

HISTORIOGRAFIA

THE 19TH CENTURY HISTORY OF SLOVAKIA AND THE SLOVAKS IN POLISH RESEARCH OF THE LAST THIRTY YEARS

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The history of Slovakia and the Slovaks has for many years been perceived in Polish historiography as a component of larger wholes: the history of Hungary or the history of Czechoslovakia. For this reason, Polish historians usually paid little attention to the phenomenon of the national development of the Slovaks in the 19th century. This situation began to change only from the 1990s, when numerous studies finally appeared seeking to see the history of Slovakia and the Slovaks as a separate historical issue from the histories of the Hungarians and especially the Czechs. This text is aimed at presenting the achievements of Polish scholars over the last three decades with regard to the history of Slovakia and the Slovaks in the 19th century. The article describes the most important Polish synthetic studies, collective studies, and finally monographic works on the history of Slovakia and Slovak culture. Attention was also paid to the most important scientific centres in Poland, which initiate research in the field of Slovak culture and history. Despite the growing interest in Poland's southern neighbour in recent years, significant shortcomings in Polish historiography are still visible. The article also attempts to draw attention to the desirable perspectives for further research in Poland.

Keywords: Polish historiography. History of Slovakia. 19th century.

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Antoni Giza, a Szczecin-based historian of Slavic nations in Central Europe, wrote regretfully in 2000: “[...] *neither is interest in Slovakia visible in Poland, nor are studies on Polish history particularly present in Slovakia. Slovak issues, especially the history of this neighbouring country, are practically unknown in*

Poland".¹ The complaint that Poles know little about their southern neighbour has also been made by other scholars, not only historians.² The reason for this does not lie in any mutual dislike. The problem rather lies in the fact that the Slovak state did not exist for many centuries and that the fate of this land was entwined first with Hungary and then with Czechoslovakia, which led Polish historiography in the 19th and 20th centuries to treat the history of Slovaks as an element of a larger whole – in this case, both of the mentioned states. However, this does not mean that Polish scholarship has no achievements at all with regard to Slovak studies.

The first text which summed up Polish historiographic achievements regarding Polish-Czech and Polish-Slovak relations in the 19th and 20th centuries was penned by Józef Chlebowczyk already in 1961. The disproportion in Polish scholars' interest in the history of the Slovak and Czech nations in favour of the latter was already visible then.³ This state persisted for the next half century, which is also reflected in catalogues of works on the history of historiography. There are considerably more analyses devoted to works on the history of the Czechs (even if we speak about Czechoslovakia) than Slovaks. While the state of Polish Bohemian studies concerning the 19th century history of the Czechs has been commented on several times already,⁴ Polish achievements with regard to

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- 1 GIZA, Antoni. Słowacki ruch narodowy w XIX i początkach XX wieku (do 1914 roku). (*The Slovak national movement in the 19th and early 20th century (until 1914)*). Szczecin: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Szczecińskiego, 2000, p. 7. ISBN 8372410917.
 - 2 KANTOR, Ryszard. Od poznania do zrozumienia. O przyczynach braku obrazu Słowaków i ich kultury w polskiej etnografii i folklorystyce. (From knowing to understanding. On the reasons for the lack of an image of the Slovaks and their culture in Polish ethnography and folklore). In WYROZUMSKI, Jerzy (Ed.). *Związki kulturalne polsko-słowackie w dziejach*. Kraków: Międzynarodowe Centrum Kultury, 1995, p. 255-265. ISBN 838573922X; MAJEREK, Rafał. Literatura słowacka w Polsce. Zagadnienia recepcji i badań literackich. (Slovak literature in Poland. Questions of reception and literary research). In PURCHLA, Jacek – VÁŠÁRYOVÁ, Magda (Ed.). *Kim są Słowacy? Historia, kultura, tożsamość*. Kraków: Międzynarodowe Centrum Kultury, 2005, p. 151-168. ISBN 8389273225.
 - 3 CHLEBOWCZYK, Józef. Powojenny dorobek historiografii polskiej w zakresie stosunków polsko-czeskich i słowackich w XIX i XX wieku (do r. 1945). (The postwar achievements of Polish historiography in the field of Polish-Czech and Slovak relations in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (until 1945)). In *Śląski Kwartalnik Historyczny Sobótka*, 1961, vol. 16, no. 1, p. 22-42. ISSN 0037-7511.
 - 4 VALENTA, Jaroslav. Dorobek w zakresie stosunków polsko-czeskich w XIX-XX w. (The achievement in the field of Polish-Czech relations in the 19th-20th centuries). In BORÁK, Mečislav – GŁADKIEWICZ, Ryszard (Eds.). *Česká polonistika a polská bohemistika na přelomu století / Czeska polonistyka i polska bohemistyka na przełomie stuleci*. Praha: Univerzita Karlova. Filozofická fakulta, 2009, p. 103-129. ISBN 9788073082987; MAJEWSKI, Piotr M. Historiografia polska na temat dziejów Czech i Czechosłowacji w XIX i XX wieku. (Polish historiography on the history of the Czech Republic and Czechoslovakia in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries). In BORÁK, Mečislav – GŁADKIEWICZ, Ryszard (Eds.).

the history of the Slovaks in the times of the *belle époque* have been summarized only once, over two decades ago.⁵ Since then, a number of works on the history of Slovakia have been published, including ones of fundamental importance for research. This text is aimed at presenting the achievements of Polish scholars over the last three decades with regard to the history of Slovakia in the 19th century and the Slovaks' relations with other nations, including the Poles.

Synthetic publications

The measure of how advanced the studies undertaken by scholars from one country are on the history of another country is the number of synthetic works published. In the case of the history of the Slovaks, for long years we had no modern analysis, which covered the entirety of the political, cultural, social and economic life in Slovakia. The majority of scholars who specialized in the history of this country usually used works published before World War II. They were not in a totally short supply; since they ranged from the books published in Warsaw at the turn of the 19th century by the linguist Roman Zawiliński⁶ and Warsaw-based writer of Czech origin, Antonina Smiszkowa (Smišková),⁷ to the two-volume work *Słowacja i Słowacy* published in 1937–38.⁸ The latter was the initiative of its editor Władysław Semkowicz, who was a Cracow-based historian and member of the Cracow Slavic Society (Towarzystwo Słowiańskie), re-established in 1927, but most importantly, a great lover of Slovakia and an advocate

Česká polonistika a polská bohemistika na přelomu století / Czeska polonistyka i polska bohemistyka na przelomie stuleci. Praha: Univerzita Karlova. Filozofická fakulta, 2009, p. 131-156. ISBN 9788073082987; PIJAJ, Stanisław. Problematyka czeska w badaniach polskich historyków XIX wieku. Stan obecny i perspektywy. (Czech issues in the research of Polish historians in the twentieth first century. State of research and future perspectives). In *Historia Slavorum Occidentis*, 2011, vol. 1, no. 1, p. 135-148. ISSN 2084-1213; BARON, Roman. Dobrze czy źle? Stan badań nad dziejami stosunków czesko-polskich w XIX wieku. (Good enough? Polish-Czech relations in the nineteenth century – the state of research). In *Historia Slavorum Occidentis*, 2011, vol. 1, no. 1, p. 149-163. ISSN 2084-1213; ESSEN, Andrzej. Stosunki polsko-czeskie (czechosłowackie) w historiografii polskiej po 2000 roku. (Polish-Czech (or Czechoslovak) relations in Polish historiography after the year 2000). In *Historia Slavorum Occidentis*, 2011, vol. 1, no. 1, p. 187-199. ISSN 2084-1213.

- 5 ORLOF, Ewa. Polskie badania słowacystyczne. Historiografia XX w. (Slovak studies in Poland. Historiography of the XXth century). In *Dzieje Najnowsze*, 1998, vol. 30, no. 3, p. 87-101. ISSN 0419-8824.
- 6 ZAWILIŃSKI, Roman. *Słowacy. Ich życie i literatura. (Slovaks. Their life and literature)*. Introd. Julian Adolf Świącicki. Warszawa: Drukarnia Granowskiego i Sikorskiego, 1899, 158 p.
- 7 SMIŠKOVÁ, Antonina (Antoszka). *Nasi pobratymcy Słowacy. (Our brothers, the Slovaks)*. Warszawa: Skład główny w „Księgarni Polskiej“ J. Sikorskiej, 1901, 60 p.
- 8 SEMKOWICZ, Władysław (Ed.). *Słowacja i Słowacy. (Slovakia and the Slovaks)*. Kraków: Sekcja Słowacka Towarzystwa Słowiańskiego, 1937, vol. 1, 268 p.; 1938, vol. 2, 404 p.

of closer Polish-Slovak relations. The second volume of the publication was in fact the first professional Polish synthesis of the history of Slovakia. It included: Semkowicz's analysis of Polish-Slovak contacts throughout the ages,⁹ a work of his visiting student, Slovak František Hrušovský;¹⁰ a text by a young Slavist from Lviv, Henryk Batowski, who later became a Cracow-based historian;¹¹ and a long article by Władysław Bobek about the history of Slovak literature.¹² The continued relevance of Semkowicz's work is reflected in the fact that in 1995 his article, included in the second volume of the original publication, was re-released by the International Cultural Centre (Międzynarodowe Centrum Kultury) in Cracow.¹³ However, the interwar years were a period of various clashing options in Polish literature: there was a pro-Hungarian option,¹⁴ a pro-Czech/pro-Czechoslovak one,¹⁵ and, not until the end of the period, a pro-Slovak one.¹⁶ For all that, as a result of Slovaks siding with Germany in World War II, as well as criticism levelled at Józef Piłsudski's followers, who supported the Slovaks before 1939, in the end the pro-Czechoslovak option dominated Polish-language historiography for many years. Although after 1945 there were no more attempts to historically prove the national unity of the Czechs and Slovaks, like in the in-

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- 9 SEMKOWICZ, Władysław. Polacy i Słowacy w dziejowym stosunku. (Poles and Slovaks in a historical relationship). In SEMKOWICZ, Władysław (Ed.). *Słowacja i Słowacy*. Kraków: Sekcja Słowacka Towarzystwa Słowiańskiego, 1938, vol. 2, p. 197-254.
 - 10 HRUŠOVSKÝ, Franciszek. Zarys dziejów słowackich do r. 1918. (The outline of Slovak history until 1918). In SEMKOWICZ, Władysław (Ed.). *Słowacja i Słowacy*. Kraków: Sekcja Słowacka Towarzystwa Słowiańskiego, 1938, vol. 2, p. 7-118.
 - 11 BATOWSKI, Henryk. Zarys dziejów Słowacji w ostatnim dwudziestoleciu (1918–1937). (The outline of history of Slovakia in the last twenty years (1918–1937)). In SEMKOWICZ, Władysław (Ed.). *Słowacja i Słowacy. Praca zbiorowa*. Kraków: Sekcja Słowacka Towarzystwa Słowiańskiego, 1938, vol. 2, p. 109-195.
 - 12 BOBEK, Władysław. Dzieje literatury słowackiej w zarysie. (The history of Slovak literature in outline). In SEMKOWICZ, Władysław (Ed.). *Słowacja i Słowacy. Praca zbiorowa*. Kraków: Sekcja Słowacka Towarzystwa Słowiańskiego, 1938, vol. 2, p. 255-404.
 - 13 SEMKOWICZ, Władysław. *Polacy i Słowacy w dziejowym stosunku*. (*The Poles and the Slovaks in a historical relationship*). Kraków: Międzynarodowe Centrum Kultury, 1995, 64 p. ISBN 838573919X.
 - 14 JEHLICZKA, Franciszek. *Quo Vadis Słowaczyno? (Where are You going Slovakia?)*. Warszawa: Drukarnia Mazowiecka, 1935, 22 p.
 - 15 MAGIERA, Jan. *Literatura czeska i słowacka. Obraz piśmiennictwa*. (Czech and Slovak literature. Picture of the literature). Warszawa: Księgarnia F. Hoesicka, 1929, 292 p.; KURNATOWSKI, Jerzy. *Czesi i Słowacy*. (Czechs and Slovaks). Warszawa: Wydawnictwo „Świat Współczesny“, 1933, 19 p.; KROFTA, Kamil. *Zwięzłe dzieje Czechosłowacji*. (The brief history of Czechoslovakia). Transl. Jan Magiera. Kraków: Towarzystwo Polsko-Czechosłowackie w Krakowie, 1934, 165 p.
 - 16 GOŁĄBEK, Józef. *Życie polityczne Słowaków*. (The political life of Slovaks). Nasza Przyszłość, 1934, vol. 40, p. 32-64; SEMKOWICZ, ref. 8.

