of anonymous urban scenery. Clicking on specific icons representing the different dimensions of historical consciousness will illuminate the relevant graphical areas and display text and menus with links to additional audio-visual and visual materials. Factually, the first work phase is ensured by the available historical literature on the topic and source materials of various provenance. This is mainly comprised of photographs, archival documents, articles and headlines from the daily press, period television and radio news and broadcasting, and music, but also a diverse “revolutionary folklore” in the form of poetry and various distributed pamphlets.

The first phase is based on a broad portfolio of available titles from Czech and Slovak historiography ranging from broader contextual and synthesized works to analytical studies. Attention is therefore focused on the work explaining the broader context of the end of the communist regime in Czechoslovakia with regard to the genesis of the regime, its leaders, or aspects such as the economy or everyday life.

The political situation in the years 1945–1948, as well as the period immediately after 1948, approaches the collective monograph *Kapitolami najnovších slovenských dejín* [Through the Chapters of the Latest Slovak History], compiled by Jan Pešek and his team.<sup>5</sup> The ideology and political practice of the regime itself is described in a collective monograph compiled by Michal Šmigel, *Radikálny socializmus a komunizmus na Slovensku (1918–1989)* [Radical Socialism and Communism in Slovakia (1918–1989)].<sup>6</sup> The topic of communist propaganda can be explored, for example, in the work of Marina Závacká, *Kto žije za ostnaným drôtom?* [Who Lives behind Barbed Wire?],<sup>7</sup> or a collective monograph compiled by Valerián Bystrický and Jaroslava Roguľová, *Storočie propagandy: Slovensko v osídlach ideológií* [Century of Propaganda: Slovakia in the Settlements of Ideologies].<sup>8</sup> The sphere of culture and everyday life in the second half of the twentieth century in Czechoslovakia is approached by a collective monograph by the compiler Jaroslav Pažout, *Každodenní život v Československu: 1945/48–1989* [Everyday Life in Czechoslovakia: 1945/48–1989].<sup>9</sup> The economic functioning of the communist regime is discussed in one of the most complex, synthesizing works, namely *Hospodářské a sociální dějiny Československa 1914–1992* [Economic and Social History of Czechoslovakia 1914–1992], by Václav Průcha. Its second volume is focused on the period under review.<sup>10</sup> The period of normalization is approached by, for example, the authors Miroslav Londák, Elena Londáková and Stanislav Sikora in *Od predjaria k normalizácii: Slovensko v Československu na rozhraní 60. a 70. rokov 20. storočia* [From Early Spring to Normalization: Slovakia in Czechoslovakia at the Turn of the 60s and 70s of the 20th Century].<sup>11</sup> Against this background, the key “personalities of normalization” also come to the fore, for example in the works of Slavomír

5 PEŠEK, Jan et al. *Kapitolami najnovších slovenských dejín*. Bratislava: Historický ústav SAV vo vydavateľstve Prodama, 2006.

6 ŠMIGEL, Michal et al. *Radikálny socializmus a komunizmus na Slovensku (1918–1989)*. Bratislava: Historický ústav SAV, 2007.

7 ZAVACKÁ, Marina. *Kto žije za ostnaným drôtom? Oficiálna zahraničnopolitická propaganda na Slovensku, 1956–1962: Teórie, politické smernice a spoločenská prax*. Bratislava: Ústav politických vied SAV, 2005.

8 BYSTRICKÝ, Valerián – ROGUĽOVÁ, Jaroslava. *Storočie propagandy: Slovensko v osídlach ideológií*. Bratislava: AEP, 2005.

9 PAŽOUT, Jaroslav (ed.). *Každodenní život v Československu: 1945/48–1989*. Praha: Ústav pro výskum totalitních režimů; Technická univerzita v Liberci, 2015.

10 PRŮCHA, Václav. *Hospodářské a sociální dějiny Československa 1914–1992. Druhý díl: období 1945–1992*. Praha: Doplněk, 2009.

