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# SLOVENSKÝ NÁRODOPIŠ

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staviteľstvom na Slovensku v minulosti a dnes  
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## ON FACTORS, SHAPING SOCIAL AND ETHNIC/NATIONAL IDENTITY IN NINETEENTH- AND TWENTIETH- CENTURY SLOVAKIA

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In Slovakia, under circumstances of long centuries cohabitation within multi-ethnic Hungarian Realm, the categories of 'social' and 'national' identity became very dynamic characteristics of individual, or, society. Uniqueness of Slovakian political history is firmly rooted in fact that its territory was until 1918 completely stateless, without any form of home rule. Thus, the medieval power system based on feudal counties and royal cities, both of them having multi-ethnic population, disintegrated, in addition, by social and confessional structure, persisted until as late as the end of the nineteenth century. Having seized superiority in political life, the Magyar ruling class strived to manipulate non-Magyar national identities within realm. In this way, the changing political regimes contributed substantially to dynamism of identities.

### Introduction

The growing list of literature on theory of nationalism and nation-building processes, did not significantly influence the complex existence of phenomenon itself. Triggered by French Revolution, nursed by period of building one-nation state and despite the short life-expectancy, nationalism persisted the modernization period. Causing disbalance in post-modern societies in period of European integration, the predicament of unaccomplished nation-building deserves our full attention.

The main purpose of this paper is not to produce a brand new short-lived theory, but, presenting highly interesting and complex material of lesser known case of Slovak nationalism rather to bring about filling typological and methodological gaps in European theory on the subject. More than once in Slovak history, the 'outside' interpretation of Slovak nation-building process either from Hungarian, or Czech viewpoint did not lead to better understanding of problem, or, successful political solutions. Therefore, it is high time to concern the problem as it is seen by Slovaks from 'inside'. Useless to stress, both views have their advantages and disadvantages, but, only enriching and accomplishing of view-

point may lead to more valid knowledge about the issue, which, for some layers of society still did not lose its significance. Thus, in popular thought, nation remains the most natural unit, in which society is organized.

\*

1. *Function of Territory in Shaping of Slovak nation.* When analysing the rise of Slovak ethnic/national identity, relevance of own territory and state as its nursery should be taken into account. Peripeties of modern history of Slovakia could be hardly explained without digression into earlier power and ideology relationship in Central Europe, as reflected in forms of constitution and political power executed over territory of Slovakia. Lack of own state for long time felt as a key problem of past Slovak history, left undeniable traces also in Slovak identity.<sup>1</sup>

In last two centuries, social structure shaped by constitutional model of power within Hungarian state formation was supported by juridical system and intertwined with persisting in Middle Ages born multi-ethnic character of kingdom into which territory inhabited by Slovaks merged. The decades, prior to Magyar conquest (*honfoglalás*), saw tremendous extent of Great Moravia. Even in their 'heroic' period discordant Slavic supra-tribal union coped with power interferences from the part of Eastern German Mark.<sup>2</sup>

Lasting for more than one century (from about 955 onwards), old Magyars reduced the territory inhabited by Slavic tribes and separated them definitively from each other. Together with population and culture, social and political institutions these were incorporated and extensively absorbed in Hungarian Kingdom.<sup>3</sup>

Territory of tribal Slovakia and Great Moravia, especially during first Christianisation attempts gives an excellent example of defenselessness of stateless-territories. Two earlier attempts of spreading Christianity to stateless tribes (the Irish-Scottish mission preceding the Bavarian mission in 833) were unsuccessful because of using languages foreign to home population. On the contrary, Slavonic Byzantine mission (863), succeeded in spite of obstacles built systematically from the part of Western Roman Church, thanks to building up the first real statehood. The Byzantine character of early church in Hungary persisted even in centuries following Christianization. Thus, two main geopolitical bearings displayed their sway over territory starting to develop into state form.<sup>4</sup>

For various parts of confederation consequences of decay were different. Czech and Moravian parts soon integrated in Kingdom of Bohemia, which only in 1526 as the 'lands of the Czech Crown' became part of Austrian Realm, enjoying until 1918 certain, systematically reduced, degree of political autonomy.

