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REVUE PRO HISTORII A PŘÍBUZNÉ VĚDY

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Historismus v rokokovém malířství ve střední Evropě

Případ Slezska

ANDRZEJ KOZIEŁ

Kozieł, Andrzej: Historicism in Rococo Painting in Central Europe: A Case of Silesia

There is an evident programmatic turn towards the works of the great masters of the late Renaissance and High Baroque in the work of numerous Rococo and late Baroque painters in Europe. This is also true for Silesia, where artists (B. Krause, M. Brandeis, G. Reinitius) mainly emulated the works of Michael Willmann, the most prominent Baroque painter in Silesia. This historicism had not only an artistic but also an ideological significance, as it expressed the patron's pro-Habsburg sympathies.

Key Words *Historicism; Painting; Rococo; Silesia; Bernhard Krause*

Contact *Ostravská univerzita; andrzej.koziel@osu.cz*

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Johann Gottfried Dlabacž (1758–1820), knihovník premonstrátského kláštera na Strahově v Praze, byl autorem prvního slovníku umělců vydaného v roce 1815 na území Koruny české. Ve svém životopise Michaela Willmanna (1630–1706) přiznává, že na malby tohoto významného slezského malíře ve strahovském klášterním kostele ho neupozornil nikdo jiný než Franz Anton Maulbertsch (1724–1796),[1] významný rakouský malíř pozdního baroka, který v roce 1794 pracoval na freskové výzdobě klenby knihovního sálu strahovského kláštera. Ačkoli dnes víme, že z děl, o nichž se Dlabacž zmiňuje, vytvořil slezský mistr pouze dva obrazy v bočních oltářích premonstrátského klášterního kostela v roce 1683 a že zbylé čtyři jsou pozdější díla, která kolem roku 1705 vytvořil jeho neméně talentovaný nevlastní syn Johann Christoph Lischka (asi 1650–1712),[2] nijak to ze strany rakouského umělce nesnižuje překvapivě dobrou znalost Willmannovy tvorby – *slavného malíře, který se v Prusku i Rakousku díky svým mistrovským dílům stal známým jako druhý Apelles*.[3]

Willmann nebyl jediným „slavným malířem", jehož díla Maulbertsche zaujala. Jak známo, malířská manýra rakouského mistra byla výsledkem nejen znalosti díla o generaci starších velkých rakouských umělců, jako byli Paul Troger (1698–1762) nebo Johann Michael Rottmayr von Rosenbrunn (1656–1730), ale také vědomého napodobování děl velkých mistrů barokní doby, jako byli Peter Paul Rubens (1577–1640) a Rembrandt Harmenszoon van Rijn (1606–1669). Některá Maulbertschova díla proto vypadají jako

[1] DLABACŽ, Gottfried Johann: *Allgemeines historisches Künstler-Lexikon für Böhmen und zum Theil auch für Mähren und Schlesien*, 3. Prag 1815, s. 373–382.

[2] KOZIEŁ, Andrzej: *Michael Willmann i jego malarska pracownia*. Wrocław 2013, s. 358–359; KŁODA, Emilia: *Johann Christoph Lischka (ok. 1650–1712) : Życie i twórczość*. Dysertacją doktorską, Instytut Historii Sztuki Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego. Wrocław 2016 (část 2. Katalog dzieł, s. 88–96, č. kat. A.38–41).

[3] [...] *ein berühmter Maler, der sich den Namen eines zweiten Apelles sowohl in Preußischen, als Oesterreichischen Staaten durch Seine Meisterstücke erworben hat*. DLABACŽ, G. J.: Allgemeines historisches Künstler-Lexikon, s. 374.

kopie nebo tvůrčí parafráze obrazů starých umělců, které uctíval a napodoboval. Příkladem může být freskový obraz *Kristus na kříži* z roku 1768 v oratoři karmelitánského klášterního kostela v Székesfehérváru, který je kompozičně a chiaroscurově uspořádán podle známého Rubensova obrazu *Kristus na kříži* z roku 1613 ze sbírky Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten v Antverpách,[1] nebo obraz *Josef vysvětluje sny* ze sbírky Österreichische Galerie Belvedere ve Vídni z let 1786–1787, který je parafrází Rembrandtova populárního leptu téhož námětu z roku 1638.[2]

Tento zvláštní historismus v Maulbertschově malbě nebyl ojedinělým jevem. Programový obrat k dílům velkých mistrů pozdní renesance a vrcholného baroka je patrný i v tvorbě mnoha dalších malířů rokoka a pozdního baroka. Pochopitelně napodobovali především mistry, kteří reprezentovali neklasické tendence v novověkém malířství. Vítězství „rubensistů" na Královské akademii malířství a sochařství v Paříži na počátku 18. století vedlo nejen k důkladnému studiu malířství velkého mistra z Antverp, jak to učinil například Jean-Antoine Watteau (1684–1721),[3] ale také k objevení děl dalších koloristů, zapomenutých během nadvlády barokních klasicistů. Tehdy byl Rembrandt poprvé od své smrti doceněn – nejprve jako grafik, mistr šerosvitných leptů, a později také jako malíř.[4] To iniciovalo vznik celé řady různých druhů napodobenin jeho děl v grafice a malířství období rokoka, jak dobře víme z díla francouzského umělce Jean-Pierre Norblina de la Gourdaine (1745–1830), který se usadil v Polském království v roce 1772. Jak známo, nejenže vlastnil kresby a grafiky amsterdamského mistra, ale také jeho díla dokonale napodoboval, což je patrné zejména na grafikách francouzského mistra.[5]

Objevování děl „starých mistrů" bylo podpořeno dynamickým rozvojem obchodu se starým uměním. Stačí říci, že v této době vznikly nejvýznamnější aukční domy, které fungují dodnes: Sotheby's, založený Samuelem Bakerem († 1788) v roce 1744, a Christie's, založený Jamesem Christiem (1730–1803) v roce 1766.[6] Pro potřeby rostoucího počtu sběratelů vznikaly první odborné lexikony a katalogy děl jednotlivých umělců, jako například katalog

[1] SMOHAY, András: Der Freskenzyklus von Franz Anton Maulbertsch in der Karmeliterkirche in Székesfehérvár. In: HINDELANG, Eduard – SLAVÍČEK, Lubomír (eds.): *Franz Anton Maulbertsch und Mitteleuropa : Festschrift zum 30-jährigen Bestehen des Museums Langenargen*. Langenargen – Brno 2007, s. 79–102 (s. 92–93, obr. 8, 9).

[2] GARAS, Klára: *Franz Anton Maulbertsch 1724–1796*. Wien 1960; Eadem: Maulbertsch und die Kunstsammler seiner Zeit. In: *Franz Anton Maulbertsch und Mitteleuropa*, s. 45–55 (s. 47–50, obr. 5).

[3] Je to patrné zejména v kresbách Watteaua. Viz ROSENBERG, Pierre – PRAT, Louis-Antoine – EIDELBERG, Martin P.: *Watteau dessinateur*. Katalog výstavy, 12. III.–5. VI. 2011, Royal Academy of Arts, London. Paris 2011, passim.

[4] K tématu rembrandtismu v umění rokoka mj. RÖVER, Anne – GERKENS, Gerhard – BLUMENRÖDER, Susane: *In Rembrandts Manier : Kopie, Nachahmung und Aneignung in der graphischen Künsten des 18. Jahrhunderts*. Katalog výstavy, Kunsthalle Bremen, 16. XI. 1988–4. I. 1987, Museum für Kunst und Kulturgeschichte des Hansestadt Lübeck, 15. I.–22. II. 1987. Bremen 1986; HAUSLER, Bettina: *Das Phänomen Rembrandtismus in der europäischen Druckgraphik des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts*. München 2002; KELLER, Raymond: Hollandismus und Rembrandtismus in Frankreich. In: BRAKENSIEK, Stephan – WAGENER, Danièle (eds.): *Le Rembrandt français*. Luxemburg 2015, s. 185–203.

[5] IGNACZAK, Paweł: Twórczość rytownicza Jana Piotra Norblina na tle XVIII-wiecznej grafiki Rembrandtyzującej. *Rocznik Historii Sztuki* 33, 2008, s. 177–218; ROSSET de, Tomasz F.: Naśladowanie i kolekcjonerstwo : Przyczynek do Rembrandtyzmu Norblina. *Rocznik Historii Sztuki* 33, 2008, s. 219–229; IGNACZAK, Paweł: *Grafika Jana Piotra Norblina (1745–1830) : Studium z zakresu problemów warsztatowych i ideowych*. Dysertacją doktorską, Uniwersytet im. Adama Mickiewicza w Poznaniu. Poznań 2013.

[6] ORMROD, David: Dealers, collectors and connoisseurship in seventeenth and eighteenth-century London 1660–1760. In: NORTH, Michael (ed.): *Kunstsammeln und Geschmack im 18. Jahrhundert, Aufklärung und Europa*, 8. Berlin 2002, s. 15–23.

Rembrandtových rytin vydaný v roce 1751 Edmé-Françoisem Gersaintem (1694–1750),[7] který sehrál klíčovou roli při objevování grafických a kreslířských děl amsterdamského mistra. Je příznačné, že právě ve druhé polovině 18. století se objevili první „profesionální" napodobitelé, kopisté a padělatelé děl velkých mistrů, jako byl Franz Wolfgang Rohrich (1787–1834), napodobitel a kopista obrazů Lucase Cranacha staršího (1472–1553), což nejlépe dokládá *Portrét šlechtičny a jejího syna* z první čtvrtiny 19. století (sbírka sira Roberta Gresleyho, Burton-on-Trent).[8]

Důležité je, že tento zvláštní historismus v malířství 18. století je patrný nejen v dílech malířů, kteří působili v předních uměleckých centrech, jako byla Paříž, Londýn nebo Vídeň, ale také u těch, kteří působili v evropských provinciích. Jasně nás o tom přesvědčuje případ Slezska, země, která byla součástí habsburské monarchie a která se v důsledku tří slezských válek nakonec v roce 1763 z velké části stala součástí Pruského království.[9] Umělci tvořící v této oblasti také ve svých dílech napodobovali obrazy starých mistrů. Nejednalo se však o velké umělce evropského baroka, jako byli Rubens nebo Rembrandt, ale o malíře, kteří působili ve Slezsku a těšili se místnímu věhlasu, jako například Willmann narozený v Königsbergu, který se v roce 1660 přestěhoval do cisterciáckého opatství v Lubuši a působil zde až do své smrti v roce 1706;[10] Johann Claessens († 1716) narozený v Antverpách, který se před rokem 1692 usadil v Nise a byl dvorním malířem vratislavského biskupa Franze Ludwiga von der Pfalz-Neuburg (1664–1732),[11] nebo významný český malíř Petr Brandl (1668–1735), který ve Slezsku působil pouze jeden rok (1731–1732) ve službách cisterciáckého opatství v Křesoboru.[12]

První příznaky tohoto fenoménu lze pozorovat již v tvorbě slezských malířů, kteří zahájili svou kariéru na přelomu 30. a 40. let 18. století, v období pro umělce těžké první slezské války (1740–1742). Nejplodnějším z nich byl bezpochyby vratislavský malíř Johann Melchior Brandeis († 1768/1769), který ve svých četných olejomalbách – známe téměř 160 dochovaných děl různých typů – stále používal pozdně barokní styl s hladkou textu-

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7 HELLE, Pierre Charles Alexandre – GLOMY, Jean Baptiste: *Catalogue raisonné de toutes les pièces qui forment l'oeuvre de Rembrandt campos par feu M. Gersaint & mis au jour, avec les Augmentations nécessaires, par les Sieurs Helle et Glomy*. Paris 1751; POMIAN, Krzysztof: *Zbieracze i osobliwości : Paryż – Wenecja XVI–XVIII wiek*. Warszawa 1996, s. 176–180.

8 WIEMERS, Michael: Franz Wolfgang Rohrichs Cranach-Fälschungen. In: SAVELSBERG, Wolfgang (ed.): *Kataloge und Schriften der Kulturstiftung Dessau-Wörlitz*, 35: *Cranach im Gotischen Haus zu Wörlitz*. München 2015, s. 229–236.

9 První slezská válka začala v prosinci 1740. Pruský král Fridrich II. Veliký (1712–1786) využil zmatku, který nastal po smrti císaře Karla VI. (1685–1740), jehož nástupkyní měla být na základě pragmatické sankce jeho dcera Marie Terezie (1717–1780), a v čele své armády vstoupil do Slezska, aby se zmocnil tohoto regionu. Válka skončila podpisem mírové smlouvy v Berlíně v roce 1742. Podle jejího ujednání se větší část Slezska a celé Kladské hrabství staly součástí Pruského království. Tím však válka o region mezi Pruskem a Habsburskou monarchií neskončila. Marie Terezie se o znovuzískání ztracených území pokusila ještě dvakrát: v letech 1744–1745 a 1756–1763 v rámci tzv. sedmileté války. Nakonec však byly tyto snahy neúspěšné a mír uzavřený v Hubertusburgu v roce 1763, který ukončil slezské války, schválil ujednání Berlínské smlouvy. O novověkých dějinách Slezska a slezských válkách GÖHRING, Carl: *Die Kriege Preußens gegen Oesterreich von 1740 bis 1866 und zwar der Erste und Zweite Schlesische, der Siebenjährige und Siebentätige Krieg*. Dresden 1867, passim; CZAPLIŃSKI, Marek a kol.: *Historia Śląska*. Wrocław 2002, s. 118–248.

10 KOZIEŁ, A.: Michael Willmann.

11 MUŁA, Arkadiusz: Johann Claessens z Antwerpii : Nadworny malarz biskupa Franciszka Ludwika von Neuburg. *Dzieła i Interpretacje* 7, 2002, s. 37–54.

12 KOZIEŁ, Andrzej: Peter Brandl's Work in Silesia. In: STECKEROVÁ, Andrea (ed.): *Peter Brandl 1668–1735 : Studies*. Praha 2018, s. 103–119.

rou a teplými barvami.[13] Friedrich Albert Zimmermann (1745–1815) v prvním slovníku vratislavských malířů, připojeném k monumentálnímu popisu Vratislavi vydanému v roce 1794, napsal, že Brandeis proslul kopiemi obrazů Brandla a vynikajícího vratislavského krajináře Johanna Christiana Bendelera (1688–1728), který zemřel v roce 1728.[14] Snad právě Brandeisovým dílem je zdařilá barokní kopie Brandlova obrazu *Umučení svatého Bartoloměje* (1731–1732) z filiálního kostela sv. Marie Magdaleny ve Skałce u Vratislavi, uložená ve sbírce Arcidiecézního muzea ve Vratislavi[15] (obr. 1). Je jisté, že v dílně vratislavského mistra vznikla kolem roku 1757 dvě plátna *Klanění pastýřů* a *Navštívení Panny Marie*, určená pro boční oltáře v kostele Narození Panny Marie v Dobrzykowicích u Vratislavi, vesnici, která patřila vratislavským křižovníkům s červenou hvězdou. Zajímavé je, že obě díla vznikla jako věrné kopie Willmannových obrazů, které Maulbertsch obdivoval na bočních oltářích v klášterním kostele premonstrátů v Praze na Strahově, obrazů, které Brandeis musel znát z autopsie, protože nikdy nebyly reprodukovány v grafice.



Obr. 1: Johann Melchior Brandeis (?), Umučení sv. Bartoloměje, 1740–1760, olejomalba na plátně, Arcidiecézní muzeum, Vratislav.
Foto: Andrzej Kozieł.

[13] KOZIEŁ, Andrzej: Brandeis Johann Melchior. In: Idem (ed.): *Malarstwo barokowe na Śląsku*. Wrocław 2017, s. 317–321.

[14] ZIMMERMANN, Friedrich Albert: *Beiträge zur Beschreibung von Schlesien*, 11. Brieg 1794, s. 424. K tématu Bendelerovy tvorby viz KOZIEŁ, Andrzej: The Forgotten Star of Painting Collections in Wrocław (Breslau), or a Few Words about Life and Works of Christian Johann Bendeler (1688–1728). In: KROUPA, Jiří – ŠEFERISOVÁ LOUDOVÁ, Michaela – KONEČNÝ, Lubomír (eds.): *Orbis Artium : K jubileu Lubomíra Slavíčka*. Brno 2009, s. 219–233.

[15] Nepublikované dílo.



Obr. 2: Johann Georg Reinitius, Sv. Jakub, 1740–1750, olejomalba na plátně, farní kostel sv. Jakuba, Jakubów. Foto: Jerzy Buława.

Díla slavných slezských mistrů inspirovala také malíře Johanna Georga Reinitia (1702–1757), který působil v Olešnici a Hlohově a byl jedním z prvních umělců, kteří ve Slezsku malovali od 30. let 18. století v proto-rokokovém skicovitém stylu s rafinovanými pastelovými barvami.[16] Stejně jako Brandeis i on s oblibou čerpal vzory z díla „slezského Apella", z nichž nejlepšími příklady jsou vynikající obraz sv. Jakuba z hlavního oltáře ve farním kostele sv. Jakuba v Jakubově (obr. 2), který je inspirován Willmannovým ztraceným dílem se stejným námětem z hlavního oltáře v kostele sv. Jakuba v Lubuši nebo plátna s výjevem Čtrnácti svatých pomocníků, oblíbeným ve Slezsku, určená pro filiální kostel Nanebevzetí Panny Marie v Dolním Lešně a farní kostel sv. Jana Křtitele v Jelení Hoře-Teplicích, vzniklá podle mědirytiny Johanna Jacoba von Sandrarta (1630–1708) na stejné téma, kterou v roce 1687 objednal opat cisterciáckého kláštera v Křesoboru Bernhard Rosa (1624–1696) pro potřeby poutníků přicházejících na místo uctívání Čtrnácti svatých pomocníků v Podlesí u Libavy.[17] Do Reinitiova panteonu „velkých mistrů" patřili i další slezští umělci, například Willmannův žák a spolupracovník, hlohovský malíř Johann Philipp Kretschmer (1683–po 1719),[18] jehož obraz *Poslední večeře* z roku 1716 pro hlohovskou radnici (dnes Muzeum historie a archeologie v Hlohově) Reinitius parafrázoval ve svém díle na stejné téma pro boční oltář ve farním kostele Očišťování Panny Marie v Kožuchově (obr. 3).[19]

Vrcholem historizujícího rokokového malířství ve Slezsku bylo období po skončení slezských válek, jehož hlavním představitelem byl malíř Bernhard Krause (1743–1803), narozený v roce 1743 ve Frankenštejnu.[20] Tento talentovaný a mimořádně plodný malíř, který se vzdělával v Drážďanech v kruhu Franze Xavera Karla Palka (1724–1767) a ve Vídni v dílně Martina van Meytense (1695–1770), vedl vědomý umělecký dialog s díly starých slezských mistrů a napodobování jejich tvorby se stalo jedním z nejdůležitějších směrů jeho vlastní malby. Willmann a jeho malířská tvorba se staly jeho hlavním cílem. Byl to tak hluboký vztah, že si Krause dokonce vysloužil přezdívku „druhý Willmann".[21] Z vyprávění filozofa a cestovatele Christiana Weisse (1774–1853), který navštívil malířův ateliér ve Frankenštejnu 21. července 1794, víme, že ve své rozsáhlé umělecké sbírce čítající na 80 obrazů měl i díla „slezského Apella". Weiss měl také možnost vidět dvě Krauseho díla namalovaná podle Willmanna: *Poslední večeři* a *Willmannovu hlavu* (*Willmannskopf*), která byla podle cestovatele *znamenitě okopírována v duchu svého předchůdce*.[22]

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16 KOZIEŁ, Andrzej: Reinitius Johann Georg. In: Idem (ed.): Malarstwo, s. 625–627.

17 Idem: Święci Pomocnicy z Podlesia koło Lubawki : Kilka uwag na temat śląskiej ikonografii Czternastu Wspomożycieli w czasach baroku. *Perspectiva : Legnickie Studia Teologiczno-Historyczne* 2, 2003, č. 2, s. 232–249.

18 K tématům života a tvorby Johanna Philippa Kretschmera viz Idem: „Maler von Glogau", czyli kilka słów o Johannie Philippie Kretschmerze. In: CZECHOWICZ, Bogusław – KONOPNICKA, Małgorzata (eds.): *Glogovia Maior : Wielki Głogów między blaskiem dziejów i cieniem ruin*. Głogów – Zielona Góra 2010, s. 357–371.

19 KOZIEŁ, Andrzej – KŁODA, Emilia: Barokowy wystrój i wyposażenie malarskie w kościele parafialnym pw. NMP w Kożuchowie – najnowsze ustalenia. In: ANDRZEJEWSKI, Tomasz (ed.): *Kościół farny w Kożuchowie w świetle najnowszych badań*. Kożuchów 2011, s. 78–97 (s. 92).

20 SZELAG, Adam: *Bernhard Krause (1743–1803) : Życie i twórczość*. Praca dyplomowa magisterska, Instytut Historii Sztuki Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego. Wrocław 2013; Idem: Krause Bernhard. In: KOZIEŁ, A. (ed.): Malarstwo, s. 495–506.

21 GRÜNDEL, Paul Josef: *Der Frankensteiner Maler Bernhard Krause, Kloster Grüssau und die Schloßfreiheit in Frankenstein*. Ottmachau 1926, s. 18.

22 *Der Maler hat auch bei diesen Stücken den Geist seines Vorgängers trefflich copirt*. Viz WIESS, Christian: *Wanderungen in Sachsen, Schlesien, Glatz und Böhmen,* 2. Leipzig 1797, s. 34.



Obr. 3: Johann Georg Reinitius, Poslední večeře, 1740–1750, olejomalba na plátně, farní kostel Očišťování Panny Marie, Kożuchów. Foto: Andrzej Kozieł.



Obr. 4: Bernhard Krause, Nejsvětější Trojice, 1772, olejomalba na plátně, farní kostel Nejsvětější Trojice, Javorník. Foto: Adam Szeląg.



Obr. 5: Bernhard Krause, Vidění sv. Lutgardy z Tongern, 1775, olejomalba na plátně, farní kostel Navštívení Panny Marie, Varta. Foto: Jerzy Buława.



Obr. 6: Bernhard Krause, Sv. Ambrož, poslední čtvrtina 18. století, olejomalba na plátně, farní kostel sv. Josefa, Svídnice. Foto: Jerzy Buława.



Obr. 7: Wojciechów, farní kostel sv. Bartoloměje, pohled do interiéru. Foto: Magdalena Pulik.



Obr. 8: Bernhard Krause, Mučednictví sv. Bartoloměje, 1786–1789, olejomalba na plátně, farní kostel sv. Bartoloměje, Wojciechów. Foto: Emilia Kłoda.



Obr. 9: Bernhard Krause, Polibek Panny Marie (Trojice stvořená), 1786–1789, olejomalba na plátně, farní kostel sv. Bartoloměje, Wojciechów. Foto: Emilia Kłoda.



Obr. 10: Bernhard Krause, Sv. Jan Nepomucký rozdává almužnu, 1786–1789, olejomalba na plátně, farní kostel sv. Bartoloměje, Wojciechów. Foto: Emilia Kłoda.

Krauseho díla, která si Weiss prohlížel, se bohužel ztratila. V kostelích a klášterech ve Slezsku se však dochovala řada dalších děl frankenštejnského malíře, v nichž vyjádřil své okouzlení Willmannovým dílem. Jedná se o obrazy pro hlavní oltáře, jako je například vyobrazení *Nejsvětější Trojice* ve farním kostele Nejsvětější Trojice v biskupském Javorníku (obr. 4) a ve farním kostele Nejsvětější Trojice v Opavici, zhotovené jako volné kopie Willmannovy *Svaté Trojice* v oltáři v kapli Nejsvětější Trojice v klášterním kostele cisterciáků v Henrykowě,[23] nebo plátno *Navštívení Panny Marie* na hlavním oltáři ve farním kostele Navštívení Panny Marie v Mściwojowě, v němž Krause parafrázoval Willmannův obraz téhož námětu na hlavním oltáři v poutním kostele Navštívení Panny Marie ve Vartě (1705). Je zde také řada obrazů určených pro boční oltáře, například plátno *Sv. Mikuláš žehná trosečníkům* na oltáři v boční kapli v kolegiátním kostele sv. Jakuba v Nise, vytvořené podle vzoru monumentálního díla „slezského Apella" v hlavním oltáři ve farním kostele sv. Mikuláše a sv. Františka Xaverského v Otmuchově (1696), nebo díla určená pro poutní kostel ve Vartě: *Vidění sv. Bernarda*, kopie Willmannova obrazu se stejným námětem z klášterního kostela cisterciáků v Lubuši, a *Vidění sv. Lutgardy z Tongern* (obr. 5), vytvořené podle rytiny Johanna Jacoba von Sandrarta podle Willmanna na stejné téma.[24]

Krause s oblibou čerpal i z děl dalších slezských mistrů. Například na obrazech *Sv. Ambrož* (obr. 6) a *Sv. Augustin* v bývalém klášterním kostele voršilek sv. Josefa ve Svídnici byl inspirován vyobrazeními sv. Řehoře Velikého a sv. Ambrože ze série obrazů *Církevních otců*, které v roce 1709 vytvořil Johann Claessens pro kapucínský klášterní kostel v Nise (dnes Dom Formacyjny, Nisa). Nejlepším dokladem schopnosti frankenštejského umělce napodobovat staré mistry jsou jeho díla vytvořená v letech 1786–1789 pro trojici iluzionistických oltářů ve farním kostele sv. Bartoloměje ve Wojciechowě (obr. 7), který patřil benediktinskému klášteru v Luboměři. Na hlavním oltáři bylo umístěno plátno *Umučení sv. Bartoloměje* (obr. 8) zopakované podle obdivovaného Willmannova díla z bočního oltáře v poutním kostele v Třebnici (1692), v levém bočním oltáři byl umístěn obraz *Polibek Panny Marie* (obr. 9) podle vzoru ztraceného vyobrazení *Trinitas terrestis* od „slezského Apella" (1682) a v pravém bočním oltáři byl umístěn obraz *Sv. Jana Nepomuckého rozdávajícího almužnu* (obr. 10), který je převrácenou kopií díla Petra Brandla v jednom z bočních oltářů v opatském kostele Milosti Panny Marie v Křesoboru (1731–1732).[25]

Není těžké vidět, že Krause považoval díla Willmannova a dalších slezských mistrů, které napodoboval, především za zdroj kompozičních a ikonografických řešení. Přestože dobře znal všeobecně obdivovaný skicový způsob malby „slezského Apella", o čemž svědčí i to, že v roce 1790 restauroval jeho obraz *Kristův rodokmen* na bočním oltáři v opatském kostele Milosti Panny Marie v Křesoboru,[26] a často se také setkával s Brandlovou technikou temnosvitu nebo Claessensovým italizujícím způsobem malby, ale ve svých vlastních plátnech důsledně používal jemný rokokový styl s hladkou texturou a světlými barvami. Krauseho napodobování děl starých slezských mistrů tak mělo v podstatě omezený charakter a nepokrývalo formální aspekty tvorby umělce z Frankenštejnu. Proč se tedy Krause obrátil k obrazům Willmanna a dalších malířů období vrcholného baroka působících ve Slezsku?

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[23] KOZIEŁ, A.: Michael Willmann, s. 178–180.

[24] Idem: Michael Willmann w Bardzie. In: Idem (ed.): *Bardo : skarby sztuki*. Legnica 2011, s. 108–112 (s. 111, obr. 32–35).

[25] Idem (ed.): Malarstwo, s. 229, obr. 318.

[26] LUTTEROTTI von, Nikolaus: Archivalische Belege für Arbeiten Michael Willmanns und seiner Werkstatt im Auftrag des Klosters Grüssau. *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Geschichte Schlesiens* 64, 1930, s. 127–137 (s. 132).

Zatímco v Evropě měl historismus v rokokovém malířství především umělecký význam, ve Slezsku v nové politické a společenské situaci po roce 1763 získal, jak se domnívám, další ideologický a obchodní rozměr. Nelze si totiž nevšimnout, že téměř všechny případy napodobování děl starých slezských mistrů se objevily na obrazech, které si objednali představitelé katolické církve, včetně četných řádů v této oblasti. Byli hlavními mecenáši díla Brandeise, Reinitia a Krauseho, který byl tak silně spjat se slezskými cisterciáky, že v roce 1792 dokonce koupil od cisterciáckého kláštera v Henrykově bývalý městský dvůr (*Heinrichauer Stiftshaus*) ve Frankenštejnu a zařídil v něm malířský ateliér.[27] Představitelé slezské katolické církve nadále zadávali umělecká díla, ačkoli její význam a hospodářská situace v novém pruském státě se definitivně zhoršily. Král Fridrich II. Veliký (1712–1786) se snažil všemi prostředky oslabit postavení katolické církve na jím obsazených územích, zejména moc slezských klášterů, které byly zatíženy vysokými daněmi (až 50 % příjmů) a vysokými kontribucemi, stejně jako finančně ruinující povinností klášterů ubytovávat vojáky a provozovat nevýnosné hospodářské činnosti, jako bylo pěstování morušovníku.[28] Přestože po uzavření hubertusburského míru v roce 1763, který ukončil slezské války, už nikdo ve Slezsku nedoufal, že se situace změní, zůstala nostalgie po éře habsburské vlády, která učinila ze spojenectví s katolickou církví (*Pietas Austriaca*) základ své místní i světové politiky. Jedním z jejích prvních projevů je mapa vratislavské diecéze od Johana Ignaze Felbigera (1724–1788) z roku 1751, která vědomě zdůrazňuje symboly vazeb vratislavské diecéze na České království a habsburskou monarchii, jako jsou obrazy vévody Jindřicha IV. Probuse (1257 nebo 1258–1290) a světců vratislavské diecéze, stejně jako sv. Josefa uctívaného v celé habsburské monarchii nebo vyobrazení mincí z přelomu 15. a 16. století.[29]

V tomto kontextu lze fenomén historismu v malířství ve Slezsku druhé poloviny 18. století vnímat také jako jeden z projevů nostalgie po éře vlády habsburské dynastie v provincii. Vědomé odkazování na díla Willmanna a dalších mistrů „zlatého věku" umění ve Slezsku za vlády Habsburků mělo totiž nejen umělecký, ale i ideologický rozměr a bylo jakýmsi projevem prohabsburských sympatií objednavatelů a umělců spojených se slezskou katolickou církví. Ačkoli sám Willmann se od úzkých vazeb na katolické mecenášství distancoval ve svém životopise vydaném Joachimem von Sandrartem (1606–1688) v latinském vydání *Teutsche Academie* v roce 1683,[30] v pozdějších pramenech, cestopisných zprávách a prvních poznámkách v lexikonech umělců byl jednoznačně vnímán jako ztělesnění věřícího umělce, který konvertoval ke katolicismu a celý svůj dospělý život zasvětil službě katolické církvi v době protireformace.[31] K asimilaci Willmanna a jeho díla do pruské národní kultury došlo až na počátku 19. století na vlně romantismu díky Johannu Gustavu Gottliebu Büschingovi (1783–1829), který od roku 1810 vedl kampaň za zajištění uměleckých a knižních sbírek sekularizovaných klášterů v pruském Slezsku.[32]

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27 GRÜNDEL, P. J.: Der Frankensteiner Maler, s. 21.

28 Více o slezských válkách a jejich důsledcích CZAPLIŃSKI, M. a kol.: Historia Śląska, s. 187–248.

29 CZECHOWICZ, Bogusław: Treści ideowe homannowskich Carte du Diocese de Breslav Johanna Ignaza Felbigera z połowy XVIII wieku. In: Idem – DOBRZYNIECKI, Arkadiusz – ŻAK, Izabela (eds.): *Z dziejów rysunku i grafiki na Śląsku oraz w kolekcjach i zbiorach ze Śląskiem związanych*. Wrocław 1996, s. 51–60.

30 Viz KOZIEŁ, Andrzej: *Rysunki Michaela Willmanna (1630–1706)*. Wrocław 2000, s. 174–176.

31 Idem: Michael Willmanns (1630–1706) Kunst im Dienst der Gegenreformation in Schlesien : Forschungsstand und Fragestellung. In: KÖHLER, Joachim – BENDEL, Rainer (eds.): *Geschichte des christlichen Lebens im schlesischen Raum, Religions- und Kulturgeschichte in Ostmittel- und Südosteuropa*, 1. Münster 2002, s. 549–556.

32 Podle Büschinga nebyl Willmann malířem katolickým, ale zakladatelem typu romantického malíře-tvůrce,

Nevíme, do jaké míry se umělci sami ztotožňovali s ideologickým poselstvím obrazů, které vytvořili à la Willmann, Claessens nebo Brandl. V realitě systému specifických objednávek, nikoliv volného trhu, měli objednavatelé stále rozhodující vliv na podobu budoucí práce ve Slezsku.[33] Není však pochyb o tom, že napodobování děl velkých mistrů slezského baroka v zakázkách od představitelů slezské katolické církve se ukázalo jako účinná tržní strategie. To se do značné míry podepsalo na ohromujícím úspěchu Krauseho, provinčního umělce působícího mimo umělecká centra v malém městečku v Dolním Slezsku, který jako „druhý Willmann" dominoval v druhé polovině 18. století produkci náboženských obrazů v této oblasti. Dnes je známo více než 250 jeho obrazů,[34] což jej řadí do úzké skupiny nejplodnějších malířů moderní doby ve Slezsku, hned po samotném Willmannovi.