11 LONDÁK, Miroslav – LONDÁKOVÁ, Elena – SIKORA, Stanislav. *Od predjaria k normalizácii: Slovensko v Československu na rozhraní 60. a 70. rokov 20. storočia*. Bratislava: Veda, 2016.

Michálek and Miroslav Londák, *Gustáv Husák: Moc politiky, politik moci* [Gustáv Husák: Power of Politics, Politics of Power],<sup>12</sup> and *Dubček*,<sup>13</sup> *Gustáv Husák* by Michal Macháček,<sup>14</sup> and *Biľak: Zradca či kolaborant?* [Biľak: Traitor or Collaborator?] by Peter Jašek.<sup>15</sup>

From the wider perspective of political context, Jozef Gál's monograph, *Československo v rokoch 1968–1990* [Czechoslovakia in 1968–1990],<sup>16</sup> and Michal Pullmann's *Konec experimentu: Přestavba a pád komunismu v Československu* [The End of the Experiment: Reconstruction and Fall of Communism in Czechoslovakia],<sup>17</sup> are also beneficial. From the Czech environment we can also mention the more extensive work of Jan Rychlík, *Češi a Slováci ve 20. století. Spolupráce a konflikty 1914–1992* [Czechs and Slovaks in the 20th Century: Cooperation and Conflicts 1914–1992].<sup>18</sup> The topic of the Velvet Revolution itself is accentuated by several works that have been published mainly in the last decade. This includes, for example, Jiří Suk's *Labyrintem revoluce – aktéři, zápletky a křižovatky jedné politické krize* [Labyrinth of the Revolution – Actors, Plots and Crossroads of One Political Crisis].<sup>19</sup> Additionally, the publications of authors working within the area of science and research at the Slovak Nation's Memory Institute are very beneficial. Peter Jašek and his work on V. Biľak have already been mentioned, but in direct relation to the Velvet Revolution, the work *November očami ŠtB. a ulice* [November Through the Eyes of State Security and the Street] from the compilers Petr Baloun and Gabor Strešňák is also relevant.<sup>20</sup> Also beneficial are the magazine *Pamät národa* [The Nation's Memory], and numerous monographs, editions of documents and collections focusing on the topic. These include, for example, the work of Branislav Kinčok, *Gustáv Husák a jeho doba* [Gustáv Husák and his Time],<sup>21</sup> Peter Balun's edited collection of documents, *1988: Rok pred zmenou* [1988: a Year before the Change],<sup>22</sup> *1989: Rok zmeny* [1989: a Year of Change] by Peter Jašek<sup>23</sup> and the anthology *Posledné a prvé slobodné (?) Voľby 1946–1990* [The Last and First Free (?) Elections 1946–1990] by Matej Medvecký.<sup>24</sup>

On the sidelines, we can also mention the collective work of compilers Mikuláš Jančura and Alžbeta Bojková (currently Alžbeta Šniežko), *Dejiny tvoríš Ty!* [You Make the History!], which also includes a significant didactic aspect in the form of sample lessons on selected topics from the history of Slovakia in the twentieth century by Alžbeta Bojková and Katarína Hromuľáková.<sup>25</sup> A specific focus on memories of the November events is approached by Klára Kohoutová, in the study *November 1989 očima Slovákov* [November 1989 through the Eyes