The 150 years long process of gradual merging of Slovak forefathers and their territory into Hungarian Kingdom, has still not been satisfactorily explained. Anyway, at its end, for about ten centuries until 1918, Slovak ethnic developed completely without integrative influence of political and constitutional institutions of their own and struggled for political rights within ethnically and confessionally mixed and territorially disintegrated municipality political system. Other territorial political units of early Hungarian Realm, such as Transylvania, Croatia (including parts of Slovenia) or Serbia, preserving limited degree of political autonomy, incorporated into Hungarian Realm later with full-fledged medieval political institutions of their own, executed power at level compatible with medieval European states of that period. Slovakian political institutions, in period of Magyar conquest merely at a tribal level, were reduced, some of them destroyed, but majority of them completely absorbed.

Paradoxically enough, even later in the Habsburg period in the title of Austro-Hungarian monarchs among the hereditary provinces of Realm, Slovakia in any form was never enumerated, being understood as organic part of the '*lands of the St. Stephen's crown*'.<sup>5</sup> After



1048, Slovakia, as a part of *Hungarian frontier principality* was referred to only as the '*tertia pars regni*', having statute of appanage to younger princes. Core of it was the area of the Ostrihom bishopric. In the first centuries of Hungarian Realm, this was headed by a prince, residing in Nitra, the place of old bishopric residence since 833. In years 1048-1060, its first prince was Bela, the later Hungarian King Bela (Adalbertus) I (1061-1063).<sup>6</sup>

Until the nineteenth century, Slovakia was frequently indicated not only as *New Hungary* or *Upper Hungary*, but also as '*slowakisches Land*', '*Tothorszagh*' (in Magyar), '*slovenska zeme*' (in Moravian) or '*Totvilayet*' (in Ottoman sources) as a territorial unit, settled by Slovaks without any form of integral political autonomy.<sup>7</sup>

In the nineteenth century, from part of Slovak nation-builders, an unsuccessful effort was developed to gain for Slovaks some limited form of political autonomy. In the 1840's, in Slovak petitions, never replied by Viennese Court, claiming for Slovaks some limited forms of autonomy within Hungary, Slovakia is usually referred to as *Hornouhorske okolie* [Vicinity of Upper Hungary].<sup>8</sup> Term *Slovensko* [Slovakia], as a name for territory, inhabited by speakers of Slovak dialects, e.g. ethnic Slovaks, is for the first time published in poem of Janko Matúška *Nad Tatrou sa blýska* [Over Tatra's Crags the Lightnings Gleam], written in 1844 to commemorate the exodus of Slovak students from the Bratislava Lyceum. In 1918, this poem, sung on the folk melody, became the second part of the Czechoslovak national anthem.<sup>9</sup>

Missing unifying political, economic and even cultural centre of their own until 1918, the municipality remained the only, and, to a large degree problematic political scene to exercise the rights of Slovak inhabitants of Slovakia. This left, as we shall see further, undeniable traces in development of their ethnic and national identity.<sup>10</sup> For the same reason, regional identification efforts simply could not gain relevance. Struggling for political autonomy for a tiny territory of about 49 000 km<sup>2</sup> and population about two and a half million people, disintegrated in numerous counties and towns, leaders of Slovak national movement reasonably stressed its Slovak ethnic and cultural unity. Therefore, 'regional' features did not behave as opposition to 'national' integration. On the contrary, facing the growing obstacles and deep political hostility from the part of Magyar ruling class, particular, whether regional or social interests, should have been subdued in favour of increasing national political and cultural unity. Reviving nation and integrating territory, both should harmonize as entirely monolithic.

After 1918, when the first Czechoslovak Republic was established, Slovaks expected to enter the way of necessary economic and political changes. The autonomy, promised in two most significant common Czech and Slovak documents programming principles of common political establishment, such as the Pittsburgh and the Cleveland Treatments, signed by prominent Czech and Slovak political leaders in USA in the last years of WWI, never came into life. Instead of it, in the years 1918-1938, the concept of a monolithic Czechoslovak nation enabled the central Prague government to seize all the power, leaving for puppet Bratislava representatives to decide only irrelevant matters. The centuries long forms of municipal power simply ceased to exist. Home rule in Slovakia vanished and soon almost every third rate matter was decided from Prague.<sup>11</sup>

Already during the 1920's, these facts brought into life Slovak autonomist movement, unsuccessfully struggling both with Prague centralism, supported by centralist political parties elected also by Slovak voters and Magyar revisionism. Missing political experience and being deeply rooted in decades-long preparing common Czechoslovak state, representatives of Slovak autonomist movement, although being accused of treachery and sentenced to prison, did not wish to undertake any illegal steps against Prague government and remained loyal to it until its end in 1938.<sup>12</sup>