Proto by nás nemělo překvapit, že Krause zemřel nejen jako naplněný umělec, skutečný „druhý Willmann", ale také jako člověk, který svým uměním vydělal značné jmění. Z umělcovy závěti, otevřené po jeho smrti v roce 1803, vyplývá, že celková hodnota světských statků, které po sobě zanechal, činila 5 132 tolarů a že malířův honosný dům ve Frankenštejnu, zmíněný výše, měl hodnotu nejméně 1 500 tolarů. Krause si mohl dovolit nejen bohatě obdarovat všechny své příbuzné a předat synovci Franzi Krausemu (*1773), který byl rovněž malířem, vybavení svého ateliéru včetně knihovny, galerie sádrových odlitků a umělecké sbírky, ale také odkázat značné částky katolickým církevním institucím a zaplatit sloužení mší, které měly pomoci dosáhnout konečné spásy umělcovy duše.[35]

Krauseho smrt fakticky znamenala konec historizujícího malířství ve Slezsku. Přestože se ještě občas objevovaly pokusy o napodobení děl velkých mistrů z období zralého baroka, jako například vytvoření obrazu *Smrt svatého Josefa* pro boční oltář ve farním kostele sv. Vavřince v Głuchołazech (obr. 11), namalovaný v roce 1808 místním malířem Antonem Kapsem († po 1808) podle Willmannova freskového obrazu téhož námětu v kostele sv. Josefa v Křesoboru[36] (obr. 11), neobjevil se však už žádný významný pokračovatel historizujícího díla frankenštejnského mistra. Naděje, které vkládal do svého synovce Franze, se ukázaly jako liché. O sedm let později byla většina klášterů v pruském Dolním a Horním Slezsku sekularizována na základě výnosu krále Fridricha Viléma III. (1770–1840). Tato akce se týkala až 80 klášterních středisek v oblasti, stejně jako statků a různých druhů majetku, které jim patřily a které převzal pruský stát.[37] To v praxi vedlo k poklesu církevního mecenášství a následnému drastickému snížení objednávek náboženských obrazů, včetně těch historizujících. Zlatý věk barokního a rokokového malířství ve Slezsku byl již minulostí. Zůstaly však četné a krásné obrazy.

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a proto také v Königliches Museums für Kunst und Altertümer, jež sám vytvořil ve Vratislavi, Büsching vydělil ve zvláštním sále speciální galerii věnovanou Willmannově tvorbě, zdůvodniv to „národním cílem". Viz KOZIEŁ, A.: Michael Willmann, s. 180–181. K tématu Büschingova života a díla viz HAŁUB, Marek: *Johann Gustav Gottlieb Büsching 1783–1829 : Ein Beitrag zur Begründung der schlesischen Kulturgeschichte*. Wrocław 1997.

33 KOZIEŁ, A. (ed.): Malarstwo, s. 45–46.

34 SZELAG, A.: Krause Bernhard.

35 GRÜNDEL, P. J.: Der Frankensteiner Maler, s. 27.

36 KOZIEŁ, Andrzej: Kaps Anton. In: Idem (ed.): Malarstwo, s. 474–475.

37 DERWICH, Marek: Instytucje kościelne na Śląsku Pruskim skasowane na mocy edyktu z 1810 r. In: Idem (ed.): *Kasaty klasztorów na obszarze dawnej Rzeczypospolitej Obojga Narodów i na Śląsku na tle procesów sekularyzacyjnych w Europie*, 2: *Kasaty na Śląsku Pruskim i na ziemiach zaboru pruskiego*. Wrocław 2014, s. 23–64.



Obr. 11: Anton Kaps, Smrt sv. Josefa, 1808, olejomalba na plátně, farní kostel sv. Vavřince, Głuchołazy. Foto: Andrzej Kozieł.

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Summary

Historicism in Rococo Painting in Central Europe : A Case of Silesia

One of the most important sources of inspiration for Rococo painting in Europe was derived from the works of the great masters of the late Renaissance and Baroque periods (e.g. Titian, Paolo Veronese, Rembrandt van Rijn, and Peter Paul Rubens). This distinctive historicism is evident in the works of the most significant painters of the late Baroque and Rococo periods, not only those active in major artistic centres such as Paris, London, or Vienna but also those working in European provinces. This is clearly demonstrated by the case of Silesia – a province that was part of the Habsburg monarchy and that, as a result of the three Silesian Wars, was definitively incorporated into the Kingdom of Prussia in 1763. Painters working in this area, such as Bernhard Krause, Melchior Brandeis, and Georg Reinitius, frequently referenced the works of earlier masters, particularly Michael Willmann, the most significant Baroque painter in Silesia. It is important to note that this influence was almost exclusively evident in religious paintings commissioned by representatives of the Catholic Church and manifested mainly through the use of Willmann's compositional patterns that were generally rendered in a new style. Thus, it can be inferred that historicism in painting during the second half of the 18th century had not only an artistic but also an ideological and commercial basis in this region. References to the works of the great master of the "Golden Age" of art in Silesia under Habsburg rule can be considered both a reflection of the artists' worldview and a thought-out market strategy designed to meet the expectations of Catholic patrons with pro-Habsburg political sympathies.

ČLÁNKY A STUDIE 130-148

Tourism as an "Engine" of Modernization in Venezia Giulia during the First Years of the Italian Administration

PETRA KAVREČIČ BOŽEGLAV

Kavrečič Božeglav, Petra: Tourism as an "Engine" of Modernization in Venezia Giulia during the First Years of the Italian Administration

The paper's aim is to discuss whether tourism acted as an engine of modernization in rural areas. It focuses on the case of the south-eastern part of the Italian province of Venezia Giulia, namely the Istria (Pula/Pola) province. The territories assigned to Italy after the end of the First World War, especially the rural areas, were mainly underdeveloped. Within the modernization process and build of infrastructure, the Italian state also recognized tourism as a possible booster of growth and progress.

Key Words *Venezia Giulia; Italy; Interwar Period; Modernization; Tourism Development*

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The aim of the paper is to discuss if and how tourism acted as an engine of modernization in rural areas. It will present the case study of the southeastern part of the Italian province of *Venezia Giulia*,[1] namely the Istria (Pula/Pola) province. The new province, established after the end of the First World War, was very important for Italy, since it represented an integral part of the finally redeemed lands. As the territory of Venezia Giulia included great parts of the former Austro-Hungarian land of *Austrian Littoral (Österreichisches Küstenland)*, assigned to Italy in 1920 (Treaty of Rapallo), the territory in question faced significant political changes. In addition, the period of transition also affected other spheres, such as the economy, social life, and cultural life.

The territories assigned to Italy, especially the rural areas, were economically mainly underdeveloped. The Istrian region, for example, was mostly agricultural, where the foremost problem was still the inadequate water supply system.[2] This was seen as the principal cause of the underdevelopment of the region. Within the modernization process and build of infrastructure, the Italian state also recognized tourism as a possible booster of growth and progress, which will be discussed hereinafter.

Tourism had already become an established and popular leisure activity during the

[1] From the end of the First World War to the end of the Second World War, *Venezia Giulia* was an Italian region. The region was divided into four provinces: Trieste/Trst, Gorizia/Gorica, Pula/Pola (Istra/Istria), and Rijeka/Fiume. After the end of the Second World War, with the Treaty of Paris (1947) and the Memorandum of London (1954), parts of the former region were annexed to Yugoslavia.

[2] KAVREČIČ, Petra – RADOŠEVIĆ, Milan: Na morje! : izzivi turističnega razvoja v Istri v času Avstro-Ogrske in italijanske uprave s posebnim ozirom na leto 1925. *Zgodovina za vse* 24, 2017, no. 2, pp. 21–40.

Habsburg period, though concentrated only in a few coastal towns, such as Portorož/Portorose, Opatija/Abbazia, Lovran/Laurana,[3] etc. Istria, on the other hand, is a peninsula with several localities on the coast. Since seaside tourism grew in popularity in the interwar period, the Italian authorities aimed at promoting tourism development in other areas of the region as well. However, several conditions had to be adequately set up. In the paper, I will present the actions of the authorities in infrastructure regulation of rural areas and discuss whether tourism development (if occurred) helped to improve and facilitate the (infrastructural) modernization of rural areas. The aim of the study is to show, or at least try to provide insight into, tourism development challenges in the context of modernization processes in the province. The period of the first years of the Italian governance will be primarily addressed.

Before I discuss the case study, it needs to be pointed out that the tourism history of the first half of the 20th century especially the interwar period and the Italian authority in its easternmost region, has been examined by some authors, not necessarily historians. There are some studies, such as those by Ivan Blažević and Metod Šuligoj (ed.) and Klabjan, that focus on the presence of Czechs and Slovaks in the Upper Adriatic from the late Habsburg period until Second World War, as well as scientific articles by Kavrečič, Kavrečič and Radošević, and Kavrečič and Klabjan.[4] However, the topic, especially from the point of view of the relation between tourism and rural development, has been marginally considered so far. If we focus on the case of Italy, there are some in-depth studies about tourism development in other Italian regions[5] and colonies,[6] however, without a specific emphasis on the relation between rural areas and

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[3] The Italian and Slovene/Croatian names of towns and other localities will be used when mentioned in the paper for the first time. Afterwards, the names will be in the language of the state to which they belong today, hence Italy, Slovenia, or Croatia.

[4] BLAŽEVIĆ, Ivan: *Turizam Istre*. Zagreb 1984; BLAŽEVIĆ, Ivan: *Povijest turizma Istre i Kvarnera*. Opatija 1987; ŠULIGOJ, Metod (ed.): *Retrospektiva turizma Istre*. Koper 2015; KLABJAN, Borut: *Češkoslovaška na Jadranu : Čehi in Slovaki ter njihove povezave s Trstom in Primorsko od začetka 20. stoletja do druge svetovne vojne*. Koper 2007; some scientific articles like KAVREČIČ, P. – RADOŠEVIĆ, M.: Na morje!, pp. 21–40; KAVREČIČ, Petra – KLABJAN, Borut: 'Na najlepše morje na svetu, na Jadran' : procesi turističnega razvoja severnega Jadrana pred prvo svetovno vojno in po njej : primer Češke in Češkoslovaške. *Acta Histriae* 18, 2010, no. 1/2, pp. 175–206; KAVREČIČ, Petra: Biseri avstrijske riviere : Opatija, Gradež, Portorož : začetki modernega turizma na severnem Jadranu : *Kronika : časopis za slovensko krajevno zgodovino* 57, 2009, pp. 113–128; EAD: Parni stroj in turizem na Primorskem : prometne povezave kot dejavnik turističnega razvoja na primeru Postojne in Portoroža do prve svetovne vojne. *Annales : anali za istrske in mediteranske študije : Series historia et sociologia* 17, 2007, no. 2, pp. 315–336; EAD: Tourism and Fascism : Tourism Development on the Eastern Italian Border. *Prispevki za novejšo zgodovino* 60, 2020, no. 2, pp. 99–119; EAD: Tourism by the Sea : Development of Customs, Habits and Fashion on the Beach. *Zonemoda journal* 11, 2021, no. 2, pp. 13–23.

[5] For South Tyrol, see e.g. MOROSINI, Stefano: I rifugi Alpini dell'Alto Adige/Südtirol dalla fruizione turistica al presidio nazionale (1918–1943). In: GASSER, Patrick – LEONARDI, Andrea – BARTH-SCALMANI, Gunda (eds.): *Krieg und Tourismus im Spannungsfeld des Ersten Weltkrieges*. Innsbruck 2014, pp. 181–207; BERRINO, Annunziata – KAWAMURA, Ewa: Grande guerra nell'area Sudtirolese : i mutamenti di una regione turistica e il dibattinto che li accompagna. In: Ibidem, pp. 271–292; BATTILANI, Patrizia: L'impatto della guerra sull'immagine turistica dei luoghi : il caso del Trentino e dell'alto Adige. In: Ibidem, pp. 33–54.

[6] See e.g., HAMETZ, Maura: Replacing Venice in the Adriatic : Tourism and Italian irredentism, 1880–1936. *Journal of Tourism History* 6, 2014, no. 2–3, pp. 107–121. In the Italian perception, especially political, this region represented its now "redeemed" provinces that were associated with the long Venetian presence and heritage, which was used as a justification for their territorial appetites since the 19th century. Hametz's article focuses on the role of tourism in the identification of the Venetian heritage of Istria and Dalmatia as Italian. For Libya and Albania, see e.g. HOM, Stephanie Malia: Empires of Tourism : Travel and Rhetoric in Italian Colonial Libya and Albania, 1911–1943. *Journal of Tourism History* 4, 2012, no. 3, pp. 281–300. For Libya, see e.g., CAPUZZO, Ester: "Visitate

modernization within this service industry. This paper will thus address a topic which has not been given enough attention in scientific research so far. While the political history of the region and of the studied period is widely and thoroughly scrutinized in Slovene and Croatian historiography, the economic history and the relation between modernization (in urban and rural areas), the state, and tourism have not been considered. However, this field is very relevant, since the purpose of the state was also to implement and consolidate its authority through leisure activities and the improvement of living conditions. As stressed by Battilani and Fauri,[7] scholars have studied *tourism* in recent decades, also addressing the role of *tourism as an engine of growth in less-developed regions*. Hence, the state's agenda was to acquire loyal citizens, advocates, and followers of the Italian fascist regime, which has been approached in different ways. An efficient way was to invest in tourism infrastructure in localities where natural features could provide a source of tourist attraction. Since the spread of seaside health tourism throughout the 19th century also reached the Mediterranean region and became a fashionable and lucrative industry, the political authorities invested significant financial resources in this sector.

Tourism Development in the Late 19th Century

Before taking into consideration the studied period, I will briefly present the conditions for tourism development and the existing tourist infrastructure in the studied territory before 1918 (or 1920). Tourism gained economic importance and value in several countries especially in the last decades of the 19th century. As mentioned, some tourist resorts and infrastructure developed during the Habsburg period. In the studied area, tourism was concentrated mostly in coastal towns, in the so-called *pearls of the Austrian Riviera*.[8] Former fishing villages and rural areas drastically changed their appearance and infrastructure during the last decades of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century. Compared to thermal tourism and its development in the rest of Europe, seaside tourism developed later. In the case of the Austrian Riviera, the simultaneous development of different forms of seaside spa tourism emerged, namely winter-climate tourism (like Opatija and the island of Lošinj/Lussin) and summer-seaside tourism (like Portorož and Grado). The new medical discoveries that recognized the beneficial properties of the sea and sea air prompted the development of seaside health resorts in the coastal part of the crown land of the Austrian Littoral. As pointed out by Trieste physician Alessandro Goracucchi, sea air was attributed curative effects for the treatment of pulmonary tuberculosis, chronic bronchitis and other lung diseases, nervous disorders, hypochondria, melancholia and disorders arising after great intellectual tension.[9]

Doctors played a significant or even crucial role in the recognition and attribution of the positive healing effects of seawater, which encouraged the establishment of bathing facilities for treatments with seawater, sea air, brine, and mud for various diseases that affected the population of the industrial period. Despite their promotion of the establishment of seaside health resorts, tourist infrastructure successfully developed only in some parts of

la Libia" : Il turismo nella Quarta Sponda tra le due guerre mondiali. *Nova Historica* 2016, no. 56, pp. 5–37.

7 BATTILANI, Patrizia – FAURI, Francesca: The Rise of a Service-Based Economy and Its Transformation : Seaside Tourism and the Case of Rimini. *Journal of Tourism History* 1, 2009, no. 1, p. 27.

8 KAVREČIČ, P.: Biseri avstrijske riviere, pp. 113–128.

9 Ibidem, p. 116; see also STRADNER, Giuseppe: *Novi Schizzi dall'Adria*, II. Trieste 1903.

the province, like Opatija, Portorož, Lovran, Brioni/Brijuni Islands, the island of Lošinj, and Grado. Natural features and resources alone were not the only factors that enabled the creation of the health resorts. Financial investment in infrastructure, the arrangement of bathing facilities, and promotional activities were also of great importance. The seaside resorts in the period before the First World War were oriented towards a demanding market, as they had developed as elite destinations for wealthy guests, providing them with different treatments as well as the comfort of luxurious accommodation infrastructure and entertainment facilities.[10] The benefits were not just for investors in tourism and providers of accommodation and medical treatments, but also for the local rural population, who benefited from tourism, as they got involved in the tourist industry as workers in accommodation facilities, transport providers, food suppliers, etc.[11] However, other parts of the Istrian peninsula, with several localities on the coast, did not get involved in this process and retained their mostly rural character during this period.

Political and Economic Circumstances in Interwar Italy and Their Impact on Tourism

The end of the First World War was characterized by several changes in political structure, economic system, social and cultural values, and daily life. The European continent, for example, faced the decline of old regimes, the creation of new nation states, and the radicalization of political ideologies and doctrines. The studied territory was subject to many changes, primarily affected by political transition. The area passed from one state entity, the Austro-Hungarian multi-ethnic empire, to another, the Kingdom of Italy, a predominantly mono-ethnic state. Within the new state, the Slovene and Croatian populations of the former Austrian Littoral and parts of other former Habsburg lands, as well, faced strong Italian nationalism, culminating in the formation of the fascist political regime in 1922.

However, in the years 1922–1926, the Italian political economy took a more "liberal" direction, with the state's involvement in some industrial and financial sectors (e.g. energy and banking) and the privatization of service sectors (e.g. telephone and life insurance). During this period, also called *linea De Stefani* (named after Minister of Finance Alberto De Stefani), the state increased indirect taxes and, above all, brought previously reluctant industrial groups closer to fascism thanks to the policy of restraining workers' wages. With the new Minister of Finance in 1926, Giuseppe Volpi, Italy introduced a deflationary policy characterized by a reduction in domestic demand, restriction of credit, reduction in wages, and especially a reassessment of the lira exchange rate. From 1931, the state directly engaged in entrepreneurial intervention in industrial activities, procuring credits for businesses and reinvesting profits.[12]

The economic policy of the fascist regime was specific in many ways, also affecting the process of modernization (infrastructure, roads, sewerage, and water supply systems) of rural areas. In 1928 (amended in 1933), the Serpieri Law, also known as *Legge Mussolini per la bonifica integrale* (Mussolini law for comprehensive reclamation), regarding the investments of the state in the land reclamation, was issued. These territories were considered to be of *predominant social interest*, where the state directly intervened

[10] KAVREČIČ, Petra: *Turizem v Avstrijskem primorju*. Koper 2017, pp. 335–337.

[11] The involvement of the local population in tourism has been mentioned in sources (newspapers, guidebooks, books), however, data about their concrete involvement have not been studied by the author of the paper so far.

[12] DOGLIANI, Patrizia: *Il fascismo degli italiani* : *Una storia sociale*. Druento 2008, pp. 127–128.

in deforestation, plumbing and sewerage system works, as well as in the process of malaria prophylaxis and the construction of roadways. Within this process, the valorization of land, consisting of land reclamation and settlements with farming families, was conducted. In Istria, for example, it was implemented in 1929.[13] These investments influenced the tourism sector as well, since the development and success of a tourist locality also depend on adequate water supply, sewerage system, roads, and accessibility infrastructure.

The aim of the Italian authorities was to promote their ideology and political doctrine, particularly or even more intensively, among the population of the newly acquired lands, like those of Venezia Giulia and South Tyrol. Tourism served as a regime propaganda tool at home and abroad.[14] In the contested areas of the newly acquired territories after the First World War, another agenda was related to tourist sites – the construction of the Italian national identity. As known, political ideology and tourism are interrelated, since a specific ideology also justified and implemented its authority with the help of tourism. Hence, these lands were considered *terre redenti*, finally redeemed lands from the Austrian regime. Italians or Italian-speaking inhabitants, however, did not mainly populate the territory, which represented an inconvenient situation for the authorities. In these specific circumstances, an efficient strategy for the affirmation and justification of the Italian presence in the region was also implemented through the "use" of tourism. The Italian fascist regime was well aware of the growing relevance of tourism and its significant potential for economic progress and social well. The period following the end of the First World War was characterized by the end of the elite[15] tourism, which was challenged and subject to significant adjustments. With the spread of its accessibility among the middle classes and thus a much higher number of tourists, the demand for tourist services grew. The political authorities were especially aware of the economic benefits of tourism (domestic, but especially international).

Tourism in Italy in the 1920s and 1930s

A crucial moment in tourism development during the interwar period was the establishment of ENIT (Ente Nazionale Industrie Turistiche), the Italian National Tourist Board, in 1919 (with Decree no. 2099 from 12th October; transformed into Law on 7th April 1921, no. 610).[16] In 1920, the Automobile Club was founded with the purpose of improving automobile development in Italy. Until that period, *tourism was in the hands of private organizations (not under the control of the national government*).[17] However, before the foundation of the national tourist association, there were organizations which promoted tourism. The first association was the Club Alpino Italiano (Italian Alpine Club), estab-

[13] Ibidem, pp. 137–138.

[14] BOSWORTH, Richard J. B.: Tourist Planning in Fascist Italy and the Limits of a Totalitarian Culture. *Contemporary European History* 6, 1997, no. 1, p. 15; DOGLIANI, P.: Il fascismo, p. 157.

[15] As pointed out by historian Annunziata Berrino, the Great War and the revolution in Russia (1917) caused the ultimate decline of what was left of Europe's ancient and resilient aristocracies. BERRINO, Annunziata: *Storia del turismo in Italia*. Bologna 2011, p. 202.

[16] *Gazzetta Ufficiale Del Regno d'Italia*, 23. 5. 1921, n. 120, Parte I, Legge 7 aprile 1921, n. 610, che converte in legge il R. decreto 12 ottobre 1919, n. 2099, relativo alla istituzione dall'Ente nazionale per l'incremento delle industrie turistiche, pp. 1–2. Montebelli in her paper regards the year 1921 as the time of the establishment of ENIT.

[17] MONTEBELLI, Stefania: "L'Italia Turistica" in 1930's : History of a Journey and Care Resort. *International Journal of Humanities and Social Science* 6, 2016, no. 11, p. 82.

lished in 1863 and focused on alpine tourism, followed by the Touring Club Italiano in 1894. According to historian Stefano Pivato, the foundation of the organizations represented a change in the way of travelling and of looking at Italy, and it became a sort of practical training in the ideals of the homeland and the nation. Tourism was thus very far from being a pure and simple leisure activity and became a form of pedagogy aimed at training Italians.[18] In the years preceding the war, tourism in Italy was also recognized as a lucrative economic activity and *a promising economic phenomenon*.[19]

The institution of ENIT, however, marked a significant improvement in tourism development. The aim of the Tourist Board was to establish Italy as a modern tourist destination. Its purpose was the promotion of visits by domestic and foreign tourists. Another important step was taken in 1926, when *Aziende autonome di cura, soggiorno e turismo* (Bureaus for Health, Holidays, and Tourism) – i.e., tourist management enterprises – were established by the state. The *Aziende* were placed in communities that offered tourist services or already had the status of tourist destinations. These actions were important and are considered *one of the greatest merits of the fascist regime regarding tourism*.[20] In fact, tourism was, after agriculture, regarded as the second most important industry in the country.[21] The tourism branch involved several sectors; besides hotels and transport, it also included industries such as iron, steel, textile, furniture, flatware, chemical, and electric. All these were necessary to produce materials for tourist infrastructure (accommodation, furnishings) and transportation.[22] Tourism represented (and still does) an activity which involved several sectors, since it used products from different manufacturing sectors (e.g., food production). Besides, it provided, and still provides, new job opportunities and income from tourists, who spend additional money while on vacation.

After the end of the war, tourism popularity increased, especially for seaside destinations, attracting new social classes, such as the urban middle class. The seaside resorts represented a different, distant environment from the urban industrial centres and the fashion of sea bathing in summer prevailed.[23] However, it is worth pointing out that the summer season in the health resorts of the former Austrian Littoral had already prevailed before.[24] Yet, different causes and motivations influenced this transition in pre-war elite tourists' seaside destinations, like those of Côte d'Azur. Firstly, the consequences of the First World War led to the decline of old empires and, with them, the "old" nobility, and the post-war difficult situation, as well as the presence of North American tourists and the influence of American writers. Their presence encouraged and promoted the "summer" season.[25] Italian tourism, despite the state's initiatives and the long "tradition" of various

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18 PIVATO, Stefano: *Il Touring Club Italiano*. Bologna 2006, p. 32.

19 Ibidem.

20 BERRINO, Annunziata: La nascita delle Aziende Autonome e le politiche di sviluppo territoriale in Italia tra le due guerre. *Storia del turismo : Annale*, 2005, no. 5, p. 38; see also KAVREČIČ, P.: Tourism and Fascism.

21 This was also asserted by Fulvio Suvich, an important Italian politician and diplomat during the fascist period. He was the Government Commissioner for ENIT. BOSWORTH, R. J. B.: Tourist Planning, p. 15; KAVREČIČ, Petra: 'Sacro pellegrinaggio' : Visits of World War I Memorials on the Soča/Isonzo Front in the Interwar Period. *Etnološka tribina* 40, 2017, no. 47, pp. 153–154.

22 MONTEBELLI, S.: "L'Italia Turistica", p. 82.

23 BERRINO, A.: Storia, pp. 202–203.

24 See also KAVREČIČ, P.: Turizem v Avstrijskem primorju.

25 BERRINO, A.: Storia, pp. 203–204.

forms (and pre-forms) of tourism (pilgrimages, Grand Tour, thermal tourism), faced several challenges, as it was considered "misunderstood" by most of the Italian press. Within the political discourse, especially the fascist party, the attitude towards tourism was different, recognizing its significant role as a vital income.[26]

An important role for the "creation" of the fascist man, which also included tourist and leisure activities, was played by the *Opera Nazionale Dopolavoro* (further OND). The OND was established by Royal Decree-Law of 1st May 1925, with the aim of organizing workers' leisure time. By statutory definition, the institution took care of *the moral and physical elevation of the people, through sport, hiking, tourism, artistic education, popular culture, social assistance, hygiene, health, and professional training*. The primary purpose of the OND was initially limited to the formation of provincial committees to support recreational activities, but between 1927 and 1939, it evolved from a social welfare organization into a national "movement" that supervised the organization of leisure time.[27] As explained by historian Victoria Da Grazia, the OND's aim was to provide individuals *with a totally integrated range of social services*. The OND engaged in various activities, such as instruction, training and artistic education, physical education (including sports and tourism), and different types of assistance (housing, consumer affairs, health and hygiene, social insurance, and company recreational facilities). She also argues that: *Such an all-embracing structure implied a far broader and deeper commitment by the party to the organizing of worker recreation and welfare than had previously been indicated by the syndicalists or the government*.[28] The OND was involved in tourism promotion with the aim of creating "a new national identity".[29] This part or role of the OND was even more emphasized in the new Italian regions, however, this is not the primary focus of this paper.

Venezia Giulia's Tourist Potentials and Impediments with Special Focus on the Istria (Pula) Province

The region of *Venezia Giulia* was divided into four provinces: Trieste, Istria (Pula), Gorizia, and Fiume/Rijeka. During the Habsburg period, tourism was concentrated only in a few coastal towns and islands. Since seaside tourism increased its popularity, the Italian authorities aimed at promoting tourism development in other areas of the region in order to facilitate the economic and social development of rural areas. For this purpose, several conditions had to be adequately established first, like water supply systems, sewerage, road infrastructure, etc. Another important factor was time. Since Italy engaged in the Second World War within the Axis powers in 1940 and surrendered to the Allied forces in 1943, the period of its authority was relatively short. This limited time frame could not provide enough possibilities to successfully implement the planned projects for the formation of new tourist destinations. Besides, as will be shown in the paper, several

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[26] Ibidem, p. 207.

[27] KOLEGA, Alexandra: *Opera nazionale dopolavoro - OND, 1925–1945*. Sine loco 2007. Online, cited on 22nd January 2024, accessible at https://siusa.archivi.beniculturali.it/cgi-bin/pagina.pl?TipoPag=profist & Chiave=14; *Gazzetta Ufficiale Del Regno d'Italia*, 14. 5. 1925, n. 112, Numero di pubblicazione 846. REGIO DECRETO-LEGGE 1 maggio 1925, n. 582. Istituzione dell'Opera nazionale del dopolavoro, pp. 1842–1844.

[28] DA GRAZIA, Victoria: *The Culture of Consent : Mass Organisation of Leisure in Fascist Italy*. Cambridge 1981, pp. 38–39.

[29] Ibidem, p. 179.

other obstacles and circumstances hindered a more intensive engagement in tourism.

The natural features and the favourable geographical location by the sea did not necessarily provide sufficient conditions for tourist development. Istria faced many challenges which prevented the authorities from taking actions in that direction. For one, it needs to be emphasized that, in the interwar period, two thirds of the population of Istria still relied on agriculture. According to statistical data from 1931, 62.4 % of the population was engaged in agriculture, 17.3 % was employed in industry, and only 3.6 % was engaged in commerce. Tourism prevailed in destinations from the Austrian (Austro-Hungarian) period, such as Opatija, Portorož, Mali Lošinj, and the Brijuni Islands, which was also registered in the daily press of Pula, Rijeka, and Trieste.[30]

During the period of the Italian regime, the ownership of tourism infrastructure was also problematic and represented an obstacle to development for the Italian authorities. Why? As pointed out by the Istrian local newspaper *L'Azione*[31] in 1925, the issue was that even in the mid-1920s, tourism infrastructure was still in foreign hands. The problem was thus the continued presence of foreign ownership, especially German and Hungarian. The author of the article in the newspaper reflects on these circumstances, which, as he commented, had been a frequent issue of discussion in the press. He observed: [...] *it is a fact that the tourism industry, which has been flourishing in the last decades on the charming Istrian coasts as well – is in the hands of foreigners, and the reason is that none of us has ever thought of appropriating and profiting from it, as the entrepreneurial foreigner did, who today is the absolute owner of the main hotels – superb meeting places of the rich – on our beautiful beaches: this is the truth!*[32] Despite this, he also commented about some biased and exaggerated reactions of a political nature which accentuated that a foreign presence in a health resort could constitute a real hazard for the cultural and political influence in certain parts of the Italian border. Even though Italy, through its tourism organizations, was indeed interested to invest in tourist infrastructure and promote the already established localities, it was still partly affected by the previous – Habsburg – period. This was also clear in the provenance of guests, who continued to come mainly from German-speaking countries, Hungary, and Czechoslovakia.[33]

The "solution" was in the process of transition, especially in the ownership of accommodation and bathing facilities, and the introduction of Italian regulations and legislation, which, normally, took time. However, the aim of tourism is to accommodate and satisfy guests, hence a less "nationalistic" approach needed to be implemented. The following article thus shows a wider perspective, since it did recommend the "Italianization" of tourist resorts, but still with attention and sensitivity towards the guests, mostly Germans, and their needs: *It is therefore better to indulge customs and habits, but always within one's own dignity and self-respect* [...] *in order to erase the deplorable imprint, it is not enough to criticize, but it is necessary to act, and to act vigorously: because either the foreign owner does good business,*

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30 KAVREČIČ, P. – RADOŠEVIĆ, M.: Na morje!, p. 25.

31 The Pula daily newspaper in Italian began to be published on 1st January 1919 under the title *L'Azione*. In 1922, the owner of the paper became Federazione Fascista Polese. From 1st January 1929, the newspaper changed its name to *Corriere Istriano* and became an organ of the National Fascist Party for Istria. It stopped being published in 1945. *Digitalizirana građa : L'Azione (1919–1921)* (tal/ital). Online, cited on 22nd January 2024, accessible at https://www.ino.com.hr/digitalizirana-gradja/info/lazione.

32 Società editrice L'Azione – L'Unione Editrice Istriana. *L'Azione*, 10. 9. 1925, no. 215, p. 2.

33 Ibidem.

and then he will certainly adapt to our orders, or he does no business, and then the Italian capital must take over.[34] The persisting presence of foreign owners of tourist facilities represented discomfort for the Italian authorities in the region. Nonetheless, they were well aware of the possibility of a decrease or problem which would be caused by a drastic impairment in the current situation, and they encouraged a more strategic and pragmatic approach.

Tourist arrivals in the first post-war years were registered in the new provinces as well. Statistical data can be found in ENIT reports, newspapers, tourist press, etc. For the province of Istria (Pula), where most established seaside localities were located (Portorož, the Brijuni Islands, and the island of Lošinj), the data for 1923 are presented in Table 1. The figures show that the number of domestic tourists – Italians – and the sum of all foreign tourists are almost equal. Most of the now foreign guests came from the former common state, from Austria and Hungary. This is a clear sign of continuity in tourist flows to the popular seaside destinations. In order to maintain the arrivals from those countries, it was necessary to avoid drastic changes or interference in ownership.

Table 1: Number of tourists in the province of Istria (Pula) in 1923[35]

TOURISTS (according to nationality)	Number
Italians (domestic)	16 715
Foreign	
French	134
English	430
Germans	1 404
Nationalities from the former Austro-Hungarian Empire	12 933
Russians and Poles	214
North Americans	70
South Americans	15
Other nationalities	1 800
Total number of foreign tourists	17 000
Domestic and foreign tourists	33 715

The other two established tourist destinations of the pre-war period, Opatija and Lovran, were part of the province of Rijeka. In Table 2, data are presented for the tourist visits to Opatija in the first half of 1925. The data for the most distinguished tourist locality in the *Venezia Giulia* region show that most of the tourists were still international. Even though the year 1925 was declared as *Anno Santo* and a lot of domestic tourists and pilgrims were expected to travel across Italy, the Opatija case shows that foreign guests prevailed, especially from the former Empire. This tendency also persisted in the following years, as shown in Table 3.

Table 2: Number of tourists in Opatija in the first half of 1925[36]

[34] Ibidem.

[35] Ibidem, 15. 2. 1925, no. 40, p. 2.

[36] KAVREČIČ, P. – RADOŠEVIĆ, M.: Na morje!, p. 33; *L'Azione*, 4. 7. 1925, no. 158, p. 4.