12 MICHÁLEK, Slavomír – LONDÁK, Miroslav. *Gustáv Husák. Moc politiky, politik moci*. Bratislava: Veda, 2013.

13 MICHÁLEK, Slavomír – LONDÁK, Miroslav. *Dubček*. Bratislava: Veda, 2018.

14 MACHÁČEK, Michal. *Gustáv Husák*. Praha: Vyšehrad, 2017.

15 JAŠEK, Peter. *Biľak. Zradca či kolaborant?* Bratislava: Marenčin PT, 2018.

16 GÁL, Jozef. *Československo v rokoch 1968–1990*. Banská Bystrica: Metodické centrum v Banskej Bystrici, 1991.

17 PULLMANN, Michal. *Konec experimentu. Přestavba a pád komunismu v Československu*. Praha: Scriptorium, 2011.

18 RYCHLÍK, Jan. *Češi a Slováci ve 20. století. Spolupráce a konflikty 1914–1992*. Praha: Vyšehrad, 2012.

19 SUK, Jiří. *Labyrintem revoluce – aktéři, zápletky a křižovatky jedné politické krize*. Praha: Prostor, 2003.

20 BALUN, Peter – STREŠŇÁK, Gábor (ed.). *November očami ŠtB a ulice*. Bratislava: Ústav pamäti národa, 2009.

21 KINČOK, Branislav et al. *Gustáv Husák a jeho doba*. Bratislava: Ústav pamäti národa, 2015.

22 BALUN, Peter (ed.). *1988: Rok pred zmenou*. Bratislava: Ústav pamäti národa, 2009.

23 JAŠEK, Peter (ed.). *1989: Rok zmeny*. Bratislava: Ústav pamäti národa, 2017.

24 MEVECKÝ, Matej. *Posledné a prvé slobodné(?) Voľby 1946–1990*. Bratislava: Ústav pamäti národa, 2006.

25 BOJKOVÁ, Alžbeta – HROMUĽÁKOVÁ, Katarína. Vzorová hodina: „Dejiny tvoríš Ty!“. In: JANČURA, Mikuláš – BOJKOVÁ, Alžbeta (eds.). *Dejiny tvoríš Ty! História-škola-verejný priestor*. Košice: Univerzita Pavla Jozefa Šafárika, 2019, pp. 92–112.

of Slovaks],<sup>26</sup> and the historical reader *Klíče k dějinám Košic* [*Keys to the History of Košice*] provides a regional probe into the November events in Košice.<sup>27</sup>

In the case of source material, the relevant starting sources are selected volumes from the collective edition of *Pramene k dějinám Slovenska a Slovákov* [*Sources for the History of Slovakia and Slovaks*].<sup>28</sup> The main sources are the mentioned archives and various unpublished source material. Archival documents come primarily from the collections of the Nation's Memory Institute. These are primarily State Security situation reports that monitored the events of the streets during the revolution. Other archived material relates to, for example, the trial of the so-called "Bratislava Five", and records of the so-called "traces" of the lives of people. Photographic materials come from a variety of sources. Again, some of these are from the archive of the Nation's Memory Institute, but many of the photographs come from the private collections of photographers from Košice. Digital databases are also relevant sources of photography. We use the database of the Press Agency of the Slovak Republic (TASR), *Vtedy.sk*, which has an extensive photographic collection of mostly reportage provenance, taken in part from the archives of the former Czechoslovak Press Office (ČTK). The periodical press comes primarily from the collections of the Ján Bocatus Public Library in Košice. The newspapers most frequently used are *Pravda*, *Nedeľná pravda*, *Smena*, *Rudé právo*, *Magazín VN*, *Večer*, *Uj szo* and *Východoslovenské noviny*. Various examples of contemporary television news at the national and local levels come from the RTVS archive.

The second working phase of the project will include the preparation and subsequent didactic processing of texts and visual material forming the content of the interactive website and electronic textbook. This phase will also include the preparation of a model lesson on the topic of the Velvet Revolution with a link to the practical application of the U-map. We plan to compile the textbook itself from six related chapters, while the texts will include a theoretical introduction which will approach the concepts used and outline the application of theory in practice using the example of an interactive exhibition. The factual part of the textbook will include texts on the broader context of the situation both internationally and in Czechoslovakia in the second half of the 1980s. Special attention will be paid to the Velvet Revolution itself, partly at the national level and at the level of the territory of Slovakia, but with special regard to Košice. The textbook will conclude with a sample lesson on the topic of the Velvet Revolution with a demonstration of the practical use of the U-map. The third and fourth working phases of the project will primarily concern graphic design, editorial and assessment work, finalization and publication of outputs.