New turbulent epoch for Slovakia started in September 1938 with the first split of Czechoslovak Republic, decided by intervention of Munich Treatment, signed by Four Great Powers, after which, in March 1939 two vassal states of Hitler's Germany were established: *Protektorat Boehmen und Maehren* and 'the sovereign' *Slovak State*, which already at the beginning of its ostentatively demonstrated 'sovereignty' lost about one third of frontier territories with mixed Polish, Ruthenian and Magyar population! Its puppet government, under presidentship of Catholic priest Jozef Tiso, being far from independence, executed nationalist policy on behalf of 'Slovak nation' according to fascist patterns. Spreading fascist ideology by means of the ruling *Hlinkova slovenska ludova strana* [Hlinka's Slovak Folk Party], the puppet government was responsible for deporting of about 60 000 Jewish fellow citizens from Slovakia to extermination camps in Poland and persecution of thousands of uncomfortable people.

When in 1945, after five years of fascism Slovakia and Bohemia again reunified, the resolutions about equal rights and federative setting were soon forgotten repeatedly. According to resolutions of the *Kosice Governing Programme* from April 1945, Slovak Government and Parliament were established, but soon, after the 1948 Februar coup d'etat, they lost any power and executive power centralized in Prague again. Either the new Federation Bill, introduced in October 1969 did not change the situation of a unitarian state, ruled from Prague, being, in addition, after August 1968 under Soviet occupation.

The Velvet Revolution of 1989 and return to democratic principles seemed to bring more justice into solution of Czech and Slovak relationship. Instead of it, as a consequence of an extremist political game, played both from the Czech and Slovak part, Czecho-Slovak Republic split for the second time. Thus, at the beginning of year 1993, after 'quiet divorce', two new independent stars started to sparkle on the heaven of integrating Europe: the Czech and Slovak Republic.

\*

2. To understand the complex situation of nineteenth and twentieth century Slovak social and national identity, it is necessary to give abridged outline of medieval ethnic and social structure of Hungarian Realm and its impact.<sup>13</sup> During several centuries after Magyar conquest (roughly from the second half of the eleventh until the end of fifteenth century), rather tolerant and forethoughted policy of the first Hungarian kings, encouraging constant flow of foreign *hospites* (prevailingly German, but also scanty Italian and French) to live in the country, complemented the motley ethnic composition.

Free, self-governed cities, the most favourite royal enterprise, were first of all the place of trade to attract hosts bringing with them technologies vital for the country's economic development. Before the main German colonization wave, already from the tenth to twelfth centuries, in such future cities as Nitra, Trnava, Bratislava, etc. important Slavic trade settlements already existed. These merged into newly founded cities as marginal suburban parts or '*Slovak streets*', the residence of lower social status, alleged to domestic population.

Needs of production and building up the feudal system, which still did not function by that time and after the Mongol invasion of 1241-1242 was heavily shaken, guaranteed to the German hosts an *elevated social status* of personally free burghers (or, in lesser amount *free* peasants) along with considerable rights and privileges, for instance such as to delegate their deputies to the royal Diet, or, to have their independent municipal jurisdiction and jurisprudence. This, in practice meant exemption from the juridical power of noblemen executed by county, or, Catholic church and canonic law.

Confirmed by rulers, the municipal law alleged to hosts contained the legal norms and principles brought mainly from Saxonia and Swabia adjusted to needs of country. While from the very beginning German burghers were almost hermetically isolated from ethnically different classes of society, later on, according to a newly introduced *territorial* principle, the former *personal* principle, providing with rights and privileges only the hosts of foreign origin, extended upon all those who acquired the citizenship within exclusively German cities. Thus, Slavic inhabitants of former trade settlements, originally administered by *comes* and county system, later became *ciuites*, living in adjoining Slovak streets of German-dominated city. Applied also within the cities founded by Slovaks, German municipal law created a highly effective system, supporting German cohesion and efforts of natural, still not forceful, Germanization.<sup>14</sup>

In syncretic jurisdiction and jurisprudence, ruled by customary non-written law, the earlier founded free royal German cities served as an official superior jurisprudent authority for all later, on the basis of same version of law established cities. In this way, the medieval German burghers within self-governed cities can be seen as an inferior collective noble body, sharing significant privileges ruling all urban life. These were part of an improper political nation of lower rank, whose specific rights could not, by any means, be characterized either as simply restricted, or, reduced model of Hungarian nobility privileges. Differences in juridical subjectivity of social estates in feudal realm were not only of quantitative, but more of qualitative, crucial, nature. Applied customary law created its institutions as a *social*, not merely juridical order.<sup>15</sup>