Country of origin	Number
Italy (domestic)	1 708
Hungary	5 578
Austria	3 220
Czechoslovakia	2 851
Germany	2 485
Yugoslavia (Kingdom of)	1 587
Poland	around 535
Romania	271
England	148
North America	around 63
Switzerland	40
France	34
South America	13
Sweden	8
Egypt	6
Other countries	169
Domestic and foreign tourists	18 716

Table 3: Tourist visits to Opatija from the former Austro-Hungarian Empire, Czechoslovakia, Kingdom of Yugoslavia, and Kingdom of Italy (domestic) from 1925 until 1930[37]

Country of origin	1925	1926	1927	1928	1929	1930
Italy	4 237	4 805	4 387	4 264	4 456	4 075
Hungary	10 990	9 074	8 115	8 567	7 991	7 879
Austria	8 545	6 961	4 531	4 877	4 539	6 074
Czechoslovakia	6 805	4 780	2 706	3 227	4 742	5 734
Germany	5 166	3 963	5 379	7 226	10 199	11 221
Yugoslavia	4 059	5 026	1 811	1 376	1 501	1 285
Poland	1 200	625	502	657	913	1 232
Total	41 002	35 234	27 431	30 194	34 341	37 500

As shown in Table 3, the majority of guests in the period from 1925 until 1930 predominantly arrived from Hungary. In fact, Opatija was the top tourist destination for the former Hungarian part of the Dual Monarchy, also due to the vicinity of the port of Rijeka, at the time of the Empire, the only seaport of Transleithania. The highest number of Hungarian tourists came to Opatija in 1925, representing 26.8 % of all guests. On the other hand, their number slowly decreased over the years, falling from over 10 000 in 1925 to less than 8 000 in 1930, thus still representing 21 % of guests, lagging only behind the tourists from Germany, who reached almost 30 % of all guests. A similar decrease in visits can be traced

[37] Državni arhiv u Rijeci (further DAR), 174, fund Lječilišno povjerenstvo Opatija, La Riviera del Carnaro, 6. 1. 1926; KAVREČIČ, P. – KLABJAN, B.: 'Na najlepše morje na svetu, na Jadran', p. 193.

for tourists from Austria, Czechoslovakia, and Yugoslavia. This can also be attributed to political and economic circumstances. Domestic tourists represented almost 13 % of average visits in the presented period, with yearly visits of around 4 000 guests.

Similarly, as in the whole province of Istria (Pula), the visits to the tourist locality of Portorož (today in Slovenia) was predominantly characterized by domestic guests (Table 4). More complete data are available only for the years 1921, 1922, and 1924, when around 80 % of guests were Italians, with the majority coming from Venezia Giulia. Foreign guests mostly came from Austria, Czechoslovakia, and Hungary. Opatija, with its more international clientele, is a specific case, since it had already acquired a more cosmopolitan and elite position among tourist destinations in the Upper Adriatic area in the pre-war period.

Table 4: Number of guests in Portorož in the years 1921, 1922, and 1924[38]

	1921		1922		1924	
Country/province of origin	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Venezia Giulia	2 083	60.5	1 250	55	1 155	15
Old provinces (Italy without Venezia Giulia)	694	20.5	680	30	/	/
Austria	164	5	76	6	2 464	32
Czechoslovakia	137	4	147	3.3	2 695	35
Hungary	251	7	30	1.3	616	8
Other countries	251	7	100	4.4	770	10
Total	3 403	100	2 283	100	7 700	

To summarize, the "old" tourist seaside localities managed to maintain their activities and to provide services according to demand in the tourist market. On the other hand, there were towns and villages located by the sea which could benefit from this economic sector as well. This was also identified by local authorities and media, such as the aforementioned *L'Azione*, which acted as an advocate for the region and especially its town Pula. In an article from 15th February 1925, it was affirmed that: *Our region has all the necessary characteristics and qualities to become a region of intense tourist activity*. The newspaper certainly gave major attention to the province of Istria (Pula). It claimed that: *Conditions and geographic position, purity of the sky and mild climate, beauty of beaches and clarity of the sea, particularly favourable conditions of our seaside and climatic resorts, are also factors that can effectively contribute to the increasing development of tourism in the province. Not only the province, but our city* [Pula] *and its immediate vicinity have wonderful localities, magnificent seashores that could, that should, be enhanced for better exploitation* [...] *Our city* [Pula]*, as well as the province, has all the premises and all the qualities necessary to become, in the near future, a good seaside resort and a tourist centre. Success will not be missed, because we also have* [...] *resources that have their own tourist attractions which still need to be developed and enhanced.*[39] The very enthusiastic

[38] *Bollettino di Portorose ed elenco dei forestieri*: *Riviera istriana*, 15. 6. 1922. Portorose, La commissione di cura, p. 2; Ibidem, 30. 9. 1922. Portorose, La commissione di cura, p. 2; Ibidem, 4. 10. 1924. Portorose, La commissione di cura, p. 5.

[39] *L'Azione*, 15. 2. 1925, no. 40, p. 2.

affirmations and premises were though not enough, since the Italian authorities in the province and region had to face many other obstacles and challenges.

In his analysis of the development potential of the tourism industry, Italian senator and engineer Ugo Ancona pointed out that it was not enough to pay attention only to hotels. In his opinion, it was also necessary to build roads, to create new and improve existing transport links, and to ensure that there was sufficient entertainment and comfort of all kinds for guests. He said: *The underdevelopment of the tourism industry is still pronounced, and if we don't act to promote progress, we will be confronted with an influx of guests with weaker purchasing power*.[40]

Ancona's judgement was in fact based on solid ground. Still in the mid-1920s, no asphalted roads existed in Istria. The first kilometres of asphalted roads were opened between Trieste, Koper, Izola, and Piran in 1927, while asphalt reached Pula – the capital of the province – only in 1938. The authorities tried to manage the situation through regular maintenance of existing roads and, in some places, the opening of new ones (e.g., Pula–Vodnjan). Other challenges in the field of transport links were present. Several projects and ideas – like new railway connections, steamboat lines, flight connections (Portorož in 1921), and bus services – were prepared during the Italian administration in the region. The first rail transport links in Istria were in fact built during the Austrian administration, connecting Trieste with Pazin, Pula, and Rovinj. The Trieste–Poreč narrow-gauge railway line (Parenzana) was also in use from 1902 until 1935. The section of the Southern Railway from Divača to Pula – called the Istrian railway – was built in 1876, and the section of the same line from Pivka to Rijeka was opened in 1873.[41] The interwar Italian *Direzione delle Ferrovie dello Stato* (State Railways Directorate) planned the construction of new railway connections within the new state borders. The proposal was to connect Trieste with the Rovinj hinterland through Umag and Poreč. This section would then join the existing line to Pula. The second section would connect Trieste directly (via the planned seven-kilometre tunnel through Učka) to Opatija and Rijeka. The plans, primarily due to a lack of financial resources, were not realized.[42]

Challenges of Tourism Development in Rural Areas in the Pula (Istria) Province

During the period of the Italian administration, most of the Istrian coastal towns underwent organizational and infrastructural changes and progress. That also included initiatives to improve the visibility of existing tourist resorts in foreign markets and to establish new ones. On 22nd February 1925, *Societa Alberghi e Stabilimenti di Umago d'Istria* (Association of Hotels and Resorts in Umag)[43] was founded, with the aim of building a new hotel in the area of Punta (del Moro), north of Umag's Old Town. In fact, Umag was the only town in Istria where a new tourist centre was established in the inter-war period. In 1925, Hotel Roma was built, and in the 1930s, some new hotels and villas were constructed as well, with the total capacity of 150 beds. Some investments were planned in Poreč, also on the western coast of the Istrian peninsula. Poreč tried to develop as a cen-

40 KAVREČIČ, P. – RADOŠEVIĆ, M.: Na morje!, pp. 21–40; *L'Azione*, 23. 9. 1925, no. 226, p. 2.

41 For more information about transport infrastructure during the period of Austro-Hungary see: KAVREČIČ, P.: Turizem v Avstrijskem primorju, pp. 196–210.

42 KAVREČIČ, P. – RADOŠEVIĆ, M.: Na morje!, p. 26.

43 *L'Azione*, 18. 2. 1925, no. 42, p. 3.

tre for aromatherapy – with the treatment involving grapes. However, only one villa was built there in the interwar period.[44]

Major organizational shifts took place on the eastern Istrian coast, part of what was then the province of Rijeka. On 1st February 1925, *L'ufficio Viaggi e Turismo* (Travel and Tourism Office) of the Italian National Tourist Board was set up in Lovran.[45] This was the third tourist office in the province, in addition to those in Rijeka and Opatija, while in the whole region of Venezia Giulia, there was only the ENIT office in Trieste, which recorded lower tourist arrivals, with the exception of the classic travel period (summer) to Brijuni and Portorož. However, it is worth pointing out that in 1925, there were only fourteen such offices in the rest of the Kingdom of Italy, which shows the important tourist strategic point represented by the easternmost region of Italy.[46] These offices also cooperated with *Ente provinciale per il turismo per la Provincia d'Istria* (Provincial Tourist Board in Istria, established in 1936).[47] At the local level, other societies were established, for example *Società per il promovimento dei forestieri nella Venezia Giulia* (Society for the Promotion of Tourist Visits in Venezia Giulia) operating since 1921. It was important to promote the development of tourism at the seaside resorts for domestic and foreign visitors.

The tourist development of Pula, as the centre of the province of Istria and its largest city, did not receive much attention in the press. One of the few mentions refers to a letter from R. Bragheta, published in *L'Azione* under the meaningful title *How can Pula become a tourist destination*. He described the natural resources for development that were present in the immediate vicinity and that only needed to be valorized in an appropriate way. He suggested the creation of a "lush park" and, above all, the appreciation of the sea and the air. It should be emphasized that Pula had been Austria's main naval base and a major shipbuilding centre since 1859, becoming an important industrial city, thus it is understandable that tourism was not in the forefront. Nonetheless, some accommodation facilities had already been built during the Austrian period. In 1908, the first modern hotel, the Riviera Hotel, was placed in a strategic location in the area between the harbour pier, the Arena, and the railway station. It also featured additional facilities, such as a concert hall, a café, and a hairdresser's salon. According to available data, there were nine hotels in Pula in 1914.[48] Despite the unfavourable position, Bragheta's initiative was supported, as Pula, especially in the coastal area, was intensively reforested over the following decades, creating conditions for a more comfortable and pleasant seaside living. This measure also contributed to a better quality of the natural environment and the construction of tourist infrastructure (hotels), which, at the time of the Austrian administration, existed exclusively in the centre of the city.[49]

While the circumstances for tourism development were not completely favourable for the urban seaside centres, the challenges for rural areas were even bigger. The villages by

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[44] ZADEL, Zrinka – RUDAN, Elena: Razvoj smještajnih kapaciteta i poduzetništva u obalnom dijelu istarskog poluotoka u Hrvatskoj : Razvoj namestitvenih zmogljivosti in podjetništva obalnega dela istrskega polotoka na Hrvaškem. In: ŠULIGOJ, M. (ed.): *Retrospektiva*, pp. 166–167.

[45] *L'Azione*, 31. 1. 1925, no. 27, p. 2.

[46] See also: KAVREČIČ, P. – RADOŠEVIĆ, M.: Na morje!

[47] ENIT (Ente nazionale industrie turistiche): *Relazione sull'attività svolta nell'anno 1925* : *propaganda, organizzazione, statistica, consorzio degli uffici di viaggio e turismo, bilancio*. Rome 1926.

[48] ZADEL, Z. – RUDAN, E.: Razvoj, p. 162.

[49] KAVREČIČ, P. – RADOŠEVIĆ, M.: Na morje!, pp. 27–28.

the sea, which had not gained tourist relevance even during the Austrian period, were also severely burdened by problematic hygienic and health conditions. A number of endemic diseases and frequent epidemics affected the rural areas of the studied territory still at the beginning of the 20th century. The main causes can be attributed primarily to poor hygiene conditions, inaccessible medical care, scarcely developed health (and other) infrastructure, as well as insufficient measures to organize health services, and inadequate health and education in general. The First World War and its negative consequences, like the forced evacuation of the civilian population from southern Istria, and the general economic degradation that occurred due to the changed geopolitical situation and national borders in the post-war years, aggravated the situation. The most widespread infectious diseases were dysentery, scabies, measles, syphilis, typhoid fever, and, above all, tuberculosis, the main cause of the high mortality and morbidity rates that placed the province of Istria (Pula) at the top of the list of all the provinces of the Kingdom of Italy. Another infectious disease which was the cause of many problems was malaria. This situation left the province with a number of negative consequences, demographically, socially, and economically.[50] In this context, or because of the slow progress towards modernization and the provision of adequate health and hygiene standards, the development of tourism as an economic sector outside the existing and established tourist "oasis" was hampered.

These problems were also discussed at the *Congresso provinciale fascista* (Fifth Fascist Provincial Congress) in 1926, where Istrian engineer Italo Defranceshi pointed out that: *Despite its great natural beauties, Istria has remained economically in last place among the Italian lands. 'Why?'* he asks: *I can answer without hesitation that the first and main reason for Istria's backwardness is the lack of drinking water, which in turn leads to a high incidence of malaria, which persists in the areas of marshes and ponds. These are also the only sources of water for the population and livestock, but they are also the main agents of anophelism* [the increased presence of Anopheles mosquitoes, which transmit the disease, M. R.]. *Water scarcity and malaria are preventing the development of Istrian towns that could be attractive for summer holidays and bathing. New tourist destinations could compete with existing destinations such as Opatija, Portorož, Brijuni, and Lošinj, bearing in mind that Istria is the closest sea gateway to most of Central Europe*.[51] During the congress, malaria was particularly mentioned, since malaria zones in Istria were still numerous in 1925. In the municipality of Pula, there were thirteen fractions (towns, villages) declared *zone malariche*. In other parts of the province, other municipalities or parts of municipalities were declared as such: the mainland of the municipality of Fasana/Fažana, the municipality of Dignano/Vodnjan, Barbana/Barban, Canfanaro/Kanfanar, San Vincenti/Svetvinčenat, Valle/Bale, Rovinj, Piran, Terzo, Ossero/Osor, Neresine/Nerezine, Lussingrande, parts of the Parenzo/Poreč municipality, Orsera/Vrsar, Cittanova/Novigrad, Antignana/Tinjan, Gimino/Žminj, and Fianona/Plomin.[52] Many of these municipalities are located by the sea and represented a potential for tourism development. Even so, the disease posed a serious obstacle to tourism development and, in general, prevented investments in accommodation and other tourist infrastructure. The circumstances in favour of tourism develop-

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[50] Ibid., pp. 28–29. For further literature see: RADOŠEVIĆ, Milan: O dizenteriji, ospicama, sifilisu, šarlahu i tifusu u Istarskoj provinciji za talijanske međuratne uprave (1918–1940). *Problemi sjevernog Jadrana*, 2015, no. 14, pp. 55–81.

[51] KAVREČIČ, P. – RADOŠEVIĆ, M.: Na morje!, pp. 28–29.

[52] *L'Azione*, 17. 1. 1925, no. 15, p. 2.

ment, especially seaside mass tourism, were created mostly after the end of the Second World War. Many of the above-listed localities are well-recognized tourist destinations in the present day.

After the end of the First World War, malaria rose again due to the return of sick soldiers from malarial battlefields (Albania, the Soča-Piava front). The abandonment of arable land and other socio-economic and health-organizational factors contributed to the spread of malarial mosquitoes and consequently to a higher incidence of the disease. In 1924, a major outbreak was recorded in both coastal and inland parts of Istria, with the highest incidence in the area of Poreč, where there were 126 deaths and over 3 000 cases (1 % of the total population). This situation did not affect the already established tourist destinations, where consistent preventive and curative measures were taken and thus successfully prevented the spread of the disease. This was not the case in Istrian rural areas.[53] While infectious diseases like syphilis, typhoid fever, and tuberculosis were familiar, malaria was unknown in some countries. Thus, for potential Austrian, German, Hungarian, Czech, and other tourists from Central Europe, malaria was an exotic disease and as such created a sense of fear, which made them cautious about choosing these seaside destinations for their holidays. Tourists did not want to visit places that were in any way "burdened". A possible impediment was also evidenced in the sale of products for the prevention and treatment of malaria (quinine), which could be purchased in shops and caused foreign tourists doubts about the sanitary and hygiene conditions of the visited places. A proposition was addressed to the Sanitary Director to sell the medicine only in pharmacies.[54]

The problem of epidemics can also be identified or recognized as a cause for the promotion of those tourist destinations which retained a good reputation and had already been established in the Habsburg period. These localities were "malaria-free" zones.[55] In the malaria zones, several measures to contain the further spread of infectious diseases were implemented by the authorities (e. g., closing of schools, introduction of better hygiene, land reclamation, melioration, prohibition of free movement of animals, education of population, cleaning, etc.).[56] In order to provide a safe and healthy environment for possible tourist development in the future, the measures needed to be successfully applied first. The process was complicated and long. It is necessary to stress that most of the measures were only partially implemented in the 1930s, and by 1940, all the major Istrian towns, with the exception of Vrsar, Rovinj, Kanfanar, Bale, Žminj, Svetvinčent, and Vodnjan, were connected to the water supply network. Progress was also made in the field of health, and especially in the areas of the Mirna and Raša (rivers) valleys and the former saltpans of Koper, where at the beginning of the 1930s, land reclamation was used to create new arable land and to rehabilitate former malarial areas. The larvicidal method, which was introduced in the mid-1920s, had almost eradicated malaria in Istria by the end of the 1930s.[57]

The modernization processes in the province, especially in its rural areas, contributed to the creation of a basis for a better living standard of the population. With the new water

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53 RADOŠEVIĆ, Milan: Od gambuzija do pariškoga zelenila : kako je pobijeđena malarija u Istri. *Časopis za suvremenu povijest* 45, 2013, no. 3, p. 515; KAVREČIČ, P. – RADOŠEVIĆ, M.: Na morje!, p. 29.

54 *L'Azione*, 5. 6. 1925, no. 133, p. 2.

55 Ibidem.

56 ŠKROBONJA, Ante (ed.): *Epidemične bolezni v Istri v 19. in 20. Stoletju* : *Le malattie epidemiche in Istria tra '800 e '900* : *Zarazne bolesti u Istri tijekom 19. i 20. stoljeća*. Koper 2010.

57 KAVREČIČ, P. – RADOŠEVIĆ, M.: Na morje!

supply system, eradication of infectious diseases, or at least improvement of hygiene standards in the region, and construction of new road connections, the possibilities for tourism development in other coastal areas were created. In the mid-1920s, some other factors encouraged tourism development in Italy. First, the year 1925 was proclaimed *Anno Sancto*, which increased the movement of population across the country. Another important step was taken in the same year, when a decree regarding the standards for hotels was issued. The decree established mandatory requirements for the implementation of hygiene and health improvements. ENIT oversaw the promotion and awarding of subsidies or other aid initiatives aimed at hotel locations that were insufficiently or inadequately provisioned for the needs of tourism. It also recommended the issuing of opportune agreements with provincial doctors, giving preference to those hotels that met higher standards of sanitation according to the regulations.[58] The new hotels had to be located in "healthy" environments where high hygiene and sanitary standards were met. According to these requirements, it is clear that in Istria, the poor supply of clean water and the persistent presence of infectious diseases represented a serious obstacle to tourism development outside the established destinations. Even existing destinations faced challenges stemming from defamatory news about the alleged spread of malaria in foreign newspapers.[59] The hygiene and economic circumstances in the region thus did not meet all these demands in the 1920s, meaning that the high-set standards were reached only in already established tourist destinations.

Conclusion

In the case study of the southeastern part of the Italian province of Venezia Giulia, namely the province of Istria (Pula), the possibilities and opportunities for tourism development in the first years of the Italian administration were discussed. Due to the consequences of the war and the difficult post-war political and economic circumstances, the territory in question was mostly underdeveloped. This was especially characteristic of rural areas, which were also known to be underdeveloped in the previous period. With the Italian investments and engagement in the modernization of infrastructure (water supply systems, eradication of infectious diseases, construction of new road connections), the aim was also to support the progress and improvement of the region with tourist supply and services.

Tourism emerged and its popularity in the region grew during the Habsburg period, though concentrated only in a few coastal towns, which drastically changed their image, evolving from former rural areas (especially fishing villages) to elite destinations for sea-based health treatments. Even though Istria is a peninsula, the spread of tourism depended on many factors (initiatives, financial sources, investments, etc.), which reached only some seaside localities. After the end of the First World War and the establishment of Italian governance in the region, tourism was given even more emphasis and the authorities aimed at promoting its development in other areas of the region as well. However, several conditions had to be adequately set up. Problems such as bad road connections, lack of tourist infrastructure, low hygiene standards, and frequent

[58] RD (Regio decreto) 24 May 1925, no. 1102. "Approvazione del regolamento per le migliorie igieniche negli alberghi," Online, cited on 15th July 2020, accessible at http://www.comune.jesi.an.it/MV/leggi/rd1102-25.htm.

[59] KAVREČIČ, P.: Tourism and Fascism, pp. 107–l08; KAVREČIČ, P. – RADOŠEVIĆ, M.: Na morje!

epidemics, especially malaria, obstructed the effective and efficient development of new resorts.

The paper's aim is to discuss if and how tourism acted as an engine of modernization in rural areas. The case study shows that the Italian authorities tried to promote tourism in other parts of the region – especially in underdeveloped rural areas – however with very little success due to several obstacles and also limitations of time.

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Summary

Tourism as an "Engine" of Modernization in Venezia Giulia during the First Years of the Italian Administration

The paper's aim is to discuss whether tourism acted as an engine of modernization in rural areas. It focuses on the case of the southeastern part of the Italian province of Venezia Giulia, namely the Istria (Pula/Pola) province. The new province, established after the end of the First World War, was very important for Italy, since it represented an integral part of the finally redeemed lands. As the territory of Venezia Giulia included great parts of the former Austro-Hungarian land of Austrian Littoral (Österreichisches Küstenland), assigned to Italy in 1920 (Treaty of Rapallo), the territory in question faced significant political changes. In addition, the period of transition also affected other spheres, such as the economy, social life, and cultural life.

The territories assigned to Italy after the end of the First World War, especially the rural areas, were mainly underdeveloped. Within the modernization process and build of infrastructure, the Italian state also recognized tourism as a possible booster of growth and progress. Tourism had become an established and popular leisure activity already during the Habsburg period, though concentrated only in a few coastal towns. Istria, on the other hand, is a peninsula with several localities on the coast. Since seaside tourism increased in popularity in the interwar period, the Italian authorities aimed at promoting tourism development in other areas of the region as well. However, several conditions had to be adequately set up.

In the paper, the actions of the authorities in infrastructure regulation of rural areas are presented. The raised question is whether tourism development (if occurred) helped to improve and facilitate the (infrastructural) modernization of rural areas.

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An Exclusively Urban Phenomenon?

Radical Agrarianism in Political Practice of Interwar Fascism : A Case Study of Slovakia*

ANTON HRUBOŇ – KATARÍNA RISTVEYOVÁ

Hruboň, Anton – Ristveyová, Katarína: An Exclusively Urban Phenomenon? Radical Agrarianism in Political Practice of Interwar Fascism: A Case Study of Slovakia

Fascism is frequently considered to be a political movement associated with cities. The article attempts to contest this idea through a case study, which illustrates the agrarian-focused drive of fascism by profiling two fascist organisations in interwar Slovakia. It stresses agrarianism as a core factor of their political practice. The case study is based on an analysis of Rodobrana (1923–1929), a paramilitary organisation of Hlinka's Slovak People's Party, which became a significant pioneering fascist movement in Slovakia, and the National Fascist Community (1926–1938), the most notable political party representing nationwide Czechoslovak fascism. Even though both streams were written down in history as relatively unsuccessful cliques of cads, their palingenetic discourse, based on radicalised agrarian thought, helped create an atmosphere that resulted in the acceptance of the latter measures adopted by Hlinka's Slovak People's Party's regime (confiscation of properties belonging to the "political parvenus", Aryanisation of Jewish assets, agrarian reforms, and the programme of Slovak national socialism).

Key Words *Slovak Fascism; Rodobrana; National Fascist Community; Hlinka's Slovak People's Party; Countryside; Agrarianism*

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Introduction

The political practices of fascist movements may impart the general impression that historical fascism is a strongly urban phenomenon. All the "trigger" milestones referring to its revolutionary spirit and destructiveness are primarily associated with the city: Mussolini's "March on Rome", Hitler's failed Beer Hall Putsch attempt in Munich, the flamboyant NSDAP rallies at Nuremberg's Reichsparteitagsgelände, the symbolic "conquest of space" during the Kampfzeit street battles in the metropolis and minor cities, or the subsequent concentrated efforts of fascists to reshape urban public space as per their image.[1]

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1 For the history of the relation between fascism and cities, and the fascist utilisation of urban space see e.g.: GRIFFIN, Roger: Building the Visible Immortality of the Nation : The Centrality of 'Rooted Modernism' to the Third Reich's Architectural New Order. *Fascism* 7, 2018, no. 1, pp. 9–44; HAGEN, Joshua – OSTERGREN,

However, the transnational ideology of fascism, which crossed the boundaries of European countries, incorporated both, urban and rural environments, into its palingenetic vision of national revival. Such complexity must have objectively encountered a fundamental problem: traditional or newly formed political parties captured their electorate immediately after World War I and left the political array emptied for the "late-comers", as political scientist Juan J. Linz called fascists in his essay contributing to the early comparative discussions. The post-war reality pushed fascists, who appeared on the political stage of most European countries just after Mussolini's successful seizure of power, to struggle for supporters patiently and to seize them from far better-established parties to their side.[2] This posed a crucial challenge for the cross-class scope, as well as the ambitions of fascism to dominate and transform the entire mythicised national community.

This article contests the notion of fascism as an ultranationalist revolutionism whose zones of interest lay primarily in urban areas, most affected by fin de siècle modernisation. An example of two varieties of interwar fascism in Slovakia diverts attention from the perception of fascism as a mythical alternative for the economically settled middle class to that of the peasant roots of local fascism, expressed equally in the political programme, as well as in practice. For analytical purposes and to support the argument that a complex transformation of the countryside played a critical role in the fascist concept of a "new nation", the case study provides an analysis of two non-regime varieties of fascism, one of which underwent a transition from a minor avant-garde movement to a parliamentary party (the National Fascist Community), and the other never passed the cocoon stage (Rodobrana). The idea that the debated movements had been operating, to a significant extent, with an agrarian-focused emphasis in their political thinking and narratives was principally not new. What this article endeavours to accentuate, contrary to the dominant academic discourse, is that the core of all shades of fascism in Slovakia lay primarily in radical agrarianism. The article argues that this radicalised agrarian thought represented, first, an ultranationalist response to the underdeveloped Slovak countryside and, second, a manifestation of its disaffinity with a "decadent" urban milieu. Hand in hand with Sven Reichardt's concept of fascist praxeology, it does not view the ideology of the analysed minor fascisms in Slovakia as an intellectual construct, but a "mutable political practice" expressed by human action and communication.[3]

Robert C.: *Building Nazi Germany* : *Place, Space, Architecture and Ideology*. London 2020; LARGE, David Clay: *Where Ghosts Walked* : *Munich's Road to the Third Reich*. New York 1997; KALLIS, Aristotle: *The Third Rome, 1922–1943* : *The Making of the Fascist Capital*. New York 2014; CAPROTTI, Federico: *Mussolini's Cities* : *Internal Colonialism in Italy, 1930–1939*. Youngstown 2007; CIUCCI, Giorgio: *Gli Architetti e il Fascismo* : *Architettura e Città, 1922–1944*. Turin 2002; CORNI, Gustavo: Die Utopien des Faschismus: Ruralisierung und „neue Städte". In: HARDTWIG, Wolfgang (ed.): *Utopie und politische Herrschaft im Europa der Zwischenkriegszeit*. München 2003, pp. 97–117. For the Slovak aspects of the topic see: FOGELOVÁ, Patrícia – PEKÁR, Martin: *Disciplinované mesto* : *Zásahy politiky do verejného priestoru na Slovensku v rokoch 1938–1945*. Košice 2021; SZALAY, Peter – BOGÁR, Michal – HABERLANDOVÁ, Katarína – BARTOŠOVÁ, Nina – KRIŠTEKOVÁ, Laura: *Vojnová Bratislava 1939–1945*. Bratislava 2020; HRUBOŇ, Anton: Fascist-Axis Slovakia's Spiritual Polis Politicus : Transformation of Ružomberok to the 'Capital of the Movement' Under Hlinka's Slovak People's Party Rule (1938–1945). *Politics, Religion & Ideology* 25, 2024, no. 2, pp. 171–191.

2 LINZ, Juan J.: Political Space and Fascism as a Late-Comer : Conditions Conducive to the Success or Failure of Fascism as a Mass Movement in Inter-War Europe. In: LARSEN, Stein Ugelvik – HAGTVET, Bernt – MYKLEBUST, Jan Petter (eds.): *Who Were the Fascists?* : *Social Roots of European Fascism*. Bergen – Oslo – Tromsø 1980, p. 154.

3 REICHARDT, Sven: Fascist Communities of Action and Violence : A Praxeological Approach. In: IORDACHI, Constantin – KALLIS, Aristotle (eds.): *Beyond the Fascist Century. Essays in Honour of Roger Griffin*. Basingstoke 2020, p. 52.

Rodobrana as a Community of Rural Revolutionaries

The turn of the 19th and 20th centuries represented an era of extensive industrialisation and infrastructure modernisation in today's Slovakia, making it the most developed area of the Kingdom of Hungary. However, the situation changed notably after the monarchy's breakdown and the establishment of the Czechoslovak Republic in October 1918. Compared to the Czech lands, Slovakia was lagging economically. This created two negative narratives, shaping the Czech and Slovak nationalist discourses on Slovakia's appendix-like position within the country.

The Czech supremacist narrative considered Slovakia a backward agrarian region that burdened the state budget without adequate benefits. Conversely, Slovak nationalists, gathered mainly around the most influential Hlinka's Slovak People's Party (Hlinkova slovenská ľudová strana – HSĽS), blamed the "Prague Centre" for (i) a low investment volume favouring the Czech lands (Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia) instead of the economic growth of the Slovak countryside, (ii) a paternalist perception of Slovakia, frequently depicting it as a land worth visiting, owing to its fascinating landscape, but lacking sufficient potential to rise to the level of the western parts of the Republic.

These emotional stances became a matter of intense confrontations under the auspices of HSĽS against the governmental elites. The supposed "pushing away" of Slovak economic interests and alleged "zero feedback" to their needs resulted in a long-time parliamentary and press quarrel. The "ľudáks"[4] convinced themselves that only territorial autonomy for Slovakia, within the Czechoslovak Republic, could resolve the frustrating stagnation issues. They called for dualism of the state, which included economic issues.[5]

The leaders of Christian-nationalist HSĽS adopted a conservative strategy of loud verbalisation of agrarian questions and an immediate need for sustainable solutions. Nevertheless, they abandoned the revolutionary forms of political engagement. This created an opportunity for its semi-military organisation, Rodobrana, the first significant fascist movement in Slovakia, founded on 30 January 1923. Although Rodobrana operated under cover of "guard squads" nominally subordinated to the party, its representatives soon created an ideological framework that diverged from the official ideology of HSĽS in many ways.

Vojtech Tuka, the spiritual guru of Rodobrana, developed an ideological manual on a Q & A basis that comprehensively responded to critical questions about the movement's mission. Alongside other sections, this 58-point handbook particularly emphasised explaining the questions raised in two parts—in *The Defence of a Genus* (*Obrana rodu*) and *The Spirit of Rodobrana* (*Duch Rodobrany*).

Tuka subliminally, but clearly, emphasises the role of the countryside in the *awakening of the nation* (fascist revolution) by mentioning what Rodobrana should signify and protect. He names Slovak peculiarities, traditions, manners, or bread – all elements associated with national collective consciousness in agrarian areas. Besides that, the *Catechism of Rodobrana* (Rodobranecký katechizmus), Tuka's manifesto published in 1928, explicitly identifies the reasons for *Slovak decay* in a mass migration to the West,

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4 Ľudák was a designation for a member or supporter of HSĽS.

5 HALLON, Ľudovít: Príčiny, priebeh a dôsledky štrukturálnych zmien v hospodárstve medzivojnového Slovenska. In: ZEMKO, Milan – BYSTRICKÝ, Valerián (eds.): *Slovensko v Československu (1918–1939)*. Bratislava 2004, pp. 362–363.

caused by the *expansion of alien elements*, who expelled *brothers and sisters from their families, fields, and groves*. In an article titled *How to protect father's glebe?*, Tuka writes, *The fields belong to the Slovak people. We must demand a fair implementation of the land reform and possibly a revision of the current allocations so that those, the poorest, would be awarded the land, their livelihood* [...] *While even a single capable Slovak remains without bread, without work, and land, foreigners do not yet have the right to devour us. Our fathers' bread, work, and fields belong to us, our children, and no one else*.[6]

The fascination with the agrarian lifestyle, symbolising the traditional values, and contrasting with the "rotten" multicultural urban space, where HSĽS faced much stronger opposition, is also clear from the organisation's periodical, simply entitled *Rodobrana*. *Peasants are the cornerstone of our homeland, and we can say that the peasantry is also the backbone of Rodobrana*, stated one of the articles discussing the spirit of the movement.[7] Shortly after the parliamentary elections in November 1925, which ended in a convincing victory for HSĽS in Slovakia, with over 34 % of the votes, Rodobrana started acquiring new men devoted to the idea of a *new Slovakia*, thus expanding its membership base by social groups that were previously represented to a lesser extent within the movement. *Today or tomorrow, Rodobrana will be settled in every tiny village, in every single Slovak family fireplace. It already dominates the mood of peasants and labour masses; even the Slovak intelligentsia stands completely in favour of our reform movement*, Rodobrana's press bragged.[8]

Notwithstanding this quotation, peasants still played a central role in the activities and rhetoric of the organisation. From time to time, its periodical emphasised Rodobrana's peasant nature and, to solidify this agrarian identity, advocated essential corrections to post-1918 Czechoslovak land reform.[9] This argumentative discourse fully corresponded to Rodobrana's fascist character. It perceived a *reform of land reform* as a fair act that was *remedying the injustice*. It viewed the intended redistribution of land as part of the revolutionary purification of the Slovak economy, aimed against the *nation's foes*.

The rural orientation of the most potent Slovak fascist stream of that time was strengthened by a personal interconnection between Rodobrana and the HSĽS-dominated interest union named the Christian Peasant Association (Kresťanské roľnícke združenie – KRS). Alexander Mach, a latter Minister of the Interior of the wartime Slovak State, served as the executive secretary of these two organisations. A young journalist, Mach, edited the Rodobrana periodical and the KRS magazine *Roľník* (Peasant). The contents of *Roľník*, published on the title page with the sun rising to the horizon (a classic fascist symbol of a *new dawn*) and shining over the countryside, showed signs of a thematic fusion with the topics and political discourse proposed by Rodobrana. It included attacks against communists, freemasons, capitalists, Jews, and Czechs,[10] creating a conspiracy puzzle of an *alliance of invaders* against the Slovak

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6 [TUKA, Vojtech]: *Rodobranecký katechizmus*. Bratislava 1928, unpaged.