terwar period, nevertheless the history of Slovakia was almost always shown in the context of Czech history (only one exception was a work written by Marek S. Korowicz in 1948¹⁷) and the path towards unification with its western neighbour. This was also the standpoint of Roman Heck and Marian Orzechowski, the authors of *Historia Czechosłowacji* published by the Ossolineum Publishing House.¹⁸

The first Polish synthetic work published in the Third Republic of Poland which approached Slovak history from a Slovak-centric standpoint was a translation of *Dejiny Slovenska na ceste k sebauvedomeniu* written by the Slovak historian Anton Špiesz,¹⁹ published a year before the country's independence was declared, and reissued in 1999. The work was indeed free of the pro-Czechoslovak narrative, but – with regard to the 19th century – the main emphasis was placed almost exclusively on economic and political issues, with less focus on socio-cultural problems.

The first synthetic work on the entire history of Slovakia written by a Polish author was Lech Kościelak's *Historia Słowacji*, published by the Ossolineum Publishing House in 2010.²⁰ The author devoted two chapters (out of thirteen) to the 19th century history of the Slovaks. He paid quite a lot of attention to the reasons why the Slovak national movement developed, to the shaping of the Slovak national identity, and to the process of the Slovaks' political emancipation – starting from the Spring of Nations, the struggle against the Hungarian national policy in Transleithania, and establishment of relations with the Czechs during the Great War. Kościelak's work also included comments on the economic situation of the lands which make up present-day Slovakia and the folk aspect of the Slovak national culture. However, this information does not take up much space in his entire work. This most recent of the synthetic works available on the market at present was criticized by historians for its inconsistent level and for being a compilation of other works.²¹

17 KOROWICZ, Marek S. *Zarys dziejów Słowacji. (The outline of Slovakia's history)*. Katowice; Wrocław: Wydawnictwa Instytutu Śląskiego, 1948, 52 p.

18 HECK, Roman – ORZECHOWSKI, Marian. *Historia Czechosłowacji. (The history of Czechoslovakia)*. Wrocław; Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Zakładu Narodowego im. Ossolińskich, 1969, 468 p.

19 ŠPIESZ, Anton. *Dzieje Słowacji na drodze do uświadomienia narodowego. (The history of Slovakia on the way to national awareness)*. Transl. Michał Birek. Gorlice: Med-Inpo, 1992, 158 p. ISBN 8388197002.

20 KOŚCIELAK Lech. *Historia Słowacji. (The history of Slovakia)*. Wrocław: Zakład Narodowym im. Ossolińskich, 2010, 487 p. ISBN 8304050488.

21 ADAMCZYK, Jacek. Nowa synteza dziejów Słowacji. (The new synthesis of Slovakia's history). [Review:] Lech Kościelak, *Historia Słowacji*, Wrocław 2010, Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, s. 488. In *Studia z Dziejów Rosji i Europy Środkowo-Wschodniej*, 2012, vol. 47, p. 339-353. ISSN 1230-5057; SROKA, Stanisław A. [Review:] L. Kościelak, *Historia*

The state of our knowledge about the 19th century history of Slovaks was not broadened by the works of historian Jerzy Tomaszewski, which focused mainly on the 20th century²² or by the political science study by Anna Czyż and Sebastian Kubas.²³ The introductory chapters of these works deal with the 19th century history of the Slovak nation, but were based on a rather limited literature. Since then, a comprehensive synthesis of the history of Slovakia has not been published in Poland.

Institutions, journals and collections of studies

The state of our knowledge about Poland's southern neighbour is increased by numerous collections of studies devoted to Slovak history and culture, which were usually written on the initiative (or in honour) of scholars studying Slovakia or under the auspices of academic centres and institutions promoting Polish-Slovak cooperation.

The Society of Slovaks in Poland (Towarzystwo Słowaków w Polsce), whose history goes back to the Socio-Cultural Society of Czechs and Slovaks in Poland (Towarzystwo Społeczno-Kulturalne Czechów i Słowaków w Polsce), established in 1957 in Warsaw, has the longest tradition of promoting knowledge about Slovak history and culture. After it was dissolved in 1960, the organization was re-established in December 1961 and since then, despite the change of name, it has been continuously active in Cracow (the current name was introduced in 1996). The Society's publishing house releases a great number of books on a variety of topics. They include both literary publications (poetry, short stories, translations) and works on ethnography, travel, history, law, natural science and so on. If we only consider the organization's activity in the field of history, the centre focuses on publishing the works of historians from Slovakia and Polish Slovaks. The best example is the journal *Almanach. Słowacy w Polsce / Slováci w Pol'sku* (Almanac. Slovaks in Poland), published by the Cracow institution since 1993.

Another important institution which promotes Slovak culture is the Slovak Institute (Instytut Słowacki) in Warsaw, which emerged in 1993 after the dissolution of the Czechoslovak Centre for Culture and Information (Czechosłowacki Ośrodek Kultury i Informacji), established back in 1982. However, this institu-

Słowacji, Wrocław 2010. In *Kontakty*, 2012, vol. 11, p. 97-102. ISSN 1644-8553.

22 TOMASZEWSKI, Jerzy. *Czechy i Słowacja. (Bohemia and Slovakia)*. Warszawa: Trio, 2006, 414 p. ISBN 9788374360401; TOMASZEWSKI, Jerzy. *Słowacja. (Slovakia)*. Warszawa: Trio, 2011, 436 p. ISBN 9788374362689.

23 CZYŻ, Anna – KUBAS, Sebastian. *Czechy i Słowacja. Politologiczne studium wspólnej i oddzielnej państwowości. (Bohemia and Slovakia. A political study of common and separate statehood)*. Katowice: Uniwersytet Śląski, 2012, 223 p. ISBN 9788361975212.

tion's publishing activity is much more modest than that of the Cracow centre. The only notable publication was the volume *Slovakistika v Pol'sku / Słowacystyka w Polsce*,²⁴ which was released after the second conference of Slovak studies in Poland.

Materials from the first conference of Slovak studies in Poland had, on the other hand, been published under the auspices of the University of Warsaw two years earlier.²⁵ The University's Institute of Slavic Studies can boast a number of successful conferences and collective publications discussing various aspects of Slovak cultural life in the 19th century. One of the institution's achievements is a three-volume publication entitled *Problemy tożsamości kulturowej w krajach słowiańskich*,²⁶ where the topic of Slovak Romanticism was tackled by several authors, and the volume entitled *Powroty do źródeł*, entirely devoted to the life and works of Ľudovít Štúr.²⁷ This book includes texts written by Polish and Slovak scholars (in translation) devoted to the revivalist of the Slovak nation and various aspects of his work. Recently, the Research Group on Slavic Cultures in the Habsburg Monarchy (Zespół Badania Kultur Słowiańskich w Monarchii Habsburskiej) has been operating in the Institute of Slavic Studies, University of Warsaw; its members have published their works quite extensively in Poland and abroad.

Apart from the Warsaw institution, the University of Silesia in Katowice also has a long tradition of studies on the history of Poland's southern neighbours. In 2000, it published a post-conference volume entitled *Słowacja w obliczu Europy*, which included papers on history, literary studies, and linguistics;²⁸ in 2005, it published a volume summarizing the Third Meeting of Polish Specialists in Slo-

24 PAPIERZ, Maryla (Ed.). *Slovakistika v Pol'sku. Zborník materiálov z 2. slovakistickej konferencie / Słowacystyka w Polsce. Materiały z II konferencji słowacystycznej. (Slovak studies in Poland. Proceedings from the 2nd Slovak Conference)*. Kraków: Towarzystwo Słowaków w Polsce; Warszawa: Instytut Słowacki, 2001, 117 p. ISBN 8387842761.

25 SIATKOWSKI, Janusz – KÁŠA, Peter. *Slovakistika v Pol'sku. Zborník materiálov z 1. slovakistickej konferencie / Słowacystyka w Polsce. Materiały z I konferencji słowacystycznej. (Slovak studies in Poland. Proceedings from the 1st Slovakian Conference)*. Warszawa: Instytut Filologii Słowackiej UW; Kraków, 1999, 130 p. ISBN 8387842184.

26 GOSZCZYŃSKA, Joanna (Ed.). *Problemy tożsamości kulturowej w krajach słowiańskich. (Cultural identity problems in Slavic countries)*. Warszawa: Instytut Filologii Słowiańskiej, 2003, vol. 1, 226 p. ISBN 8391536475; 2004, vol. 2, 193 p. ISBN 8391536475; 2005, vol. 3, 254 p. ISBN 8392171454.

27 GOSZCZYŃSKA, Joanna (Ed.). *Powroty do źródeł. W dwusetną rocznicę urodzin Ľudovíta Štura. (Returns to the Roots. On the bicentenary of the birth of Ľudovít Štúr)*. Warszawa: Elipsa, 2016, 249 p. ISBN 9788380171121.

28 JANASZEK-IVANIČKOVA, Halina (Ed.). *Słowacja w obliczu Europy. Sonda. Materiały z konferencji naukowej. (Slovakia facing Europe. Probe. Materials from the scientific conference)*. Katowice: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Śląskiego, 2000, 185 p. ISBN 832261022X.

vak Studies;²⁹ and in 2009 a Festschrift honoured the Chairman of the Society of Slovaks in Poland, a lawyer and the University's professor, Józef Ciągwa.³⁰

Another strong centre of Slovak studies operates in Cracow. We should firstly mention the Institute of Slavic Philology, Jagiellonian University and its Department of Slovak Philology, which conducts linguistic as well as literary studies. Back in 1992, the Jagiellonian University published a collection entitled *Mity narodowe w literaturach słowiańskich*, following the 11th International Congress of Slavists in Bratislava.³¹ Two important figures in the Cracow circle were Zdzisław Niedziela, a historian of literature, and Maria Honowska, a linguist. In 1999, a book in memory of Niedziela was published, which included a number of interesting historical and literary sketches by Polish and Slovak authors.³² In 2005 and 2010, two collective volumes dedicated to Honowska were published,³³ which also included historical and literary articles concerning Slovak writers of the 19th century.