Regarding the fact, that in Hungary, in feudal period, social classes were stratified *ethnically*, different social status alleged for centuries to these ethnically layered classes, firmly clung to the status of the ethnies themselves. This corresponds to certain issues of the theory of construction and social reproduction of minorities in sixteenth-twentieth century Europe as presented by R. Leboutte.<sup>16</sup> Generally, it can be said that common 'professional' coordinates are characteristic not only for technically superior groups or minorities, but, even to a larger extent, for composition of lowest social classes, selling only their unqualified work. Applying this thesis to Hungarian multi-ethnic society, in the long run, we should see that each ethnie had its firm social and professional coordinates and their mobility within their own social classes and professional groups and towards higher classes on basis of cultural/national markers had its firm rules.

Demographic growth and social shift of single ethnies changing in turns with their decline, the dynamics of assimilation or dissimilation, facilitated or inhibited also by confessional split, caused that *none of the ethnies living within borders of Hungary could develop as a full fledged majority*.

The German-speaking, Catholic and Austrian-feeling higher nobility, was to a great extent the product of Germanization and re-Catholization of the Austrian multi-ethnic (i.e. Czech, Moravian, Slovak, German, Galician, etc.) social layer, supported by Habsburgs. In the nineteenth century, owning land properties also in Hungarian Realm, members of this group were socially separated from lower Hungarian (Magyarized) nobility (gentry) and from socially different members of their own ethnic group. Alienated from interests of other social and ethnic groups, they fulfilled the most important role of bureaucracy loyal to Habsburg Emperor. Together with the knighted prominent personalities from German burghertum this strengthening class, eligible for excellent career at the Viennese Court, preferred to follow western patterns and to live in more fashionable milieu of western part of the Habsburg monarchy.

Towards end of the eighteenth and in the nineteenth centuries, the ruling Hungarian elite led by Magyar patriots, composed in its major part of multi-ethnic Latin-using higher and

abundant lower nobility, was able, however uncompletely, to Magyarize this two-layered multi-ethnic class. Despite it, even in terms of their slightly increasing number, ethnic Magyars became, after heavy loss of Lower Land's population during the Ottoman conquest, minority in their own Realm. Even the great German Enlightenment philosopher and father of European nationalism, Herder prophesied possibility of near end of Magyarism.<sup>17</sup> Deep social and political contradictions in social structure of Magyar ethnics itself, unremovable and unsolvable in feudal system, caused that Magyar nobility, having felt trapped, started to develop fancy theories how to multiply number of Magyar-speaking population, obedient to Budapest rule. The sense of an exclusive historical goal and of extraordinary 'historical rights' of Magyar nobility, lack of Magyar urban structure in the Hungarian Low Lands, competitiveness of German burghers in Hungarian cities, etc., did not allow to give birth to a sound Magyar burghertum which, possibly, could become more democratic counterpart to Magyar nobility, later correcting their anti-Slovak policy.

Nevertheless, from Middle Ages up to beginning of furious Magyarization policy period in 1830-1840's, in comparison to superior strata (nobility) and inferior strata of society (peasants), the German burghers, as the Hungarian 'fourth estate' had in their position at the feudal social ladder, space at their disposal upwards, rather favourable for their economic, cultural and political development, allowing them, when acting in opposition to conservative Hungarian estates to act as pioneers of struggle for civic rights.<sup>18</sup>

Being skilled, in guilds organized artisans, rich tradesmen, from 1526 supported by the Habsburgs, the Germans in the cities kept firmly their privileged position, watching jealously penetration of heterogeneous elements among them. At the beginning of city-building period their position was close to that of political nation.<sup>19</sup> Later, the competitiveness of gentry, striving from the sixteenth century to obtain rights equal to those of higher nobility caused that multi-ethnic, mainly German and Slovak burghertum in Hungary, although having significant privileges, did not become part of the Hungarian political nation. This did not happen even later in the nineteenth century, as a result of conservative feudal order already pregnant both with social and ethnic contradictions within society.