7 Duch Rodobrany [Spirit of Rodobrana]. *Rodobrana*, 1. 8. 1926, p. 3.

8 Na roli Rodobrany [On the Field of Rodobrana]. Ibidem, 22. 8. 1926, p. 2.

9 [MACH, Šaňo]: Rodobranecká reforma pozemkovej reformy [Rodobrana's Reform of a Land Reform]. In: MACH, Šaňo: *Kurzívkovým tónom*. Trnava 1941, pp. 325–328.

10 Roľníci, chráňte sa a zbavte celý Národ červených pijavíc! [Peasants, Protect Yourself and Get Rid the Whole Nation of the Red Leeches!]. *Roľník*, June-August 1926, pp. 1–3.

peasantry. The aim of *Roľník's* rhetoric was, of course, to appeal to elderly peasants and to draft them for palingenetic visions of fascism.

Public gatherings and rituals also expressed Rodobrana's admiration for agrarianism. For these purposes, Rodobrana had always prioritised rural areas, often pilgrimage sites located in minor settlements (Marianka, Hronský Beňadik, Šaštín, Kúty). The ruralness of the sites, the *virgin purity* of the countryside outside the hustle and bustle of vibrating towns, deepened the emotional experience of ritual vow-making and *political masses* – special happenings combining political speeches with communal worship conducted by a Catholic priest.

Following the 1928/1929 "Tuka Affair", Rodobrana disintegrated spontaneously. After the Regional Court in Bratislava sentenced Tuka to 15 years in jail for high treason and the reputation of his close political fellow, Mach, was disastrously compromised (even though he was acquitted), the organisation lost its leaders. Anyway, as the future proved, Rodobrana's ideology, as well as the agrarian drive of Slovak fascism, did not cease to exist as such. Both persisted in the form of thought. They were later revived within the Hlinka Guard (Hlinkova garda), a renewed radical paramilitary organisation of HSĽS at the end of the 1930s.

"Islets of Black": Pyrrhic Triumphs of the National Fascist Community at the Rural Peripheries

Mussolini's triumphant "March on Rome" also aroused slumbering ultra-nationalism in the Czech lands. The radical nationalists, sympathising mainly with the governmental Czechoslovak National Democracy (Československá národní demokracie), founded the National Movement (Národní hnutí) in the early 1920s, which expanded its network to Slovakia. Another proto-fascist organisation, called the Red–Whites (Červenobílí), appealed primarily to intellectual circles. Both organisations advocated Czechoslovak patriotism (while recognising the uniqueness of the Slovak nation, contrary to the ideology of Czechoslovakism promoted by President Tomáš Garrigue Masaryk and his close collaborators) and the pan-Slavic idea. They criticised democracy in Czechoslovakia after 1918, rejected any concessions to German and Hungarian minorities and their participation in state politics, promoted Europe as constituted by sovereign nation-states, and declared an open struggle on all fronts against international communism.[11]

At the same time, the Czechoslovak Fascists (Československí fašisté), a group that identified itself undeniably with the Italian squadrismo and Mussolini's blackshirts, appeared on the political stage. The radius of activity of the Czechoslovak Fascists was initially limited to the Czech lands. Their programme (or rather, essential ideological points) also stipulated a solution to the bubbling Slovak question. Unlike the National Movement or the Red–Whites, the Czechoslovak Fascists perceived the Slovaks as *brothers and sisters of the same blood*, with the Czechs unified within the Czechoslovak nation. However, contrary to Masaryk's circle, they did not understand the strengthening of Czechoslovak identity as a process of targeted linguistic and cultural rapprochement between Slovaks and Czechs. The Czechoslovak Fascists understood it as *defensive statism*, a platform for protecting the interests of the Slavs (Czechs, Slovaks,

[11] PEJČOCH, Ivo: *Fašismus v českých zemích* : *Fašistické a nacionálněsocialistické strany a hnutí v Čechách a na Moravě 1922–1945*. Praha 2011, pp. 23–40.

and Ruthenians) against the numerically strong Germans and Hungarians living in the Republic.[12] This stance was a limit on the expansion of the Czechoslovak Fascists in Slovakia. Despite the frustrating experiences with state-run Magyarisation in the Kingdom of Hungary before 1918, Slovak nationalists did not consider the *Hungarian threat* to be Slovakia's biggest challenge in the 1920s. Although the Horthy regime never gave up claims to revise the Treaty of Trianon, Slovak nationalists identified the grave peril to the Slovak national interest not in Hungarian revisionism, but in Prague centralism.

When the National Movement, the Red-Whites, and the Czechoslovak Fascists merged into the National Fascist Community (Národní obec fašistická; NOF) in March 1926 after a two-year rapprochement,[13] the already existing Slovak parties feared the potential of this new political project. But yet the first months showed Slovakia would not be a "fertile ground" for NOF.

NOF faced several fundamental problems ever since its inception in Slovakia. First, because of its roots, it carried the label of a "Czech import". Second, HSĽS, as well as the minor Slovak National Party (Slovenská národná strana; SNS), perceived the Czechoslovak fascists as direct competitors fighting for typologically similar voters, and therefore, no one cooperated with them. After the above-mentioned parliamentary elections held in November 1925, they had no reason to do so: HSĽS masterfully dominated the polls, and conservative nationalist SNS got scared that possible collaboration with ultra-radical NOF would lure away even the few supporters the party still had left. Moreover, NOF did not support the territorial autonomy programme for Slovakia, which contradicted the long-standing vision of its nationalist counterparts.

Because of these factors, NOF failed to attract a notable base of supporters. In the first phase of activities in Slovakia, the party's influence did not expand beyond Bratislava's frontiers. Police reports estimated approximately 5,000 members and sympathisers across Slovakia (3,000 out of this number in the capital).[14] At first glance, these data refute the argument outlined in the introduction and support the theory highlighting the popularity of fascism especially in urban environments. However, in the case of NOF, in addition to the obstacles to expansion outlined, two factors must be considered.

1) The beginnings of the movement, until its early decline at the turn of the 1920s and 1930s, were characterised by a low degree of decentralisation and a lack of will to expand to rural regions. Even though the NOF leadership in Slovakia had been motivating fascist activists to establish unions (jednoty) of the party across the country, members of the board were worried about possible competition. They maintained a policy of centralism, undermining their intentions to enhance the popularity of NOF even in rural peripheries.

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[12] PEJČOCH, I.: Fašismus v českých zemích, p. 37.

[13] The merger process that resulted in the foundation of NOF is discussed in detail in the article: BALOUN, Pavel: Vznik českého fašismu (1921–1926). *Historie – otázky – problémy* 2, 2010, no. 1, pp. 63–83.

[14] Slovenský národný archív (Slovak National Archives/SNA) Bratislava, fund (f.) Policajné riaditeľstvo (Police Directorate/PR) Bratislava, box 236, 213-382-1. Report on the fascist movement in Slovakia, 30 August 1926; Národní archiv (National Archives/NA) Praha, f. Prezidium Ministerstva vnitra (Presidium of the Ministry of the Interior), 225-1024-2. Report on NOF's situation in Slovakia, 12 February 1927.

2) The initial NOF programme was too complicated and incomprehensible for peasants. Radola Gajda, who wrote a book entitled *Stavovská demokracie národního státu* (Estates Democracy of the Nation State), considered the "opus magnum" of Czechoslovak fascism, did not respond to the real problems of that time. Instead, he focused on theoretical and axiological critiques of liberalism and proposed a complex vision of the groundbreaking reconstruction of the political system and ministries. Even though Gajda identified the agrarian sector as *the main pillar of the state*, his chapter on the rural aspects of the economy included ridiculous and empty phrases that were distant from the practical problems of the peasants.[15] That also applied to the earlier published contributions to the ideology of Czechoslovak fascism by Zdeněk Zástěra, Otakar Lebloch, and Jan Scheinost, as well as various anonymous leaflets and pamphlets.[16]

A disastrous setback in the 1929 parliamentary elections forced NOF to re-evaluate its strategy. A coalition with the Radical Party, led by "a Man of 28 October,"[17] Jiří Stříbrný, earned as little as 0.96 %: in numbers, 71,656 votes, out of which only 1,817 were obtained in the Slovak electoral districts.[18]

A paradigm turn in NOF's strategy was associated with Ján Ivák, a former member of the Agrarian Party (Agrární strana).[19] Ivák criticised the Slovak leadership of NOF, but simultaneously adored Gajda, calling him *the modern-day Hercules who will clean the Augean stables of this weeds*.[20] Thanks to his loyalty, he was appointed chair of the Land Council of the National Fascist Community in Slovakia. This meant nothing but a promotion to the position of Gajda's informal deputy for Slovak issues.

Ivák was aware of the specifics of the Slovak political scene. He immediately identified two core areas where the politics of the state-wide Czechoslovak fascist party was impotent: the resonating Slovak question and underdeveloped rural regions. On Ivák's initiative, NOF unprecedentedly switched its rhetoric. This chameleon-like shift ushered in the party's strategic turn, from uncompromising rigidity to pragmatism. NOF not only started supporting the programme of territorial autonomy for Slovakia, based on the Pittsburgh Agreement, as HSĽS did, but also essentially changed the rhetoric about the German and Hungarian minorities living in Czechoslovakia.[21]

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15 GAJDA, Radola: *Stavovská demokracie Národního státu*. Praha 1934, pp. 82–87.

16 DRÁBIK, Jakub: The History of Czech Fascism : A Reappraisal. In: IORDACHI, C. – KALLIS, A. (eds.): Beyond the Fascist Century, pp. 182–185.

17 A symbolic epithet for five politicians (Antonín Švehla, František Soukup, Alois Rašín, Jiří Stříbrný, Vavro Šrobár) who were elected to the board of the Czechoslovak National Committee (Národní výbor československý) – a revolutionary body which declared the independence of Czechoslovakia on 28 October 1918.

18 *Stráž říše,* 7. 11. 1929, p. 2.

19 Officially, The Republican Party of Farmers and Peasants was a centre-right party representing business and agricultural interests. The party was one of the most influential parties in the era of interwar Czechoslovakia as well as in its Slovak part, where the "agrarians" finished as a runner-up in three out of four parliamentary elections behind HSĽS (1925, 1929, 1935).

20 Archiv Kanceláře prezidenta republiky (The Archive of the President's Office) Praha, f. Kancelář prezidenta republiky – protokol T (Office of the President of the Republic – Protocol T), box 122, T – 636/22. Ján Ivák's letter to the Directorate of the National Fascist Community, 29 March 1932.

21 In a special Slovak edition of the NOF newspaper, Ján Ivák commented that "the Christian minorities must not feel that they are outcasts of this fatherland, and when they help us destroy Jewish Marxism, when they help us drive to hell today's devourers of the state and the nation, their situation will improve as well". IVÁK, Ján: Bratia, pozor! [Brothers, Watch Out!]. *Fašistické listy*, 1. 11. 1934, p. 1.

Even though peasant voters remained loyal to HSĽS or the Agrarian Party, some began looking for alternatives in the early 1930s.[22] The fascists' concentrated verbal assault against the "governmental" Agrarian Party and "incapable" Hlinka's Slovak People's Party intensified mainly before the 1935 parliamentary elections. Blaming them for their almost two-decade-long inability to enforce autonomy and protect the population from the devastating economic effects of the Great Depression[23] proved to be effective.

In addition to disappointing the Slovaks, the charm of NOF's pragmatic approach caught the attention of ethnic minorities living in Slovakia. After 1918, the Carpathian Germans (Karpathendeutsche) were a geographically dispersed mass without a unified identity. They lost their privileged status and could not cope with being on the sidelines.[24] After the official ban on the Nazi party in Czechoslovakia (Deutsche nationalsozialistiche Arbeiterpartei – DNSAP), many searched for a typologically similar political force. This gap led the Czechoslovak fascists to an idea of establishing a special ethnic section of NOF for minorities – the so-called Aryan Front (Árijská fronta/Árijský front). Contrary to the establishment of Konrad Henlein's Front of the Sudeten German Homeland (Sudetendeutsche Heimatfront), a predecessor of the Sudeten German Party (Sudetendeutsche Partei),[25] Hitler's rise to power on 30 January 1933, as well as the newly founded Aryan Front, received minimal recognition within the Volksgruppe, which inhabited three Slovak regions: Bratislava and its surroundings, Upper and Lower Spiš, and the mountainous Central Slovak Hauerland.

Unfortunately for NOF, the Carpathian Germans, as the 1935 parliamentary elections proved, displayed almost no interest in the offer of the Czechoslovak fascists.[26] The results exhibited the dominance of the Zipser German Party (Zipser deutsche Partei), as well as the growing influence of the united Carpathian German Party (Karpathendeusche Partei),[27] a sister branch of the Sudeten German Party, which had gradually been leaning toward national socialism.

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22 DRÁBIK, Jakub: *Fašizmus*. Bratislava 2019, p. 444.

23 One of the fascist leaflets stated: *On the election day, 19 May 1935, vote against your oppressors, against capitalism, socialism, and Bolshevism, also settle accounts with Hlinka's autonomists, who have done nothing for making autonomy a reality for 17 years. Only Radola Gajda and the National Fascist Community can free you from this servitude to the political parties of the past, which perhaps unknowingly – or even knowingly – serve only Jewish-Masonic capitalism*. SNA Bratislava, f. PR Bratislava, box 237, 237-381-8. Leaflet of NOF, 1935.

24 SCHVARC, Michal: Nemecká menšina na Slovensku. Spoločenské premeny v prostredí malej „ostrovnej" menšiny. In: KOVÁČ, Dušan – HANULA, Matej et al.: *Z monarchie do republiky a z demokracie do totality* : *Spoločnosť na Slovensku od konca 19. storočia do roku 1945*. Bratislava 2022, p. 319.

25 SCHVARC, M.: Nemecká menšina na Slovensku, p. 323.

26 KRIVÝ, Vladimír: *Výsledky parlamentných volieb od roku 1929 za všetky obce Slovenska*. Online, cit. 30. 3. 2024. Accessible at: https://sasd.sav.sk/sk/data_katalog_abs.php?id=sasd_2010001.

27 The Zipser German Party was supported mainly by the German minority living in the Spiš region. It took the newly established Carpathian German Party several years to convince the "Zipsers" and to get them to its side, with a combination of intense agitation and pressure. In the last Czechoslovak parliamentary elections, the German nationalists led by Franz Karmasin got a disappointing 1.7 % in Slovakia (27,561 votes) compared to 14.19 % (230,917 votes) for the coalition of the "Zipsers" with Hungarian ethnic parties. ŠUCHOVÁ, Xénia: Prílohy II – Politický systém. In: ZEMKO, Milan – BYSTRICKÝ, Valerián (eds.): *Slovensko v Československu (1918–1939)*. Bratislava 2004, p. 570.

Appealing to minority voters was successful in regions with numerous Hungarian communities.[28] Except for traditional rural strongholds in Western Slovakia bordering Moravia, where the idea of Czech-Slovak reciprocity was historically rooted and statist pan-Czechoslovak fascism had optimal conditions to penetrate the minds of the population, the Aryan Front, as a minority section of NOF, started gaining followers mainly within the Hungarian-speaking agrarian areas of southwestern Slovakia. By November 1936, the fascists founded 201 unions of the Aryan Front, accounting for more than 36 % of all fascist organisations falling under NOF in Slovakia.[29] Thanks to diligent agitation in the regions, for example in the Nové Zámky electoral region, covering the core Hungarian settlement in Slovakia, NOF's support crossed the threshold of all-Slovak gain (3.64 % compared to 2.04 %) in 11 of the 19 political districts. Alongside the traditional "fascist fortress" in the Malacky district (17.82 %), NOF emerged as a non-marginal force in districts with solid Hungarian communities, where the Aryan Front unions had been conducting targeted agitation before the 1935 elections for several months (Nitra 6.31 %, Stará Ďala/Hurbanovo 6.22 %, Nové Zámky 4.87 %, Želiezovce 4.33 %, etc.).[30]

The agricultural region of southwestern Slovakia, known for its fertile land, suffered from the crisis that had already occurred in 1928 (even before the Great Depression hit the Slovak economy heavily) and lasted until 1933. Producers could not fulfil their tax obligations towards the state, and all sectors of the economy suffered losses.[31] Like in the Czech lands, small farmers, middle peasants, and large landowners lost trust in traditional political parties that had sheltered their interests before (mainly the Agrarian Party and Hlinka's Slovak People's Party). This trend, while noticeable in the municipal elections in the Czech lands as early as 1931/1932, was fully manifested in Slovakia in the second half of the 1930s.[32]

Yet, during the campaign before the 1935 parliamentary elections, NOF promoted a surprising new motto: *Every Christian is a fascist, every fascist is a Christian*. It also called for heroes *like Jánošík*,[33] *who punished injustices and helped the poor*.[34] This shift from original fascist anticlericalism to religiously wrapped conservatism, combined with palingenetic revolutionism, signalled a crucial change in the movement's shift towards an agrarian focus, anchored in its political communication in the following years.

After Ján Ivák was elected one of the six MPs of NOF in 1935, the party invested massively in propaganda, envisioning a continuous rise in Slovakia. Newly founded *Slovenské fašistické noviny* (*The Slovak Fascist Newspaper*), the first issue of which was published symbolically on the 18th anniversary of the Republic (28 October 1936), confidently declared

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28 SNA Bratislava, f. PR Bratislava, box 237, 213-383-1. Police report on the fascist movement in Slovakia, 30 November 1934.

29 Archiv bezpečnostních složek (Security Service Archive) Praha, f. Zemský odbor bezpečnosti (State Department of Security) II., 315-213-1. Report on the session of the Central Executive Committee of NOF in Prague, 28–29 November 1936.

30 Volby do poslanecké sněmovny v květnu 1935. Československá statistika, 134. Serie I/5. Praha 1936, pp. 28–29.

31 HALLON, Ľ.: Príčiny, priebeh a dôsledky, pp. 324–325.

32 PASÁK, Tomáš: *Český fašismus 1922–1945 a kolaborace 1939–1945*. Praha 1999, pp. 113, 115.

33 Juraj Jánošík (1688–1713) was a Slovak outlaw sentenced for his crimes to be hanged by a rib. In the collective memory, he later became a symbol of the fight against feudalism and wrongdoing. Literature and political mythology often used him as an allegorical figure who *took from the rich and gave to the poor*, although in reality, Jánošík and his gang robbed everyone without distinction.

34 SNA Bratislava, f. PR Bratislava, box 236, 213-381-8. Leaflet of NOF, 1935.

that *only fascism is a guarantee of a better future for the Czechoslovak labour, peasants, tradesmen, small intelligentsia, and all working classes in the nation*, and that no one but fascists was capable of crushing *Bolshevism, Marxism, capitalism, and Jewish Freemasonry, along with all their lackeys and helpers, among whom, unfortunately, are also many so-called patriots*.[35] Looking optimistically at the advance of fascism, NOF was expected to soon gain power and conquer one of the last islands of democracy in Europe. One of the party's key strategies was to criticise the governmental parties and HSĽS for political incompetence in solving the troublesome questions of the national economy.

At the end of 1936, the periodical Slovenské fašistické noviny published a series of articles discussing Slovakia's agricultural problems. It announced a ruthless fight against cartels, syndicates, and trusts, combined with the traditional anti-Semitic narratives that had recently flooded the discourse of the most popular Hlinka's Party. For example, an article by L. Langer warned *the peasants to finally realise that the Jewish monopoly would not save us, but only righteous fascism can do so*.[36] The anti-Semitic rhetoric of NOF accused the Jews of ruling over monopolies, which *serves just to enrich all kinds of crook-nosed and curly-haired assholes to profit*.[37]

To convince supporters of the seriousness of NOF's agrarian focus, Radola Gajda, as an MP, co-prepared an agricultural act to modernise the agrarian sector. Gajda promised the peasants to nationalise the ill-received wealth from the rich and distribute it to small farmers; modernise agriculture with new technologies, irrigation, and drainage systems; electrify the countryside; execute land reclamation; cultivate land and machine parks with generous state aid; and protect plants and animals.[38] NOF's leading newspaper, *Fašistické listy* (*The Fascist Newspaper*), also introduced a regular section for peasants and farmers organised in NOF, focusing on critiques of democracy as a system and proposing fascist visions of agricultural reforms.

Also, renegades of the movement adopted NOF's strategic turn from urban places to the agrarian countryside. For example, Jozef Hamšík, who got into conflict with the Slovak followers of Gajda, founded a movement called The Civic Party of Christian Peasants and Workers (Občianska strana kresťanských roľníkov a robotníkov).[39] Even though, according to police findings, the party was only *an insignificant faction, which, under the guise of a political party, is supposed to serve the material benefit of its founders*,[40] the agrarian accent of the Slovak fascists is indisputable and, as their actions demonstrated, it co-formed one of the dominating features of the fascist rhetoric in the 1930s. NOF did not get a chance to implement its vision in practice because it remained in opposition throughout the electoral period, and following the autumn of 1938, the party ceased to exist.[41]

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35 Desať rokov nášho hnutia [Ten Years of Our Movement]. *Slovenské fašistické noviny*, 6. 11. 1936, p. 3.

36 LANGER, L.: Fašizmus a zemedelstvo [Fascism and Agriculture]. Ibidem, 11. 12. 1936, p. 2.

37 Jano z Doliny: Jak pomáha monopol roľníkom? [How Does the Monopoly Help the Peasants?] Ibidem, 18. 12. 1936, p. 2.

38 Zemedelský program Nár. obce Fašistickej. [Agricultural Programme of the National Fascist Community] Ibidem, 18. 12. 1936, p. 3.

39 SNA Bratislava, f. Krajinský úrad (Country Office/KÚ), box 244, no. 3919/38.

40 Ibidem. Police report on The Civic Party of Christian Peasants and Workers, 21 May 1937.

41 After the Czechoslovak government accepted the Munich Agreement, HSĽS escalated its demands for immediate approval of territorial autonomy for Slovakia. Under the threat of total disintegration of the state, the central government in Prague did not oppose. In autonomous Slovakia, HSĽS began to build an authoritarian regime and absorb all existing political parties. NOF merged with HSĽS on 5 November 1938. Národná obec fašistická na

Conclusions

My father observed, with displeasure, the decline of small farmers, the enrichment of the new agrarian nobility, the greed of capitalism, and the unemployment, commented Milan Ivák, the son of the prominent interwar fascist leader, on the query as to why his father entered politics in the 1930s and joined the fascists.[42]

After disappointments with established parties across the political spectrum, fascism provided new hope in the interwar period for tens of thousands of frustrated Slovaks looking for a new "firm ground". A dominantly agrarian society, passing through the phase of modernisation, usually preferred non-revolutionary options. Still, the fascist programme, based on the paradigm of purification and the non-Marxist perception of "social justice", became an attractive alternative to changing one's living conditions.

After the initial search for a "free field", both relevant fascist movements in interwar Slovakia – Rodobrana and the National Fascist Community – discovered the mobilisation potential in the agrarian thought and the underdevelopment of the Slovak countryside. It can be concluded that, without the supporters of a radical agrarian transformation of the countryside, Rodobrana's superordinate HSĽS would probably have appealed to a smaller percentage of voters, and NOF would not have crossed the 2 % threshold for entry into the parliament in 1935.

Although both movements were dissolved before the dramatic events of March 1939, their radical agrarianism, emphasising land parcelisation, state-regulated changes in land and real estate ownership, and the overall modernisation of the countryside, did not disappear from public discourse. The HSĽS regime of the fascist-Axis Slovak State (1939–1945) implemented many of the demands into practice. Confiscation of properties belonging to the "political parvenus", Aryanisation of Jewish assets, as well as the agrarian and countryside-focused programme of Slovak national socialism from the early 1940s were, primarily, practical expressions of exploded radicalism accumulated within Slovak society during the interwar period, which the fascists helped stimulate.

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Summary

An Exclusively Urban Phenomenon? Radical Agrarianism in Political Practice of Interwar Fascism: A Case Study of Slovakia

The present article aims to challenge the frequently asserted notion that fascism was predominantly an urban-framed phenomenon by analysing the political practices of two fascist groups in Slovakia during the interwar period (1918–1939). Specifically, the case study examines Rodobrana, a paramilitary organisation of Hlinka's Slovak People's Party, and the National Fascist Community, the most notable political party representing nationwide Czechoslovak fascism.

The article argues that these groups were centred on the ideology of radical agrarianism, which played a central role in their political programme and thinking. It posits that the radical agrarianism and countryside-focused narratives of these movements were a core factor in their political practice and later contributed to the acceptance of measures taken by Hlinka's Slovak People's Party's regime, including confiscation of properties belonging to the "political parvenus", Aryanisation of Jewish assets, agrarian reforms, and the rural programme of Slovak national socialism in the early 1940s.

ČLÁNKY A STUDIE 162-175

Environment, Epidemics and State Response in Ibadan, Western Nigeria, 1918–1939

KAZEEM OMOTOLA SERIKI – ABOSEDE OLUWASEUN ODEDIJI

Seriki, Kazeem Omotola – Odediji, Abosede Oluwaseun: Environment, Epidemics and State Response in Ibadan, Western Nigeria, 1918–1939

This study draws on environmental history optics in exploring the complex interplay between environmental issues and the outbreak of epidemics in colonial Ibadan, Western Nigeria. The historiography of the environment and epidemics in colonial Ibadan is still relatively underdeveloped. In light of this, the paper fills a crucial gap in Ibadan's historiography by illuminating its urban development amidst environmental issues and epidemics during the inter-war years (1918–1939). The study adopts a historical methodology by utilizing primary and secondary sources. The paper establishes that rapid population growth and urbanization in colonial Ibadan led to overcrowding, poor waste management, limited access to clean water and poor sanitary practices. Consequently, these environmental conditions created a breeding ground for an upsurge of epidemics such as Ṣọ̀pọ̀ná plague and yellow fever. The paper posits that the colonial authorities implemented some governance strategies and interventions such as demographic restructuring, the establishment of hospitals, sanitary and health care facilities, banning the Ṣọ̀pọ̀ná cult, anti-mosquito campaigns, quarantine and vaccinations. The paper concludes the measures introduced by the colonial state to curtail environmental issues and epidemics in the city were impeded by a number of limitations.

Key Words *Environmental Issues; Epidemics; Colonial State Response; Colonial Measures; Health Policies*

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Historiographical studies are replete with overwhelming evidence of the interplay of environmental issues with epidemics in different societies since the pre-historic period. Historical studies by Donald Hughes,[1] Robert McNeill,[2] Marvin Soroos[3] and Van Sittert[4] have established the symbiotic interaction between environmental problems, such as poor sanitation practices, poor waste management, and limited access

[1] HUGHES, Donald – SITTERT, Van: Global Environmental History : The Long View. *Globalizations* 2, 2005, no. 3, pp. 293–308.

[2] MCNEILL, Robert: *Something New Under the Sun* : *An Environmental History of the Twentieth-Century World*. New York 2002.

[3] SOROOS, Marvin: Global Institutions and the Environment : An Evolutionary Perspective. In: VIG, Norman – AXELROD, Regina (eds.): *The Global Environment* : *Institutions, Law, and Policy*. Washington 1999, pp. 27–51.

[4] SITTERT, Van: The Other Seven Tenths. *Environmental History* 10, 2005, no. 1, pp. 106–109.

to clean water, and poor sanitary practices and the outbreak of epidemics. Indeed, several prominent environmental historians have produced overviews of the nexus of environmental issues and outbreaks of diseases in different societies around the globe. James Webb[5] provides a historical overview of the major forces that have transformed the relationships between human health, disease, and the environments in which we live from Paleolithic times to the present. Studies by Sridhar Venkatapuram[6] and Anand Ruchi[7] have shown that a common feature of environmentally induced epidemics is that historically marginalized populations were disproportionally impacted. Another historiographical study by Michael Mascarenhas,[8] which situates the subject matter within the context of environmental injustice, asserts that epidemics arising from environmental problems expose the most vulnerable groups, including the lower socio-economic classes, to certain risks and negative impacts both within and between countries. Robert Bullard explores how environmental racism puts indigenous black and other racialized communities at greater risk of exposure to public health crises or hazards.[9] Ingrid Waldron interrogates the health impact of environmental racism on indigenous populations and unpacks how environmental racism operates as a mechanism of erasure enabled by the intersecting dynamics of white supremacy, power, state-sanctioned racial violence, neoliberalism and racial capitalism in colonial configurations.[10] Henry Anderson[11] asserts that public concern over the health implication of environmental issues culminated in the enactment of a series of environmental protection laws and programs in some societies.

Within the context of colonial development in British West Africa, and Nigeria in particular, some historical studies attest to the existence of environmental and public health policies which were aimed at managing environmentally induced epidemics in the colonies. Vitalis Nwashindu, Ambrose Onu, and Uche Okonkwo[12] assert that before 1939, environmental and public health policies and interventions of the British in Nigeria were prejudiced and influenced by environmental and medical racism, class distinction, and political elitism, which excluded African urbanites. Robert Stock posits that environmental sanitation practices in colonial Nigeria did produce some impact on the rate of epidemics. Rasheed Onagun and Adewale Apepoju[13] contend that the British

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5 WEBB, James: Health, Disease, and Environmental History. In: AGNOLETTI, Mauro (ed.): *World Environmental History*. Florence 2009.

6 VENKATAPURAM, Sridhar: *Health Justice : An Argument from the Capabilities Approach*. Cambridge 2011.

7 RUCHI, Anand: *International Environmental Justice : A North-South Dimension*. Abingdon 2017.

8 MASCARENHAS, Michael: *Lessons in Environmental Justice : From Civil Rights, to Black Lives Matter, to Idle No More*. Thousand Oaks 2020.

9 BULLARD, Robert: The Threat of Environmental Racism. *Natural Resources and Environment* 7, 1993, no. 3, pp. 23–33.

10 WALDRON, Ingrid: *There's Something in the Water : Environmental Racism in Indigenous and Black Communities*. Black Point 2018.

11 ANDERSON, Henry: Evolution of Environmental Epidemiologic Risk Assessment. *Environmental Health Perspectives* 62, 2022, no. 1, pp. 389–392.

12 NWASHINDU, Vitalis – ONU, Ambrose – OKONKWO, Uche: "How Public Is Public Health?" : A Historical Appraisal of Public Health Services in Colonial Enugu-Nigeria, 1917–1960. *Cogent Arts & Humanities* 10, 2023, no. 1, pp. 1–44.

13 ONAGUN, Rasheed – APEPOJU, Adewale: Colonial Public Health Service in Ilorin Province, 1900 to 1960. *West Bohemian Historical Review* 8, 2023, no. 2, pp. 177–202.

environmental management efforts in the Northern Nigerian city of Ilorin promoted the good health of the people and curtailed the extent of epidemic diseases.

However, while there are abundant historical studies on development in colonial Ibadan, such as the historiographical works by Ade Ajayi, Toyin Falola, Bolanle Awe, Saheed Aderinto, Salami Ibiyemi, Oladiti Akeem et al., and Albert Onobhayedo to mention but a few, such research barely treats the nexus of environmental issues and epidemics. In all of the existing historical studies on Ibadan, much attention has been concentrated on the socio-economic, cultural and political aspects of the city's pre-colonial and colonial history, with little to no scrutiny of the intersections of environmental problems with public health crisis like epidemics in the region. This trend in historical scholarship on colonial Ibadan portrays the history of this city as one that survived without reference to how environmentally induced epidemics were managed, especially by the British colonial state and the people. In view of this, exploration of the historical development of environmental issues and epidemics in colonial Ibadan has become an imperative. Therefore, this study interrogates the environment, epidemics, and the response mechanisms of the colonial state in Ibadan during the inter-war period (1918–1939).

The inter-war years (1918–1939) are considered the pertinent time frame of this study because they marked increased or accelerated agitations and demands from the Ibadan educated parvenus for improved health and sanitary conditions of the people. Indeed, the inter-war years were a landmark period that witnessed elites' massive agitations for the establishment of native hospitals, facilities and measures for improved public health by the indigenous elite class. Undoubtedly, a detailed analysis of colonial responses to issues of the environment and epidemics in colonial Ibadan enriches our understanding of governance, public health, and urbanization dynamics in Western Nigeria. The paper is structured into four parts. The first part is the introduction. The second segment of the paper provides a general overview of the environment and epidemics in colonial Ibadan. The third section analyzes the colonial state response to environmental issues and epidemics in terms of the control mechanisms and measures during the inter-war years. The fourth part is the conclusion.

An Overview of the Environment and Epidemics in Colonial Ibadan

Ibadan remains one of the oldest cities in West Africa. The city of Ibadan was founded in 1829 as a refugee camp due to the collapse of the Old Oyo and Owu Empires. Located between forests and plains and surrounded by seven hills, Ibadan is the capital city of the modern-day Oyo State, one of the six states in south-western Nigeria (see Fig. 1).

Historically, since its establishment in 1829 as a war camp, Ibadan, like every other Yoruba society in pre-colonial Nigeria, developed sanitation practice that embraced a communal and participatory approach. The communal and participatory approach to environmental sanitation in pre-colonial Ibadan involved the coming together of community members, especially on market days, for the cleaning of markets and other central locations. During the pre-colonial period, women were mostly responsible for menial tasks such as sweeping and clearing drains, while men were involved in cutting grass and other activities. Sanitation practices in this period were enjoyable because they were seen as an avenue to strengthen bond among family members at different

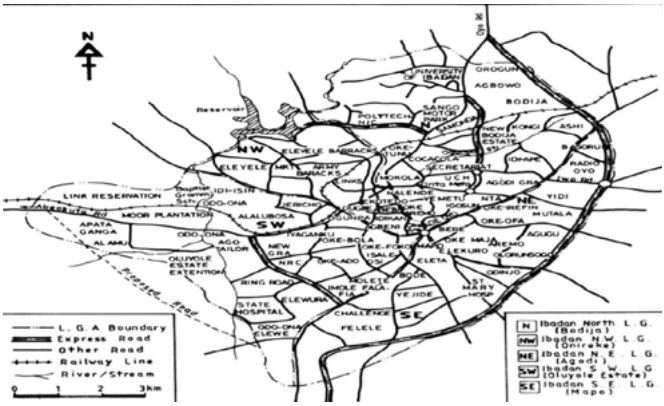

Fig. 1: A map showing Ibadan in Western Nigeria

levels of the clan, settle quarrels, enhance friendships and communal ties. As a result, pre-colonial indigenous cities, particularly in Yoruba societies, were neat because sanitation was seen as an integral part of the people's culture. Despite the maintenance of these sanitation practices, they were not sustainable, as they involved the disposal of waste in the house or compound backyards.[14]

In pre-colonial Ibadan, the *Akitan* system of refuse collection was embraced at the clan and communal levels.[15] At the clan level, a number of compounds maintained dumpsites where refuse was periodically burned. At the community level, there were general dumpsites which were available for all community members to dispose of their refuse. During this period, *salanga* (pit toilets) were made available for family use. Where compounds lacked pit toilets, open defecation characterized the environment, taking place unguardedly in nearby farms. Thus, pre-colonial Ibadan was bedeviled by a plethora of environmental issues which included the unguarded dumpsite system and open defecation. These environmental practices bred *ajakale arun* (epidemics) in pre-colonial Ibadan, with the people resorting to herbal medicines, concoctions, and atonement to the deities for curing such diseases.