Apart from the Jagiellonian University, we should also mention the International Cultural Centre in Cracow, which published a collection of texts by Polish, Slovak and Hungarian authors, entitled *Związki kulturalne polsko-słowackie w*

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- 29 SPYRKA, Lucyna (Ed.). *III Spotkanie Słowacystów Polskich. X lat Republiki Słowackiej w perspektywie polskich słowacystów. (The 3rd Meeting of Polish Slovakists. 10 years of the Slovak Republic in the perspective of Polish Slovakists)*. Katowice: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Śląskiego, 2005, 237 p. ISBN 8322614888.
- 30 LITYŃSKI, Adam et al. (Ed.). *Państwo, prawo, społeczeństwo w dziejach Europy Środkowej. Księga jubileuszowa dedykowana profesorowi Józefowi Ciągwie w siedemdziesięciolecie urodzin. (The state, law, society in the history of Central Europe. The jubilee book dedicated to Professor Józef Ciągwa on his seventieth birthday)*. Katowice: Uniwersytet Śląski; Kraków: Towarzystwo Słowaków w Polsce, 2009, 869 p. ISBN 9788374902618.
- 31 BOBROWNICKA, Maria (Ed.). *Mity narodowe w literaturach słowiańskich. Studia poświęcone XI Międzynarodowemu Kongresowi Słowistów w Bratysławie. (National myths in Slavic literatures. Studies devoted to the 11th International Congress of Slavists in Bratislava)*. Kraków: Uniwersytet Jagielloński, 1992, 286 p. ISBN 8323305722.
- 32 MIECZKOWSKA, Halina – ORŁOŚ, Teresa Z. (Eds.). *Odrodzenie narodowe w Czechach i na Słowacji. Księga ku czci profesora Zdzisława Niedzieli. (The national revival in Bohemia and Slovakia. The book in honour of Professor Zdzisław Niedziela)*. Kraków: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, 1999, 273 p. ISBN 8323311439.
- 33 MIECZKOWSKA, Halina – SUCHOŃ-CHMIEL, Barbara (Eds.). *Język i literatura słowacka w perspektywie słowiańskiej. Studia słowacko-polskie ofiarowane profesor Marii Honowskiej. (Slovak language and literature in the Slavic perspective. Slovak-Polish studies dedicated to Professor Maria Honowska)*. Kraków: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, 2005, 304 p. ISBN 8323319219; MIECZKOWSKA, Halina – HUDYMAČ, Aleksandra – BABIK, Zbigniew (Eds.). *Z warsztatu współczesnego słowacysty. Studia slawistyczne dedykowane pamięci profesor Marii Honowskiej. (In the workshop of a modern Slovakist. Slavonic studies dedicated to professor Maria Honowska)*. Kraków: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, 2010, 295 p. ISBN 9788323328841.

dziejach,³⁴ and ten years later released another volume, this time on Polish-Slovak relations and Slovak identity and culture.³⁵ In 2012, a thematic issue of the *Herito* journal was published, which included reflections of Polish and Slovak authors on Slovak identity, music, architecture and painting.³⁶

On the other hand, there is no department or institute of Slovak history at any Polish university. We should not forget the University of Rzeszów, however, with which Professor Ewa Orlof is associated; she is the most recognizable Polish historian of the 20th century history of Slovakia and the author of numerous articles and monographs. In 1999, she was the editor of *Od poznania do zrozumienia. Polacy, Czesi, Słowacy w XX wieku*,³⁷ which included a number of articles by Polish and Slovak historians who study the history of Polish-Slovak-Czech relations in the first half of the 20th century. In 2011, a Festschrift was published in honour of Professor Orlof, which, although its title tells the reader that it concerns *Polska, Słowacja i Europa Środkowa w XIX–XXI wieku*, does not in fact include articles about the history of the Slovaks during the *belle époque*.³⁸

Institutions and academic centres in the Polish Highlands (Podhale) have also had some achievements in the field of studying the Polish-Slovak borderland. In 1993, the Tatra Museum in Zakopane organized a conference and published an interesting volume, edited by Jerzy M. Roszkowski, containing articles about the conflict between Władysław Zamojski and Christian Hohenloche.³⁹ The conflict

34 WYROZUMSKI, Jerzy (Ed.). *Związki kulturalne polsko-słowackie w dziejach. (Polish-Slovak cultural relations throughout history)*. Kraków: Międzynarodowe Centrum Kultury, 1995, 366 p. ISBN 838573922X.

35 PURCHLA, Jacek – VÁŠÁRYOVÁ, Magda (Eds.). *Kim są Słowacy? Historia, kultura, tożsamość. (Who are the Slovaks? History, culture, identity)*. Kraków: Międzynarodowe Centrum Kultury, 2005, 219 p. ISBN 8389273225.

36 *Herito*, 2012, vol. 9. ISSN 2082-310X. The following texts in particular relate to the nineteenth century history of Slovak identity and culture: MAJEREK, Rafał. Kim są Słowacy? Odrodzeniowe źródła słowackiej tożsamości / Who are the Slovaks? The revival sources of Slovak identity. In *Herito*, 2012, vol. 9, p. 22-29; BURDZIŃSKI, Michał. Młoda Słowacja. O meandrach sztuki nowoczesnej między Żyliną a Koszycami / Young Slovakia. About the meanders of modern art between Žilina and Košice). In *Herito*, 2012, vol. 9, p. 112-139; and partially translation of Slovak author: HRČKOVÁ, Nad'a. Śladami losów muzyki słowackiej / Tracing the story of Slovak music. In *Herito*, 2012, vol. 9, p. 72-76.

37 ORLOF, Ewa (Ed.). *Od poznania do zrozumienia. Polacy, Czesi, Słowacy w XX wieku. (From Learning to Understanding. Poles, Czechs, and Slovaks in the 20th century)*. Rzeszów: Wydawnictwo Wyższej Szkoły Pedagogicznej, 1999, 264 p. ISBN 8387288292.

38 PISULIŃSKI, Jan – RĄCZY, Elżbieta – ŻARNA, Krzysztof (Eds.). *Polska, Słowacja, Europa Środkowa w XIX–XXI wieku. Księga jubileuszowa dedykowana Profesor Ewie Orlof. (Poland, Slovakia and Central Europe in the 19th–21st Centuries. The jubilee book dedicated to Professor Ewa Orlof.)*. Rzeszów: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Rzeszowskiego, 2011, 574 p. ISBN 9788373386754.

39 ROSZKOWSKI, Jerzy M. (Ed.). *Spór o Morskie Oko. Materiały z sesji naukowej poświę-*

arose over Lake Morskie Oko, located in the Polish-Slovak (at the time Austro-Hungarian) borderland; both the Galician and Hungarian public was highly interested in the dispute in the last decade of the 19th century and the first decade of the 20th century. In 2007, the Podhale State College of Applied Sciences (Podhalańska Państwowa Wyższa Szkoła Zawodowa) in Nowy Targ published a collective work about highland robbery in the Polish-Slovak borderland, which included literary studies and historical articles.⁴⁰

The Polish-Slovak Commission of Humanities (Polsko-Słowacka Komisja Nauk Humanistycznych) at the Polish and Slovak Ministries of Education endeavours to integrate scholars who represent several humanistic disciplines. It organizes cyclical scientific conferences which gather both Polish and Slovak scholars: literature specialists, linguists and historians. It also publishes a year-book *Kontakty* (Contacts),⁴¹ issues of which are often related to these conferences. The Commission releases other publications as well; as in 2003, when it published an interesting volume focused on the problem of national identity in Poland and Slovakia in the 19th and 20th centuries.⁴²

Slovak literature and its significance for studies on Slovak identity

In Polish studies, the history of the 19th century Slovak intellectual elites, mainly writers, poets and journalists became predominantly the domain of linguists and literature specialists. However, in their research, they often go beyond a literary analysis of works and also include their historical context and the authors' biographies, as well as address the issue of the influences shaping the modern Slovak national identity, which is why such publications cannot be a matter of indifference to historians.

So far, the most comprehensive synthetic work which covers the history of the development of Slovak literature over the ages is Zdzisław Niedziela's

conej 90 rocznicy procesu w Grazu. Zakopane 12–13 września 1992 r. (The conflict about Morskie Oko. Materials from the scientific session dedicated to the 90th anniversary of the trial in Graz. Zakopane, 12–13 September, 1992). Zakopane: Muzeum Tatrzańskie, 1993, 202 p. ISBN 8385832009.

40 MADEJOWA, Maria – MLEKODAJ, Anna – RAK, Maciej (Eds.). *Mity i rzeczywistość zbójnictwa na pograniczu polsko-słowackim w historii, literaturze i kulturze. (Myths and reality of robberies on the Polish-Slovak borderland in history, literature and culture).* Nowy Targ: Podhalańska Państwowa Wyższa Szkoła Zawodowa, 2007, 486 p. ISBN 9788360612011.

41 *Kontakty*, 2002 – 2019, vol. 1-17. ISSN 1644-8553.

42 BEDNAREK, Stefan (Ed.). *Świadomość narodowa w Polsce i Słowacji w XIX i XX wieku. (National consciousness in Poland and Slovakia in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries).* Wrocław: Centrum Badań Śląskoznawczych i Bohemistycznych Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego; Atut, 2003, 200 p. ISBN 8387299065.

Słowacja znana i nieznaną, published in 1995.⁴³ Monographs on Slovak literature have also been published in Poland. Polish scholars have paid the most attention to Slovak Romanticism, with which the “Slovak national movement” has been identified.⁴⁴ The Slovak messianist Ľudovít Štúr played the leading role there; his achievements are known in Polish scholarship mainly due to the work of Halina Janaszek-Ivaničková, who translated the poet’s selected works,⁴⁵ as well as penning a number of texts about him.⁴⁶

Joanna Goszczyńska, a scholar of the University of Warsaw, wrote especially many works on Štúr⁴⁷ and Slovak messianism in general.⁴⁸ Some of them were translated into French.⁴⁹ She also devoted a lot of attention to other Slovak wri-