Handicapped also by confessional disintegration, Hungarian multi-ethnic burghertum was by no means able to form a monolithic supra-national social class, as it happened with Hungarian nobility. Since the beginning of the fifteenth century, Hungarian kings ceased to support, and, later in the sixteenth century, Habsburg policy did exactly the contrary, directly strangulated successful development of burghertum. Already in 1412, the Sigismund Luxembourg broke the growing unity of the twenty-four rich trade towns (Northern Slovakia) called Universitas giving thirteen of them in deposit to Polish king Wladyslaw Jagiello for 12 000 'measures' of gouldens, necessary to continue his warfare with Venice. Towns were besieged and returned back to Hungary by troops of Maria Theresa only in 1772, missing their former affluence.<sup>20</sup>

Further strengthening of feudal strata, caused by growth of their military significance during defensive anti-Ottoman wars led to re-feudalization of society, mainly of multi-ethnic cities. After disastrous Mohacs defeat, nobility from the Lower Lands, seeking refuge primarily in royal cities in Slovakia brought about their general enrichment. Their refined consumption stimulated production, brought new cultural patterns, higher standards of living and education, etc. and introduced new kind of stimulating social confrontation stopped later by frequent interventions of Habsburg rulers in favour of nobility, Catholicism and German element. Although the promising growth of Protestantism could not be completely paralyzed, development of burghertum, during cruel counter-Reformation persecutions, stagnated.

In difference to Austrian or Polish noblemen, except of a few top magnate families such as the Thurzos, Palffys and others, joining their ventures with the powerful banker families

of the Augsburg Fuggers and Welsers, the nobility in Hungary, besides selling their rather insignificant agricultural, primarily wine production to their subjects, did not have the ambition to enterprise in a larger scale.<sup>21</sup>

Thus, in Hungary, burghertum, social layer, which should in the eighteenth and nineteenth century become vehicle of modern economic and political development of civic society, coming into life in western Europe, could not strengthen and emancipate. After introduction of the anti-Protestant laws in 1548, Catholic nobility, having grasped with the help of the Habsburgs the political power within country, used it primarily for building up their own positions. Solution of social and economic problems of country was rather their minor interest. Protestant burghers, in later centuries strangled by the Catholic Habsburgs, lost their economic affluence and political influence and could not moderate further growth of social antagonisms which originally functioned as nursery for spread of Protestantism in the region.

Regarding widespread of Protestantism in the cities of Slovakia, as far as concerning German burghertum, the Habsburgs could not give but their unlimited support to its Catholic part. Quite soon, the support given to German Catholic nobility caused that major part of Hungarian multi-ethnic, Latin using higher nobility Germanized. The reluctance of Hungarian nobility to foreign rulers, persevering from the very moment of the Habsburgs' ascent to the Hungarian throne, led to struggle for exempting privileges culminating in the Pragmatic Sanction of 1723, having as a direct result the nineteenth century hypertrophy of influence of Magyar noblemen. Stagnating cities, weak burghertum, disintegrated in both national and confessional terms, could not create counter-balance to aggressive Magyarizing nobility, unwishing to share rule in country with anyone else.

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3. *When considering the problem of Slovak late-coming to modern European nation-building process, it is inevitable to concern the impact of Slavic affinity, as a vector hampering the growth of specifically Slovak ethnic and national consciousness. This appeared mainly in denoting of Slovak ethnicity as 'Slavus' in opposite to non-Slavic, mainly German. Thus, both in medieval period and later, in internal struggles of seventeenth century Slovakian burghertum becomes obvious the non-Slovak Slavic ethnic compound.*

Magyar emergence in region and shaping of medieval states accelerated and completed advanced differentiation of akin Slavic tribes, who, as a result of this trend became inhabitants of incoherent state units. Nevertheless, various ties of Slavic tribes/ethnicities, definitively separated from each other, did not cease to exist. This especially was the case of Slovaks, Moravians and Czechs, whose lively cultural contacts could not annihilate either a ten-centuries-long existence within two different state units.

Relevance of Czech and Moravian neighbourhood for Slovak ethnic and national development could be best of all demonstrated on centuries-long use of Czech as a diplomatic and literary language in Slovakia. Thanks to closeness and intelligibility of both languages first of all for *scholarly layers*, cultural elites of these small ethnicities were able to profit from enhancement of their tiny educated communities. All kinds of contacts, providing refuge for persecuted persons from both sides played instrumental role. Needless to stress, periods of political persecution were in Slovak, Moravian and Czech stateless history after 1526 more common than periods of liberal development.