The advent of the colonial rule did not halt the pre-colonial environmental practices that the Ibadan people were known for. The emergence of the colonial administration witnessed the persistence and sustenance of the environmental culture embraced by the pre-colonial Ibadan people. In other words, the pre-colonial environmental culture that reflected the *Akitan* and *salanga* systems as well as the open defecation practice continued to reign despite the establishment of the colonial rule in Ibadan and other Yoruba cities. Of course, the establishment of the colonial rule in Nigeria made Ibadan a seat of the colonial administrators. With an exploitative agenda of the colonial state, it was expedient for the administrators to set up measures that would enable them to achieve their purpose. In the

[14] OLANREWAJU, Samson – AFOLABI, Bolaji: A Review of Sanitation Challenges in Ibadan Metropolis, Nigeria. *LAUTECH Journal of Civil Environmental Studies* 4, 2020, no. 1, pp. 134–142.

[15] *Akitan* is the Yoruba word for dumpsites referring to designated points or sites used for the disposal of solid waste. The *Akitan* system of waste management was not only common among the pre-colonial Ibadan people but also among other Yoruba societies. It is important to note that the *Akitan* method of waste management was sustained by the Ibadan people even during the colonial era although there were some policies imposed by the British authorities which were aimed at controlling the environmental impact of this arrangement.

colonial period, Ibadan assumed a strategic position in Yorubaland; hence colonial administrators' decisions were first and effectively implemented in the city.[16]

However, with the environmental issues that confronted the people of Ibadan, the colonial state put up certain governance strategies aimed at sanitizing the Ibadan land because medical and sanitation services were pivotal to the survival and wellbeing of the colonial administration.[17] Most sanitation practices in this era followed the suit of British colonies' sanitation outlook. This era witnessed the formalization of institutions such as Ministry of Health and Livestock saddled with the responsibility of maintaining a sane environment in the colonies. At the sight of the teeming population, it was almost impossible for the colonial administrators to handle the insanitary situation that was evolving in the urbanizing societies, hence development plans and regulations were introduced. Emphasis was placed on refuse disposal and the management of liquid and solid wastes in Abattoir, residential areas and streets which came under the supervision of the Native Authority.

During the inter-war years (1918–1939), there were agitations and demands from the educated elites for improved health and sanitary conditions for the Ibadan people. A Native Hospital was demanded by the elites from the Colonial Government. In 1926, the foundation of the Native Administration Hospital, Adeoyo, was laid. By October 1927, the out-patient section of the hospital began to attend to the people.[18] There were provisions of latrines, slaughter slabs, incinerators, and pipe borne water. Sanitary inspectors were stationed in some Ibadan villages. However, the sanitary measures introduced in Ibadan by the colonial administration were better supervised in the European residential area, which was called the Government Reserved Area (GRA), than in the areas occupied by the natives of Ibadan.[19] The people in the Native Administration areas suffered from poor sanitary conditions. Latrines were inadequate; markets such as *Gegelose, Oja Oba,* and *Ayeye* were filthy and fly infected, with blocked drainages that bred mosquitoes because of poor management and insufficient funds to carry out some of the sanitary measures imposed by the Europeans.[20] These, in so many ways, led to the outbreak of infectious and communicable diseases such as smallpox, yellow fever, and guinea worm among the natives of Ibadan.[21] Consequently, during this period, Ibadan and its environs were not safe to live in as there were outbreaks of epidemics such as yellow fever, smallpox, cholera, and so on.[22]

The establishment of the colonial administration in Ibadan was accompanied with an increase in the population due to certain events that happened during this period. The demographical transformation of colonial Ibadan after the establishment of the colonial administration was propelled by several factors. The first was the extension of the railway from Lagos to Ibadan and the arrival of Europeans in the city; the second was the increase

16 OLANREWAJU, S. – AFOLABI, B.: A Review, pp. 134–142.

17 SALAMI, Ibiyemi O.: *The Architecture of the Public Works Department [PWD] in Nigeria during the Early to Mid-Twentieth Century*. A thesis submitted to Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, School of the Arts, Department of Architecture, 2016, pp. 62.

18 National Archives Ibadan (futher NAI), Oyo Prof., inv. no. 1, cart. 834.

19 SCHRAM, Ralph: *History of Nigerian Health Services.* Ibadan 1971.

20 NAI, Oyo Prof., inv. no. 1, cart. 895/1940.

21 Ibidem, cart. 2292/1929.

22 The term *cholera* refers to an epidemic infectious disease which is characterized by watery diarrhea, extreme loss of fluid, and severe dehydration. Smallpox is an infectious disease that begins with fever and headache and proceeds to an eruption of the skin that leaves pockmarks. Yellow fever is a viral disease with symptoms such as fever, chills, loss of appetite, nausea and so on.

in the cultivation of cocoa in large quantities; and the third was the expansion of employment opportunities in Ibadan.

Indeed, the population growth in colonial Ibadan had a major impact on the environment of the city. The phenomenon of the population growth affected the use of the natural environment, as there emerged a high density of housing without adequate ventilation and sanitary facilities such as latrines, incinerators, dustbins, etc. The environment in the residential areas of colonial Ibadan was characterized by congestion of buildings, dilapidated buildings in the native areas, and the construction of houses with very small windows called *ma ra sana* which did not allow for adequate ventilation. Some houses were built with *salanga* of one facing the front parlor of another and without the slightest regard for public thoroughfares. There were also cases of women throwing excreta on public streets, refuse being dumped into a pit 40 yards from the house, and pits containing tins and snail shells which housed mosquito larvae.[23] *Salanga* pit latrine holes were uncovered, unoccupied lands were covered with weeds and dumping sites for refuse thrown away by the natives.[24]

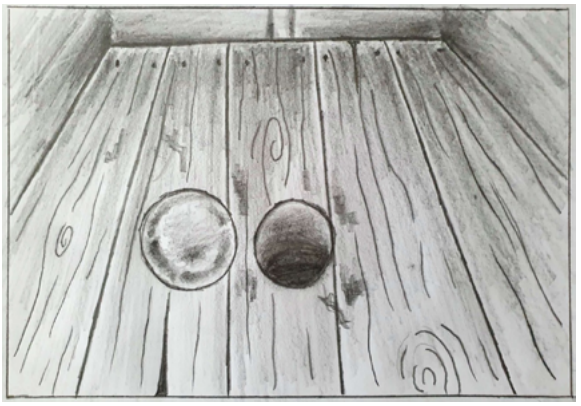

Fig 2: A diagrammatic illustration of salanga system in colonial Ibadan

The market environment in colonial Ibadan was not in any way different from what obtained or manifested in the residential areas. The market environment in the colonial city of Ibadan was filthy, without latrines and incinerators, and with dirty slaughter slabs.[25] The butcher stalls were very close to where the bucket latrine was placed, and this gave room for swarming flies. The slaughter slab was primitive and unhygienic while the principal one, situated at Gegeloshe in the center of the city, was disgusting.

The point of emphasis is that the environment in colonial Ibadan was marred by uncontrolled use, especially by the natives. The residential and market spaces were not adequately maintained in terms of sanitation. Consequently, the major effect of uncontrolled and unmanaged use of the environment was the outbreak of epidemic diseases in colonial Ibadan. Poor management of the environment by the residents resulted in the outbreak

[23] NAI, Oyo Prof., inv. no. 1, cart. 895.

[24] Ibidem (Vol. III).

[25] MABOGUNJE, Akin: The Growth of Residential District in Ibadan. *Geographical Review* 52, 1962, no. 1, pp. 52–62.

of some deadly epidemics during the period under review. The development witnessed in Ibadan with the arrival of the colonial rule was accompanied with environmental challenges as a result of unorganized ways the environment was used by the inhabitants of the land. One of the environmental issues battled with in Ibadan was a lack of a drainage system. Waste water remained stagnant around the houses where people lived and this served as a breeding place for mosquitoes, which spread yellow fever among the inhabitants of Ibadan.

Yellow fever was one of the diseases that rapidly spread among the natives of Ibadan during the colonial period. According to the Colonial Resident of Ibadan, yellow fever is a highly dangerous disease which is rapidly spread by mosquitoes.[26] Enquiries by the Rockefeller Yellow Fever Commission revealed that Ibadan was an endemic centre for yellow fever in West Africa. This disease was prevalent in Ibadan and hardly a house could be found without mosquitoes.[27] This was due to the absence of a drainage system, which gave room for stagnant water to breed mosquitoes. In addition to this, the presence of grass around the houses where people lived contributed to the problem. The outbreak of yellow fever led to a loss of lives and disrupted trading activities as traders' health was affected. The inhabitants of Ibadan experienced the outbreak of yellow fever in the years 1925–1926. Anti-mosquito nets and quarantine services were used to combat the outbreak of yellow fever. Up to 1939, the yellow fever vaccine was not given on a routine basis because the health authorities believed that several days after inoculation, the virus was present in the inoculated person's blood, and there was a possibility of local mosquitoes carrying yellow fever becoming overpopulated and thus transmitting the disease to other people.[28]

The *Ṣòpòná* pandemic *(*smallpox) threatened the lives of the people of Ibadan during the colonial period. Smallpox had been known to be endemic and occurred frequently with a high mortality rate since the pre-colonial period. The virus that causes the disease is transmissible from one person to another through air droplets that escape from infected persons through talking, sneezing, and coughing. The disease can be contacted through contaminated clothing and bedding of an infected person.[29] The early symptoms of the disease include fever, general discomfort, headache, severe back pain, and vomiting. Possible later signs and symptoms show as flat red spots on the face, hands, and forearms.[30] Over time, a large number of people among the natives and colonial invaders died from the disease, causing widespread fear among the colonial authorities. Smallpox cases in Ibadan indicated periodic outbreaks in 1925, 1926, and 1934.[31] The provision of sanitation amenities had little or no effect on the elimination of smallpox. In order to combat this disease, colonial authorities introduced vaccination of people against this disease and a vaccination ordinance was made so as to make vaccination exercise a success. Both

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26 NAI, Oyo Prof., inv. no. 1, cart. 1646 (Vol. II).

27 Ibidem, cart. 895 (Vol. I).

28 ONOBHAYEDO, Albert: Development of Vaccination Policies on Smallpox and Yellow Fever in Western Nigeria, 1900–1945. *Journal of Historical Society of Nigeria* 28, 2019, no. 3, pp. 31–61.

29 OLADITI, Akeem – AJIBADE, Samuel – OYEWALE, Gbemisola: The Ṣòpòná Pandemic among the Yoruba of West Africa : Local Interpretation and Colonial Intervention. *West Bohemian Historical Review* 12, 2022, no. 2, pp. 249–261.

30 Ibidem, p. 251.

31 Ibidem.

children and adults were compelled to be given the vaccine. The importance of vaccinating people against smallpox made the traditional rulers call for the deployment of vaccinators that could help in giving people the vaccine against the disease. District vaccinators were deployed to Ibadan, resulting in the vaccination of over 50 children around the Bashorun compound.[32]

Colonial State Response to Environmental Issues and Epidemics in Ibadan, 1918–1939

The inter-war years in Ibadan experienced a number of response mechanisms against the phenomenon of environmental issues and epidemics by the colonial state. These control measures were engineered by the colonial state, its supportive institutions and appendages. As discussed earlier, the agitation, demands, and series of protests by the educated parvenus in Ibadan for improved health and sanitary conditions for the Ibadan people were important motivating factors that propelled the colonial state into taking such measures. The colonial response was also propelled by the construction of the railway and the presence of British merchants as these necessitated the need for health facilities such as hospitals. Upon the arrival of the British in Ibadan, the fear of being infected by the diseases that ravaged the native area incited the state to put up various measures that could improve health and comfort in the course of pursuing their economic agenda. First, British officials needed health facilities to access modern curative medicine, which was essential for their well-being as they exploited agricultural items in Ibadan. Second, native health was paramount to British officials and merchants, because the locals were needed as domestic servants and as customers who helped in supplying raw materials needed by British industries in Europe. This resulted into the provision of medical facilities for the British officials and the merchants on one hand and the natives on the other hand.[33]

One of the most visible measures taken by the colonial state in its attempt to address the myriads of environmental challenges and epidemics in Ibadan during the inter-war years was a demographic restructuring. By the demographic restructuring, we refer to the distribution of residential areas or city planning mechanisms that were based on demographics. The demographic restructuring in colonial Ibadan during the inter-war years reflected an arrangement that separated the European Reservation Areas from the Native Areas. Of course, the emergence of the Reservation Area followed the establishment of the colonial rule in Ibadan. The European Reservation Area was a designated area reserved in Ibadan for the British officials to reside. The arrival of British Resident Captain Robert Lister Bower in Ibadan, to extend the British influence to the interior, prompted the establishment of a residency on Agodi Hill outside the city wall to the north. The European Reservation Area was expanded as more Europeans moved to Ibadan due to two events. First, the construction of the railway reached Ibadan in 1901. Second, Ibadan was made the headquarters of the Western Province in 1939. However, the British residence was separated from the area where the indigenes of Ibadan lived because of the diseases that ravaged the native area.[34]

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32 Ibidem.

33 FALOLA, Toyin: *Ibadan : Foundation, Growth and Change 1830–1960*. Ibadan 2012.

34 MABOGUNJE. A.: The Growth, pp. 52–62.

In addition, the British colonial administration of Ibadan passed the Township Ordinance in 1917 in order to separate the European residences from the native areas. The Township was primarily intended to promote a deliberate policy of segregation. This was to occur at two levels. The first was between the indigenes of the city and Nigerians from other places (so-called alien natives). The indigenes were discouraged from settling in the Township. The second was to segregate Europeans from Nigerians, irrespective of the status of the latter. The reason for the segregation of the European residences from the native areas was to protect the British officials from being contaminated by the allegedly yellow fever infested "natives" because Ibadan was believed by Europeans to be the endemic centre for yellow fever and this was due to the insanitary condition of the environment. The policy of segregation was used in order to enable the British to live more comfortably and healthily while pursuing their economic motives.[35] Apart from the demographic restructuring that reflected the separation of the European residences from the native areas, where the indigenes of Ibadan lived, the European trading area was also segregated. This was due to the fear expressed by the British officials, whose contact with the natives of Ibadan as customers and as domestic servants could constitute a health hazard. As a result of this, part of the Township was reserved for all the merchants who were to be compelled to trade and live there. This had the advantage of not allowing Europeans to go to the "native town", where the risk of infection was greater. It would also be easier to clean and sanitize the trading center. The trading area, the neighborhood of the Iddo Gate, became part of the Township. Europeans could only trade in the *Gbagi* area and were required to reside elsewhere in order to control the spread of the disease arising from contact with the "natives". All the leading traders and branches of European firms acquired plots in the Township.

It is pertinent to note that the township ordinances were a springboard for environmental racism in colonial Ibadan as they promoted segregation between Europeans and the natives with a view to preventing contamination from yellow fever. This is what Robert Bullard, Ingrid Waldron, Catherine Flowers conceptualize or describe as environmental racism. Indeed, the enactment of the township ordinances in colonial Ibadan and their attendant manifestation of racial segregation bring this study into discussion with the works of Robert Bullard, Ingrid Waldron, and Catherine Flowers.[36]

The construction and inspection of sanitary structures and hospitals was another measure taken by the colonial state in addressing the upsurge of diseases in colonial Ibadan. The upsurge of diseases such as smallpox and yellow fever in Ibadan upon the arrival of the British officials after the imposition of the colonial rule instigated the medical and health officers to saddle the Native Administration with the responsibility of sanitizing their surroundings and providing sanitary facilities that would make the native areas free from environmental challenges that usually caused outbreaks of diseases. This action embarked on by the colonialists was driven by two reasons. The first was to satisfy the educated faction, who had come to regard compounds as *dirty, unsuitable for them and too crowded*. The call for sanitation work was to rid compounds of what constituted

[35] FALOLA, T.: Ibadan, pp. 520–521.

[36] As discussed in the state-of-the-art section of this study, Robert Bullard explores how environmental racism puts indigenous black and other racialized communities at greater risk of exposure to public health crises or hazards. Ingrid Waldron interrogates the health impact of environmental racism on indigenous populations and unpacks how environmental racism operates as a mechanism of erasure enabled by the intersecting dynamics of white supremacy, power, state-sanctioned racial violence, neoliberalism and racial capitalism in colonial configurations.

filth to the elite. The second motive was to secure good health for Europeans. The fear was that if epidemics broke out, as that of smallpox in 1934, they, too, would be affected, and the best way to protect them was to ensure that the city was clean. The significance of a healthy environment to the achievement of British economic objectives in Ibadan enabled them to agitate for the sanitation of Ibadan by the Native Authority through the supervision of the medical and sanitary officers.

Furthermore, the Ibadan Native Administration constructed latrines in the native areas, especially in market places. The colonialists ordered the erection of latrines in the markets so as to discourage the natives from defecating in the streams or open spaces in the markets. The insanitary attitudes of people in the market places created breeding grounds for flies, which are vectors of diseases which are hazardous to the natives' health.[37] Following a directive of the medical and health officers, 12 000 *salangas* were erected in Ibadan. Four *salangas* were erected in each market, two for men and two for women and children.[38] The native authorities erected incinerators in the native areas of Ibadan in order to curb the natives from littering the environment with dirt. Before the establishment of the colonial rule in Ibadan, the natives usually dumped refuse at the back of the houses they lived in, in streams, or littered the surroundings with dirt, and these activities made the environment unsafe for the indigenes of Ibadan to live in. Refuse disposed of in the incinerators was burned by laborers employed by the native authorities. Incinerators were also erected in the market places so as to discourage traders from littering the markets with waste of the items sold. For instance, ten incinerators were erected in the native areas of Ibadan between 1922–1923.[39] Another 36 incinerators were constructed in the markets.[40] In addition, the Ibadan native authorities provided dustbins for the natives whose residences were far from where the incinerators were placed. Refuse in the dustbins was collected into the incinerators by native laborers with hand-carts provided by the native authorities an easy disposal of refuse.

The construction of drains was aimed at hampering the breeding of mosquitoes in residential areas in Ibadan. The drains were constructed in the native areas where the stagnant water did not have proper flow, so as to prevent the breeding of mosquitoes.[41] The European Hospital was first established to address the health challenges of the British officials. One of the offices at the railway station was converted into hospital. The structure was put together to provide medical services exclusively for the European colonial officers and a few missionaries in the city. The wellbeing of the British was the priority of the British colonial administration. Although the health needs of the colonialists in Ibadan were paramount to the British colonial authorities, the health needs of the local population could not be completely ignored. The activities of the natives of Ibadan were essential to the running of the colonial machinery and the acquisition of agricultural items required in Europe. Furthermore, the efforts of the British colonial authorities to improve the European health care in Ibadan led to the establishment of the Infectious Disease Hospital in 1925.

With the establishment of the European hospital exclusively for the colonialists in Ibadan, the educated elites agitated for the establishment of native hospitals. The British colonial government approved the demand of the elites, and the foundation of the Native

37 NAI, Oyo Prof., inv. no. 1, cart. 895 (Vol. I).

38 Ibidem (Vol. VII).

39 Ibidem.

40 Ibidem.

41 Ibidem, cart. 1646.

Administration Hospital, Adeoyo was laid in 1926. The out-patient section of the hospital began to attend to the people in 1927.[42] In December 1927, Captain William Ross, the Senior Resident of Oyo Province, formally declared the institution open to the population of Ibadan. A year later, it became necessary to build an additional ward with 36 beds, add a ten-bed prisoner's ward, and extend the out-patient waiting room. The Adeoyo Hospital was established solely for the benefit of the local population.[43] The Native Administration Hospital, Adeoyo was located in a place accessible to the indigenous population. The administration and management of the hospital were a joint responsibility of the colonial political officers and *Baálẹ̀* of Ibadan and its council.

Sanitary inspectors moved around the city of Ibadan to inspect sanitary facilities such as incinerators, latrines, dustbins erected by the Native Authority in the native areas and those constructed in the Township area by the European government. The natives of Ibadan called the sanitary inspectors '*wolé wolé*'. They were dreaded by everyone, even more than the colonial police officers. Breaching their orders was breaching the system, and the natives avoided getting into trouble by tidying up their environment. The fear of the sanitary inspectors made the natives of Ibadan compose the following song:

Wolé wolé bọ̀ lọ́la, kíni bọ̀ wá ṣe. Ó bọ̀ wá wolé re
meaning
Sanitary inspectors are coming tomorrow, what are they coming to do.
They are coming to inspect your house.

Indeed, the sanitary inspectors examined the usage of the sanitary structures in the markets and made suggestions where it was needed. Also, the sanitary inspectors taught the head of each compound how to construct a good *salanga*, instead of using bucket latrines, which they could not maintain. The inspectors examined five compounds in a week and ensured that five *salangas* were constructed. Besides inspecting the natives' surroundings and market places, hospitals were also examined. Hospitals were inspected to ensure that the surroundings and sanitary structures were in good condition. For example, the Infectious Disease Hospital and the leper settlement were inspected and discovered to be in bad condition.

As an addendum, sanitary staff did some work on draining and filling swamps, the most important of these was the Ogunpa Stream, which occasionally overflowed its banks and caused destruction. In 1939, the sanitary staff was given an additional duty of constructing slaughter slabs, latrines, and incinerators, and they were very successful at this. There were periodic sanitation campaigns during which people in the city and villages cleaned their environment. Members of the Red Cross often assisted the sanitary staff in this exercise. In 1935, the government went a step further by declaring Health Week, during which an exhibition was held to disseminate knowledge on hygiene. There was only one major threat to health during the decade and this was in 1937, when there was an outbreak of yellow fever. The government took measures to eradicate mosquitoes.

The promulgation of sanitation ordinances in colonial Ibadan was an effective mechanism engineered by the state towards addressing the two-fold problem of unregulated environmental use and epidemics. The British colonial administration of Ibadan through

[42] Ibidem, cart. 834.

[43] Ibidem, cart. 851.

the Colonial Resident sanctioned the Native Authority to make laws that would help regulate native activities on the use of their environment. The Native Authority made rules regarding the construction and use of drainage in the native areas of Ibadan. In the exercise of the powers conferred upon the native authorities by Section 25(1) of the Native Authority Ordinance, a number of rules were made by the Ibadan and District Native Authority with the approval of the Chief Commissioner to whom the Governor had delegated the power of approval. Moreover, bye-laws regulating the use of slaughter slabs were made under the Public Health Ordinance. These bye-laws may be cited as the Native Administration (Slaughter) Bye-laws and applied to all persons subject to the jurisdiction of the Native Administration.

The establishment of a sanitary training school and the Native Administration Health Committee was a measure taken by the colonial state in its efforts to address the poor environmental practices and the upsurge of diseases**.** In a bid to sanitize the Ibadan environment for the purpose of implementing their economic policy and maximizing profit, the British colonial administration founded a sanitary school where inspectors would be trained. The Ibadan Sanitary Training School was opened in Eleiyele in 1932 for sanitary overseers and inspectors. The center provided education and training for sanitary inspectors.[44] Graduates from this school were expected to assist in the enlightenment of people on sanitation and hygiene. The institution did not attach any importance to theories. The center later became a miniature health office and trainees were involved in the management of sanitation in various parts of the city.[45]

Besides, the colonial administration in Ibadan constituted a health committee that would oversee the management of sanitation of the native areas. The Native Administration Health Committee was inaugurated in 1939. The purpose of forming this committee was to work on improving the sanitation of the Ibadan city. The committee was made up of eight members and the Senior Health Officer to discuss matters on Ibadan's sanitation. Members of the Native Health Committee included Dr. Agbaje, Osi Balogun, Chief Folarin Oyewusi, Ashipa, Olubadan Councilor Obisesan and the head of the Native Authority sanitary inspectors. The need for the Senior Health Officer to have contact with the council for the improvement of Ibadan's sanitation was what brought about the inauguration of the health committee. The native sanitary inspectors and *Akodas* were responsible to the health committee. They reported their findings from inspecting the surroundings and sanitary facilities of the native areas to the health committee. The District Officer submitted a report to the council detailing findings of the sanitary inspectors in the native areas, showing the names of some of the chiefs whose houses were in bad sanitary condition and applications received from *Alafara* and *Ojagbo* requesting incinerators. He advised the members of the council to set a good example and encourage their people to clean their compounds. The city was divided into four wards for effective sanitation of the native areas. Each division was overseen by a senior chief, who was to be supported by junior chiefs and *Mogajis,* and the Health Committee visited these divisions in rotation. Members of the Divisional Committee visited and inspected compounds within their division. The visitations were educational and advisory, and prosecution was instituted. The natives were also educated on the causes of diseases through printed and distributed pamphlets that revealed it. Additionally, sanitation issues confronting the indigenes were addressed by the Health Committee. For instance, throwing

44 Ibidem, cart. 699 (Vol. I).

45 Ibidem, cart. 1/1, 110.

excreta on public streets, selling adulterated food, hawking meat without a fly-proof covering, and inflating meat were discussed and solutions to some of these issues were provided. *Iyalode* was later made a member of the Health Committee. She was made a member of the committee so that she could encourage women to clean their houses.

Conclusion

Colonial Ibadan, especially during the inter-war years (1918–1939), experienced environmental issues that produced a significant impact on the health and well-being of the native and European populations through the outbreak of epidemics. The extension of the railway communication line to Ibadan coupled with the establishment of the British colonial administrative headquarters for Western Province in Ibadan in 1901 and 1939 respectively resulted in rapid population growth and urbanization of the city. Consequently, the population growth and urbanization combined with the demands and agitations by the educated parvenus in Ibadan propelled the colonial state's response to poor environmental practices and issues related to epidemics. Indeed, the unorganized and unregulated use of the environment by the inhabitants of Ibadan brought about environmental issues, particularly inadequate sanitation practices. The rapid population growth and the concentration of people in urban Ibadan led to overcrowding, poor waste management, and limited access to clean water. These conditions created a breeding ground for diseases such as yellow fever and smallpox. The combination of these environmental challenges created ideal conditions for the outbreak and spread of epidemics in colonial Ibadan.

Be that as it may, while it is a truism that the colonial state responded to this phenomenon, the measures taken were hampered by a number of factors. The promulgation of the Township Ordinance, inadequate provision of sanitary and health facilities in the native areas, insufficient staffing in the native areas as well as a poor response of the natives to the health facilities provided by the British colonial administration made the spread of epidemics uncontrollable and posed hindrances to the effectiveness of the measures taken by the state.

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Summary

Environment, Epidemics and State Response in Ibadan, Western Nigeria, 1918–1939

This study explores the relationship between environmental issues and epidemics in colonial Ibadan, Western Nigeria, from 1918 to 1939. It highlights the impact of rapid population growth, poor waste management, and limited access to clean water on urban development in colonial Ibadan. Providing a background history on the issue, the paper delves into the dynamics of environmental practices in pre-colonial Ibadan. It proceeds further to argue that certain urbanization dynamics in the city exacerbated the unregulated use of the environment, which produced negative implications for public health in the urban configuration during the colonial period.

The paper also contends that state interventions were driven by the ulterior motives of the colonialists in Ibadan and that such measures were largely unproductive. Furthermore, the study reveals that colonial authorities implemented strategies like demographic restructuring, hospitals, and vaccinations to combat these issues. However, these measures were hindered by discriminatory township ordinances, under-equipped medical facilities, and poor responses of the natives to health policies. Consequently, our detailed analyses of colonial responses enrich understanding of governance, public health, and urbanization dynamics in Ibadan, Western Nigeria during the inter-war years. Besides, a detailed explanation of sanitation efforts and demographic restructuring in the colonial city of Ibadan provides a comprehensive view of colonial interventions and practical insights into disease prevention in urban settings.

ČLÁNKY A STUDIE 176-198

Pitfalls of the Industrialization of Selected Regions of Central Slovakia in the First Four Decades of the 20th Century*

PETER MIČKO – ZUZANA MIČKOVÁ

Mičko, Peter – Mičková, Zuzana: Pitfalls of the Industrialization of Selected Regions of Central Slovakia in the First Four Decades of the 20th Century

The industrialization of an initially rural country is an important phenomenon and can answer the question of the region's economic development in a given period. Industrialization is a factor that affects the entire socio-economic character of the country, such as the construction of cities and transport, and it can also affect agricultural production. All these factors have a retroactive effect on industrial development. Within the economic field, agriculture has traditionally been dominant in the Slovak territory. The mentioned factor started to change in the last third of the 19th century, when representatives in the Kingdom of Hungary tried to develop the industrialization of the originally rural country. Naturally, the process of increased industrialization affected the territory of present-day Slovakia as well.

Key Words *Industrialization; Central Slovakia; Czechoslovak Republic; Economic Crisis; Czech Capital*

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At the turn of the century, Slovakia was a transitional territory significantly behind Western and Central European developed countries but still far from being among the most backward European regions. Slovakia formed the western border of the poorer half of Europe. At that time, it reached 50 % of the average European industrial production per inhabitant. Even though Slovakia was predominantly an agrarian country, it cannot be forgotten that the foundations of Slovak industry were laid during these years. At the end of the 19th century, the Kingdom of Hungary's primary attention was building several branches of light industry, including the textile, paper, food, and leather industries. The modern chemical and electrotechnical industries developed quite successfully.

Regarding the overall production capacity, the heavy industry, represented in Slovakia primarily by traditional mining and metallurgy, grew and modernized. However, the importance of Slovak metallurgy gradually declined from the end of the 19th century. Between 1899 and 1913, Slovakia's share in the entire Greater Hungarian pig iron production decreased from 57 % to 30 % and in steel production from approximately 26 % to 20 %. Under the pressure of competition on world markets and the gradual depletion of

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ore reserves, the former importance of mining ores containing precious and non-ferrous metals, except for antimony and manganese, had also significantly decreased. Nevertheless, iron ore mining increased, and Slovakia was one of the largest producers of magnesite in the world prior to the First World War.[1]

In total, about 750 industrial enterprises were operating in Slovakia in 1913, and industry and craft production employed around 200,000 people. The value of industrial production thus represented 18.6 % of the entire Hungarian production. The paper industry held the highest share in production value at 53.7 % and the textile industry at 33.7 %. Only the hardware industry, with the metalworking, woodworking, and leather industries, exceeded 20 %.[2]

The disintegration of the Austro-Hungarian single customs area, internally linked by traditional economic ties, in 1918 had a profoundly negative impact on the development of all industrial sectors in Slovakia. The loss of traditional outlets and the clash with the more advanced Czech economy in direct economic competition then became the Slovak industry's main problem after Czechoslovakia's establishment.

With the establishment of the Czechoslovak Republic in 1918, two different economic units were united. On the one hand, there were the industrially developed Bohemian lands, and on the other, mainly agrarian-oriented Slovakia. Although industry in Slovakia was among the most developed in the Kingdom of Hungary, it lagged behind Czech industry. In the 1920s, there was significant restructuring of the Slovak industry with minimal state intervention in the running of the economy, which negatively impacted the direct competition with the Czech economy. Many businesses in Slovakia disappeared, and new ones were built only minimally.

Slovak national economist Imrich Karvaš identified the causes of Slovakia's "chronic economic depression" as social and special causes.

Social causes:

1) the consequences of the war economy and the transition of companies to peacetime production;
2) the consequences of the Czechoslovak monetary adjustment;
3) the construction of customs borders with neighbouring countries, which primarily affected Slovakia (industry in Slovakia was built to supply the domestic market of Hungary, while industry in Bohemia and Moravia was built mainly for export).

Special causes:

1) structural, which were based directly on the structure of Slovak industry and were present even before the war;
2) post-war economic and political – primarily the invasion of Hungarian Bolsheviks, transport difficulties, and the abandonment of state interventions in the economy.

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[1] HALLON, Ľudovít: *Industrializácia Slovenska 1918–1938 (Rozvoj alebo úpadok?)*. Bratislava 1995, p.12. In industrial sectors, woodworking and several areas of the building materials industry, glassmaking, metalworking and the printing industry made significant progress thanks to the abundance of raw wood material. Significant development also occurred in the area of railway construction, which represented 89% of the current state in 1915.

[2] Ibidem, p. 13.

Regarding the latter cause, Karvaš pointed out *that the industrial policy in Slovakia must be carried out in the light of the national economic policy, because only this way will we achieve the harmonious and healthy development of all the economic territories of our state*.[3] In addition to the abovementioned, another problem of economic stagnation was higher interest rates in Slovakia and a lack of state commissions for businesses in the east of the republic.[4]

Important factors for further development of industry in Slovakia were the great loss of outlets and, at the same time, various forms of state protection. In the search for new markets, the weaker industry in competition with the more advanced Czech industry naturally got the short end of the stick. Another serious economic issue was the re-routing of the Slovak railway networks in the west-east direction, which resulted in the disappearance of many lines oriented towards Hungary. At the same time, there was a large share of private railway lines in Slovakia, which caused higher tariffs than in Bohemian lands, making the transport of raw materials more expensive. All the mentioned causes also had a direct impact on individual regions of Slovakia in varying degrees.