The benefits of the project can be perceived on several basic levels. On a historical level, it is a commemoration of the thirtieth anniversary of the Velvet Revolution, which fundamentally influenced practically the entire spectrum of political, economic and cultural-social life in Slovakia. Another beneficial aspect is that the implementation and output of the project are conceptually based on an interactive exhibition installed in a public space, which was not an isolated event aimed at the scientific community, but primarily addressed the general public. This is directly related to another level of contribution, namely didactic-educational, which has a direct impact on the project's target groups, namely university students and primary and high school students. The didactic-educational level is related to the internal concept of the material, which communicates historical facts about the events of November 1989 through a typologically wide spectrum of sources and anchors them in the didactically beneficial concept of developing the dimensions of historical consciousness. For university students, the material will have a real connection with the subjects "History of Slovakia after 1945", "Repression of the ruling regimes in the 20th century", "Regional history" and last but not least the didactic

26 KOHOUTOVÁ, Klára. Listopad 1989 očima Slováků [November 1989 Through the Eyes of Slovaks]. In: *MEMO: časopis pro orální historii/oral history journal*, 2016, vol. 6, no. 1, pp. 5–37.

27 ŠUTA, Štefan (ed.). *Klíče k dějinám Košic. Dejepisná čítanka*. Košice; Prešov: Univesum, 2009.

28 DVOŘÁK, Pavel et al. *Slováci a nástup socializmu: Pramene k dějinám Slovenska a Slovákov XIII c.* Bratislava: Literárne informačné centrum, 2017. DVOŘÁK, Pavel et al. *Novembrová revolúcia a československý rozchod: Pramene k dějinám Slovenska a Slovákov XIV.* Bratislava: Literárne informačné centrum, 2002.

disciplines “Teaching history in practice” and “Didactics history”. However, due to the internal structure of the resulting material, it will have an impact beyond the teaching boundaries of the Department of History and the Faculty of Arts. The material will be relevant, for example, to students of mass media communication and political science, and also pedagogy, psychology or law. Another significant benefit is the long-term sustainability of the project’s results, which will be achieved by disseminating the electronic version of the study material in question, and wide access to the website by target groups (for example primary and high school students). In general, this work will supplement and exceed the standard scope of teaching material on the topic of the Velvet Revolution, and at the same time, in its internal form, will offer the opportunity to apply selected approaches to the teaching of other historical topics.

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## ETHNIC RELATIONS IN SLOVAKIA WITH FOCUS ON URBAN HISTORY

The European continent as a whole is ethnically heterogeneous and European countries also show considerable ethnic diversity. According to FUEEN (Federal Union of European Nationalities), there are more than 400 indigenous minorities in Europe, representing a population of more than 100 million. Approximately every seventh inhabitant of this continent belongs to one of them. Slovakia, where 14.2 % of the population is from an ethnic minority, is approximately in the middle of the ranking of countries.

The ethnic stratification of society is a natural source of different views on how to deal with domestic political events and the direction of the national policy of the state. The issue of the position of minorities and their participation in the development of Slovak society is an important one which has, in some recent periods, also accentuated topics in professional and political discourse in Slovakia. That is why there is a need for an objective scientific study of this topic that does not only focus on the international dimension.

The project *Tendencies of development of ethnic relations in Slovakia (comparative research of national issues in the years 2004–2020) – (TESS2)* IS supported by the Agency for Support of Science and Research in Slovakia. The lead researcher, as well as the heart of the whole project is prof. PaedDr. Štefan Šutaj, DrSc. (Department of History, Faculty of Arts, Pavol Jozef Šafárik University [UPJŠ] in Košice). The project has run since 1 July 2016 and will be completed in October 2020.

The Centre for Social and Psychological Sciences SAS (CSPS SAS) is also participating in the project. CSPS SAS and its component the Institute of Social Sciences represent sites for the basic research (project promoter), having long specialized in the issue of the status of national minorities and national relations.