Czech, introduced all over Slovakia by Czech rulers on Hungarian throne already in Middle Ages, played, first of all, role of an important diplomatic and administrative language, used parallelly with Latin. This was possible because of repeated personal union of

Bohemian and Hungarian, or Polish royal power, and last, but not least, also the Hussite interventions, paving way to Protestantism in Slovakia. With the quick spread of the latter one, Czech domesticated generally and among Slovak Lutherans was used even as late as in the last century as their liturgic and literary language with an enormous cultural impact.

Oppressed by German, Slavic inhabitants did not feel the necessity of stressing their differences. Coping with self-confident and privileged German element, instinctively fostered their common Slavic (supra-tribal) identity. For several centuries, in Slovakia, Czech performed role of supra-ethnic diplomatic and codified literary language. Complexity of this phenomenon becomes clearer, when studying the case of Moravia, which, after dissolution of Great Moravia became permanent compound of 'lands of the Czech crown'. In spite of this fact, probably thanks to high degree of illiteracy, symptomatic for rural population all over Europe until the nineteenth century, Eastern Moravian folk dialects spoken by the lowest layers of society, closer to Slovak dialects, were not based on the same phonetical, lexical and rhythmical characteristics as western - Czech dialects. The thorough Bohemization of Moravia came along only with compulsory systematic schooling in Czech language after introducing of the *Ratio-educationis* by Maria Theresa (1777), bringing results only in the last century. Thus, in common use of Czech, and all kinds of contacts over the Czecho-Slovak frontier, an important role was played by awareness of close ethnic relationship between folk cultures and dialects of Eastern Moravia and Western Slovakia and the low level of national awareness among the nineteenth century Moravians.<sup>22</sup>

For various purposes, multi-ethnic Hungary used various diplomatic languages. Latin, used at royal level, was also language of Roman Catholic Church and scholarship. German, language of burghertum was early introduced to city schools. Slovak burgher or middle class, strengthened by Czech element and the clerks, en masse rather struggling with literacy, willingly used Czech, being in Middle Ages yet closer to Slovak as today.

There were yet a host of other reasons for using Czech language in Slovakia. Slovak rural population and lower urban strata was disintegrated in using of about 33 dialects, some of them being unintelligible to each other. At the same time, nobility used mainly Latin, full of barbarisms, and burghers, schooled in Latin, German and Slovakized Czech, using German, or, if being Slovakized, rather preferred more prestigious Czech. Therefore, until 1780's, Slovak language, because of multi-lingualism of elite strata living in Slovakia, was simply incapable to develop common Slovak 'supra-national dialect', vital for cultivated vernacularized literary purposes.

This, in form of cultivated western Slovak dialect of Trnava scholars around Anton Bernolak ('*ber nolactina*'), started to develop only when Czech cultural sway over Slovakia exhausted. Czech culture, represented first of all by language of more numerous ethnies, used also by higher (Czech noblemen), middle (burghers) and Prague university scholars, having more developed system of notions, underwent in this period its own crisis. All over Slovakia, the spread and active use of more or less Slovakized forms of Czech led to a large identifying of Slovak and Czech languages, but, Czech culture, deprived of political power, struggled for existence. This, again strengthened defensive feelings of common Slavic origin and solidarity, universal indivisible Slavic identity, opposing German superiority. Consequently, in Slovaks, the necessity of unifying 'Slavic tribes' (as in the vocabulary of nineteenth century nation-builders) against enemy Germans or Magyars retarded increase of national awareness.<sup>23</sup>

Therefore, there was nothing surprising at the fact, that the first systematic grammar of Czech language in 1603 was written in Latin by Slovak author, Vavrinec Benedikt z Nedozier.<sup>24</sup> Important reformer of basic school system, he was one of the first among

numerous Slovak scholarly men, who spent whole their professional life in Bohemia. Among those who contributed essentially to development of Czech culture are two more nineteenth century excellent scholars: Jan Kollar and Pavel Jozef Safarik. Similarly to their precursor of cultivation of literary Slovak language, two centuries later, they did their best to reinforce cultivation of Czech literary language to revive Czech national awareness, seeing future of 'Slavic tribe' in re-unification.