The following study evaluates the issue of the integration of the Slovak economy into the national economic unit of the newly formed Czechoslovak Republic. It mainly focuses on specific problems of selected areas of central Slovakia. The aim of the study is not to provide a comprehensive view of the issue, which the space assigned for a scientific study does not even allow, but rather to point out specific problems of selected enterprises and regions of central Slovakia, which did not allow for a quick transition of the economy in Slovakia from the Hungarian to the Czechoslovak economic space. It is therefore primarily a matter of looking how the national economic policy impacted the selected regions of Slovakia and specific enterprises that, whether in the northern, central or southern parts of central Slovakia, were established during the existence of the monarchy and found themselves in a completely new economic situation after the establishment of the Czechoslovak Republic. Their further activities naturally also had an impact on the social status of employees in their area of operation. Special emphasis is placed on traditional timber, pulp and paper enterprises, which were among the largest enterprises in the study area. They provided jobs for many employees and were present in almost the entire area of central Slovakia. In terms of time, the study focuses on the period from the beginning of the 20th century to the end of the 1930s, i.e., until the disintegration of the Czechoslovak Republic and the establishment of the Slovak State and the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia. The period of the economic situation of the Slovak Republic (1939–1945) is no longer the focus of the study.

The studied issue is relatively well elaborated in both Slovak and Czech historiography, especially at the national level. However, the question of specific industrial enterprises in individual Slovak regions and their economic situation is treated rather partially, mostly as part of monographs, published documents, plant memorials, and studies focusing on the economic history of Czechoslovakia and Slovakia, overall receiving less attention.[5]

[3] KARVAŠ, Imrich: *Sjednocení výrobních podmínek v zemích českých a na Slovensku*. Praha 1933, pp. 36–38.

[4] For more on the integration of Slovakia's economy into the Czechoslovak Republic, see HALLON, Ľ.: Industrializácia.

[5] BASCH, Antonín: *Československé hospodářství v krizi*. Praha 1937; DOLEŽALOVÁ, Antonie: *Rašín, Engliš a ti druzí*. Praha 2007; ENGLIŠ, Karel: *Národní hospodářství*. Praha 1928; FABRICIUS, Miroslav: *Hospodársky vývoj Slovenska do konca predmnichovskej republiky.* Bratislava 1988; FALTUS, Jozef: *Povojnová hospodárska kríza v rokoch 1921–1923 v Československu*. Bratislava 1966; FALTUS, Jozef – PRŮCHA, Václav: *Prehľad hospodárskeho*

After joining the new Czechoslovak Republic, Slovakia faced not only political and administrative problems related to its integration into the new political and territorial entity but also, above all, economic difficulties that affected individual regions of Slovakia shortly after the establishment of the new state as part of the extensive post-war economic crisis. The region of Central Slovakia, where industrial enterprises stopped production to a large extent and many employees lost their jobs, was no exception.

The economic situation of enterprises in Slovakia did not benefit from the artificial increase in the exchange rate of the Czechoslovak crown – the 1922 deflation. The 1922/1923 decline in exports in connection with the crisis and deflation had dire consequences for Slovak industry, as it meant a definitive loss of outlets from the time prior to 1918 and new outlets acquired during the post-war boom. During the economic crisis, the situation of metallurgical and iron companies in the south-eastern region of Central and part of Eastern Slovakia, owned by a Hungarian iron and steel group (Krompachy, Hnúšťa – Likier, Drnava and Zvolen), became a significant issue. The Hungarian group began to limit production in smaller blast furnaces, which accelerated after 1918.

Before the war, there were eight metallurgical enterprises in Slovakia: Likier, Hnúšťa, Drnava, Dobšiná, Chyžná Voda, Stratená, Krompachy, Tisovec. The most important were the furnaces in Likier and Krompachy, which accounted for 72.6 % of Slovakia's production in 1913. Larger production quotas were also in Tisovec, which represented 13.7 % of

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the overall Slovak production in 1913. Smelters gradually disappeared after 1918, and the last one in Tisovec stopped production in 1931. The demise of the blast furnaces was contributed to by the decline of large iron companies and a change in the production process, mainly affecting smelters with outdated equipment.[6]

Before 1918, these plants were among the most modern in Hungary compared to large-scale metallurgical plants in Bohemia and Moravia. However, they were lagging technologically. At the same time, in the post-war inflationary period, the indebtedness of the companies increased, and connections with customers in Hungary were disrupted. Due to huge debts, which eventually exceeded the share capital of the companies, the Hungarian group liquidated them and moved all the technical equipment to Hungary. After a mutual agreement, production quotas were ceded to Czechoslovakia's two most significant iron and steel concerns for a severance payment of 10,000 shares of the iron and steel companies.

During the crisis, several foundry plants (Košické Hámre, Hnúšťa), engineering plants (Lučenec, Rimavská Sobota), and paper and wood processing enterprises also disappeared. Production stopped in 32 enterprises in the last quarter of 1922, which laid off 12,510 workers, and production partially stopped in 36 enterprises, which dismissed 1,740 employees.[7]

Central and Eastern Slovak companies were particularly disadvantaged by the loss of outlets. Negative consequences were manifested in three large iron and heavy industry enterprises: Krompachy, Zvolen, and Podbrezová. Two of the mentioned enterprises disappeared: Krompašské železiarne in 1922, the sheet metal factory in Zvolen in 1924, and Podbrezová faced major problems maintaining production. The enterprises in Krompachy and Zvolen were the property of the Rimamuránská company, and the uncertainty in 1921–1923 was why the company wanted to quickly liquidate its production with the least possible losses. This finally happened after the conception of the Czechoslovak iron production cartel in 1922. After the creation of the cartel, efforts to address overproduction began, which primarily affected Slovak production. The decline of the iron industry was further accentuated by the loss of the Polish market, which was especially important for Krompachy.[8]

The enterprise of Podbrezovské železiarne consisted of steel mills, a rolling mill, and a pipe mill in Podbrezová, a water gas welding plant in Piesok, a rolling mill for fine sheet metal in Chvatimech, a rolling mill for rim and string steel in Piesok, a foundry and an enamel plant in Hronec, a blast furnace in Tisovec. An electrolytic plant in Banská Bystrica was further annexed to this enterprise. All the factories were under the administration of the Directorate of State Iron and Steel Works in Podbrezová, which was directly subordinated to the Ministry of Public Works in Prague.[9] The state-owned iron and steel works in Podbrezová also took over four power plants in Podbrezová, Piesok, Lopej, and Dubová, and the newly built hydroelectric plant in Jasenie started operating in 1926.

The sheet metal factory Union in Zvolen stopped production as early as on 11 September 1922. After the closing of the ironworks, one of the possibilities was to convert the plant into a railway workshop. During an inspection, it was found that the plant would

6 KARVAŠ, I.: Sjednocení, p. 62.

7 HALLON, L.: Industrializácia, p. 57.

8 KARVAŠ, I.: Sjednocení, p. 63.

9 *Stredné Slovensko*. Zvolen 1934, p. 146.

have to be reconstructed at a high cost. Thus, the Ministry of Railways did not negotiate the takeover of the Union plant in Zvolen to convert it into a railway workshop. It argued that the need for railway repair shops in Slovakia would be fulfilled by constructing a new carriage house in Trnava, along with a carriage house next to the workshop in Zvolen, and by reconstructing the Vrútky workshops.[10] Eight hundred workers lost their jobs.

An often-mentioned economic problem of Slovakia in the 1920s was exporting machinery from Slovakia to foreign countries. As for removing machines, we cannot perceive it as clearly damaging the industry in Slovakia. The deindustrialization of Slovakia was primarily influenced by the economic interests of business owners. It should be noted that many of the companies were owned by individuals with headquarters in Budapest or Vienna, which clearly indicates their financial priorities and the effort to transfer the technical base to the parent country. With some of its measures, the Czechoslovak Republic made it difficult for businesses owned by Hungarian or German owners to operate. We could summarize the reasons for the removal in the following points:

1) discriminatory measures and obstructions by government circles against foreign entrepreneurs;
2) problems of foreign trade relations;
3) better business prospects outside Czechoslovakia or state subsidies in the parent country;
4) after the decrease in sales in the successor states, the machines in Czechoslovakia became redundant;
5) in the first months after the war, factories specifically designed for these purposes disappeared;
6) businesses in Slovakia faced a worse situation in financing than those in the Bohemian lands countries, with higher interest rates and more difficult access to loans.[11]

The removal of technical equipment was also carried out to a high extent by companies in individual locations in Slovakia. *Rimamuránsko-Šalgotarjánska železiarska účastinná spoločnosť* (a joint-stock company) was interested in selling machines from the plants in Zvolen and Krompachy. It applied for permission from the Ministry for the Administration of Slovakia because it planned to use the funds obtained to pay off part of its financial obligations to avoid bankruptcy. However, the Ministry took a negative stance on the aforementioned request.[12]

Even factories in the Brezno district did not escape economic difficulties and layoffs. In 1923, the state enamel plant in Hronec stopped its operation for 8–10 weeks due to overcrowding of warehouses and a lack of orders. For this reason, about 500 workers remained unemployed during the planned period. An even higher number of workers,

[10] Štátny archív Banská Bystrica (hereinafter ŠA BB), fund Pohronská župa 1923–1928, box no. 15. Union, sheet metal factory in Zvolen-liquidation. 8 August 1923.

[11] HALLON, Ľ.: Industrializácia, p. 53.

[12] ŠA BB, fund Pohronská župa 1923–1928, box no. 15. Situation in Krompachy. 13 January 1923. *In principle, the Ministry for the Administration of Slovakia recognizes the right to dismantle machines from factories in Krompachy and Zvolen. However, the current domestic and foreign political situation is not suitable for the Ministry for the Administration of Slovakia to express its approval for dismantling. The meritorious solution of this matter belongs to the relevant ministries. The Ministry for the Administration of Slovakia declares in advance that, for the reasons mentioned, it will continue to take a negative stance, which it will also communicate to the relevant ministries.*

1,000, was laid off by the state ironworks in Podbrezová from 1 February to 1 May 1923. The Ministry of Public Works provided the laid-off workers with alternative work during the construction of the Zvolen-Krupina railway, the regulation of the Hron River, the construction of the hydroelectric plant in Staré Hory, and the building of the Tisovec-Polhora road.[13] Workers from the state-owned mining and metallurgical plants in Banská Štiavnica (800) and Kremnica (200) were also supposed to work on the mentioned projects. In March 1924, 969 unemployed individuals were registered in the Brezno district, of which 498 workers and 731 household members received support. Indirect works subsequently provided jobs for 44 workers in the Podbrezovské ironworks (*Podbrezovské železiarne*), 30 in the Hronec enamel plant, 124 in the construction of the Jasenie water station, 26 in the construction of the Tisovec – Polhora state road, and 14 during emergency construction work in Brezno.[14]

Vacancies in the building of hydroelectric power plants were related to their construction in the territory of Central Slovakia, namely:

1) the hydroelectric plant on the Jasenie stream near the village of Jasenie for the State Iron and Steel Works in Podbrezová with an average annual energy production of about 14 million kWh and with a total construction cost of 30 million Kč (*korún československých*, Czechoslovak crown);
2) the hydropower station at shaft No. 4 in Kremnica for the State Mines in Kremnica with an average annual energy production of 5 million kWh with a construction cost of 5 million Kč;
3) the hydropower plants on the Starohorský stream – the first level Motyčky – Dolný Jelenec valley with an annual energy production of 3 million kWh, the second level Dolný Jelenec – Staré Hory with an annual production of 4.4 million kWh, the costs for both water levels amounted to 35 million Kč and they were built between 1923 and 1926.

The unemployment situation was critical in Banská Štiavnica and its surroundings. Mining plants did not hire new employees; other enterprises stopped production or survived only with difficulty. The state mines and silver smelter in Banská Štiavnica, taken over from the Hungarian government after the war, were in deplorable technical condition and showed a deficit of 30 million Kč per year. In 1923, restrictive measures and greater mechanization of production were introduced, which resulted in the dismissal of 600 workers from the original number of 1,350.[15] Thus, 620 recipients of unemployment benefits were registered in the city.[16] The economic situation in Banská Štiavnica did not improve even after the economic crisis ended. At the end of 1924, the consequences of the crisis were profound, and economic recovery was not possible without help of the state.

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13 Ibidem. Dismissal of workshop employees in Hronec and Podbrezová state ironworks.

14 Ibidem, box no. 42. Situation report on Brezno District, March 1924.

15 Stredné Slovensko, p. 134. Handlová, which had the largest coal mine in Slovakia with 2,000 employees, was one of the mining towns in the region of Central Slovakia. The mining boom in Handlová began in 1913 with the construction of the Prievidza – Handlová railway line, and the traffic situation was further improved by the connection from Handlová to Horná Štubňa completed in 1931. An important mining plant was the Antimony Mining and Metallurgical Plant in Banská Bystrica (*Antimónové banské a hutnícke závody*). The company had antimony mines in Čučma near Rožňava, Spišská Baňa near Mníšek nad Hnilcom, large antimony deposits in the valleys of Vajsková and Dúbrava.

16 ŠA BB, fund Pohronská župa 1923–1928, box no. 6. Banská Štiavnica – situation report from January 1923.

In 1924, Banská Štiavnica tried to maintain the Office of Tobacco Sales in the city. The tradition of the sales office had existed in the city even during the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, and Banská Štiavnica did not want to relinquish it. The central directorate of tobacco management in Prague planned the construction of new buildings and warehouses for tobacco in Zvolen. Banská Štiavnica was also interested in having the Tobacco Sales Office located near the tobacco factory in the city. For this purpose, it requested the Ministry of Railways to convert the Hronská Breznica – Banská Štiavnica narrow-gauge railway into a normal-gauge railway. The warehouses and buildings in the city were also considered an advantage of the location, allowing funds to be saved for constructing new buildings.[17] The district chief addressed the stated reasons to the prefect of Pohronská County, which were to be forwarded to the ministries in Prague for consideration.

The First Workshop for Knitted, Woven, and Scarf Goods, a joint-stock company, also experienced problems with its existence. The company, founded in 1893, worked on a larger scale until 1921. Gradually, however, difficulties arose with exports to Hungary, where good trade and transport relations were progresivelly interrupted. The insolvency of customers in Slovakia and Subcarpathian Ruthenia compounded the losses of Hungarian outlets. The factors mentioned above caused the company a loss of almost half a million in 1922. Companies from the Bohemian lands gradually emerged as strong competitors, with weaker Slovak textile plants unable to compete. About 200 workers were left without work, and only 40–45 worked in the plant. In addition, another 120 female workers lost their jobs at the branch in Banská Hodruša. The crisis of the knitting industry hit Slovak companies very hard, and the Banská Štiavnica company lost its essential capital in the amount of 750,000 Kč.[18]

The economic situation was no more positive in the Lučenec district. In his January 1926 report, the district chief stated that out of 24 businesses in the district, only seven plants were working. As for individual economic sectors, the situation was unfavourable. The glass industry accepted orders whose price was lower than the production costs. Stopping production would mean even more significant losses for companies.

The magnesite industry was one of the few that adapted relatively well to the new conditions. It was related to large deposits of magnesite in Slovakia (apart from Slovakia, magnesite deposits were found only in Austria, Greece, and Russia), which ensured its export abroad, representing up to 75 % of production. During the greatest boom in 1929, the export of magnesite products reached the amount of 22 million Kč. During the crisis in 1933, it was 10 million Kč. Magnesite deposits in the Lučenec district initiated the construction of a modern raw material processing factory in Lovinobaňa. The magnesite of the West Bohemian kaolin and fireclay factories in Lovinobaňa employed up to 400 workers and produced fused magnesite for metallurgical purposes and magnesite stones.

In the textile industry, *Opatovská súkenná továreň* maintained its operation thanks to its incorporation into a significant textile concern with an extensive store, which allowed it to partially keep up with Moravian and Czech plants. In part, it managed to overcome the crisis thanks to state orders. On the contrary, the Galician cloth factory failed to obtain state orders, and in September 1922, it stopped its operation. The cloth factory ceased operations again at the end of 1924 when 300 workers lost their jobs. Intense

[17] Ibidem, box no. 60. Tobacco sales office's temporary location in Banská Štiavnica.

[18] Ibidem, box no. 84.

Polish and German competition shut down relatively well-organized enamel shop stores. Foundries and factories for the production of farm machinery were similarly affected. For this reason, unemployment in the Lučenec district amounted to 3,400 people in January 1923, of which 1,600 unemployed received support.

A similar situation occurred in another southern district of Pohronská County,[19] Rimavská Sobota. Ironworks, blast furnaces, quarries, magnesite factories, and the glass and paper industries had to stop operating, and many craftsmen lost their jobs.[20] Unemployment support was paid to 428 men, 30 women, and 806 household members. Nine hundred ninety-eight men did not receive support.

The unflattering economic situation in Pohronská County did not improve much, even in the second half of the 1920s. In 1928, representatives of the Communist Party initiated plans to organize a general strike in the region. The planned strike was to take place on 29 February 1928 at 11 a.m. in all businesses in the districts of Lučenec, Rimavská Sobota, Zvolen, and other businesses, lasting for one hour. The announced strike did not receive much response from the workers, and the district authorities reported mostly peaceful and small meetings. A public meeting organized by the Communist Party and the Social Democratic Party was also held on 11 April 1928 in the largest enterprise of Pohronská County – *Podbrezovské železiarňe*. After some disagreements between the two parties, the event's start was finally agreed upon at 1:30 p.m. The awareness of the workers was low, and at 2 p.m. after the end of the shift, most of the workers living in the vicinity left the plant, so only workers from Podbrezová, Brusno, and a small number from Lopej, and Horná Lehota attended the meeting.[21] In the end, around 300 workers took part in the meeting, but the strike did not result in any concrete agreements to improve the status of the plant's workers.

Due to large reserves of wood raw material, the woodworking and woodworking industries were among the most significant industrial sectors in Central Slovakia. There were 2.8 million m³ of timber in Slovakia and Subcarpathian Ruthenia, and in 1930, there were 429 sawmills in this area. The most modern sawmill was the state sawmill in Štiavnička near Podbrezová built in 1929. It processed wood from the municipalities of Osrblie, Hronec, Sihla, Jasenie, Predajná, and partially from Krám and Dobroč. With an annual cut of 60,000 m³, the sawmill employed 200 workers.[22]

According to I. Karvaš, the wood industry was one of the few that had the possibility of development. However, the politics at the time harmed its development: *the big flaw is that the Slovak wood industry did not find full understanding in our commercial and political negotiations; the reason for this is that our agricultural policy is too unilaterally*

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[19] Pohronská County was formed from three former counties: Zvolen, Novohrad, Hont and from two parts of former counties: Tekov and Gemersko-malohontská County. It consisted of the following districts: Banská Bystrica, Banská Štiavnica – Belá, Brezno, Hronský Sv. Kríž, Krupina, Levice, Lučenec, Modrý Kameň, Nová Baňa, Rimavská Sobota, Želiezovce, Zvolen, Šahy.

[20] As a result of the economic crisis, the factories of the Rimamuránska company, paper mills in Tisovec, and the glassworks in Kokava shut down production; only limited production continued in the Likier-Železník cableway, and lime quarries in Tisovec; the following factories also had limited production: Magnesite Mines Burda-Suchá, Slovak Glassworks in Utekáč, Canning Factory in Rimavská Sobota, State Ironworks in Tisovec. ŠA BB, fund Pohronská župa 1923–1928, box No. 6. Situation report of the district Offices in Lučenec and Rimavská Sobota.

[21] Ibidem, box no. 188. Situation report of the district Office in Brezno.

[22] KVIETOK, Ladislav: *Zemepis Horehronia - vlastivedná štúdia Banskobystrického a Brezniankeho okresu*. Zvolen 1943, p. 113.

oriented, although forestry and the timber industry in Slovakia are just as important, if not more important, than agricultural production.[23] (I. Karvaš based his claim on the assumption that customs protection of plant production was done at the expense of mountainous areas – author's note)

The total area of forests in Central Slovakia was 509,481 ha, representing about one third of Slovak forests. The woodland coverage in Central Slovakia ranged from 8 % to 66.2 % (the average in Czechoslovakia was 33 %). The smallest woodland areas were in Štúrovo (Parkan) and Levice, and the largest exceeded 50 % in Brezno, Revúca, Pohorelá, Rožňava, Ratková, Hronský Sv. Kríž, Banská Bystrica, and Zvolen.

In 1924, the economic issue in the wood industry partially improved, with the contribution of state sawmills (Štiavnička and Balog), the company "OFFA" operating at the sawmill in Gašparovo, private sawmills in Brezno (leased by the enterprise Zjednotený hôrny priemysel in Banská Bystrica and employing 68 workers), Polhora, and Coburg, and steam sawmills in Polomka and Červená Skala.

Apart from processing in woodworking enterprises, wood was Slovakia's most important export item. The average export between 1925 and 1931 was 2.2 million tons (4.5 million m^3). In 1932, it was only 1 million tons, which was a 54.5 % decrease. There was an overall decline in wood exports from Central European countries, while Northern European countries experienced an increase. Total foreign trade from 1920 to 1931 amounted to 29.5 million Kč, of which 14.5 million Kč was for wood and wood products, i.e., almost half of the exports.[24]

This fact meant that the largest Slovak pulp mills were located in Central Slovakia, namely in Martin, Žilina, and Ružomberok. These enterprises belonged to the Czech financial capital during the First Czechoslovak Republic. In addition to pulp mills, plenty of raw wood material in Central Slovakia was used by sawmills and timber mills.

Zjednotený hôrny priemysel, a company in Banská Bystrica, was founded, like most Slovak timber companies, based on sufficient timber in the territory of Slovakia. After the company was established in 1918, the approved articles of the association documented that the company's share capital amounted to 3,000,000 Kč. It was divided into 3,000 pieces, each with a denomination of 1,000 Kč. Of these contributions, 2,000,000 Kč were paid at the time of establishment in 1918, and 1,000,000 Kč was to be paid by the end of December 1919.[25] From the establishment of the plant in 1918, the main participants were persons of Jewish origin. In 1923, the supervisory committee members were Dr. Adolf Schick from Banská Bystrica, Moritz Kohn from Banská Bystrica, and Fritz Reifer from Geneva.[26] The subsequent general assembly on 23 August 1925 recorded the following participants: Isidor Steiner, Guido Reifer, Adolf Rothbart, Isidorová Steinerová, Michal Kún, Dr. Adolf Schick, Juraj Kun, Armin Löwy.[27] In the following years, there were only minor changes in the supervisory board.

The difficult conditions of the timber industry in Central Slovakia also affected employees of the *Zjednotený hôrny priemysel* company. In 1925, they tried to raise wages by striking on 5 February at the company's plants in Banská Bystrica and Ľubietová. One hundred

[23] KARVAŠ, I.: Sjednocení, p. 63.

[24] Stredné Slovensko, p. 87.

[25] ŠA BB, fund Zoznam firiem (hereinafter Zf), inv. no. 474/ 1940, box no. 67–68.

[26] Ibidem, inv. no. 179/ 11/ 1923, box no. 67–68.

[27] Ibidem, inv. no. 2007/ 1925, box no. 67–68.

workers went on strike in Banská Bystrica and 52 in Ľubietová. The District Office in Banská Bystrica reported that the workers remained calm and there were no incidents. The main goal of the protest, which was an increase in wages, was achieved. From 10 February, when work started again, wages were increased by 10 % and for day labourers by 13 % compared to the wages that were valid before the start of the strike. The increased wages were subsequently paid as an "auction mark-up".[28]

The extraordinary general assembly on 24 October 1926 had to deal with the issue of new management members for the late Armin Kun from Budapest. Alexander Berzeller and Juraj Kún were elected in his place.[29] In 1930, there was a change in the position of chairman of the board of directors when Armin Löwy replaced Isidor Steiner. In the minutes from 25 March 1931, we also meet the company's goal and focus: *The company's goal is the purchase of wood stands suitable for felling, as well as logs and other wood materials acquired in the enterprises belonging to this field and those participating in them, as well as the purchase and sale of industrial products belonging to this business sector. However, the company can also include in its business circle such business branches that do not belong to the framework of the wood industry. It can, therefore, also establish companies that do not belong to the wood industry, participate in such companies, and procure shares of such companies*.[30]

The options for the operation of *Zjednotený hôrny priemysel* were, therefore, comprehensive, and in addition to the wood industry, it could engage in other business activities. The company's good economic results slowed down significantly during the great economic crisis of the early thirties. In Slovakia, the course of the crisis was more specific than in Western countries. Economic problems started later and also lasted longer. The crisis had a very unfavourable impact on the Slovak wood industry, when many factories closed down or partially stopped production. The culminating point was the year 1933. That year, the company *Zjednotený hôrny priemysel* also achieved its worst results. The business year for the company ended with a very unflattering loss of 731,203.56 Kč. The poor economic results were caused, among other things, by weak exports to the Netherlands, which were caused by intense competition from the Nordic countries. At the same time, there was a trade war with Hungary, which also affected the weak export of wood. The situation slightly improved in 1934, when deliveries to Germany increased, and the business year ended with a profit of 23,780.16 Kč. The entire profit was to be transferred to mitigate the loss from the previous year. However, more rapid production growth did not occur until 1937, when the annual profit amounted to 676,201.04 Kč. The money was used again to pay off the loss from previous years, and 30,000 Kč went to the state defence fund.[31] We could attribute the significant profit achieved to the short-term pre-war economy and Czechoslovakia's preparations for the war, which had a significant impact on the Slovak economy as well. Shortly after the establishment of the Slovak Republic (1939–1945), the company was acquired by a German businessman from Hamburg, Wilhelm Ludwig. Important wood processing plants in Central Slovakia also included large paper and cellulose plants that had been operating in the region for a long time.

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[28] Ibidem, fund Pohronská župa 1923–1928, box no. 75. Workers's strike in Banská Bystrica District. 10 February 1925.

[29] Ibidem, fund Zf, inv. no. 2894 – 23 / 1926, box no.67–68.

[30] Ibidem, inv. no. 1676 – 46/ 1930, box no. 67–68.

[31] Ibidem, inv. no. 2670/ 1938, box no. 67–68.

The beginnings of the Harmanec paper factory, a joint-stock company, date back to 1826. The factory experienced significant growth between 1892 and 1895. However, its expansion was slowed down by a fire in 1904, which destroyed most of the paper mill, and the plant did not work until 1905. The influence of the owner, the Hüttner family, began to decline after the fire, and in 1906, the paper mill was taken over by the Budapest Domestic Bank (*Hazai Bank*).[32] At the time of establishment, the plant's seed capital was set at 3,000,000 korunas. The owners' initial deposit was 1,900,000 korunas. The remaining amount was paid on 24 June 1908. The plant's production activity consisted of paper, various semi-finished products, paper fabrics, the purchase and sale of various types of wood, and the management of steam saws.[33] The majority owner was the Hungarian Domestic Bank.[34]

After the establishment of Czechoslovakia, most enterprises in Slovakia entered the sphere of interest of the Czech capital. The Harmanec paper factory, acquired in 1924 by the Moravian Agrarian and Industrial Bank of Brno, was no exception. The paper mill had five paper machines and produced all kinds of paper. In 1934, 590 workers worked in the plant. After 1937, more than 20 million Kč was invested in the plant. The factory expanded to include the production of special cellulose, and the company employed more than 900 workers and 70 officials.[35]

Of course, the board consisted mainly of employees of the mentioned financial institution: František Aschenbrenner – the chief director of the Moravian Agrarian and Industrial Bank of Brno, Kornel Stodola – a member of parliament, Ing. Ján Botto – a member of parliament, Fridolin Vogt – the director of the Bratislava branch of Moravská banka, Juraj Neuman – the chief director, Evžen Škarda – a factory worker, Adolf Ženožička, and Ing. Michal Ursíny.[36]

During the existence of the First Czechoslovak Republic, the company, like most woodworking plants, went through frequent periods of crisis and overproduction. The first production crisis began in 1922 and lasted throughout 1923. At the end of 1923, new ways of resuming production were being sought, but this was only achieved in April 1924, when a pulp mill, a wood grinding mill, and three paper machines started operating. The unfavourable location of the factory relative to sales centres and the overproduction of paper in Czechoslovakia led the factory to specialize in producing paper imported to a greater extent from abroad. Towards the end of 1924, the situation improved to such an extent that the Harmanec plant could release the Slovak and Hungarian claims of its sister paper factory, a joint-stock company in Slavošovce.[37] The factory experienced a deep depression even during the Great Depression of the 1930s and saw a recovery only in the business year of 1936.

The Harmanec paper factory in Harmanec was not the only paper enterprise belonging to the Moravian Bank. The same capital connection also existed at the Slavošovce Paper Factory, a joint stock company.

The Slavošovce paper mill was founded in 1817, and since 1842, it had the first paper machine in the former Hungary in operation. In 1880, it acquired larger dimensions by

32 *Pamätnica k 150 výročiu založenia papierne v Harmanci*. Bratislava 1979, pp. 25, 95.

33 ŠA BB, fund Zf, inv. no. 294 – 51/ 1920, box no. 225–226.

34 Ibidem, inv. no. 3973/ 1914, box no. 225–226.

35 KVIETOK, L.: Zemepis, p. 114.

36 ŠA BB, fund Zf, inv. no. 98/ 1920, box no. 225–226.

37 Ibidem, inv. no. 1340/ 1924, box no. 225–226.

merging with the pulp mill in Gemerská Hôrka and the paper mill in Masníkovo. After the collapse of Austria-Hungary and the change in economic conditions, in 1923, it came, like the Harmanec paper mill, into the capital sphere of the Moravian Bank in Brno.[38] The paper mill produced fine, medium fine, wrapping, and rotary paper. Production in 1929–1933 amounted to 65,000 tons of paper, and 520 employees worked there. In the abovementioned period, the pulp mill in Gemerská Hôrka produced 54,000 tons of pulp and employed 310 people.

A problematic situation arose at the Slavošovce Paper Factory after the Vienna Award decision, which caused significant production problems for the plant. The unfavourable situation was a direct consequence of the decision of the European powers included in the Vienna Award of 2 November 1938. With the annexation of southern Slovakia to Hungary, the Slavošovce paper mill lost its pulp mill in Gemerská Hôrka, located on the ceded territory. For this reason, the operation of the paper mill was very complicated. The import of pulp now had to take place through interstate trade, which required adaptations in transportation. Based on an agreement with the Hungarian railways, in December 1938, the Czechoslovak Republic started passenger transport between Slavošovce and Dobšiná and other railway stations through the territory of Hungary.[39]

An even more difficult situation arose while acquiring cellulose as the primary raw material of the paper production plant from Gemerská Hôrka. When importing cellulose from a foreign country, the goods were subject to customs duty and sales tax. These items burdened the price of the raw material to such an extent that the production costs exceeded the selling prices of the paper. As a result, the paper mill could not compete, and there was a threat of stopping production. On 24 December 1938, the representatives of the plant requested the Ministry of Economy of the Slovak land to grant an exemption for the duty-free import of cellulose from Gemerská Hôrka to Slavošovce in the amount of 800 wagons per year. The importance of the request mentioned above is also confirmed by its urgency, which was addressed directly to the Presidency of the Government of the Slovak land[40] on 17 February 1939. A prompt resolution of the difficulties was essential for employment in the region. Due to the supply problems, the paper mill often had to stop production, and people dependent on the factory's operation in an area with a small number of large plants lost their jobs.

The northern part of Central Slovakia also belonged to densely forested areas, which was used by the Žilina pulp mill, established during the Austro-Hungarian Empire in 1906. The original share capital of the company was fixed at 12,000,000 Kč, divided into 60,000 pieces of 200 Kč each. After the creation of the Czechoslovak Republic and the transfer of capital stocks, *Živnostenská banka* (Commercial Bank) becames the main shareholder. In addition to the main shareholder, one of the largest Slovak banks – *Slovenská banka* (Slovak Bank) – also had a partial share in the company. In 1921, it owned shares of the pulp mill in Žilina worth 31,600 Kč. After the merger with *Hospodárska Banka* (Economic Bank), it acquired additional shares with a nominal value of 14,800 Kč. Slovak Bank also provided the company with a loan, which was increased to 3.5 million Kč in the middle of 1927. The contact between the Žilina company and Slovak Bank inten-

[38] *Národné noviny*, 8 August 1942, p. 10.

[39] Slovenský národný archív Bratislava (hereinafter SNA BA), fund Úrad predsedníctva vlády 1939–1945, inv. no. 66, box no. 89.

[40] Ibidem.

sified in 1928 after Matej Murín (the director of the pulp mill) was elected as a member of the board of directors of Slovak Bank.[41]

Based on a resolution of the extraordinary general meeting held on 8 January 1931, the share capital was increased by 18,000,000 Kč. This was done by issuing 90,000 stock shares. The capital of the company was then 30,000,000 Kč divided into 150,000 shares of 200 Kč each.[42] The share capital was again reduced after a decision of the general meeting on 1 July 1935, when its value returned to 12,000,000 Kč.[43] Another change occurred on 6 June 1936, when the company's share capital amounted to 9,000,000 Kč and consisted of 45,000 shares of 200 Kč each (after the establishment of the Slovak State on 14 March 1939, 200 Ks[44]).[45] The company's main production focus was the processing of all types of wood in its own, purpose-built, or leased operations, and in connection with this, the establishment and operation of plants for the processing of all types of wood by mechanical and chemical methods. Primarily, cellulose was to be produced and processed.[46]

Not far from Žilina, the Martin pulp mill was founded in 1903 by *Kronstädter Papierstoff Fabriks A.G.* (Budapest). After Czechoslovakia's establishment and the enterprises' nostrification, the plant was transformed into a joint-stock company in 1923. Based on the request of the Ministry of Trade and the permission of the Ministry of the Interior, the factory was sold to a new company for 13 million Kč. Under the management of *Česká eskomptná banka* (Bohemian Discount Bank) in Prague, a new pulp factory company, *Továreň na celulózu*, a joint-stock company, was established in Martin. The Czech financial institution took over the company's entire share capital in 1936.[47] The new owner took over the company, which was not sufficiently capitalized. Right from the beginning, the company was burdened by taking over the claims of the Mošovce Manor, which the factory gradually liquidated until the 1930s.