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- 43 NIEDZIELA, Zdzisław. *Słowacja znana i nieznaną. Szkice z dziejów literatury słowackiej. (Known and unknown Slovakia. Sketches from the history of Slovak literature)*. Kraków: Międzynarodowe Centrum Kultury, 1995, 131 p. ISBN 8385739173.
- 44 HENSEL, Leszek. Przebudzenie narodowe Słowaków. (The national awakening of the Slovaks). In MACIEJEWSKI, Janusz (Ed.). *Przemiany formuły polskości w drugiej połowie XIX wieku*. Warszawa: Instytut Badań Literackich, 1999, p. 281-292. ISBN 8387456462.
- 45 ŠTÚR, Ľudovít. Wybór pism. (Selected works). Ed. Halina Janaszek-Ivaničková. Transl. Halina Janaszek-Ivaničková, Edward Madany, Andrzej Czibor-Piotrowski. Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1983. ISBN 8304002809.
- 46 JANASZEK-IVANIČKOVÁ, Halina. *Kochanek Sławy. Studium o Ľudovicie Štúrce. (Lover of Fame. Study on Ľudovít Štúr)*. Katowice: Śląsk, 1978, 416 p.; JANASZEK-IVANIČKOVÁ, Halina. Słowackie Odrodzenie Narodowe: kontynuatorzy, polemisi i prześmiewcy. (Slovak National Revival: continuators, polemicists and mockers). In MIECZKOWSKA, Halina – ORŁOŚ, Teresa Z. (Eds.). *Odrodzenie narodowe w Czechach i na Słowacji. Księga ku czci profesora Zdzisława Niedzieli*. Kraków: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, 1999, p. 23-33. ISBN 8323311439; JANASZEK-IVANIČKOVÁ, Halina. Myśl państwowotwórcza Ľudovíta Štúra. (Ľudovít Štúr’s state-building thought). In GOSZCZYŃSKA, Joanna (Ed.). *Powroty do źródeł. W dwusetną rocznicę urodzin Ľudovíta Štúra*. Warszawa: Elipsa, 2016, p. 13-35. ISBN 9788380171121.
- 47 GOSZCZYŃSKA, Joanna. Ľudovíta Štúra wizja Słowiańszczyzny. Z problemów słowianofilstwa w monarchii habsburskiej. (Ľudovít Štúr’s vision of the Slavs. From the problems of Slavophilism in the Habsburg monarchy). In BOBROWNICKA, Maria (Ed.). *Symbioza kultur słowiańskich i niesłowiańskich w Europie Środkowej*. Kraków: Universitas, 1996, p. 211-218. ISBN 8370523919.
- 48 GOSZCZYŃSKA, Joanna. *Synowie słowa. Myśl mesjanistyczna w słowackiej literaturze romantycznej. (The sons of the word. The messianic thought in Slovak romantic literature)*. Warszawa: Wydawnictwa Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, 2008, 219 p. 9788323504900.
- 49 GOSZCZYŃSKA, Joanna. L’influence de Mickiewicz sur le romantisme slovaque. (Mickiewicz’s influence on Slovak Romanticism). In COQUIN, François-Xavier – M. MASŁOWSKI, Michel (Eds.). *Le verbe et l’histoire Mickiewicz, la France et l’Europe*. Paris: Institut d’étude slaves; Éditions de la Maison des sciences de l’homme, 2002, p. 104-112. ISBN 2720403601; GOSZCZYŃSKA, Joanna. Le courant canonique et apocryphe dans la littérature romantique slovaque. (The canonical and apocryphal current in Slovak Romantic literature). In MASŁOWSKI, Michel – FRANCFORT, Didier – GRADVOHL, Paul (Eds.). *Culture et identité en Europe centrale. Canons littéraires et visions de l’histoire*. Paris: Institut

ters, such as Samo Bohdan Hroboň and Michal Hodža. She also wrote about the relations between Slovak and Polish messianism, as well as Austro-Slavism and Slovak Pan-Slavism. The author's most important articles, scattered across journals and collective works, have been republished in dedicated volumes, entitled *Sławni i zapomniani. Studia z literatury czeskiej i słowackiej*⁵⁰ and *Wielkie spory małego narodu*.⁵¹

An important aspect of the shaping of the Slovak national identity as well as Slovaks' political orientation were ideological discussions conducted in the Slovak literary circles in the 19th century. Before the idea of a union between Slovaks and Czechs was crystallized, which ultimately led to the establishment of one state in 1918, the Slovak elites had been roughly divided into two factions. Firstly, there were active Slavophiles, who dreamed of a future federation of Slavic nations, which was impossible without Russia's support; secondly, there were Hungarian loyalists, who wanted the national development of Slovaks, but under the Crown of Saint Stephen.

The icon of the former was Ján Kollár, an active participant in the Spring of Nations, a Slavophile and propagator of closer relations between Slovaks and Czechs. In Polish science, Barbara Suchoń paid particular attention to Kollár.⁵² His views came to be criticized especially by Ján Palárik, a Slovak priest and writer loyal to the Hungarian state. He is the focus of studies conducted, in a very innovative way, by Anna Kobylińska, a scholar of the University of Warsaw.⁵³ Apart from Palárik, Kobylińska also studied in particular Jonáš Záborski,

D'études Slaves; Brno: Masarykova Univerzita, 2011, p. 293-299. ISBN 9782720404740.

- 50 GOSZCZYŃSKA, Joanna. *Sławni i zapomniani. Studia z literatury czeskiej i słowackiej*. (The famous and the forgotten. Studies on Czech and Slovak literature). Warszawa: Instytut Sławistyki Zachodniej i Południowej, 2004, 160 p. ISBN 8391536491.
- 51 GOSZCZYŃSKA, Joanna. *Wielkie spory małego narodu*. (Great disputes of a small nation). Warszawa: Elipsa, 2015, 195 p. ISBN 9788380170742.
- 52 SUCHOŃ, Barbara. Kollárowski mit Słowiańszczyzny. (Kollár's myth of Slavdom). In BOBROWICKA, Maria (Ed.). *Mity narodowe w literaturach słowiańskich. Studia poświęcone XI Międzynarodowemu Kongresowi Sławistów w Bratysławie*. Kraków: Uniwersytet Jagielloński, 1992, p. 89-94. ISBN 8323305722.
- 53 KOBYLIŃSKA, Anna. Brothers hungarians... Ján Palárik's attempt at renegotiating the Slovak-Hungarian relations on the threshold of the 1860s. In *Acta Poloniae Historica*, 2013, vol. 108, p. 121-146. ISSN 0001-6829; KOBYLIŃSKA, Anna – FALSKI, Maciej – FILIPOWICZ, Marcin. *Obcy czy obywatele? Słowianie a przemiany konstytucyjne w monarchii habsburskiej w latach 1860–1861*. (The strangers or the citizens? The Slavs and constitutional changes in the Habsburg monarchy in 1860–1861). Kraków: Libron, 2015, p. 25-63. ISBN 9788365148452; KOBYLIŃSKA, Anna – FALSKI, Maciej – FILIPOWICZ, Marcin. *Periferyjność. Habsbursko-słowiańska historia nieoczywista*. (The peripheral. Habsburg-Slavic unobvious history). Kraków: Libron, 2016, p. 19-97. ISBN 9788365148704.

a priest, historian, writer and journalist,⁵⁴ and other Slovak writers and their historiography.⁵⁵

Symbols and Slovaks' national identity

An important aspect of studies undertaken by Polish Slavists is the problem of how Slovaks' national identity was shaped in the 19th century.⁵⁶ Among the most important Polish works on the subject, it is worth noting the articles written by Barbara Suchoń⁵⁷ and Maryla Papierz,⁵⁸ and first and foremost Rafał Majerek's monograph, devoted to Slovaks' self-identification processes during the national revival movement.⁵⁹

Apart from language, the symbols accepted by a nation are of considerable importance for the sense of belonging to a community. In the 19th century, the Slovak canon of national culture was being filled with myths connected to legendary (Jánošík) and historical (Cyril and Methodius) heroes, as well as specific places, which constituted the "homeland territory" (the Tatras). Many authors, both Polish and foreign, have addressed these problems in Polish literature on the subject⁶⁰. The most important monograph on the significance of the Tatras

54 KOBYLÍŃSKA, Anna. *Tropem Hermesa. Przypadek słowackiego księdza, myśliciela i literata Jonáša Záborského*. (The trail of Hermes. The case of the Slovak priest, thinker and writer Jonáš Záborski). Warszawa: Wydział Polonistyki Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, 2012, 323 p. ISBN 9788362100491.

55 KOBYLÍŃSKA, Anna. Idea nowego początku w słowackich wizjach dziejów z połowy XIX wieku. (The idea of a new beginning in the Slovak vision of history from the mid-19th century). In *Slavia Meridionalis*, 2014, vol. 14, p. 232-244. ISSN 1233-6173.

56 ZAREK, Józef. Tożsamość narodowa Słowaków w nowszej polskiej refleksji slawistycznej. (The Slovaks' national identity in the newer Slovak studies in Poland). In BEDNAREK, Stefan (Ed.). *Świadomość narodowa w Polsce i Słowacji w XIX i XX wieku*. Wrocław: Centrum Badań Śląskoznawczych i Bohemistycznych Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego; Atut, 2003, p. 131-138. ISBN 9788387299065.

57 SUCHOŃ, Barbara. Kształtowanie się słowackiej tożsamości narodowej. (The formation of the Slovak national identity). In WYROZUMSKI, Jerzy (Ed.). *Związki kulturalne polsko-słowackie w dziejach*. Kraków: Międzynarodowe Centrum Kultury, 1995. p. 9-15. ISBN 838573922X.

58 PAPIERZ, Maryla. Język a słowacka tożsamość narodowa. (The language and the Slovak national identity). In PATEK, Artur – ROJEK, Wojciech (Eds.). *Naród, państwo, Europa Środkowa w XIX i XX wieku. Studia ofiarowane Michałowi Pułaskiemu w pięćdziesięciolecie pracy naukowej*. Kraków: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, 2006, p. 67-73. ISBN 8323321655.

59 MAJEREK, Rafał. *Pamięć, mit, tożsamość. Słowackie procesy autoidentyfikacyjne w okresie odrodzenia narodowego*. (Memory, myth, identity. The Slovak self-identification processes in the period of national revival). Kraków: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, 2011, 162 p. ISBN 9788323330929.

60 See, e.g., the text of a Slovak researcher published in Polish: ŠKVARNA, Dušan. O gene-

and Jánošík for Slovak culture was penned by Joanna Goszczyńska.⁶¹ The topic of the Tatras was also addressed in smaller works written by other Polish⁶² and Hungarian authors.⁶³ For Hungarians the Tatras and Slovakia have a symbolic and nostalgic meaning – analogous to the Polish myth of the Kresy (the lost Eastern Borderland). Another important national symbol of Slovaks, which is also related to the Tatras, is the Slovak national anthem, namely the song *Nad Tatrou sa blýska* (Lightning over the Tatras), written by Janko Matúška in 1844. In Polish literature, a few scholars have compared the Slovak national anthem to other European anthems.⁶⁴

Among the works written by Polish authors about Slovak national myths, it is especially worth noting a recently published critical article by Kobylińska about Slovak “magical rituals of memory”.⁶⁵ In her text, the author showed how the

zie nowoczesnych słowackich symboli narodowych. (On the genesis of modern Slovak national symbols). In CETNAROWICZ, Antoni – PIJAJ, Stanisław (Eds.). *„Węgry i dookola Węgier...“. Narody Europy Środkowej w walce o wolność i tożsamość w XIX i XX wieku. Materiały z konferencji dotyczącej problematyki narodowościowej w Europie Środkowej zorganizowanej z okazji 10. rocznicy śmierci prof. Wacława Felczaka. (Kraków 12–13 grudnia 2003)*. Kraków: Towarzystwo Wydawnicze „Historia Iagellonica“, 2005, p. 43-58. ISBN 8388737228.