The project also involves two departments within the Faculty of Arts at UPJŠ: the Department of Political Science and the Department of History, both of which supply staff and material facilities. In the past, faculty members from both departments have participated in research relating to the goals of the current project, and both departments directly focus on the history of cities in their research plan. It is one of the four main centres dealing with the international project *History of European Urbanism in the 20th Century (urbanHIST)* funded by the EU Horizon 2020 program. The main goal is a comprehensive interdisciplinary study of the development of European urbanism over the past century, which geographically covers the entire continent and focuses primarily on the identification and interpretation of common development trends. A key element of the innovative network is also the development of excellent doctoral studies completed with double diplomas. At the same time, it also has a valuable peer-reviewed journal entitled: *The City and History*, with a thematic orientation on contributions from the field of urban history. This intention is related to one of the scientific priorities of the centre – research into the history of Košice.

Elaboration of the history of cities has been one of the most sought-after goals in historiography since the nineteenth century. In addition to research into the history of cities, there are accounts of political, cultural and local events, as well as analyses of economic conditions, which involve a description of the stratification of the populations that lived through those times. The city, thus defined by the field of research, is an urban and settled entity, a living organism, but also a social scene that has changed dynamically and continues to change over the centuries. The process of this transformation can be identified in the hierarchical structure of the city and the demographic composition of the population, as well as their identity. The publication presents findings from the TESS2 project relating to how the ethnic composition of the population developed in connection with the history of Slovak cities.

The TESS2 project focuses on the fulfilment of three basic goals. The first goal is to analyse the development of national relations in the years 2004–2016. This includes describing the national policy strategy of the Slovak Republic, the intentions of political parties in relation to ethnicity, the demographic development of national minorities at the beginning of the twenty-first century, and cooperation between European and Slovak policies in the field of institutions and the management of national policy. This goal also covers the analysis of legislation in Slovakia and neighbouring countries, as well as the evaluation of press monitoring on issues of ethnic development and relations in Slovakia in the years 2004–2018.

The second goal of the project is the implementation of interdisciplinary empirical research, focused principally on theoretical, methodological and practical issues of ethnicity and national relations. The content of the research can be classified into basic thematic blocks, namely: 1. characteristics of the respondent in a social and ethnocultural context; 2. reflection on history and its impact on current interethnic relations (history and present); 3. perception and assessment of current public issues (including national ones) and political life; 4. attitudes towards migrants; 5. perceptions of security; and 6. identifying features of a person, family and household. The basic empirical methodology applied is a questionnaire. An “etic/emic” approach was applied in its construction, by searching for common features of all involved and, at the same time, perceiving the state of affairs from the position of a minority community. Emphasis is also placed on individual and group reflections on their opinions and attitudes. In addition to person identifiers, the structured questionnaire contained 57 questions grouped into four areas: ethnicity, interethnic relations, legal regulation and current issues of social life (respondents’ opinions). The sample consists of 1,151 respondents who completed the questionnaire in 2017. The targeted respondents were Slovaks from ethnically mixed localities and six ethnic communities living in Slovakia – Hungarians, Germans, Roma, Rusyns, Ukrainians, Czechs. Within each group, respondents were selected according to quotas based on predetermined criteria.

The third goal of the project is to communicate the research findings to the public, university students and public institutions. The prepared workshops were and are intended for students from the field of history, political science and other scientific disciplines, and provide information about the unique approach to scientific research carried out within this project. Attracting the attention of students to scientific research, as well as providing education about tolerance in the field of national relations, are equally important parts of the project. The main role in this part of the project was played mainly by the staff of the Faculty of Arts at UPJŠ in Košice, who, in cooperation with the researchers from CSPS SAS, prepared interesting presentations of information for students.<sup>29</sup>

29 On 18 October 2016, a workshop entitled: *Facts, Interpretations and Memory* was held in the Platón building of the Faculty of Arts, UPJŠ. On 3 May 2017, a workshop for history students on the topic of Ethnic Relations and Visuality in Slovakia took place. The workshop screened the film *Arbitration* produced by the Nation’s Memory Institute and Mgr. Bohunka Koklesova, PhD, presented the Picture Report on the Slovak landscape in the years 1939–1945. On 20 November 2017, a workshop for students of history and political science on the topic of *Ethnicity and the Media* took place, which was prepared in cooperation with the Radio and Television Slovakia (RTVS). Contributions about television and radio broadcasting for national minorities were heard. There was also an interactive part called “Express yourself”, and a series of short interviews with students of the Faculty of Arts at UPJŠ on the topic of Ethnicity, Ethnic Relations and Ethnic Politics. On 3 May 2018 there was a workshop for students of history and political science on the topic of *Ethnicity in the context of “big milestones”: Ethnic politics*,