In the 1920s, the company showed considerable profits: 1923/24 – 602 thousand Kč, 1925 – 2 million Kč, 1926 – 2.6 million Kč, 1927 – 1.5 million Kč, 1928 – 2 million Kč, 1929 – 1.3 million Kč. At the beginning of the 1930s, however, the company started showing losses: 1930 – 577 thousand Kč, 1931 – 4.9 million Kč. Regarding the mentioned losses, it should be noted that the company's director, G. Teltsch, did not manage the company during its development, but economic irregularities often appeared in the company's accounts. High prices were paid for the purchase of goods, high company overheads, or disproportionate rewards for employees in the crisis years.

The local administration and the factory's office commented on the company's activities under Director Teltsch's leadership.[48] The confidential report spoke about the nega-

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41 CHUDJÁK, F.: Podnikateľské aktivity, p. 56.

42 This increase in the stock principal was carried out on the basis of the initial balance compiled as of 1 January 1930 in accordance with Act no. 78 on Stabilization Balances, Coll. laws and regulations, of 15 June 1927.

43 The reduction was carried out by rounding the 200 crowns participation interest to 80 Kč. After that, the share capital of the company consisted of 150,000 fully paid shares with a value of 80 Kč per owner.

44 Ks = Slovak crown (the Slovak currency after the establishment of the Slovak State).

45 Štátny archív Bytča – pobočka Žilina, fund Okresný úrad Žilina 1923–1945, (hereinafter ŠA By – p. Za, fund OÚ ZA 1923-1945) inv. no. D-1767/1944/adm., box no. 506.

46 Ibidem. For the participation of Czech financial institutions in the Slovak business sphere, see: HORVÁTH, Š. – VALACH, J.: Peňažníctvo.

47 DECKER, Viliam: História výroby papiera a celulózy na Slovensku. In: *Zborník múzea v Antole* 15, Martin 1989, p. 132.

48 *The Chief Executive Officer has not proven himself to be a good and realistic businessman, nor is he an expert in*

tive personal qualities of the director and the bad business policy he was leading. Under his leadership, the company suffered a loss as early as in 1921, when the exchange rate loss during the sale of currencies reached more than 4 million Kč. In 1921, a contract was concluded with the Mošovce Manor, from whose forests the company was to use wood. The pulp mill invested 4 million Kč in the joint venture. The beginning of the economic crisis and the impossibility of selling cellulose wood caused a loss of 2 million Kč. The insolvency of the largest customer, the Sacrau paper mill in Breslau, also contributed to the high losses from 1931. Based on the mediation of director Teltsch, the paper mill was supplied with cellulose despite the company's financial difficulties, and the Martin factory thus lost 1.2 million Kč. A poor assessment of trade and world markets resulted in reduced production on 16 March 1930, which increased the production price of goods. When production was reduced, 130 workers lost their jobs.

The production ceasing at the Martin pulp mill in 1932 was dealt with by the Ministry of Finance, which stated that the cause of the company's catastrophic situation was the company's internal organization and management. The economic and marketing crisis of the 1930s did not significantly impact the company's closure because, in 1930, the factory exported 47,942 tons of cellulose, and in 1931, the export increased to 57,185 tons. The Ministry of Finance received requests from the local council to enable the company's existence: 1./ provision of a tariff discount for rail transport of raw materials and finished products, 2./ sales tax refund. To assess out the economic situation of the company and the investments made, the Ministry of Finance sent an audit committee to the pulp mill. According to the audit report, the investments were carried out without well-thought-out projects, and there was no thorough verification of specific calculations. With a delay compared to similar enterprises, the necessary machines were secured, but they did not have time to be put into operation during the economic boom, which increased investment losses. In the end, the audit report stated that the company's operation was not yet possible and that the reopening of the operation, or the fulfilment of the requirements of the Martin municipality, was feasible only after the improvement of the conditions in the world cellulose market. It should also be noted that the Martin pulp mill had a strong competitor in the Nordic countries in world markets. The main problem was the dumping prices of Nordic cellulose.[49]

The plant shutdown at the end of February 1932 thus affected around 500 workers, 40 foremen, and 40 officials, which, after including family members, impacted around 3,000 people. Within the city and district, this was a significant intervention in the social and economic situation of the region.

The not-very-positive situation with sales of products continued in the second half of the 1930s. There was a partial boom for the pulp industry in 1937, especially in its first half. The Martin pulp mill did not take full advantage of this situation, considering that already in 1936, it had agreed to sell a large part of the production for the year 1937. In the

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technical management, because he dictated such technical management to the company that damaged the company with his dispositions and investments, and at the same time loans in the amount of 300,000 Kč per year were paid to the chief technical officer. With such management, there can be no question of prosperity, and the prosperity of the company can only come after the removal of the general director and the incompetent technical administration. NA Praha, fund Ministerstvo financií 1918–1949, box no. 209. Resolution of the District Council of the Turčiansky Sv. Martin District on 21 February 1932.

[49] Ibidem. Temporary restoration of operations in the „Cellulose Factory, a stock company" in Turčiansky Sv. Martin, 27 November 1932.

end, the loss for the year 1937 amounted to more than 299 thousand Kč, and the loss for 1936 was 548,649 Kč. In 1938, turbulent political changes had a significant impact on economic development. There was a drop-in prices and an economic crisis. A severe prolem for the pulp mill in Martin, as well as others in Slovakia, was the competition from Scandinavian countries, which significantly "undercut" the prices offered by domestic companies.[50]

There was also a long-standing tradition of the wood industry in the village of Turany, where a steam sawmill was working as early as in the eighties of the nineteenth century. After a short break during the First World War, the sawmill continued to operate after the creation of First Czechoslovakia. The post-war years 1919–1922 marked a boom for the wood industry. This was primarily related to the renewed construction activity. Wood from Slovakia was exported to many European countries, especially Belgium and France. However, it also formed a warehouse for the timber industry of the Bohemian lands. Post-war developments meant the restoration of the Turany plant. In 1918, after the end of the war, the Ružomberok pulp and paper factory leased land of the Turany "Tarn". It was a joint-stock company founded by merchants, doctors, lawyers, and other Ružomberok shareholders. The new owners sought to take advantage of the growth in the timber industry and began the rapid construction of a sawmill. After completing the sawmill and carpentry workshop, they started production at the end of 1919. The sawmill first worked with three gutters; in 1920, a new one was added, and in later years, there were five gutters in the plant. During this period, the company employed 50–100 workers and mainly produced wood products for the construction of buildings destroyed by the war.

The post-war economy was soon replaced by a crisis and overproduction. The year 1922 was highly unfavourable for the timber industry. Based on poor sales opportunities, employers reduced wages *en masse* and laid off workers. The crisis was fully manifested in the Turany plant. As early as on 9 October 1922, the Regional Trade Union Council for Slovakia and Subcarpathian Ruthenia, based in Ružomberok, notified the Servants' Office in Turčiansky Sv. Martin: *We inform you that on 30 September 1922, the management of the Turany sawmill dismissed all the workers from their jobs, or if they wanted to work, they could pay a 15% reduced wage*.[51]

The situation was resolved on 16 October by the servants' office. During the negotiations, the parties involved did not reach a common stance. Subsequently, on 17 October, the employees declared a strike. However, as early as on 19 October, the workers and the management found a common solution to the dispute. They agreed to reduce wages by 5 %, effective from 23 October. Stability in the plant lasted only a short time, and as early as in March 1923, the sawmill had 400 wagons of timber in stock, for which it had no outlet.[52] The situation was not improved even by the beginning of construction growth. Unimproved social conditions naturally initiated a strike on 5 February 1924. An agreement was signed quickly, but on 29 August 1924, the sawmill laid off 60 workers and stopped operations for four years.

In 1928, the plant started working again. After Arnold Weiberger, the management passed to Artur Bednár. The sawmill worked only to a limited extent and functioned seasonally for just a few months a year. For comparison, in 1924, the sawmill employ-

[50] ŠA BY, fund KS v RK 1876–1949, no. 514/1939, box no. 1208.

[51] Archív Drevina Turany, fund Parná píla Turany, inv. no. 301/1922.

[52] LACKO, Richard: *100 rokov drevárskej výroby v Turanoch (1887–1987)*. Martin 1987, p. 43.

ed 70 permanent workers; in 1933, only 40 permanent and 65 seasonal workers were employed. The deep economic crisis of the 1930s hit the Turany plant hard again. It caused a wave of strikes and high unemployment. Many people solved the situation by leaving for Canada, the USA, Argentina, or Belgium. The complex situation was resolved in 1936 by the Ružomberok enterprise through the sale of land and the sawmill. The new owner was SOLO – United Joint-Stock Czechoslovak Match and Chemical Factories Prague II (SOLO – *Spojené akciové československé sirkárni a lučební továrny Praha II*). The company employed 64 workers and four officials at the plant. The difficult situation did not improve with the change of ownership. The plant operation was interrupted from 3 November 1936 to 17 January 1937 due to a lack of logs. The sawmill only worked when enough logs were in stock, so operations were often stopped. At the beginning of 1939, the SOLO company began to show high losses, thus it agreed to merge with the Society for Chemical and Metallurgical Production in Prague. However, this was not the last change of ownership, and in 1940, the Turany factory became part of a German company that had built the largest woodworking factory in Slovakia during the war.

Important industrial plants were also located in Ružomberok. In addition to traditional paper and pulp enterprises,[53] large Mautner's textile factories operated in the city. Interestingly, despite Slovakia's small percentage share in the national textile industry, Mautner's factories were the largest Czechoslovak enterprise within this industry. In the second half of the thirties, the company employed 2,700 workers in Rybárpole. About 650,000 kg of cotton worth 5 million Kč was processed in the plant monthly, and the wages amounted to 1.8 million Kč. The city of Ružomberok thus represented an important industrial centre of Liptov in the observed period and was also among the most industrialized regions on a national scale.

At the beginning of the 1930s, during the ongoing economic crisis, the rising generation of the Slovak intelligentsia, among whom there were excellent national economists, began to show efforts to revive the Slovak economy. According to the prepared concepts, the economy was to develop based on systematic steps that considered the natural regions and the possibilities of the given area for specific production processes. The regionalist movement[54] began to move in this direction, the goal of which was economic improvement

[53] The Slovak Paper Mill and Ružomberok Pulp and Paper Factory. After the First World War, the Ružomberok Pulp and Paper Factory was taken over by Mautner's textile plants, in 1921 the Žilina Pulp Factory (the equity capital had grown to 12 million Kč at that time), and in 1927 Commercial Bank became the owner. The new owner carried out a complete reconstruction of the plant in the following years with the plan to focus on the production of soft and viscose pulp and on quality and writing papers. Property changes continued to occur and, in 1936, the Ružomberok Pulp and Paper Factory, a joint-stock company, sold the factory in Ružomberok and its sawmills to the company SOLO, thereby ceasing its operation. At the meeting of the board of directors on 18 June 1936, they decided to establish a SOLO branch plant in Ružomberok. The business year 1938 was a loss for the Ružomberok pulp mill. The loss as of 31 December 1938 was 238,884 Kč, and together with the losses of 1937, the company began the next year of 1939 with a loss of 517,773 crown. On 27 August 1939, however, the Ružomberok pulp mill changed its appearance. It became part of the Prague group Spolok pro chemickú a hutnú výrobu (Association for Chemical and Metallurgical Production). HRUBOŇ, Antonín – HRUBOŇ, Anton: *Náš Ružomberok na historických pohľadniciach*. Partizánska Ľupča 2018, p. 143; HOUDEK, Ivan – DECKER, Viliam – SABÓL, Eugen: *Z dejín papiernictva a papiernického priemyslu na Slovensku*. Martin 1955, p. 10; HOCHMUT, Zdenko a kol.: *Ružomberok (historicko-vlastivedná monografia)*. Banská Bystrica 1969, p. 119.

[54] Regionalism: the main idea of the movement was economic improvement of specific Slovak regions, based on their needs. Regionalism did not deal with the political organization of Slovakia. The primary goal was the completion of infrastructure and industrialization, thereby refuting the opinion spread in the 1920s that Slovakia should focus mainly on agricultural production. Representatives of the regionalist movement were: Milan Hodža, Imrich Karvaš, Peter Zaťko, Kornel Stodola and others.

of Slovak regions. Thus, economic problems were to be solved directly on the spot and not from the centre of Prague. For this purpose, the National Economic Institute for Slovakia and Subcarpathian Ruthenia (*Národohospodársky ústav pre Slovensko a Podkarpatskú Rus,* NÁRUS) and regional economic councils were gradually established. During their existence, they developed several proposals for improving Slovakia's economic status within the Czechoslovak economy.[55]

In addition to the efforts for regional management of the economy in Slovakia, the construction of new subsidiaries of Czech concerns contributed to the revival of Slovak industry in the second half of the 1930s. The newly emerging geopolitical situation and the growing influence of Germany led to their construction. As a result of a possible military threat to Czechoslovakia, important businesses began to move further east. In addition to large armaments enterprises in Dubnica and Považská Bystrica, a mineral oil refinery was built in Dubová in Central Slovakia. In the case of the Central Slovak refinery, the focus was primarily on securing necessary chemical products in the centre of the country, since the Bratislava Apollo refinery had a very vulnerable position from a military point of view.

The state mineral oil refinery in Dubová was built by the Ministry of Public Works in Prague as the central administration of state mining and metallurgical plants for processing diesel from the state "mines" in Gbely. The in-house processing of Gbely oil stabilized the properties of oils produced from Gbely raw material. Until then, oil refining at Fant's plants in Pardubice had not shown satisfactory results. The enterprise's capacity was planned to process 6,000 tankers of raw material, each with a capacity of 10,000 kg, per year. Due to the fact that the state "oil mines" in Gbely produced 1,500 tankers of raw material annually, the missing quantity was provided from abroad.

The Ministry of Public Works in Prague dealt with the construction of the state refinery in Dubová and the necessary land expropriation according to Act No. 107 Coll. of 9 May 1923. During the construction of the plant and its technical facilities, as an enterprise critical for the defence of the state, all necessary real estate in three groups was expropriated in three stages.[56] In addition to purchasing land, a trade license to operate the plant was also necessary. The application for a trade license for the refinery operation was submitted on 2 April 1936. General approval and issuance of the trade-law assessment took place on 25 April 1936. The regulation stated that when building individual buildings, approval for each specific building always had to be requested.[57]

Among the first decisions related to the construction of the refinery was the decision of the Ministry of Railways of the Czechoslovak Republic, which on 8 January 1936, confirmed the construction permit granted for a siding leading from the Zámostie station to the future refinery in Dubová.[58] The plant started direct industrial production in

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[55] FABRICIUS, Miroslav – SUŠKO, Ladislav: *Jozef Tiso Prejavy a články I. (1913–1938)*. Bratislava 2002, p. 337.

[56] Letter from the Chief of the District Police Station in Svätý Ondrej nad Hronom dated 13 August 1936: *People from Dubová come here and say that a factory is to be built there, that various people are coming to the village who want to buy construction land for this factory, and that they are also threatening coercion and expropriation. An investigation of the facts and a report are requested.* Štátny archív Banská Bystrica – pobočka Banská Bystrica (hereinafter ŠA BB – p. BB), fund Okresný úrad v Brezne 1923–1945, box no. 98.

[57] Ibidem. Presidium of the Land Office. 3 July 1937.

[58] Ibidem, box no. 579. Construction of a rail siding from the Zámostie station to the territory of the state diesel refinery in Dubová.

1939[59] and was included among several newly built enterprises that contributed to the positive economic direction of the newly formed Slovak State.

Conclusion

The economic development of individual regions of Slovakia was diametrically different from the early 20th century. After the creation of Czechoslovakia, the Slovak part of the republic in the 1920s and 1930s tried more or less successfully to adapt to the new economic and political situation. In the global context of the Czechoslovak economy, an economic boom occurred between 1924 and 1929 after the post-war crisis. For factories in Central Slovakia, the economic recovery did not have a significant impact, and their industrial production only reached the level of 1913. The economic crisis hit the enterprises again at the turn of the 1920s and 1930s, affecting all industries, although not to the same extent. The drop in annual production by 40 % pushed the Czechoslovak economy back to the level of the beginning of the 20th century. The year 1929 already marked a crisis in the production of textiles, glass, ceramics, and building materials, and in 1930, production declined in almost all industrial sectors. During the investment wave in the 1930s, the industrialization process in Slovakia went from the stage of internal qualitative changes to quantitative growth; the gradual turn in the development of industrialization was manifested outwardly by an increase in the overall production potential, the volume of production, and the number of employees in industry. This was a difference from the 1920s, when the increase in quantitative indicators was limited to only some industries, with a decline in other production areas. More significant quantitative growth only in certain directions of the development of industry and infrastructure, and its more pronounced development, depended not only on the economic but also on the geopolitical situation of individual regions of Slovakia.

Individual indicators of economic development within specific economic cycles were manifested in specific areas of Slovakia. Major problems gradually began to affect the regions of Central Slovakia and the enterprises operating in this area. Among others, the engineering enterprises Union Zvolen, Podbrezová ironworks and the enterprise in Krompachy in Eastern Slovakia were also significantly affected. The above-mentioned economic and non-economic problems after the disintegration of the large Hungarian economic area had a negative impact on their further development. Gradually, enterprises closed down and unemployment in the region increased. The issue of unemployment was a major problem and was only partially solved, for example, by the construction of the railway line to Krupina or the construction of the hydroelectric power station in Staré Hory. There was a particularly difficult social situation in the 1920s in the southern regions of Central Slovakia, which suffered from fundamental changes in the direction of infrastructure (their

[59] With the change in socio-political conditions in Czechoslovakia, property law matters related to the state refinery were gradually resolved. The autonomous Slovak government dealt with the situation shortly after the adoption of the law on the autonomy of Slovakia. On 11 January 1939, the Ministry of Transport and Public Works of the Slovak Land submitted a proposal for the transfer of the state refinery in Dubová to the property of the Slovak Land to the government of the Czecho-Slovak Republic. According to the presented document, the refinery in Dubová belonged to the state mining property of the Slovak Land based on Section 4, Article 1, no. 11 of the Constitutional Act no. 299/1938 on the autonomy of the Slovak Land. The situation was resolved with the establishment of the Slovak Republic (1939–1945), when the directorate of the State Mining and Metallurgical Plants in Bratislava took over the refinery in Dubová effective from 1 March 1939. SNA BA, fund Úrad predsedníctva vlády 1939–1945, inv. no. 66, box no. 89. Proposal by the Slovak government that the state mineral oil refinery in Dubová be recognized as the property of the Slovak State Mining and Metallurgical Plants; State refinery in Dubová, memorandum.

connection to Budapest lost its importance and the railway link between Slovakia and the Bohemian lands was insufficient) and the loss of important outlets in the former Hungarian area. The result was high unemployment and the end of several industrial companies. Primarily metallurgical enterprises in Gemer suffered major problems and ceased their activities. Mining enterprises in the vicinity of Banská Štiavnica were similarly affected. A special chapter of the industrial companies in Central Slovakia was wood-processing enterprises. Large paper and pulp mills were established in Žilina, Martin, Ružomberok, Harmanec, and Slavošovce while they were still part of the Kingdom of Hungary. At that time, there were also efforts to strengthen the Slovak business sphere and to gain positions in the capital sphere with the help of Czech capital. The wood-processing enterprises also had to cope with the changed situation and their activities in the new state were accompanied by property changes. Economic crises and economic booms actively affected production activity. It was the state's efforts to reduce the impact of the Great Depression, the danger from Germany and activities of Slovak national economists associated in the regionalist movement that helped to increase investments in the building of industry in individual regions of Slovakia and the transfer of production capacities of important companies from the Bohemian lands to the 'interior'. These were mainly arms factories in Považská Bystrica and Dubnica and the construction of an important refinery in Dubová, as a backup to the Bratislava Apollo refinery in Central Slovakia.

However, the gradually increasing investments in Slovak industry in the second half of the 1930s were greatly influenced by the change of power relations in Europe. Pressure from Nazi Germany eventually led to the adoption of the Munich Agreement, predetermining the political and, at the same time, economic future of Slovakia, which politically and economically came under the control of its guarantor, Nazi Germany.

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Summary

Pitfalls of the Industrialization of Selected Regions of Central Slovakia in the First Four Decades of the 20th Century

The economic development of individual regions of Slovakia was diametrically different from the early 20th century. After the creation of Czechoslovakia, the Slovak part of the republic in the 1920s and 1930s tried more or less successfully to adapt to the new economic and political situation. In the global context of the Czechoslovak economy, an economic boom occurred between 1924 and 1929 after the post-war crisis. For factories in Central Slovakia, the economic recovery did not have a significant impact, and their industrial production only reached the level of 1913. The economic crisis hit the enterprises again at the turn of the 1920s and 1930s, affecting all industries, although not to the same extent. The drop

in annual production by 40 % pushed the Czechoslovak economy back to the level of the beginning of the 20th century. The year 1929 already marked a crisis in the production of textiles, glass, ceramics, and building materials, and in 1930, production declined in almost all industrial sectors. During the investment wave in the 1930s, the industrialization process in Slovakia went from the stage of internal qualitative changes to quantitative growth. However, the changes in European power relations greatly influenced the gradually increasing investments in Slovak industry in the second half of the 1930s. The pressure of Nazi Germany resulted in the adoption of the Munich Dictate, which predetermined the political and, at the same time, the economic future of Slovakia.

SPYRA, Janusz: *Pieniądz w służbie społeczeństwa* : *Towarzystwo Oszczędności i Zaliczek i inne polskie instytucje bankowości spółdzielczej na Śląsku Cieszyńskim* : *150 lat Banku Spółdzielczego w Cieszynie 1873–2023*. Cieszyn: Bank Spółdzielczy 2023, 395 [4] pp. ISBN 978-83-910627-1-5.

The year 2023 marked the 150th anniversary of the foundation of Towarzystwo Oszczędności i Zaliczek (TOiZ; Eng. "Savings and Credit Cooperative") in Cieszyn. Its successor in the present day is Bank Spółdzielczy in Cieszyn (a cooperative bank, as defined by the Polish banking law). To celebrate the anniversary, the institution published a monograph on its history. The task was assigned to Janusz Spyra from the Jan Długosz University in Częstochowa: a renowned specialist in the field of the early modern and 19th-century history of Cieszyn Silesia. This appointment did not come as a surprise: although Spyra is mostly dedicated to researching the history of the Jews in Austrian Silesia, he had already taken part in several projects celebrating the milestone anniversaries of Bank Spółdzielczy before. In 2013, he co-authored a short publication on the history of the institution – *Bank Spółdzielczy w Cieszynie 1873–2013. Historia i współczesność* (Eng. "Bank Spółdzielczy in Cieszyn 1873–2012. The past and the present"). In 2003, as an employee of the Museum of Cieszyn Silesia, Spyra curated a special exhibition, *Nie kładź grosza w obce kasy* ("Do not toss your coin to a foreign bank"). He has also published several articles about TOiZ. This time, the bar was set extremely high: Spyra intended to thoroughly recreate the 150 years of the history of the organisation in a broader context of activities of other banking institutions in the region (Polish, German, and Czech).

The research resulted in the book discussed here: *Pieniądz w służbie społeczeństwa. Towarzystwo Oszczędności i Zaliczek i inne polskie instytucje bankowości spółdzielczej na Śląsku Cieszyńskim. 150 lat Banku Spółdzielczego w Cieszynie 1873–2023* (Eng. "Money at the service of society. Towarzystwo Oszczędności i Zaliczek and other Polish cooperative banking institutions in Cieszyn Silesia. 150 years of Bank Spółdzielczy in Cieszyn 1873–2023"). However, the book presents more than the history of TOiZ in Cieszyn – the past serves as a background for a comprehensive analysis of the economic development of the region, with a special focus on cooperative finances and banking. Moreover, the author goes back beyond the year 1873, when the Imperial Council in Vienna passed an act on commercial and economic associations, which enabled the creation of Towarzystwo Zaliczkowe (Eng. "Credit Union"; the name changed to TOiZ later). He makes references to as early as 1526, when the Duchy of Cieszyn became part of the Habsburg monarchy. In fact, before presenting the economic history of the Duchy of Cieszyn, Spyra describes the general history of financial systems dating back to the earliest times. While these initial chapters reflect the author's meticulous and serious approach to the subject, they obviously do not go into detail as much as the sections referring directly to TOiZ (starting from p. 69). A relatively limited space (around 40 pages) is given to the period between 1945 and 1990. As far as the volume is concerned, the book is definitely dominated by the section about the Austrian times.

The economic history of the Polish national group in Cieszyn Silesia was rich in interesting occurrences. The first two important financial organisations were established almost at the same time and thanks to a joint effort of mostly the same people – Towarzystwo Zaliczkowe and Bazar Cieszyński (a trading company). The two organisations cooperated closely with one another. Nonetheless, their fortunes were completely different: within 18 years, TOiZ developed into "the best Polish association of its type in Austria" (as appraised by an inspector from Lviv, p. 106), while the other organisation went bankrupt, also as a result of poor decisions concerning the management. In the book, the history of Bazar Cieszyński is told only in the context of its relation to TOiZ – Spyra wrote more comprehensively about the subject in a separate article ("Wielkość I upadek Bazaru Cieszyńskiego", *Pamiętnik Cieszyński* 24, 2023, pp. 39–66). Both associations could rely on strong organisational and financial support from the Poles living in the territory of the former Polish Republic (especially from Galicia), which was characteristic of the entire activity of Polish national groups in the region, as aptly emphasised by the author (pp. 69 ff). The beginnings of TOiZ were rather modest – the organisation managed to overcome the initial difficulties only thanks to the external support and by copying Galician patterns into the context of Cieszyn Silesia. Apart from TOiZ, to meet the market demand, a number of other financial institutions of various types were founded in Cieszyn Silesia (and in the whole of Cisleithania) at the time (i.e., after 1873, especially at the turn of the century). These included: savings and loan associations, banks, contribution funds, municipal savings banks, district loan companies, Schulze-Delitzsch credit unions, and numerous Raiffeisen credit unions (in the Polish territories, these were known as 'kasy Stefczyka', and in the Czech territories, they were referred to as 'kampeličky'). This resulted in the growth of a modern banking

services sector. The author describes this process in great detail, demonstrating that in Cieszyn Silesia, the development was remarkably dynamic and had a far-reaching impact on other sectors of the economy as well – for instance, it contributed significantly to the modernisation of agriculture (pp. 139 and others).

One of the themes that Spyra found particularly important (and I find it particularly interesting) is the cooperation of TOiZ and the Polish national movement in Cieszyn Silesia. In the book, he confirms that banking in this region was an actual area of competition between nations. One of the reasons why TOiZ was created was the fact that the local Polish population wanted to become independent from the Germans in terms of loans – anyhow, the Polish-speaking villagers had limited opportunities in that respect. Moreover, the German municipal loan banks provided financial support to German schools. In 1885, TOiZ gained financial stability and was finally able to donate some of its profits "for public benefit" (pp. 110–116). Among other causes, TOiZ supported Polish organisations, especially Macierz Szkolna dla Księstwa Cieszyńskiego (Eng. "The Educational Society of the Duchy of Cieszyn") and Towarzystwo Domu Narodowego ("The National House Society"). In 1898, the members of TOiZ practically took charge of the construction of the Dom Narodowy cultural centre in Cieszyn. With substantial financial support from TOiZ, the building was completed in 1901 (p. 159). After the end of World War I, TOiZ rendered its services to the National Council for the Duchy of Cieszyn (pp. 220–221). Even though TOiZ was not affiliated with any political party, before 1920, it was under a major influence of the representatives of the Evangelical wing of the Polish national movement in the region, linked with the brothers Franciszek and Jan Michejda (pp. 157–158, 209, and others).

Aside from TOiZ and other financial institutions in Cieszyn Silesia, the protagonists of Janusz Spyra's book include the people who dealt with the eponymous money reasonably and to everyone's advantage. The figures of the persons of exceptional merit at the service of TOiZ in the first 66 years of its establishment (until 1939) are listed in special annexes, completing the first and second part of the book (concerning the Austrian period and the interwar period respectively). As a result, the publication has an added value of serving as a biographical dictionary (with 58 entries). In some cases, the biographical entries refer to people who are commonly known by historians but their banking-related activities have not been emphasised so far (e.g. Piotr Feliks, Franciszek Michejda, Jan Michejda, Ignacy Świeży). Most of them, however, are little-known figures who have not earned any biographical entries in other publications, although they surely deserve recognition. These are, for example: Władysław Wacław Lech (a member of Towarzystwo Wzajemnych Ubezpieczeń in Kraków – a mutual insurance company – who moved to Cieszyn and became a member of the first management board of Towarzystwo Zaliczkowe as an inspector and educated the local people about banking; for instance, he taught them about the purpose of account books) and Józef Klebinder (a Jewish entrepreneur from Janovice in Moravia, who moved to Cieszyn in the 1860s and collaborated with the Polish national movement; he was also a member of the first management board of Towarzystwo Zaliczkowe, working as a clerk). There is an erroneous piece of information in this part of the book: it says that Rev. Franciszek Michejda was "one of the three co-presidents of the National Council of the Duchy of Cieszyn", while in fact, this refers to his brother Jan (pp. 197, 220). Furthermore, it seems that a crucial paragraph is missing in the biography of Adam Sikora, one of the most distinguished and active members of TOiZ (p. 189). Overall, the biographical entries are of high quality.

Some of the sources used by Spyra had rarely been cited by other historians before (however, Spyra had referred to these materials in his previous articles regarding the economic history of the region). These sources are the minute books of the decision-making committees of TOiZ (in particular, the minutes of the meetings of the supervisory board starting from 1873, fully preserved) and other documents from the archive of Bank Spółdzielczy in Cieszyn as well as the minutes of the general meetings of TOiZ preserved by Cieszyn notaries from that time and retrieved from the local division of the State Archives in Katowice. Thanks to access to such sources, the author was able to present the subject with extreme precision – most readers will appreciate that, but some may find the book challenging for that reason. Presumably, the author intended to exhaust the subject, as it was probably the only opportunity to explore some of the themes included in the book (in a more limited way, the subject was discussed in papers such as "Towarzystwo Oszczędności i Zaliczek, Związek Spółek Rolniczych i inne polskie instytucje życia finansowego na Śląsku Cieszyńskim przed 1918 r.", *Cieszyńskie Studia Muzealne / Těšínský Muzejní Sborník* 7, 2020, pp. 13–26). Moreover, Spyra chose not to include charts or graphs when presenting financial data, the members of the boards of directors and supervisory boards of TOiZ, etc. – instead, he used narrative descriptions. The author's decision must be respected. However, graphical representation of data might prove to be more comprehensible in the case of the changing financial results, the number of union members, etc. Nevertheless, graphs, charts, and lists of board members are included in the final chapter, concerning the years 1990–2023, written by Alina Rakowska, President of the Management Board of Bank Spółdzielczy – they outline the devel-

opment of the institution after the end of the Communist period in Poland in a very accessible manner.

Janusz Spyra clearly put a lot of effort into the book. The publisher did so as well – the quality of the graphic design, proofreading, and print is wholly satisfactory. The contents of the publication are presented in a diligent and detailed manner (especially in the part related to the Austrian times), and the information is set against a broader context – it can be read as a book on the general history of the economic development in Cieszyn Silesia. It is partially based on sources that have not been used previously. This very fact proves that the book deserves praise. I believe that this is one of the most important Polish-language publications about the history of Cieszyn Silesia in recent years. However, I have been surprised by the lack of abstracts in other languages: only Polish speakers will benefit from the book. In fact, the subject deserves an independent publication in Czech. Moreover, the subject of Polish nationalism in Cieszyn Silesia should be discussed in even more detail in the future. Janusz Spyra's book shows that although there are plenty of publications on this subject, there are still certain unexplored fields related to it.

Wojciech Święs

KUBŮ, Eduard – SOBOTKOVÁ, Jitka – ŠOUŠA, Jiří (edd.): *Antonín Švehla* : *Český sedlák, politik a státník*. Praha: Národní zemědělské muzeum 2023, 319 s. ISBN 978-80-88270-41-6.

Kolektivní monografie je výstupem stejnojmenné konference konané v Národním zemědělském muzeu v Praze v roce 2023 u příležitosti 150. výročí narození a 90. výročí úmrtí Antonína Švehly. Osobnost jednoho z mužů 28. října a významného politika meziválečného Československa již byla zpracována před více než 20 lety (MILLER, Daniel Edward: *Antonín Švehla – mistr politických kompromisů* /2001/). Před editory publikace tak stál nelehký úkol: z množství konferenčních příspěvků vybrat a publikovat ty, které by Antonína Švehlu představily i v jiných souvislostech a jeho prostřednictvím také umožnily pochopit principy moderní české demokracie.

Úvodní blok otevírá obsáhlé dobové laudatio Antonína Matuly, následované textem Jiřího Šouši a Eduarda Kubů, v němž se pokoušejí rekonstruovat osobnost Antonína Švehly. Příznačné – a nejen pro jejich text však je, že navzdory významu Antonína Švehly pro meziválečné Československo se nedochovala ani Švehlova pozůstalost, ani archivní fondy agrární strany, jejímž byl čelným představitelem. Navíc Švehla sám zůstával raději v pozadí a maximum jeho státotvorné práce se odehrávalo v zákulisních kuloárech. Rekonstruovat Švehlovo působení tak lze pouze nepřímo na základě archiválií spojených s činností parlamentu či vlády, novinových článků či osobních vzpomínek jeho spolupracovníků. V těchto vzpomínkách vystupuje Švehla jako osoba pevně spjatá se svým původem – je sedláckým synkem z Hostivaře a zájmy sedláckého stavu nikdy neztrácíze zřetele.

Řada subjektivních vzpomínek jej také vykresluje jako mistra kompromisů, člověka orientujícího se ve vysoké politice, schopného dosahovat konsensu i bez ohledu na vlastní sympatie či antipatie, např. k Eduardu Benešovi, dá se říci jako zákulisního pragmatika.