- 61 GOSZCZYŃSKA, Joanna. *Mit Janosika w folklorze i literaturze słowackiej XIX wieku*. (The Janosik Myth in folklore and Slovak literature of the 19th century). Warszawa: Instytut Filologii Słowiańskiej, 2001, 302 p. ISBN 8391536408.
- 62 BRACKI, Rafał. Wokół symbolu Tatr w słowackiej literaturze romantycznej. (Tatra mountains as a symbol in the Slovak romantic literature). In SABOL, Ján – MIECZKOWSKA, Halina – ZIMMERMANN, Július (Eds.). *Reflexie o slovensko-polských jazykových, literárnych a kultúrnych vzťahoch. Zborník z medzinárodnej vedeckej konferencie konanej v dňoch 10.–11.5.2007 na Państwowej Wyższej Szkole Zawodowej w Sanoku*. Prešov: Prešovská Univerzita v Prešove, 2011, p. 141-149. ISBN 9788080689261.
- 63 KISS, Csaba G. *Lekcja Europy Środkowej. Eseje i szkice*. (The lesson of Central Europe. Essays and sketches). Kraków: Międzynarodowe Centrum Kultury, 2009, p. 185-309. ISBN 9788389273703.
- 64 NAWROCKI, Witold. „Bo pieśń rodzi i pieśń wskrzesza“. „Mazurek Dąbrowskiego“ wśród Niemców i Słowian w XIX wiecznej Europie. („A song bears and a song resurrects.“ „Mazurek Dąbrowskiego“ among Germans and Slavs in 19th century Europe). In FRYCIE, Stanisław (Ed.). *200 lat Mazurka Dąbrowskiego. Materiały z sesji naukowej zorganizowanej w dniu 11 grudnia 1997 r. przez Instytut Filologii Polskiej Filii kieleckiej WSP w Piotrkowe Trybunalskim*. Piotrków Trybunalski: Wydawnictwo Filii kieleckiej WSP, 1998, p. 37. ISBN 8387050520; ZIELIŃSKI, Bogusław. Hymnografia słowiańska XIX w. a idea Europy Środkowej. (Slavic hymnography of the nineteenth century and the idea of Central Europe). In JANASZEK-IVANIČKOVA, Halina (Ed.). *Słowacja w obliczu Europy. Sonda. Materiały z konferencji naukowej*. Katowice: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Śląskiego, 2000, p. 34-49. ISBN 832261022X; KISS, ref. 63, p. 59-69.
- 65 KOBYLINSKA, Anna. Magiczne rytuały pamięci. Dziewiętnastowieczne stwarzanie początku przez Słowaków. (Magical rituals of memory. The creation of the beginning of the nineteenth century by Slovaks). In ĆWIEK-ROGALSKA, Karolina – FILIPOWICZ, Marcin

narrative about Slovak history was constructed through mythologization, which was meant to justify the Slovaks' right to exist as an independent nation, equal to others.

The Slovaks in the Kingdom of Hungary

As I have shown, the achievements of Polish Slavic studies on Slovaks are considerable. In the next part of the article, we shall look at the achievements of historians who studied Slovakia in the 19th century, then known as Upper Hungary. It should be emphasized that if Slovaks were written about in more extensive synthetic works about the Habsburg Monarchy or its Transleithanian part, they were always seen not as an autonomous nation but as part of a larger whole – the non-Magyar nations populating the Crown of Saint Stephen, which were subject to the Magyarization policy of the Hungarian government. Such a comprehensive picture of the history of the Hungarian state's nations and their relations with the central authorities (in Vienna and Budapest) emerges both from Waław Felczak's *Historia Węgier*,⁶⁶ published in 1966 and 1983, and from Henryk Wereszycki's work *Pod berłem Habsburgów. Zagadnienia narodowościowe*.⁶⁷ Practically until this day, both these works are the starting point for studies on the position of non-German and non-Magyar nations in the Habsburg Monarchy and both governments' policies with regard to Slavs. Tadeusz Kopyś followed the same path when he published his study on the problem of nationality in Transleithania after 1867.⁶⁸ This work, as well as a history of Hungary which the author published twice, in 2014 and 2018, also do not treat the Slovak case separately;⁶⁹ any way, Slovak history was not these authors' research goal. All

(Eds.). *Słowiańska pamięć / Slavic memory*. Warszawa: Libron, 2017, p. 227-238. ISBN 9788365705389.

- 66 FELCZAK, Waław. *Historia Węgier*. (The history of Hungary). Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1983, 414 p. ISBN 8304010283. On the subject of Slovaks in Felczak's work see: ŠKVARNA, Dušan. Słowackie realia historyczne w dziele profesora Waława Felczaka. (Slovak historical realities in the work of Professor Waław Felczak). In CETNAROWICZ – PIJAJ, ref. 60, p. 13-18.
- 67 WERESZYCKI, Henryk. *Pod berłem Habsburgów. Zagadnienia narodowościowe*. (Under the Habsburg sceptre. National question). Eds. Antoni Cetnarowicz, Elżbieta Orman, Jacek Tokarski. Introd. Antoni Cetnarowicz. Kraków: Wysoki Zamek, 2015, 336 p. ISBN 9788394143411.
- 68 KOPYŚ, Tadeusz. *Kwestia narodowościowa na ziemiach Korony Świętego Stefana w latach 1867–1918*. (A national issue in the lands of the Crown of St. Stephen in 1867–1918). Kraków: Wydawnictwo Promocji Powiatu, Miasta i Gminy „Promo“, 2001, 148 p. ISBN 8388359452.
- 69 KOPYŚ, Tadeusz. *Historia Węgier 1526–1989*. (The history of Hungary 1526–1989). Kraków: Instytut Multimedialny, 2014, p. 241-243. ISBN 9788393088362.

these works, however, enable us to understand the political framework in which Slovaks functioned in the Habsburg times.

Polish historians adopt the Slovak standpoint much more rarely than they do the Hungarian one. The only monograph devoted to Slovaks' political aspirations in the Habsburg Monarchy was written by Antoni Giza. His *Słowacki ruch narodowy w XIX i początkach XX wieku (do 1914 roku)*,⁷⁰ which is in essence a compilation of the author's previously published articles, is based on a relatively small base of sources, has a number of shortcomings, and treats various periods in the history of the Slovak nation unequally. The author was aware of the drawbacks of his work, and hoped that it would become the starting point for future generations of historians.⁷¹

Radosław Zenderowski, a Warsaw sociologist and political scientist, also tried to synthetically look at the process of shaping the Slovak national identity in the 19th and 20th centuries. In his studies on Slovakia, he wrote, among other things on the importance of religion and language for the formation of Slovak identity, but also pointed out the reasons for the national backwardness of the Slovaks. He saw them in the absence of elites or their assimilation (nobility), small population and its dispersion, geographical and geopolitical factors, impairment of the Slovak language in the Hungarian state and other fields.⁷²

So far, Polish historiography has devoted little attention to Slovak politicians, both before and during the Spring of Nations, and especially during the Dual Monarchy, when Slovaks had representation in the Hungarian parliament; though not very numerous, it was significant from the Slovak point of view. Researchers of the Slovak national revival rarely emphasize the political activity of Slovak writers. One exception is an article published by Michał Rozenberg,

70 GIZA, ref. 1.

71 GIZA, ref. 1, p. 9.

72 ZENDEROWSKI, Radosław. *Nad Tatrami błyska się... Słowacka tożsamość narodowa w dyskursie politycznym w Republice Słowackiej (1989–2004)*. (Lightning over the Tatras... Slovak national identity in the political discourse in the Slovak Republic (1989–2004)). Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Kardynała Stefana Wyszyńskiego, 2007, p. 139–187. ISBN 9788370724603; ZENDEROWSKI, Radosław. *Słowacka tożsamość narodowa. Geneza. Proces kształtowania. Kluczowe dylematy*. (Slovak national identity. Genesis. The shaping process. Key dilemmas) In PALKA, Elżbieta (Ed.). *Współczesna Słowacja. Sytuacja wewnętrzna i pozycja międzynarodowa*. Wrocław: Oficyna Wydawnicza Arboretum, 2010, p. 13–46. ISBN 9788362563111; ZENDEROWSKI, Radosław – PIENKOWSKI, Jakub. *Kwestie narodowościowe w Europie Środkowo-Wschodniej II. Od końca XVIII wieku do Jesieni Narodów*. (Nationality issues in Central and Eastern Europe II. From the end of the 18th century to the Autumn of Nations). Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Kardynała Stefana Wyszyńskiego, 2015, p. 139–164. ISBN 9788365224453.

who focused on the period when Štúr was a deputy in the Hungarian parliament in Pressburg (Bratislava) in 1847–1848.⁷³

Slightly more attention was devoted to non-political issues in Slovakia in the 19th century. It is worth mentioning the articles by Zofia Bik, a scholar from the Cracow University of Economics, who devoted a lot of her attention to the history of Slovakia in the 19th century, especially emphasizing socio-economic issues, including the industrialization of the country.⁷⁴ This is important because mines located in Slovakia played a significant role in the fast-growing Hungarian industry. Moreover, economic issues undoubtedly had an influence on the stratification of society in Slovakia, and ethnic differences were also reflected in class divisions.

The problem of Slovaks' contacts with the other nations in the Habsburg Monarchy (with the exception of Poles, which will be mentioned shortly) is also largely unrecognized in Polish scholarship. Undoubtedly, a comparison of relations between cultural activists from Slovakia and inhabitants of the Serbian, Croatian, Rusyn and Romanian lands would produce interesting results. However, since 1976, when Zofia Bik published an article about the Serbian, Czech and Slovak cultural organizations – “Maticas”,⁷⁵ no one in Poland has undertaken historical studies on this subject. Studies of this kind have been undertaken by Slovak, South Slavic and Romanian scholars. In Polish literature, we do have translations of works by foreign scholars about bilateral Slovak-Magyar relations.⁷⁶

Polish-Slovak relations and mutual perception

The mutual perception of Slovaks and Poles in the 19th and early 20th centuries has been an important subject of studies in Polish scholarship. While the period of Slovak Romanticism was inspired by Polish Romanticism and admiration for Polish aspirations for independence, a meaningful symbol of which was, for example, poet Samo Chalupka's participation in the November Uprising of

73 ROZENBERG, Michał. Ludovít Štúr w węgierskiej polityce ze słowacką misją. (Ludovít Štúr – in Hungarian politics with a Slovak mission). In GOSZCZYŃSKA, Joanna (Ed.). *Powroty do źródeł. W dwusetną rocznicę urodzin Ludovíta Štúra*. Warszawa: Elipsa, 2016, p. 76-96. ISBN 9788380171121.

74 BIK, Zofia. Słowacja na przełomie XVIII i XIX wieku. (Slovakia at the turn of the 18th century). In *Studia Historyczne*, 1989, vol. 32, no. 4, p. 530-544. ISSN 0025-1429; BIK, Zofia. Słowacja w dobie industrializacji. (Slovakia in the age of industrialization). In *Zeszyty Naukowe Akademii Ekonomicznej w Krakowie*, 2002, vol. 587, p. 5-16. ISSN 0208-7944.

75 BIK, Zofia. Słowiańskie instytucje kulturalne w XIX wieku. Macierze – serbska, czeska i słowacka. (Slavonic cultural institutions in the nineteenth century. The Serbian, Czech and Slovak „Matices”). In *Studia Historyczne*, 1976, vol. 19, no. 2, p. 213-239. ISSN 0025-1429.