The project also included planned conferences, such as the introductory conference *Current Issues in Research of National Politics and National Relations in the Twentieth and Twenty-first Centuries*, which was held on 14–15 November 2016 in the Historical Hall of the Rectorate of UPJŠ. The main content conference focused on the purposes and methods of the planned investigation and interpretation of the position of national minorities in Slovakia, as well as Mediterranean cooperation with national participation. There were sixteen speakers from Slovakia and abroad. The conference resulted in a publication with the same title: *Current issues of research in national politics and national relations in Slovakia in the 20th and 21st centuries*.<sup>30</sup>

On 15 November 2018, a second conference entitled *Central European Contexts of National Development at the Beginning of the Twenty-first Century* took place at UPJŠ in Košice. It focused on the fact that the Central European context of national development and national policy in Slovakia needs to be monitored, especially since most national minorities in Slovakia have their mother nations in the surrounding countries and Slovak minorities live in other European countries. In addition to national issues, the final proceedings of the conference were also focused on the results of empirical research on ethnicity and national relations. The collection of these data took place in 2017 and results were compared with an empirical probe from 2004. The proceedings, also entitled *Central European Contexts of National Development at the Beginning of the Twenty-first Century*, contain a total of 15 articles. One valuable study on the history of cities is project leader Prof. Štefan Šutaj's "Košice and Problems of Ethnicity after World War II", which deals with changes in the ethnic structure of Košice after World War II. The changes were the result of the situation regarding the ethnic status of population, which adapted to the changing borders and the population claiming to be Slovak or Hungarian nationality. The changes in ethnicity were also the result of the Czechoslovak authorities' post-war measures, in particular reslovakization, but also the resulting exchange of population between Czechoslovakia and Hungary and the unilateral expulsion of the Hungarian population, which moved to Košice after Vienna Arbitration, based on the Peace Treaty between Hungary and the winning powers.

Another result of the project is a number of publications and scientific studies, not only at the conference level. The selection we provide here is illustrative.

The final research report – *Tendencies of the development of ethnic relations in Slovakia (comparative research of national issues in the years 2004–2020) (Final research report)*<sup>31</sup> – is one of the key ones in which the members of the project research team participated. The final report analyses the changes that occurred in the field of national relations and national policy in the years 2004 to 2017 according to the reflections of the research participants. How

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*relations and their transformation after 1918, 1938 and 1948*. Three lectures were given during the workshop. Prof. PaedDr. Štefan Šutaj, DrSc, approached the topic of *National Issues after 1948 on the example of Košice*, Mgr. Ondrej Ficeri, PhD, spoke with the paper *Ethnonational Transformation of Košice in the Post-Imperial Period* and Mgr. Ján Mitáč spoke about *The Attitudes of the Hungarian Governments to the Problems of the Slovak Minority in the Years 1938–1945*. On 21 November 2019 was a workshop at which the results of the project research were presented. In the form of panels, individual sections of research concerning ethnicity, interethnic relations and current issues of ethnicity were presented. On 16 December 2019, a workshop for students of history and political science entitled *Act on Nationalities and the Council of the Government of the Slovak Socialist Republic for Nationalities (Ideas and Reality)*. During the workshop, Doc. Mgr. Jana Šutajová, PhD, from the Department of Political Science, Faculty of Arts at UPJŠ presented results. The last project workshop for students is also planned for the second half of 2020.

30 ŠUTAJ, Štefan – REGINÁČOVÁ, Nikola – HELDAKOVÁ, Lucia (eds.). *Aktuálne otázky výskumu národnostnej politiky a národnostných vzťahov na Slovensku v 20. a 21. storočí*. Prešov: Universum, 2017. ŠUTAJ, Štefan – HELDAKOVÁ, Lucia – REGINÁČOVÁ, Nikola (eds.). *Current Issues of Research on Nationality Policy and Nationality Relations in Slovakia in the Twentieth and the Twenty-first Centuries*. Prešov: Universum, 2017. The Publication in the Slovak and English version see: <https://apvv-projekt7.webnode.sk/>.