This notwithstanding, the use of uncodified vernacular, as it was the case in 1787, or, purposefully as in 1843, should certainly be of considerably earlier date, then supposed traditionally by numerous Slovak scholars. The rescued most early anonymous texts, recorded in the Fanchali's Codex from 1604, are interpreted as Slovak and therefore, as the beginning of use of uncodified literary Slovak language can be, most probably, settled beginning of the seventeenth century.<sup>25</sup>

Back to the same period dates also the Slovak poetry of a bilingual Hungarian poet Balint Balassi. Another bilingual poet, born and living in Slovakia, was the free commoner and an audacious social reformer Peter Benicky, whose *Slovenske verse* [Slovak Verses], written in 1652, remained until 1873 in manuscript.<sup>26</sup>

In addition to these first known Slovak-writing poets, members of Hungarian multinational nobility, the same century witnessed spontaneic movement to record both samples of Slovak poetry, describing history of anti-Ottoman warfare and folk songs (music and oral poetry) spread, serving for entertainment at noblemen manors. Besides the songbooks of Slovak provenience, such as the *Cithara Sanctorum* 1636, there spread also the Czech Protestant, and later, as well, also anti-Reformation Catholic songbooks, performing strong influence on spiritual singing.<sup>27</sup>

The symptoms of growing Slovak ethnic identity, shown in the light of using Slovak literary language was preceded by other relevant markers of Slovak ethnicity. Among them the most protruding was the struggle for economic and politic emancipation starting in cities rather early at the end of the fourteenth century. Already in 1381, this was reason for Louis the Great to pass the *Privilegium pro Slavis*, securing to Slavic inhabitants of north-western Slovak free city of Zilina equal rights in municipal government.<sup>28</sup>

The guideline became precedent for numerous cities with mixed inhabitants. In the city of Trnava, where constant influx of Slovak inhabitants and vicinity of Moravia brought about increasing of Slavic element, elections to city council led always to conflicts. In 1486, King Matthew Corvin passed decree threatening by severe punishment of 'loss of neck and property' to all those, provoking ethnic conflicts in the city. During this period, many cities in Slovakia held separate guilds for inhabitants of different ethnies.<sup>29</sup>

In Trnava, with appearance of Magyar burghertum and nobility about a century later, ethnic tensions arose, making necessary the intervention of ruler. In his decree, Emperor Ferdinand I in 1551 ruled to elect every year the lord mayor of another ethnies and complementary to him dignitaries of other ethnies so the number of elected from each of the ethnies should have been in parity.<sup>30</sup> The evidence about common defence of Slovaks and Germans against Magyars coming to cities is rich.<sup>31</sup> In this light, the 1603 V. Benedicti's encouraging Slovaks to cultivate domestic, Slovak or Czech language, in order they would not be 'forced to speak about their own things in Latin' becomes more understandable.<sup>32</sup>

The whole complexity of ethnic situation in the cities of 'Upper Hungary' appeared only in the seventeenth century, when the Viennese court started to misuse the anti-Ottoman mercenary army for the sake of their centralization and re-Catholization policy. In this time, joining of German Burghertum to the Emperor's party led to increasing ethnic tensions between Germans and the Hungarian nobility. Thus, in 1605, when the first of the long row of anti-Habsburg uprisings, led by Transylvanian magnate Stephan Bocskay arose, rather

wide front of nobility and Slovak and Magyar burghertum shaped to struggle for equal ethnic rights. One of the most important achievements of this insurrection was the Legal Article 13/1608 about equality of Slovaks, Czechs and Magyars in the cities with the Germans, without regard to their religion.<sup>33</sup>

Anyway, the law still remained ignored by German patriciates and Slovaks and Magyars, for instance from Krupina should continue their struggle, seeking support in the person of Palatine Juraj Thurzo. In 1610, Thurzo was powerful enough to calm down the tensions, so in Krupina in the following years six Germans, three Magyars and three Slovaks were elected. The skirmishes moved to the Church, where the Germans were able to preserve their predominance as well. Finally, when in 1614 the malcontent Slovaks arose against the German patricians, the latter ones revenged them extremely brutally. Main Slovak rebels were literally physically liquidated, many Slovak burghers expelled from the city.<sup>34</sup> Similar to this was development in the city of Banska Bystrica, where the Germans were able to obstruct Slovak free commoners to buy properties in the city. Slovak burghers lead by German merchant Erhard Freidenreich sought the support of Palatine Thurzo. German patriciate had on its side the Mining Chamber, the Court of Seven Mining Cities, being after 1526 under direct control of the Habsburg court. *Here, strong German oppression forced Slovak burghers to unify with their Magyar counterparts.*<sup>35</sup>