76 KISS, ref. 63, p. 143-149.

1830,⁷⁷ after the Spring of Nations in 1848–49 mutual Polish-Slovak relations did not really leave the intellectual circles.⁷⁸ Knowledge about Slovakia and the Slovaks was mainly spread on Polish soil by travellers (such as Agaton Giller), who published their impressions from visiting Slovakia in books and the press. Zdzisław Niedziela wrote about those “*voices from a century ago*” in 1995.⁷⁹ It was not until the turn of the 19th century that Poles (especially in Galicia) became more interested in their southern neighbours.⁸⁰ An important role in popularizing knowledge about Slovaks was played by the journal *Świat Słowiański* (The Slavic world), edited by Feliks Koneczny in Cracow. Texts about the Slovaks published in this periodical drew the attention of Jerzy Roszkowski already in 1999.⁸¹ In 2004, Antoni Giza published a monograph about Polish travellers visiting and describing Slovakia.⁸² The work, although pioneering, was nevertheless

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- 77 BIK, Zofia. Słowacy wobec powstania listopadowego. (The Slovaks towards the November Uprising). In FRAZIK, Wojciech et al. (Eds.). *Przez dwa stulecia XIX i XX w. Studia historyczne ofiarowane prof. Waclawowi Felczakowi*. Kraków: Wydawnictwo ITKM, 1993, p. 161-168. ISBN 8386231564; BIK, Zofia. Polonofilstwo Słowaków w pierwszej połowie XIX wieku. (The Polonophilism of Slovaks in the first half of the 19th century). In WYROZUMSKI, Jerzy (Ed.). *Związki kulturalne polsko-słowackie w dziejach*. Kraków: Międzynarodowe Centrum Kultury, 1995, p. 117-126. ISBN 838573922X; KOLBUSZEWSKI, Jacek. Echa powstania listopadowego w poezji Sama Chalupki. (Echoes of the November Uprising in the poetry of Samo Chalupka). In WYROZUMSKI, Jerzy (Ed.). *Związki kulturalne polsko-słowackie w dziejach*. Kraków: Międzynarodowe Centrum Kultury, 1995, p. 127-142. ISBN 838573922X; BILIŃSKA, Irena. Powstanie listopadowe a tworzenie pamięci historycznej narodu (exemplum słowackiego poety romantycznego Sama Chalupki). (November Uprising and the formation of the historical memory of the nation (exemplum of the Slovak romantic poet Samo Chalupka)). In WALCZAK, Wojciech – ŁOPATECKI, Karol (Eds.). *Stan badań nad wielokulturowym dziedzictwem dawnej Rzeczypospolitej*. Białystok: Instytut Badań nad Dziedzictwem Kulturowym Europy, 2013, vol. 6, p. 599-623. ISBN 9788393492091.
- 78 GODLEWSKI, Piotr. Polskie widzenie Słowaków. (Polish perception of Slovaks). In *Dzieje Najnowsze*, 1995, vol. 27, no. 2, p. 143-155. ISSN 0419-8824.
- 79 NIEDZIELA, Zdzisław. Głosy polskie sprzed stulecia. O problemach kultury słowackiej. (Polish voices from a century ago. On the problems of Slovak culture). In WYROZUMSKI, Jerzy (Ed.). *Związki kulturalne polsko-słowackie w dziejach*. Kraków: Międzynarodowe Centrum Kultury, 1995. p. 143-150. ISBN 838573922X.
- 80 NOWAK, Mariusz. Działania galicyjskich środowisk inteligentnych na rzecz polskiej ludności na terenie północnej Słowacji na początku XX w. (do roku 1914). (Activities of Galician intellectual circles for the benefit of the Polish population in northern Slovakia at the beginning of the 20th century (until 1914)). In *Rocznik Polonii*, 2006, vol. 2, p. 40-48. ISBN 1734-607X.
- 81 ROSZKOWSKI, Jerzy M. Stanowisko „Świata słowiańskiego” wobec sytuacji Słowaków i Polaków w Królestwie Węgierskim na początku XX w. (Attitude of the Świat słowiański in the face of the situation of Slovaks and Poles in the Kingdom of Hungary at the beginning of the 20th century). In ORLOF, Ewa (Ed.). *Od poznania do zrozumienia. Polacy, Czesi, Słowacy w XX wieku*. Rzeszów: Wydawnictwo Wyższej Szkoły Pedagogicznej, 1999, p. 9-19. ISBN 8387288292.
- 82 GIZA, Antoni. *Słowacja przełomu XIX i XX wieku w opisach polskich podróżników*. (Slova-

based on limited sources. It included reflections of selected memoirists and journalists (Henryk Bogdański, Stanisław Grabski, Roman Zawiliński and Feliks Koneczny). A mere year later, a much longer, two-volume work entitled *Słowacy w polskich oczach* was published by Michał Jagiełło, the director of the National Library in Warsaw.⁸³ Interestingly, Jagiełło's work was also published in Slovak translation (Jagiełło, 2014).⁸⁴ The author meticulously documented Polish voices about Slovakia and the Slovaks which had been published in the Polish press, scholarly books, guidebooks and memoirs published in the 19th and first decades of the 20th century. The work's especially notable value is the fact that it divided the collected material into chapters about problems such as: the Spring of Nations in Slovakia, the involvement of Polish democrats in the Slovak national movement, Slovak-Hungarian relations in the context of the Polish attitude towards the "Hungarian brothers", and the issue of the Polish Southern Borderland, as we could label the borderland region of Scepusia (Spiš), as well as Orava and Čadca. It remains the main bibliographical reference book for every scholar studying Slovak history and culture in the 19th and early 20th centuries.

Recently, Daniel Łysek also wrote about Polish journalists' attitudes (before World War I and in the interwar period) towards the problem of Slovak national autonomy in the context of the idea of Czechoslovakia, which emerged at the end of the 19th century and was implemented in 1918.⁸⁵

It is worth mentioning, however, that Polish-Slovak relations before World War I, although not intense, were two-fold. First of all, the Polish and Slovak intelligentsia maintained scientific and cultural relations. Back in 1990, Julian Dybiec, writing an article about institutional contacts between the Polish Academy of Arts and Sciences in Cracow and institutions of scientific and cultural life in Bohemia and Slovakia in 1873–1918, mentioned the Academy's conti-

nia in the 19th/20th century as described by the Polish travellers). Kraków: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu Szczecińskiego, 2004, 109 p. ISBN 8372414106.

- 83 JAGIEŁŁO, Michał. *Słowacy w polskich oczach. Obraz Słowaków w piśmiennictwie polskim*. (Slovaks in the eyes of Poles. The image of the Slovaks in Polish literature). Warszawa: Biblioteka Narodowa; Nowy Targ: Podhalańska Wyższa Szkoła Zawodowa, 2005, vol. 1, 342 p.; vol. 2, 452 p. ISBN 8370094511.
- 84 JAGIEŁŁO, Michał. *Slováci poľskými očami. Obraz Slovákov v poľskom písomníctve*. (Slovaks in the eyes of Poles. The image of the Slovaks in the Polish literature). Transl. Tomasz Trancygier. Nowy Targ: Zväzok Euroregión „Tatry“, 2014, vol. 1, 335 p.; vol 2, 411 p. ISBN 9788393924912.
- 85 ŁYSEK, Daniel. *Obraz Słowaków w polskiej publicystyce w I połowie XX wieku (do 1938 roku). Postrzeżenie słowackiej odrębności w kontekście „czesko-słowackiej wzajemności“ i czechosłowackizmu*. (The image of the Slovaks in the Polish press in the first half of the 20th century (until 1938). The perception of the Slovak distinctiveness in the context of 'Czech-Slovak mutuality' and Czechoslovakism). Klio, 2016, vol. 39, no. 4, p. 119-138. ISSN 1643-8191.

nued contact with the Slovak Museum Society (Museálna slovenská spoločnosť) in Turčiansky Svätý Martin.⁸⁶ Cracow also saw an inflow of Slovak literature, scientific works, as well as young people who came there to study. In 2006, these Polish-Slovak relations, maintained throughout many centuries (also in the 19th century), were presented at an exhibition in the Jagiellonian Library and in the publication *Słowacja i Słowacy w zbiorach Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego od czasów najdawniejszych do roku 1918*, which included a catalogue of manuscripts, old prints, graphics, and 19th century publications, collected in the Cracow library.⁸⁷

Apart from Cracow, Slovaks also maintained contacts with Poles in Cieszyn Silesia. Edward Buława was a prominent researcher of these topics. He is the author of texts comparing the national movements of Poles in Cieszyn and Slovaks in Pressburg (Bratislava) during the Spring of Nations,⁸⁸ showing Ludovít Štúr's influence on the Polish activist Paweł Stelmach,⁸⁹ and characterizing relations between Poles and Slovaks from Cieszyn before 1870.⁹⁰ Tadeusz Stegner, on the other hand, pointed out the multinational character of Cieszyn Silesia,

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- 86 DYBIEC, Julian. Związki Akademii Umiejętności w Krakowie z nauką czeską i słowacką (1873–1918). (Relationships of the Academy of Learning in Krakow with Czech and Slovak science (1873–1918)). In STASIEWICZ-JASIUKOWA, Irena – JANKO, Jan (Eds.). *Z dziejów polsko-czeskich i polsko-słowackich kontaktów naukowych*. Warszawa: Polska Akademia Nauk. Komitet Historii Nauki i Techniki, 1990, p. 40.
- 87 *Słowacja i Słowacy w zbiorach Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego od czasów najdawniejszych do roku 1918. Wystawa w Bibliotece Jagiellońskiej 9–28 października 2006*. (Slovakia and the Slovaks in the Jagiellonian University collections from the oldest times until 1918. Exhibition in the Jagiellonian Library, October 9–28, 2006). Conception Danuta Bromowicz. Cooperation Jadwiga Bzinkowska [et al.]. Kraków: Uniwersytet Jagielloński, 2006, 95 p. ISBN 8392194640.
- 88 BUŁAWA, Edward. Preszburški ośrodek ruchu słowackiego a początki polskiego ruchu narodowego na Śląsku Cieszyńskim. (The Pressburg centre of the Slovak movement and the origins of the Polish national movement in Cieszyn Silesia). In KOPEĆ, Eugeniusz (Ed.). *Z polsko-czechosłowackiego sąsiedztwa. Studia i szkice*. Katowice: Uniwersytet Śląski, 1985, p. 9-46. ISBN 8322600321.
- 89 BUŁAWA, Edward. Wpływ Ludovita Štúra i jego środowiska na postawę narodową i zamierzenia Pawła Stelmacha. (The influence of Ludovít Štúr and his environment on the national attitude and intentions of Paweł Stelmach). In PANIC, Idzi (Ed.). *Ojczyzna wielka i mała. Księga pamiątkowa wydana z okazji 40-lecia Oddziału Polskiego Towarzystwa Historycznego w Cieszynie*. Cieszyn: Polskie Towarzystwo Historyczne. Oddział w Cieszynie, 1996, p. 121-130. ISBN 8390196379.
- 90 BUŁAWA, Edward. Kontakty kulturalne między Śląskiem Cieszyńskim a Słowacją w XIX wieku (do 1870 r.). (Cultural contacts between Cieszyn Silesia and Slovakia in the 19th century (until 1870)). In BEDNAREK, Stefan (Ed.). *Świadomość narodowa w Polsce i Słowacji w XIX i XX wieku*. Wrocław: Centrum Badań Śląskoznawczych i Bohemistycznych Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego; Atut, 2003, p. 141-166. ISBN 8387299065.

recalling that Slovaks also found refuge from Magyar repressions there after 1848.⁹¹

The Polish-Slovak borderland

The topic which is the most comprehensively researched by Polish historiography is the problem of the Polish-Slovak borderland. I am in particular referring to the pawned Scepusia (in Slovak: Spiš; in Polish: Spisz) towns, which belonged to the Polish kings after 1412. After the unsuccessful Bar Confederation of Polish nobles against Russian influence in 1768, Scepusia was taken over by Austrians, who took the opportunity and included it in the Hungarian part of the Habsburg Monarchy, but the Polish population remained there. Another situation took place in Orava (in Polish: Orawa). This county has been part of Hungary for hundreds of years, but a Polish population also lived there and Polish national activists were active at the beginning of the 20th century. After Poland regained independence and Czechoslovakia was established in 1918, these areas, along with Cieszyn Silesia, were the subject of a conflict between Poland and Czechoslovakia. Ultimately, in 1920 only half of Cieszyn Silesia and the northern parts of Scepusia and Orava ended up in Poland, but some Poles remained on the Czechoslovak side of the border. It is, therefore, unsurprising that historiography in Poland has been most interested in the history of Scepusia and Orava.