31 ŠUTAJ, Štefan et al. *Tendencie vývoja etnických vzťahov na Slovensku (komparatívny výskum národnostnej problematiky v rokoch 2004-2020)*. (Záverečná správa z výskumu). Prešov: Universum, 2019. Publication in PDF version see: <https://apvv-projekt7.webnode.sk/>.

respondents perceived these changes is important not only for the knowledge of Slovak society (with regards to science or politics), but also for the development of mutual relations between the inhabitants of Slovakia in connection with their ethnicity. These data can serve as another source of information on the implementation of policies at various levels – not only, as in this case, by the relevant political authorities and the President of the Slovak Republic, but also for other political entities in Slovakia.

Currently (during 2020) a collection of scientific studies is being prepared based on the results of the project *Ethnic relations in Slovak society at the beginning of the Twenty-first century*, alongside a scientific monograph entitled *National Policy in Slovakia in 2004–2019 (on the example of the Hungarian minority)*.

The original contribution of the presented project lies in its ability to record the developmental tendencies of the studied social phenomena by comparing empirical data obtained in 2004 with data recorded ten years later. The uniqueness of the presented research plan also lies in the effort to comprehensively grasp the issue, through the application of scientific methods of several social science disciplines (sociology, psychology, history, political science, sociolinguistics), providing the opportunity to formulate broader conclusions in the interpretation of research findings. In the field of national relations, it presents the results of special socio-psychological and sociological research dealing with the issue of ethnic identity, specifically relating to Hungarians, Roma, Ukrainians and Rusyns living in Slovakia. At the same time, it provides information on minorities' sense of national consciousness, which can be a very interesting source of information for research into the history of cities in Slovakia.

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# CHRONICLE

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CHRONICLE

## THE ROLE OF THE MUSEUM OF ROMA CULTURE IN BRNO

The Museum of Roma Culture in Brno was established in 1991 and since 2005 it has been a contributory organization of the Czech Republic's Ministry of Culture. Since the initial task of building collections that would document the culture and history of the Roma, the museum's activities have expanded to include another agenda aimed at the lay and professional public. The memory institution of the Roma creates a space for cultures to meet, and opens the way to discovering the roots of Roma identity. It manages and makes accessible the history of the Roma as part of world heritage. It contributes to tolerance and mutual understanding between the majority and the minority. In three decades, the scope of the museum has expanded from the city of Brno to the entire territory of the Czech Republic. It manages the Holocaust memorials to the Roma and Sinti in Lety u Písku and Hodonín u Kunštátu and plans to expand its activities to Prague, where it will open the Roma and Sinti Center in 2023.

The topic of the Roma Holocaust is an important agenda of the museum, as evidenced by last year's seminar organized in cooperation with the Israeli memory institution Yad Vashem in Brno for European graduates of the International School for Holocaust Studies in Jerusalem. The participants came from Austria, Germany and Slovakia. The seminar entitled *The Roma Genocide and its Commemoration Mirrored in Brno's Multi-ethnic Society* took place on 25–27 November 2019. The aim was to expand knowledge of the Holocaust on the genocide of Roma and Sinti. The programme of the seminar began in the early evening of the first day with a guided tour of the museum's permanent exhibition. It is presented in six halls and deals with the history of the Roma in their region of ancient India, continuing with their arrival in Europe in the eleventh century until the events of World War II and the present. The introductory exhibition presents the results of research into the early history of the Roma in the linguistic, historical and cultural fields. The continuation of the exhibition in another room provides an overview of the life of the Roma after their arrival in Europe. It pays particular attention to the nomadic crafts and professions that the Roma contributed to in medieval Europe. The next stage of the exhibition focuses on the Czechoslovak context and brings the Roma community closer to our territory from the eighteenth century to 1938. Attention is paid to music and part of the exhibition is a glimpse into a traditional residence and circus tent. The fourth room is dedicated to the Roma Holocaust in the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia, Slovakia and Germany. He uses documents, photographs and a screening of a film with testimonies of monuments for the presentation. In the next room, the story of the community in Czechoslovakia after the Second World War unfolds. The exhibition allows you to get acquainted with the works of Romani artists and writers. This room presents the inner life of the community, its transformations until 1989 and the influence of Roma culture on the majority society. The last room creates conditions for the visitor to go through a colorful mosaic of media images showing the mutual relations between the Roma minority and the majority from 1989 to 2005. The central element of the room is a moving circle with newspaper headlines that evoke a constant transformation of current events around us.