Druhý oddíl publikace analyzuje Švehlovo působení v politice, žurnalistice a církvi, přičemž předkládané texty spíše věnují pozornost právnímu uspořádání první republiky. Millerův text se věnuje primárně teorii tzv. konsociační demokracie, Jiří Šouša ml. pozornost zaměřuje k otázce ústavněprávního institutu demokratického právního státu, slovenskou problematiku při vzniku nového státu akcentuje Roman Holec. Švehlova politická stanoviska v roce 1933, tedy v roce jeho smrti, analyzuje Petr Anev. Další texty tohoto oddílu jsou věnovány rozvoji agrárnického tisku, vztahu k církvi a problematice následovnictví v agrární straně po Švehlově úmrtí.

V těchto studiích, s výjimkou textu o slovenské situaci, je osoba Antonína Švehly přítomna, protože se autoři mohou opřít o prameny pocházející z činnosti politických orgánů. V tomto světle je Švehla vykreslen v souladu s úvodní charakteristikou jako státník, pragmatik, diplomat, mistr kompromisů i svým založením selský synek s bystrým rozumem a ostrým jazykem.

Následující oddíl publikace věnovaný *Hospodářství* se rovněž pokouší propojit Švehlovu osobnost s jednotlivými oblastmi hospodářství. Mnohem výrazněji než v prvním oddílu se však ukazuje, jak zásadní je již zmíněná absence pramenů. Ačkoliv jsou studie zajímavé, Švehly je v nich pomálu. Texty většinou končí konstatováním, že k hlubšímu rozboru chybí dostatek pramenů. Studie v této části publikace tak bohužel příliš Švehlovy názory, postoje či aktivity neodrážejí, zrcadlí spíše témata první republiky ve spojení s vlastními výzkumnými zájmy. Velmi výrazně se to projevuje v textech věnovaných hospodářsko-politickému vývoji na Slovensku či v textu k založení Československého státního archivu zemědělského.

Z tohoto oddílu si – domnívám se – pozornost zasluhuje především text Pavla Nováka, jehož rozbor hospodaření na Švehlově statku následně přechází v obecný rozbor hospodaření velkostatku. Při detailnějších analýzách většího souboru velkostatků může být tento text úvodem k zajímavým komparačním studiím velkostatkářského hospodaření na přelomu 19. a v první polovině 20. století, tedy tím, co vhodně doplní a koriguje téma pozemkových reforem z politicko-právního hlediska.

Následující oddíl knihy s názvem *Antonín Švehla – člověk a jeho prostředí* prostřednictvím čtyř textů nahlíží do oblasti výzkumu dobové fotografie, dobové satiry, humoru a karikatury a následně do oblasti každodennosti, jednak v otázce postavení ženy a jednak v problematice dobového jídelníčku.

Michaela Zeinerová Brachtlová analyzuje sebe/prezentaci Švehly jako významného státníka, politika, představitele agrární strany. Využitím vizuálních pramenů popisuje Švehlův vztah ke společnosti i společnosti jako takové k Švehlovi. Na Švehlovi ukazuje, že využívání fotografie jako nástroje prezentace nebylo v jeho případě obsáhlé. Švehla prostě nebyl osobností vyžadující neutuchající pozornost, zájem médií mu nebyl zřejmě příjemný, k politice kompromisu jej nepotřeboval a bral jej tedy jako nezbytnou a neoblíbenou součást svého povolání. Z toho vychází také skutečnost, že až na výjimky bylo jeho zobrazení v tisku pozitivní, bez výraznějších karikatur, jak dokládá příspěvek Barbory Štolleové.

Rovněž text Marie Bahenské věnovaný každodennosti, především Švehlovu rodinnému zázemí v čele s Bohumilou Švehlovou, narazil na absenci pozůstalosti. Švehlova manželka je zde vykreslena v souladu s dobovým pojetím jako skromná žena, statkářka, matka a manželka na základě zmínek v jiných archivních pramenech. Absence pozůstalosti také bohužel limituje možnost srovnat postavení manželek prvorepublikových státníků z hlediska jejich původu a pozice ve společenské hierarchii.

Poslední text tohoto oddílu z pera Jitky Sobotkové přináší pohled pod pokličku měšťanské a selské kuchyně a jako takový již Švehlu neakcentuje.

Snaha prokázat, že Antonín Švehla je osobností procházející dějinami, je náplní posledního oddílu knihy, který je psán spíše beletristicky než historicky. Popis Švehlovy nadace působí ve struktuře knihy poněkud rušivě, kapitola Život po životě Lukáše Berného a Marie Zdeňkové se věnuje popisu švehlovského mýtu – tzn. posledním deseti letům první republiky a stává se spíše přehledem zajímavostí. Text Pavlíny Nejedlíkové a Marie Zdeňkové věnovaný Hostivaři se poté pokouší zachytit vliv rodiny Švehlů na rodnou obec a následně vztah zdejšího meziválečného průmyslu a kultury ke švehlovskému mýtu a první republice. Závěr publikace je shrnutím jednotlivých textů.

Je jen dobře, že vznikají publikace připomínající osobnosti spojené s demokratickými principy, avšak zcela jednoznačně se ukazují limity práce vzniklé při absenci archivních pramenů. Domnívám se, že tento faktor byl jedním z důvodů komplikovaného výběru studií. Do kolektivní monografie se tak dostaly texty, v nichž je Švehla přítomen, i texty informačně bohaté, jejichž vazba na Švehlu je však mnohem volnější (kapitola ke stravě, kapitola k vývoji hospodářství na Slovensku, kapitola k nástupnictví po Švehlovi, kapitola ke vzniku archivní instituce atd.).

Ambivalence je patrná i v rozložení knihy. Úvodní text v dobovém jazyce – laduatio – odradí potenciální čtenáře z řad širší veřejnosti, závěrečný oddíl zase vzbudí mírné rozpaky u odborné veřejnosti.

Je také otázkou, zda bylo možné při stavu pramenné základy do publikace zařadit polemický či diskuzní příspěvek, který by Švehlu „hladil“ proti srsti. Autoři úvodního historiografického přehledu sice poukazují na prezentaci Švehlovy osobnosti v historickém diskurzu poválečného Československa, jedná se však pouze o stručný přehled.

Domnívám se, že ve velkorysém pojetí se mnohdy samotný Švehla ztrácí, publikace nicméně přináší mnohé zajímavé informace k hospodářským a sociálním dějinám první republiky a jako taková je cenným příspěvkem k poznávání meziválečné společnosti.

Michaela Závodná

MARCUS, Steven: *Jiní viktoriáni* : *studie o sexualitě a pornografii v Anglii v polovině 19. století*. Praha: Academia 2022, 236 s. ISBN 978-80-200-3392-5.

Viktoriánská epocha svou striktností a odměřeností všeobecně evokuje jisté tajemno, kvůli čemuž se laik může domnívat, že se jedná o dobu ryze praktickou, bez jakýchkoliv zbytečných emočních projevů, zbožnou a tradiční. Do jaké míry však Angličané 19. století splňovali tyto stereotypy, se pokusil kriticky analyzovat americký literární kritik Steven Marcus v díle *Jiní viktoriáni*. Studie si „bere na paškál“ dobovou literaturu, ať už oficiální, vzniklou z iniciativy lékařů či jiných odborníků, nebo tu nemorální a chlípnou, jím definovanou jako pornografii.

Publikace byla poprvé vydána v New Yorku roku 1966 a českým čtenářům ji zprostředkovalo nakladatelství Academia v roce 2022. Dílo je koncipováno do sedmi kapitol včetně závěru a předcházejí mu dvě předmluvy s krátkým úvodem. Bibliografie chybí, nicméně použitou literaturu autor zmiňuje přímo v textu, popř. v poznámkách pod čarou, které využívá také k objasnění některých svých myšlenek. Na konci knihy je pouze strohý jmenný a věcný rejstřík, který postrádá řadu důležitých hesel.

Hned v první kapitole se Marcus věnuje textům vzešlým z lékařské praxe. Prim hrají spisky doktora Williama Actona, profesně aktivního v polovině 19. století, který perfektně reprezentuje viktoriánskou prudérnost. Na jednu stranu se ve svých pracích zastává prostitutek a nárokuje jim veškerá lidská práva s ohledem na respekt a důstojný život, avšak na stranu druhou démonizuje masturbaci, kterou spojuje s různými život ohrožujícími nemocemi, slepotou, nespavostí apod. Manželským párům doporučuje počít dítě každé dva roky, aby se otupily jejich sexuální chtíče, a ony se tak ubránily „vedlejším účinkům“ pohlavního styku. Prosazuje názor, že ženy žádnými sexuálními tužbami nedisponují a náruživost je pova-

hovým rysem příznačným jen pro muže. V takovémto duchu byla mravní čistota vštěpována viktoriánům už od útlého věku, což zcela přirozeně vedlo k potlačování smyslnosti a k frustraci.

Jiní viktoriáni poskytují rovněž vhled do procesů vzniku a distribuce knih, zejména pornografie, která byla velmi ceněnou „podpultovou" komoditou. Erotický román si mohl dovolit jen málokdo, zpravidla majetný člověk, jenž se bavil sběrem kuriozit, anebo byl prostým literárním fanatikem. Typický byl malý počet výtisků a enormně vysoká kupní cena, takže se jednalo o exkluzivní zboží. Nicméně žádná solidní nakladatelství nechtěla mít s lechtivým uměním nic společného. Distribuce takových knih by jim mohla ubírat na serióznosti, a tak se vydávání ujaly malé soukromé tiskárny, čímž se výtisky staly samy o sobě drahými. Vzhledem k těmto aspektům lze pornografii chápat jako vysoce elitářskou. Doboví autoři publikovali záměrně a ze zištných důvodů pod pseudonymy a názvy knih vymýšleli mazaně zavádějící, aby nepobuřovaly.

Stěžejním pramenem poznání je čtyři tisíce stran dlouhé svědectví, memoár chceme-li, nesoucí název *Můj tajný život*, jež bylo vydáno neznámým zámožným anglickým autorem v roce 1888. Těžko obecně charakterizovat několikasvazkovou edici tohoto brutálního díla, protože *popisuje všechny známé formy sexuální zvrácenosti od lesbismu, pederastie a flagelanství až po sodomii, incest a zoofilii* (s. 76). Konfese Waltera, což je užívaný pseudonym autora, je postavena na základě vzpomínek a zážitků, které zaznamenával do svých deníků. Na základě nich posléze publikoval vlastním nákladem jedenáct svazků, a to pouze v šesti vydáních. Marcus toto dílo převážně interpretuje a na některé pasáže užívá psychoanalýzu. Rozebírá skladby vět, použité výrazy, pokouší se vyčíst a přetlumočit emoce, jež text odráží, někdy také sklouzne k mravním soudům a kritice Walterových činů. Chvílemi se může zdát, že *Můj tajný život* je jakousi formou erotického románu, ale není tomu tak. Paměti obsahují řadu přiznání, která však neznámý autor nereflektuje jako zvrácená, nýbrž jako pouhou skutečnost, která se udála. Pojednává o ženách, které znásilnil, a o těch, které vnímal jako podřadné vzhledem k jejich socioekonomickému postavení, o pedofilii, ale převážně o sobě a svých potřebách a touhách, které jsou gró celé jeho knihy. Pokud se čtenář oprostí od veškerých vulgarismů, zevrubných popisů kopulace či odsouzeníhodných myšlenkových pochodů Waltera, může nahlédnout za oponu a prozkoumat ryzí viktoriánskou společnost, a to hned z první ruky.

Úzkoprsost a mravnost byly dogmatem celé epochy, avšak Walter vyvrací zažité domněnky argumentem „zakázané ovoce chutná nejlépe". Díky jeho dílu lze z historického hlediska posoudit mnoho aspektů, které obecně doprovází milostný život tehdejšího člověka. V *Mém tajném životě* perfektně reflektuje inflaci ceny za pohlavní styk s prostitutkou, a to díky svému pečlivě vedenému účetnictví, popisuje tělesnou hygienu, ale hlavně zaznamenává svá společenská stanoviska, jež mohou nastínit smýšlení ostatních gentlemanů dané éry. Podle Waltera, stejně jako doktora Actona, byla například sexualita ryze mužskou záležitostí. Tvrdí, že ženy žádnou nemají a pokud ano, pak velmi slabou, takže se mohou jednoduše podřídit muži. Taktéž odvážně charakterizuje sexuální nárůživost dělníků a dělnic a porovnává ji se zdrženlivostí vyšších vrstev. Sám podotýká, že „chudina" vnímá pohlavní styk jako formu zábavy, jež nic nestojí, takže se mu oddává daleko dříve a ve větší míře, zatímco střední třída je pod drobnohledem morálky. Dále osvětluje kult panenství, úvahy o fungování ženských genitálií či prozrazuje, že podstoupení interrupcí bylo více než běžné a vykonávaly je hlavně švadleny. Dílo pojednává o sexuální osvětě mládeže, o nahlížení na opačné pohlaví či první formy sbližování se, popř. také o práci vychovatelů, guvernantek a o služebnictvu, o dědictví a majetcích nižší šlechty, nevěstincích a kuplířství, o alkoholismu, žebráctví nebo pohlavních nemocech. Autor nešetří explicitními výrazy a Marcus je sebevědomě cituje bez jakéhokoliv přikrášlování nebo cenzury, takže v jistých pasážích je kniha svou surovostí a indiskrétností velmi pohoršující.

Téma, které se v *Mém tajném životě* vůbec neobjevuje, je láska. Ta nehraje v publikaci ani v životě anonymního tvůrce téměř žádnou roli a Marcus tomuto faktu věnuje velkou pozornost. Vnímá Waltera jako sadistu trpícího hypersexualitou s neschopností navázat romantický vztah. Nepřímo kritizuje i jím vylíčený zhuštěný výklad událostí, které prožil nebo byl jejich součástí, protože dle něj vystupuje chladně, jen výjimečně projevuje soucit a často opakuje stejné příběhy napříč vydanými svazky, avšak za použití jiných jmen a míst. Pozoruhodné však je, že Walterovu násilnickou činnost nekomentuje, a pokud ano, tak velmi stroze, někdy jen mezi řádky. Jako by jej nechtěl soudit, protože si je vědom toho, že konsent v 19. století ještě neměl své místo a znásilnění v manželství zkrátka „neexistovalo".

Memoár není jedinou publikací, které literární kritik věnuje pozornost. Zabývá se také dobovou erotickou beletrií, jíž krátce nastiňuje a následně podrobuje kritickému hodnocení. Dochází pak k závěrům, že sexuální vztahy ve všech románech obsahují stejné prvky – agresi a dominanci. Vlastní recenzi podrobuje celkem čtyři dobové prózy a ve výsledku hodnotí, že každá z nich má totožné klíčové téma, jímž je deflorace, znásilnění, ponížení anebo nerovný vztah mezi starším movitým mužem a mladou zchudlou dívkou. Marcus věnuje této pornografii v závěru knihy celou kapitolu a na základě svého odborného posouzení dochází k názoru, že propíraná literatura vznikala z tvůrčí činnosti mužů, a sice pro mužské čtenáře. Poptávaná díla tak měla obsahovat dychtivá

a tabuizovaná přání gentlemanů, již si tímto způsobem mohli za pomoci fantazie ukojit své nevyřčené touhy.

Je nutno podotknout, že Steven Marcus provedl opravdu „mravenčí práci", díky které stvořil mimořádnou studii, a to nejen svým obsahem, ale také vzhledem k době jejího publikování. Sám v předmluvě uvádí, že se s žádným podobným dílem ještě nesetkal, tudíž se neměl kým nechat vést nebo inspirovat, a proto je otevřen kritice. Stejně tak apeluje na kolegy odborníky, aby jeho dílo neváhali doplnit o novější a kvalitnější poznatky.

Studie je opravdu něčím nevídaným, jelikož se pohybuje na poli interdisciplinárním. Autor je sice povoláním kritik literatury, nicméně se nebál vykročit za hranici své působnosti. V *Jiných viktoriánech* je řada pasáží vhodná pro práci historiček a historiků, zejména ty, které se zabývají kulturními dějinami a dějinami medicíny a veřejného zdravotnictví, ale také pro antropology, sociology či psychology. Největším přínosem studie je shromáždění a zprostředkování významných pramenů vhodných pro výzkum viktoriánské intimity. Marcus dokázal (vedle běžné interpretace) dílo rozebrat až na dřeň. Na základě bohatých lingvistických a literárních znalostí zhodnotil propracovanost viktoriánských erotických románů či pravost vyřčených tvrzení v díle *Můj tajný život*. Rovněž nešetřil komparacemi s jinými pracemi, takže často cituje Webera či Freuda, jehož vědecká poznání aplikuje na předfreudovskou společnost průmyslové doby.

Klára Fabiánová

Mezinárodní studentský workshop *From National to Global Dynamics? De-constructing Historical Narratives in 19th and 20th Century*, NEOLAiA, 22.–26. dubna 2024, Örebro, Švédsko.

V závěru dubna 2024 se ve švédském městě Örebro konal mezinárodní studentský workshop na téma národních narativů v moderní historiografii. Takřka týdenní studijní pobyt na univerzitě ve Švédsku byl součástí kombinované mobility v rámci *Blended Intensive Programme*, organizovaného aliancí evropských univerzit NEOLAiA, jejímž cílem je vzájemná spolupráce v oblasti výzkumu, výuky a inovací, které povedou k rozvoji univerzit mimo evropské metropole a také jejich regionů. Do programu se zapojili lektoři, lektorky a na 40 magisterských i doktorských studentů a studentek z Ostravské univerzity, Universität Bielefeld, Örebro universitet, Université de Tours a navíc také studujících z Universidad de Jaén ve Španělsku. Ne všichni účastníci přitom byli odborní historikové, vedle učitelů dějepisu se jednalo například o sociology nebo literární vědce. Celá semestrální mobilita byla zaměřena interdisciplinárně a byla cílena na studující všech humanitních oborů.

Prezenčnímu setkání předcházelo několik online seminářů a bohaté samostudium. Studenti měli za úkol v expertních skupinách diskutovat a následně připravit seminární úkoly k práci během týdenní mobility. V Örebro byl každý den věnován jiné problematice. Pondělní program po slavnostním zahájení uvedla přednáška domácího lektora Patrika Wintona a to na téma, jakým způsobem pracovali evropští historikové na počátku 20. století s politickými dějinami let 1700–1850. V následných workshopech pak studenti diskutovali, také na základě samostudia, o konkrétních historicích (Carl Hallendorff, Friedrich Meinecke, Alphonse Aulard) a jejich dílech, a o tom, jak narativy a koncepty objevující se na jejich stránkách ovlivnily formování národních identit a tím i národních historiografií a de facto skutečný historický vývoj. Výstupem z dílen, v nichž měli vůdčí roli experti z přípravných skupin, pak byly společné prezentace zaměřené na otázky vzešlé z četby a úvodní přednášky.

Obdobný scénář naplnily i další dny, úterní téma českého nacionalismu otevřel Robert Antonín (Ostravská univerzita) jako lektor za českou stranu, a to s přednáškou věnovanou T. G. Masarykovi a jeho využívání historie během procesu utváření moderního „čechoslováckého" národa a vzniku jeho vlastního státu. V diskusích a svých prezentacích pak účastníci zkoumali situaci, v níž TGM vypracoval své koncepce, a pokusili se je dekonstruovat na úroveň mýtotvorných prvků národního vyprávění.

Po odpočinkové středě, na kterou byla naplánována návštěva domu Alfreda Nobela s muzeem věnovaným jeho životu a výzkumu, ale také průmyslové historii lokality Karlskoga, následoval čtvrteční workshop k monumentům jako místům paměti. Úvodní přednášku proslovila Bettina Brandt (Universität Bielefeld), která se s velkým entuziasmem ujala vedení všech studentů přihlášených do své expertní skupiny. Jednotlivé týmy se zabývaly památníky ze čtyř epoch moderních německých dějin – obnoveného císařství, Výmarské republiky a nacistického režimu, období rozděleného a konečně sjednoceného Německa. Účastníci přitom reflektovali vývoj německé národní identity, velký důraz byl kladen na smyslové vnímání monumentů, emoce a žitou zkušenost.

Intenzivní týden uzavřel páteční workshop o vyrovnávání se s evropskou koloniální minulostí a o transformaci národních identit v celoevropskou identitu (či identity?) v posledních desetiletích, který organizovala odbornice na toto téma, Guia Migani (Université de Tours). Poslední diskuse a prezentace tak přiblížily kulturně-politické vztahy mezi Evropou a Afrikou, ztroskotavší projekt tzv. Eurafriky, současný obraz Evropy mimo ni, dopady imperialismu na moderní státy a národy a také postkoloniální vazby a migraci.

Zásadní cíl celé mobility – uskutečnit internacionální a interdisciplinární setkání studujících se zájmem o (nejen vlastní) historii a vzájemně sdílet přístupy, metody a koncepty, kterých užíváme, když analyzujeme vlastní minulost – byl zajisté velmi dobře splněn. Mezi studenty se pravidelně ozývaly pozitivní ohlasy nejen na unikátní možnost poznat, jak s historiografií pracují odborníci v jiných zemích a jaké otázky a problémy jsou pro ně aktuální, ale také na možnost seznámit se s novými kolegy a rozšířit si mimo obzorů odborných také ty lidské. Závěrem lze konstatovat, že tento workshop posílil nejen akademické vazby mezi zúčastněnými institucemi, ale také podnítil kritické myšlení a reflexi historických narativů v rámci současného globalizovaného světa. Účastníci odcházeli s novými znalostmi a inspirací pro další výzkum, což přispívá k cíli rozvoje humanitních oborů na evropských univerzitách.

Gabriela Škorníková

Mezinárodní workshop *Luxus a bohatství ve středověké a raně novověké společnosti*, Ostravská univerzita – Akademie věd ČR – Uniwersytet Gdański, 18. června 2024, Ostrava.

Dne 18. června 2024 proběhlo na Ostravské univerzitě pracovní setkání historiků a kunsthistoriků z České a Polské republiky, kteří se zabývali tématem *Luxusu a bohatství ve středověké a raně novověké společnosti*. Workshop společně zorganizovali Martin Nodl z Centra medievistických studií (Filosofický ústav AV ČR), Robert Antonín z katedry historie (Filozofická fakulta OU) a Beata Możejko z Uniwersytetu Gdańskiego. Přivítání a úvodního slova se ujali Robert Antonín a Martin Nodl. Představená témata, která na workshopu zazněla, se neomezila jen na prostor střední Evropy, ale hned první referát, který přednesla Jitka Komendová (FF UPOL), se zabýval písemnictvím středověké Rusi, v němž sledovala, jak se zde promítlo téma bohatství a hojnosti. V příspěvku nastínila jiné vnímání luxusu vzhledem k chudým poměrům obyvatel v této oblasti a velkou pozornost věnovala bohatství coby znaku exkluzivity určité sociální skupiny, většinou tedy šlechty. Na toto téma navázal i další přednášející Robert Antonín (FF OU), který rovněž pojal luxus jako prostředek sociální prezentace v českých narativní pramenech – kronikách. V úvodu příspěvku představil různé definice luxusu jak z filozofického, tak i filologického hlediska. Nastínil pojetí dobrého luxusu ve středověku a jak to, se toto téma promítlo do popisu různých slavnostních ceremonií zachycených ve středověkých kronikách. Andrzej Marzec (Uniwersytet Jagielloński w Krakowie) se v příspěvku *Nowe Królestwo, nowe fortuny* zaměřil na manifestaci bohatství v polském království ve 14. století. Příspěvek se lišil od dvou předchozích primárně svým zaměřením na materiální kulturu středověku, konkrétně na kolonizaci a výstavbu hradů a měst nejen panovníky, ale také šlechtickými rody a církevními institucemi. Kunsthistorický příspěvek přednesla Daniela Rywiková (FF OU) na téma svatého luxusu. Především se jednalo o prominentní objekty a jejich funkci, ale i o kritiku ve středověké náboženské praxi. Příspěvek zahrnoval široké období tří století a předestřel proměnu a vnímání luxusu počínaje největším kritikem luxusu Bernardem z Clairvaux až po vévodu z Berry, pravděpodobně nejbohatšího člověka pozdního středověku. Luxus, který se v klášterním prostředí promítal hlavně do umění, byl asketickými cisterciáky odmítán, jelikož spása, šetrnost a střídmost byly v rozporu s uměním a výzdobou. V průběhu středověku se luxus sakralizuje a krása Božího domu se stává potěchou duše. Obsáhlé sbírky středověkých luxusních předmětů a darů vlastnili také panovníci a šlechta středověké Evropy. Mezi přední sběratele v českých zemích patřili Karel IV. a Václav IV., v prostředí západní Evropy například již zmíněný vévoda Jan z Berry. Beata Możejko (Uniwersytet Gdański) přednesla příspěvek s názvem *Luxus bez luxusu* a zaměřila se na soukromý život Kazimíra Jagellonského a Alžběty Rakouské. V úvodu nastínila zázemí polské královské rodiny a její zajištění, vzdělání a výchovu. Jako formu luxusu zmínila například bezpečí při královských porodech a zaměřila se také na materiální stránku luxusu na královském dvoře, jako byly majetky, luxusní látky, klenoty, ale také například okázalé hostiny plné exotických potravin apod. Luxusem ve středověkých městech se ve svém příspěvku: *Co byl luxus a komu byl určen?* zabývala Michaela Antonín Malaníková (FF Univerzity Palackého v Olomouci), která představila typologii cenných předmětů, jež byly zachyceny v testamentech z Brna a Olomouce pozdního středověku. Pozornost věnovala jejich příjemcům a příjemkyním. Jednalo se o předměty hmotné kultury, které byly klíčové pro prezentaci movitosti tehdejších obyvatel: oděvy, bohoslužebné kultovní a náboženské předměty, šperky a ozdoby, stolní náčiní a také nemovitosti. Další referát přednesla Hana Komárková, který zpracovala s Petrem Kozákem (oba Slezská univerzita v Opavě). Nastínila v něm nastínila luxus a bohatství ve středověké a raně novověké společnosti na příkladu charakteru a obsahu pozůstalostního inventáře Anny Valentinové. V referátu autoři reflektovali osobnost Anny Valentinové a okolnosti vzniku analyzovaného inventáře. Ten obsahoval luxusní zboží, převážně šperky a oděvy. Zaznamenány byly patrně jen hodnotné kusy, proto se inventář pravděpodobně nedochoval kompletní. Zajímavostí zůstává nejasná totožnost manžela zmíněné Anny. Urszula Sowina (Instytut Archeologii i Etnologii Polskiej Akademii Nauk) se svým příspěvkem setrvala v městském prostředí a nastínila luxusní majetky krakovských měšťanů na přelomu středověku a raného novověku. Analyzovala primárně testamenty, inventáře a účty krakovských patricijů, aby zjistila obsah jejich luxusního vybavení, který následně komparovala s jinými evropskými příklady. Předposlední referát přednesl Martin Nodl (FÚ AV ČR). Zabýval se v něm antiluxusními nařízeními v českých a moravských městech pozdního středověku na příkladu Prahy, Jihlavy a Tábora. V úvodu referátu nastínil, jak se tato nařízení lišila v českých zemích a říšských městech, jež byla srovnatelná s výše uvedenými městy, dále zmínil, co to jsou antiluxusní nařízení a která nejstarší se nám z prostoru Říše dochovala. Jednalo se o nařízení, která měla za úkol disciplinovat městskou společnost, a která měla v Říši jiný charakter než v českých zemích minimálně až do 16. století. Charakter společnosti a její sociální situace byla v Praze ve 14. století jiná, a proto nebylo třeba vytvářet normu pro sociální odlišení – například předpisem vhodného oblečení apod. Z Prahy 15. století známe nařízení týkající se morálky a vhodného chování, ale žádné nařízení se netýkalo luxusu majetku ani oděvu. Poslední referát přednesla Marta Knajp (Uniwersytet Warszawski). Věnovala se v něm luxus-

nímu *životu* lvovské buržoazie v 16. století na základě analýzy závětí a inventářů. Autorka jmenovala nejčastější majetky měšťanských rodin ve Lvově, jako byly: šperky, nábytek, ozdoby a drahé kameny. Prameny také podávají svědectví o stravování, obsahují například zmínky o luxusním víně apod. V průběhu celého workshopu probíhaly podnětné debaty, při kterých přednášející sdíleli názory a poskytovali si vzájemnou reflexi. Celý den se nesl v přátelském duchu, jelikož většina účastníků se navzájem znala, ale došlo i k navazování nových kontaktů, což je jedním z klíčových podnětů, které by měla taková setkání přinášet.

Kateřina Lančová

Mezinárodní konference *Courtly Experiences in the Premodern World, c. 1200–1800: Cultural, Material and Sensory Experiences in the World of the Court*, The Society for Court Studies – Filozofická fakulta Univerzity Palackého – Historický ústav AV ČR, 22.–24. srpna 2024, Olomouc.

Akci zorganizovala v nádherných barokních prostorách bývalého jezuitského konviktu v Olomouci ve spolupráci s Filozofickou fakultou Univerzity Palackého a Historickým ústavem AV ČR *The Society for Court Studies* – odborná mezinárodní společnost a zároveň přední interdisciplinární představitel studia dvorské problematiky. Mezi účastníky konference tak bylo možné nalézt řadu odborníků z Evropy i severní Ameriky, kteří se zaměřují na širokou oblast panovnických i šlechtických dvorů – to nejenom z hlediska historiografie, ale i kunsthistorie, muzikologie a lingvistiky.

Po úvodním přivítání a zahájení otevřel konferenci Karl Kügle (University of Oxford/Utrecht University), který přítomné účastníky oslovil svou velmi zajímavou muzikologickou keynote přednáškou *Acoustic Physiognomies: Identity and Courtly Soundscapes, c. 1200–1800,* jejíž součástí byly rovněž zvukové nahrávky, které vhodným způsobem přiblížily a podtrhly úlohu zvukových vjemů v rámci dvorského prostředí. Na tento úvod v následujících dvou dnech navázaly více než čtyři desítky příspěvků, jež byly v rámci sedmi sekcí rozděleny do celkově čtrnácti panelů.

Tematická škála jednotlivých panelů byla rozsáhlá. Z programu prvního dne lze jmenovitě zmínit zejména panel *Papal Culture and Papal Courts,* v jehož rámci bych rád vyzdvihl příspěvek Alexandry Gajewski (Institute of Historical Research/Burlington Magazine), která detailně přiblížila průběh tří návštěv Karla IV. v Avignonu – včetně konkrétního itineráře a využití místností v rámci zdejšího papežského paláce. Neméně zajímavým tématem byla taktéž problematika biskupského a kardinálského dvora Františka z Ditrichštejna, kterou ve svém příspěvku představil Tomáš Parma (UP v Olomouci).

Zaměření dalších panelů spadalo do oblasti materiální kultury a textilií, hudby a zvuků v rámci dvorů, festivit či dvorských skandálů a konspirací. Konkrétní zmínku ovšem zasluhuje primárně obsáhlý závěrečný panel *Senses and Emotions in the Courtly World* oscilující na pomezí historiografie a historické lingvistiky, jehož přednášejícími byly zástupkyně a zástupce Historického ústavu AV ČR. Samotné příspěvky se věnovaly například tématice lásky v rámci autochtonní literatury na pražském dvoře kolem roku 1300 (Dana Dvořáčková-Malá), dopisů Aenea Silvia Piccolominiho jako etického zrcadla (Lenka Blechová) či fungování a záměru barokních zahrad (Michal Vokurka).

V závěru prvního dne pak proběhlo slavnostní představení nové publikace *Notions of Privacy at Early Modern European Courts: Reassessing the Public/Private Divide, c. 1400–1800*, na níž se podílel autorský tým členek a členů *The Society for Court Studies*.

Hned v úvodní sekci druhého dne proběhl panel *Courtly Entourages and Cultural Influences*, v němž obzvlášť dobrý dojem zanechal příspěvek Jacka Roszkiewicze (Uniwersytet Warszawski) věnující se tématu dvora sicilských králů v polovině 12. století, který je české historiografii téměř neznámý. Dvůr se přitom vyznačoval zvláštní synergií arabských, řeckých a normanských vlivů – zejména pak ve svém složení, fungování místních vlivových skupin apod.

Zajímavé informace poskytl také panel *Objects and Furnishings at Court*. V něm bych rád zdůraznil příspěvek Vytase Jankauskase (Vytauto Didžiojo universitetas), který se zaměřil na znázornění dvorského života litevských vládců ve 13. až 15. století, a to v rámci kodexu *Licevoj letopisnyj svod* ze 16. století, který ukazuje dobovou knižní malbu a dějinný narativ východní Evropy v období vzestupu Ruska.

Další panely účastníkům odhalovaly například problematiku dvorských objektů a nábytku, prostoru a kulturních vlivů v rámci dvorů, smyslového vnímání či experimentálních narativů dvorské kultury. Zvláštní zmínku si ovšem zaslouží dva příspěvky v panelu *Female Experiences and Women's Spaces at Court,* které byly věnovány problematice žen v cizím prostředí. Prvním je příspěvek Yaniny Ryier (Uniwersytet Ignatianum w Krakowie) o litevské pohanské princezně Aldoně na polském dvoře ve 13. století. Druhým je příspěvek Marcose Fernandese (Aix-Marseille Université) na téma ambivaletního postavení cizí královny v rámci panovnického dvora na přelomu 15. a 16. století.

Po uzavření odborné části konference a celkovém shrnutí následoval závěrečný doprovodný program. Toho se na konci druhého dne zhostil Tomáš Somer (UP v Olomouci), který mezinárodní osazenstvo nadchl svou vskutku poutavou historickou prohlídkou centra Olomouce. Finální tečkou za konferencí se poté během třetího dne stal společný výlet do Kroměříže.

Konference *Courtly Experiences in the Premodern World, c. 1200–1800: Cultural, Material and Sensory*

Experiences in the World of the Court byla výborným a dobře zorganizovaným vstupem do mezinárodního studia dvorské problematiky. Pokud se kdokoli zajímá o dvory a vše, co se dvorů týká, akce pořádané *The Society for Court Studies* jsou určitě dobrou možností, jak do celého tématu vstoupit a seznámit se s předními odborníky, ale také začínajícími kolegy v dané oblasti. Sám si z konference odvážím řadu nových informací, kontaktů a možností pro budoucí spolupráci.

Tomáš Kocourek

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