In 1995, on the initiative of Władysław Pilarczyk, a priest and chairman of the Friends of Orava Society (Towarzystwo Przyjaciół Orawy), and thanks to the Polish Spisz Association (Związek Polskiego Spisza), an interesting volume was published, entitled *Spisz i Orawa w 75. rocznicę powrotu do Polski północnych części obu ziem*.⁹² In 1998–1999, the exhibition “*Spisz, Spiš, Zips, Szepes*” was exhibited in Sejny and Cracow. Following the exhibition, an album was released by the centre “Borderland of Arts, Cultures and Nations” (Ośrodek “Pogranicze Sztuk, Kultur, Narodów”) and the International Cultural Centre in Krakow.⁹³ In 2000, the initiative “Open Central and Eastern European Regions” (“Regiony

91 STEGNER Tadeusz. Śląsk cieszyński w XIX wieku. Polacy, Czesi, Niemcy, Ślązacy, Słowacy; ewangelicy, katolicy. (Cieszyn Silesia in the 19th century. Poles, Czechs, Germans, Silesians, Slovaks; Evangelicals, Catholics.). In WAPIŃSKI, Roman (Ed.). *Polacy i sąsiedzi – dystanse i przenikanie kultur*. Gdańsk: Wydawnictwo „Stepan design“, 2000, vol. 1, p. 242. ISBN 8390496542.

92 TRAJDOS, Tadeusz M. (Ed.). *Spisz i Orawa w 75. rocznicę powrotu do Polski północnych części obu ziem*. (Scepusia and Orava on the 75th anniversary of the return of the northern parts of both lands to Poland). Kraków: Secesja, 1995, 290 p. ISBN 8390480204.

93 KROH, Antoni (Ed.). *Spisz. Wystawa / Spiš. Výstava / Zips. Ausstellung / Szepes. Kiállítás*. (Scepusia. Exhibition). Sejny: Ośrodek „Pogranicze Sztuk, Kultur, Narodów“; Kraków: Międzynarodowe Centrum Kultury, 1999, 163 p. ISBN 8390130351.

Europy Środkowo-Wschodniej”) contributed to the publication of a collection of texts about the multicultural heritage of Scepusia, including articles by Polish and Slovak scholars.⁹⁴ In 2003, 2009 and 2016, three more, monumental publications about the history of Scepusia came out as a result of the work of Polish and Slovak scholars. The first one was *Terra Scepusiensis*;⁹⁵ the other two came out as a two-volume *Historia Scepusii*. Its first part was devoted to the medieval and early modern times, and the second one to the period from 1526 to 1918.⁹⁶

Polish scholars have addressed many aspects of the history of Scepusia and Orava. Among the more interesting achievements of Polish historiography concerning the regions, we should mention: Mieczysław Adamczyk’s findings about the Piarist secondary school (*gimnazjum*) in Podolin⁹⁷ and education in Scepusia in general;⁹⁸ Tadeusz Łopatkiewicz’s studies on 19th century letters written by peasants from the region;⁹⁹ Mariusz Nowak’s monograph on Counts Zamoyski’s forest management in their Scepusia estates of Stara Lubovnia in 1882–1944, that is during the time they owned these lands (Nowak, 2011);¹⁰⁰ as well as Jerzy M. Roszkowski’s twice-published (in 2011 and 2018) work on Polish aspirations to Scepusia, Orava and Čadca (in Polish: Czadca) and an awareness campaign conducted in this territory among the inhabitants of the region at the turn of

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- 94 KROH, Antoni (Ed.). *Spisz. Wielokulturowe dziedzictwo*. (Scepusia. Multicultural heritage). Sejny: Pogranicze, 2000, 141 p. ISBN 8390474905.
- 95 GŁADKIEWICZ, Ryszard – HOMZA, Martin (Eds.). *Terra Scepusiensis. Stav badania o dejinách Spiša*. (Terra Scepusiensis. The state of research on the history of Scepusia). Levoča: Kláštorisko n.o.; Wrocław: Centrum Badań Śląskoznawczych i Bohemistycznych Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego, 2003. 987 p. ISBN 8071144576.
- 96 HOMZA, Martin – SROKA, Stanisław A. (Eds.). *Historia Scepusii*. (History of Scepusia). Bratislava: Katedra slovenských dejín UK FiF; Kraków: Instytut Historii Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, 2016, vol. 2, 1165 p. ISBN 9788022342100.
- 97 ADAMCZYK, Mieczysław Jerzy. *Szkoły pijarskie w Podolinie i ich związki z Polską 1643–1848*. (Piarist schools in Podolin and their connections with Poland in 1643–1848). Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego, 1995, 178 p. ISBN 8322913311.
- 98 ADAMCZYK, Mieczysław. Szkolnictwo Spiszu od XVI do początku XX wieku. (Education in Scepusia from the sixteenth until the early twentieth centuries). In GŁADKIEWICZ, Ryszard – HOMZA, Martin (Eds.). *Terra Scepusiensis. Stav badania o dejinách Spiša*. Levoča: Kláštorisko n.o.; Wrocław: Centrum Badań Śląskoznawczych i Bohemistycznych Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego, 2003, p. 681-695. ISBN 8071144576.
- 99 ŁOPATKIEWICZ, Tadeusz. *Z Lendaku i Maniów. Chłopskie listy z końca XIX wieku*. (From Lendak and Maniów. Peasant lists from the end of the 19th century). Żarnowiec: Muzeum Marii Konopnickiej, 1997, 277 p. ISBN 8390623617.
- 100 NOWAK, Mariusz. *Gospodarka leśna hrabiów Zamoyskich w spiskich dobrach Stara Lubovnia w latach 1882–1944*. (Forest economy of the Zamoyski counts in the Spiš properties of Stará Lubovňa in the years 1882–1944). Kielce: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Humanistyczno-Przyrodniczego Jana Kochanowskiego, 2011, 160 p. ISBN 9788371334818.

the 19th century.¹⁰¹ Polish authors also wrote about Polish clergy in Scepusia,¹⁰² about the development of culture and science in Scepusia at the turn of the 19th century,¹⁰³ and about the ethnic mosaic of this region.¹⁰⁴

Characterizing all publications about individual towns and villages of the Polish-Slovak borderland (which include guidebooks, travel books, albums, and articles scattered in collective works and journals, the main ones being: *Almanach Muszyny* (Muszyna's Almanac); *Almanach Nowotarski* (Nowy Targ's Almanac); *Prace Pienińskie* (Pieniny Works); *Rocznik Babiogórski* (Babia Góra Yearbook); *Rocznik Orawski* (Orava Yearbook) would make this text considerably longer, so I will only list synthetic works on Orava and Scepusia. In 2012, a bilingual, Polish-Slovak monograph was published, devoted to the history of Upper Orava (Pol. Górna Orawa), which was part of Hungary before the First World War.¹⁰⁵ The history of Scepusia in 1848–1918 was written by Artur Patek, a Cracow-based historian, who published his text in Slovak (Patek, 2016).¹⁰⁶ He had also

101 ROSZKOWSKI, Jerzy M. „Zapomniane Kresy“. *Spisz, Orawa, Czadeckie w świadomości i działaniach Polaków 1895–1925*. (“The Forgotten Borderland”. Spisz, Orava and Czadeckie Region in the Conscience and Activities of Poles in the Years 1895–1925). Nowy Targ: Powiatowe Centrum Kultury w Nowym Targu, 2018. 475 p. ISBN 9788393067541.

102 ROSZKOWSKI, Jerzy M. Rola Kościoła na Spiszu i Orawie w podtrzymywaniu polskości oraz słowakizacji (od średniowiecza do czasów współczesnych). (The role of the Church in Scepusia and Orava in upholding Polishness and Slovakization (from the Middle Ages to modern times)). In TRAJDOS, Tadeusz M. (Ed.). *Spisz i Orawa w 75. rocznicę powrotu do Polski północnych części obu ziem*. Kraków: Secesja, 1995, p. 25-37. ISBN 8390480204; TRAJDOS, Tadeusz M. Polscy plebani na Zamagurzu Spiskim. (Polish presbyteries in Zama-gurie). In KROH, Antoni (Ed.). *Spisz. Wielokulturowe dziedzictwo*. Sejny: Pogranicze, 2000, p. 59-67. ISBN 8390474905.

103 KROH, Antoni. Kultura i nauka na Spiszu w XIX i XX wieku. (Culture and science in Scepusia in the nineteenth and twentieth century). In GŁADKIEWICZ, Ryszard – HOMZA, Martin (Eds.). *Terra Scepusiensis. Stav badania o dejinách Spiša*. Levoča: Kláštorisko n.o.; Wrocław: Centrum Badań Śląskoznawczych i Bohemistycznych Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego, 2003, p. 733-736. ISBN 8071144576.

104 KAMOCCI, Janusz – SKAWIŃSKI, Marek. Problemy etniczności a narodowości na przykładzie Spiszu. (The problem of ethnicity and national identification in the example of Scepusia). In GŁADKIEWICZ, Ryszard – HOMZA, Martin (Eds.). *Terra Scepusiensis. Stav badania o dejinách Spiša*. Levoča: Kláštorisko n.o.; Wrocław: Centrum Badań Śląskoznawczych i Bohemistycznych Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego, 2003, p. 705-716. ISBN 8071144576.

105 MAJERIKOVÁ-MOLITORIS, Milica – MOLITORIS, Ľudomir – SMONDEK, Marián. *Tajné Dejiny Hornej Oravy / Tajne dzieje Górnej Orawy*. (Secret history of Upper Orava). Krakow: Wydawnictwo i Drukarnia Towarzystwa Słowaków w Polsce, 2012, 150 p. ISBN 9788374904926. See also interesting work about village Podwilk (in Slovak: Podvľk) in Upper Orava: CHMELÍK, Martin. Podvľk v rokoch 1848–1918. (Podwilk in 1848–1918). In *Almanach. Słowacy w Polsce / Slováci v Pol'sku*, 2015, vol. 15, p. 41-82. ISSN 1233-0205.

106 PATEK, Artur. Spiš v rokoch 1849–1918 v predvečer prvej svetovej vojny. (Scepusia in years

published detailed texts about the social, cultural, economic and identity-related reality of Scepusia in Polish.¹⁰⁷ The author also wrote an important text in 2007, describing the achievements of Polish and Slovak historiographies with regard to the Scepusia borderland.¹⁰⁸ Other authors who had written about the Polish historiography concerning Scepusia (including 19th century works) before Patek included Tomasz Grabiński, Jerzy M. Roszkowski and Stanisław A. Sroka.¹⁰⁹

In place of conclusions – future research perspectives

As I have endeavoured to show, Polish scholarship's lack of interest in 19th century Slovak history, which Antoni Giza warned about two decades ago, has recently been overcome, resulting in a considerable number of scholarly works. Apart from works on the Polish-Slovak borderland, however, the majority of texts about 19th century Slovaks were written by Slavists rather than historians. Meanwhile, a number of topics remain to be addressed by historians, which would not only enrich the state of Polish knowledge, but would also provide a context for broader reflections on nationality, political, social, cultural and economic changes in Central Europe in the 19th and early 20th centuries.

1849–1918 on the eve of World War I). In HOMZA, Martin – SROKA, Stanisław A. (Eds.). *Historia Scepusii*. Bratislava: Katedra slovenských dejín UK FiF; Kraków: Instytut Historii Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, 2016, vol. 2, p. 472-548. ISBN 9788022342100.