On the second day of the seminar, Dušan Slačka, historian and curator of the Museum of Roma Culture in Brno, opened a lecture on Postwar Commemoration of Genocide of the Roma, in which he presented several memorial sites and memorials dedicated to Roma genocide in the Czech Republic. He paid special attention to the foundation of the memorial and the efforts to build a memorial on the site of the camp in Lety u Písku. The second speaker was Moritz Wein from [erinner.at](http://erinner.at), the Institute for Holocaust Education of the Federal Ministry of Education, Science and Research (BMBWF) in Austria. Its multilingual form provides information about the Roma and Sinti Holocaust in several European languages, including Slovak. The site provides important material on the fate of European Roma and Sinti during the Holocaust. A separate subpage is dedicated to teachers and contains a methodology manual. These are available on the main page and the handbook provides teachers with excellent advice and procedures on how to work with and communicate the topic to students.

The afternoon was marked by an educational walking tour focused on the Brno Cejl neighborhood – in the footsteps of Jews, Roma people, Czechs and Germans. The several-hour walk ended in

a remarkable synagogue on Skořepka Street in the cadastral area of Trnitá, Brno-střed. It is the only synagogue of the original four in Brno that has survived to the present day. At the same time, it is the only full-fledged synagogue in Moravia and Silesia with a rabbi and an active liturgical program. The synagogue was designed by architect Otto Eisler and built by his family construction company on behalf of the Jewish fraternity Agudas Achim in 1936. The architect was able to combine the requirements of orthodox religious regulations with the austere simplicity of a building designed in a purist architectural style. The synagogue served its purpose until 1941 and then the Nazis looted it and turned it into a warehouse. After the end of the war, it was the only one in Brno that was preserved, and the decimated Jewish community restored it. It began to be used again in the autumn of 1945. During the communist regime, the building fell into disrepair and its comprehensive reconstruction, respecting the original architectural design of Otto Eisler, was not started until 2013–2016.

The final day of the seminar was reopened by the staff of the Museum of Roma Culture, who presented the educational programmes of the museum. This was followed by an expert discussion between the present teachers moderated by Noa McKayton and Miriam Mouryc from Yad Vashem. Before the final evaluation of the seminar, the participants took part in a visit to the memorial commemorating Jewish and Roma victims in Brno. The memorial is dedicated to the victims of the Holocaust among Jews and Roma. It has the form of a black granite cube, after which water flows into a shallow pool with an inscription in Czech, Hebrew and Romani. The edges of the cube are 3.14 m in size, which, according to the author Daniel Václavík, is a clear reference to Ludolf's number, which is supposed to evoke the constantly recurring human suffering in history. The memorial is located at the centre of October 28 Square Park and its official unveiling took place on 17 September 2014. A joint tribute to the victims ended the three-day seminar and after a final evaluation in the museum, the beneficial educational event ended with an exchange of contacts and promises of further cooperation.

The Museum of Roma Culture in Brno fulfilled its role and during the seminar it became a space for cultures to meet and for getting to know a multi-ethnic society in Brno. It provided a high-quality body of knowledge about the history of the Roma and their culture. At the same time, it was a starting point for closer contact with Brno and traces of Jews and Germans in this city. Therefore, it definitely deserves attention, a possible visit and the support of its activities. Detailed information about this memory institution as well as its activities can be found on the official website: <https://www.rommuz.cz/>.

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