- 107 PATEK, Artur. Z úvah nad hospodárskym obrazem Spiše ve druhé polovině 19. století (do roku 1914). (Economic View of Scepusia in the Second Half of the 19th Century (until 1914)). In *Slovanský přehled: historická revue pro dějiny střední, východní a jihovýchodní Evropy*, 2006, vol. 1, p. 1-10. ISSN 0037-6922; PATEK, Artur. Specyfika spiskiej kultury regionalnej drugiej połowy XIX wieku. (Spisz's regional culture in the latter half of the 19th century). In *Studia Historyczne*, 2006, vol. 49, no. 1, p. 17-26. ISSN 0025-1429; PATEK, Artur. Spisz. Obraz społeczno-gospodarczy regionu w drugiej połowie XIX w. (do 1914 r.). (Scepusia. Socio-economic picture of the region in the second half of the 19th century). In *Prace Komisji Środkoeuropejskiej Polskiej Akademii Umiejętności*, 2006, vol. 14, p. 49-64. ISSN 1233-0558; PATEK, Artur. Wokół sporów o tożsamość narodową na polsko-słowackim pograniczu na Spiszu w XIX i XX wieku. (Around disputes over national identity on the Polish-Slovak borderland in Scepusia in the 19th and 20th centuries). In PATEK, Artur – ROJEK, Wojciech (Eds.). *Naród, państwo, Europa Środkowa w XIX i XX wieku. Studia ofiarowane Michałowi Pulaskiemu w pięćdziesięciolecie pracy naukowej*. Kraków: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, 2006, p. 75-84. ISBN 8323321655.
- 108 PATEK, Artur. Sprawa pogranicza spiskiego w polskiej i słowackiej historiografii. Stereotypy i interpretacje. (The issue of the Scepusia borderland in Polish and Slovak historiography. Stereotypes and interpretations). In STAWOWA-KAWKA, Irena (Ed.). *Obraz konfliktów między narodami słowiańskimi w XIX i XX wieku w historiografii*. Kraków: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, 2007, p. 95-109. ISBN 9788323323334.
- 109 GRABIŃSKI, Tomasz – ROSZKOWSKI, Jerzy M. – SROKA, Stanisław A. Badania nad Spiszem w polskiej historiografii. (Studies on Scepusia in Polish historiography). In *Kontakty*, 2003, vol. 2, p. 15-36. ISSN 1644-8553.

Among worthwhile directions of research, I would first of all suggest any comparative studies on historical experiences. So far, Polish historiography has mainly emphasized Polish-Slovak relations, which has resulted in studies on: Slovak inspirations drawn from Polish Romanticism (especially messianism), mutual perceptions of Poles and Slovaks, and the shared borderland (the case of Scepusia and Orava). However, the cases of the Polish and Slovak nations are incomparable due to the long tradition of independence of the former and the relatively late “national awakening” of the latter. It seems to me much more valid to shift the attention of Polish historiographers’ from looking for parallels between the individual histories of the two nations to studying the systems in which they functioned. The comparison of the history of Slovaks (as a “young” nation born on the outskirts of the Hungarian Kingdom) to the history of Galician Rusyns (also living in the borderland – of the Polish state which did not exist in the 19th century any more) seems obvious. Contrary to appearances, Galician Rusyns and Hungarian Slovaks have a lot in common. Both nations experienced a national revival at a similar time; their political movements were led by clergymen; both nations used their energy in the 19th century to develop their own literature and to demand schools with their own language; both nations were under the cultural and political influence of stronger and “politically older” neighbours (Poles and Magyars respectively). To clearly understand the process of the emergence (or awakening) of the Slovak nation, it is important to pay attention not only to the activity of Slovak national leaders, but – as a counterweight – also to those people whose activity was limited to the Hungarian state (some steps were taken in this direction by Anna Kobylíńska in her studies on Ján Palárik). The Slovak population underwent processes of assimilation; what is more, the history of Slovakia had a very special case – the Magyarons. Analogous cases can be found in Polish history – half-Polonized Lithuanians, Jews, Armenians, Germans, and especially Rusyns (*gente Rutheni, natione Poloni*) have attracted the interest of many scholars.

Meanwhile, the multicultural society of Slovakia frequently escapes the attention of Polish scholars, who usually limit themselves to the history of the processes which happened mainly – geographically speaking – in northern Slovakia, which was the cradle of the Slovak national movement. However, the history of northern Slovak towns such as Martin or Liptovský Mikuláš, which are usually associated with the Slovak national revival, was very different from that of Bratislava (which was the seat of the Hungarian parliament until the Spring of Nations) or eastern-Slovak, bourgeois Košice, largely populated by Germans. Unfortunately, the 19th century history of these centres (and regions) is not sufficiently known to Polish scholars. To some extent, the International Cultural Centre in Cracow draws the attention of Polish scholars to urban centres, as

illustrated by many initiatives aimed at increasing knowledge about these regions of Slovakia unknown to Poles (e.g. in 2016, the International Cultural Centre organized an exhibition entitled “*Košice Modernism*”).¹¹⁰ The state of Polish scholars’ knowledge about the Rusyn population of eastern Slovakia is slightly better. It is worth mentioning an article by Jan Jacek Bruski about the history of Rusyns in Poland and Slovakia;¹¹¹ Peter Káša’s text about multi-ethnic Prešov, translated into Polish;¹¹² an ethnological work by Ewa Michna about the Carpathian-Ruthenian movement in Slovakia, Ukraine and Poland;¹¹³ and the monograph written by Grażyna Holly about changes in the religious landscape in the Polish-Ukrainian-Slovak borderland in the 19th–21st centuries.¹¹⁴ The perception of Slovakia, not only in the context of Polish-Slovak relations, but also in the broader context of Polish-Slovak-Ukrainian (or even broader, including Carpathian Rusyns and Magyars) relations seems to be a compelling direction of research, which could bring interesting results. On the other hand, we should remember that apart from Magyars and Rusyns, Slovakia was also inhabited by Germans, Jews, and the Romani – Polish scholars have written little or nothing about these minorities and their relations with the Slovak population. Similarly, little has been written about Slovaks’ contacts with other non-Magyar nations of Hungary (Croats, Serbs of Vojvodina, Transylvanian Romanians, and Rusyns from Carpathian Ruthenia), with which they shared the fate of a subordinate nation. Cooperation between political leaders of these nations increased considerably in the last decade of the 19th century in a wave of resistance against Budapest’s Magyarization policy. Therefore, the history of Slovaks can be analysed

110 OLEŚKIEWICZ, Anastazja – TAYLOR-KUCIA, Jessica (Eds.). *Koszycka moderna / Košice Modernism*. Kraków: Międzynarodowe Centrum Kultury, 2016, 197 p. ISBN 9788363463595.

111 BRUSKI, Jan Jacek. Rusini w Polsce i na Słowacji. Meandry świadomości narodowej. (Ruthenians in Poland and Slovakia. Meander of national consciousness). In BEDNAREK, Stefan (Ed.). *Świadomość narodowa w Polsce i Słowacji w XIX i XX wieku*. Wrocław: Centrum Badań Śląskoznawczych i Bohemistycznych Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego; Atut, 2003, p. 107-129. ISBN 8387299065.

112 KÁŠA, Peter. Dziedzictwo kulturowe Preszowa. (The cultural heritage of Prešov). In PURCHLA, Jacek (Ed.). *Dziedzictwo kresów – nasze wspólne dziedzictwo?* Kraków: Międzynarodowe Centrum Kultury, 2006. p. 171-188. ISBN 8389273292.

113 MICHNA, Ewa. *Kwestie etniczno-narodowościowe na pograniczu Słowiańszczyzny wschodniej i zachodniej. Ruch rusiński na Słowacji, Ukrainie i w Polsce*. (Ethno-national issues on the border between Eastern and Western Slavs. The Rusyn movement in Slovakia, Ukraine and Poland). Kraków: Polska Akademia Umiejętności, 2004, p. 49-63.

114 HOLLY, Grażyna. *Przekształcenia krajobrazu sakralnego na pograniczu polsko-słowacko-ukraińskim (XIX–XXI wiek)*. (Transformations of the sacral landscape on the Polish-Slovak-Ukrainian border (XIX–XXI century)). Ustrzyki Dolne: Bieszczadzki Park Narodowy, 2014, 572 p. ISBN 9788390320922.

not only on the microscale, but also on the macroscale – as a case study of larger historical processes in Transleithania.

In order to pursue such directions of research, however, Polish historiography must have the foundation which is crucial to this discipline: a source base. Meanwhile, so far, with the exception of Štúr's writings published by Janaszek-Ivaničková in 1983, Polish scholars have not published any of the more important sources for the history of Slovakia. The reason for this is undoubtedly the similarity between the Polish and Slovak languages, which enables scholars (especially Slavists) to use source texts published in Slovak with relative ease. However, access to these sources in Polish libraries is still limited. Moreover, sources on 19th century Slovakia are multilingual. There are materials in Slovak, Hungarian, and German, which first require selection and then translation and edition. The volume *Kwestia słowacka w XX wieku*, published in 2002, can be an inspiration;¹¹⁵ it contains translations of texts written by leading political, scientific and cultural activists from Slovakia. An analogous reconnaissance of 19th century sources, resulting in more editorial projects, would create new research opportunities for Polish historians.

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DIE GESCHICHTE DER SLOWAKEI UND DER SLOWAKEN IM 19. JAHRHUNDERT IN DER POLNISCHEN FORSCHUNG DER LETZTEN DREISSIG JAHRE

ADAM Ś W I A Ź T E K

Die Geschichte der Slowakei und der Slowaken wurde in der polnischen Geschichtsschreibung seit vielen Jahren als Teil eines größeren Ganzen: der Geschichte Ungarns oder der Tschechoslowakei gesehen. Aus diesem Grund schenken polnische Historiker dem Phänomen der nationalen Entwicklung der Slowaken im 19. Jahrhundert gewöhnlich keine Aufmerksamkeit. Die Situation begann sich erst seit den 1990er Jahren

115 *Kwestia słowacka w XX wieku*. (The Slovak question in the 20th century). Select. and Introd. Rudolf Chmel. Transl. Piotr Godlewski, Zofia Jurczak-Trojan, Maryla Papierz. Afterword Adam Michnik. Bratysława: Kalligram, 2002, 576 p. ISBN 8391740900.

zu ändern, als zahlreiche Studien erschienen, in denen man versuchte, die Geschichte der Slowakei und der Slowaken als eigenständige Forschungsfrage und nicht als ein Teil der Geschichte der Tschechoslowakei oder Ungarns wahrzunehmen. Dieser Text stellt die Leistungen polnischer Forscher der letzten dreißig Jahre in Bezug auf die Geschichte der Slowakei und der Slowaken im 19. Jahrhundert dar. Der Artikel beschreibt die wichtigsten polnischen Synthesen, Sammelbände und schließlich Monographien zur Geschichte der Slowakei und der slowakischen Kultur. Die Aufmerksamkeit wird auch auf wichtigste wissenschaftliche Zentren in Polen, die Forschungen auf dem Gebiet der slowakischen Kultur und Geschichte initiieren, gelenkt. Trotz des wachsenden Interesses am südlichen Nachbarn Polens in den letzten Jahren sind nach wie vor erhebliche Mängel in der polnischen Geschichtsschreibung sichtbar. Der Artikel stellt auch gewünschte Perspektiven für weitere Forschung in Polen dar.

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