In the second half of the sixteenth century, under pressure of Ottoman danger, the Habsburgs, hastily confirmed the right of nobility to buy real estates and to live in cities, which brought a number of ethnically Magyar and German noblemen, seeking refuge from Turkish danger in more secure Upper Hungary, again reinforcing non-Slovak element in cities. In order to avoid German assimilation in favour of Slovaks, immediately after the Habsburgs' coming to Hungarian throne, effective re-Germanizing and re-Catholizing policy was undertaken also in formerly German mining cities, large producers of values essential for Hungarian economy: silver, gold and copper.<sup>36</sup>

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4. *Political and Social Preconditions of Ethnic Assimilation Processes within Hungarian Realm and Process of Constituting Political Nations.* The general description of ethnic relations should certainly not limit to those ethnies only, who as members of socially relevant classes shared power in medieval Hungary. Revealing construction of Hungarian society and system of distribution of power in it, one is struck by intermingledness inside its multi-ethnically composed and confesionally disintegrated social layers, who, according to period, intensity and accompanying circumstances underwent various types of cultural assimilation. Comparison of assimilation processes in higher social layers shows preconditions of future development of various types of identities.

As the first type of assimilation could serve the amalgamation of multi-ethnic aristocratic layer, although it went into disparate streams. During this process, multi-ethnic and Catholic higher nobility, supported by Habsburgs assimilated into German-speaking Austrian, Habsburgs-supporting nobility, whereas multi-ethnic Hungarian nobility, mobilized by loss of their statehood after 1526, started way of their anti-Habsburg struggle. Therefore, their political crisis was accompanied by seeking of their new cultural identity, following only in the eighteenth century by willful Magyarization.

This two-streams assimilation seems to be very logic when taking into account conflict of two ambitious 'political nations', competing for power in the two-fold Monarchy, with two different constitutional and legal traditions and cultural patterns in western and eastern part of it.



Although the start and timing of this process corresponds largely to the main points of history of power relations in the region, i. e. to Habsburg centralization and homogenization of ethnically diverse population, creating thus Austrian *state-nation* (being, more than 'political nation' in our previous terminology, because of effective power position in their own state), which, in Austria successfully underwent in two social layers, nobility and burghertum.

The second part of this assimilation process, amalgamation of multi-ethnic Hungarian nobility into Magyar-speaking and politically feeling 'political nation', with ambition to become equal to Austrian 'state-nation', came out of the political views, sharply opposing Austrian centralizing. Hungarian nobility, in the seventeenth century, showed several symptoms of tolerant multi-culturality (bi- or multi-linguism). During the period of 1723-1848, this social layer was gradually, but completely Magyarized. The indicated interval is an incubation period important for crystallizing and fulfilling of Magyar political ambitions to renew their own statehood, almost completely damaged after disastrous Mohacs defeat.

In later development, after the unsuccessful Revolution of 1848, the mainstay of Hungarian feudalism became the fresh-made noble renegates of non-Magyar (most frequently Slovak) extraction selling Magyarization efforts of central Magyar government, directed to members of the non-Magyar ethnies. The main goal of this against own nation directed movement was to strangle development of non-Magyar competitive 'political nations', demanding participation on constitutional power out of basis of social group. This meant that Magyar nobility openly monopolized all political and cultural activities leading to development of modern nation, hampering evolution of non-Magyar nations.

Next relevant (burgher) step on social ladder was occupied by members of 'improper political nation', consisting of three mutually competitive ethnies. First of them, self-confident and privileged German burghers had priority, but confessionally split and weakened by economic stagnation of cities under late feudalism, should give up part of their positions to Slovak and Magyar members of their own class. Thanks to the confessional split of any single ethnies the middle class was composed of and taking into account the limited access of burghertum as a class to power, being occupied exclusively by constitutional (i.e proper political) nation, they had practically no chance to perform more significant political role in history than that they had played in Middle Ages. By other words, until as late as the mid-nineteenth century, ethnic mixing within burgher layer did not directly influence the access of an individual to power, as it was in nobility, and, vice versa, impossibility to access political power by members of this class until 1840's, in some extent blocked assimilation processes inside this it. This situation changed in 1830-1840's, after Revolution of 1848-1849 and after 1867.

Main assets of burgher position in pre-Revolutionary Hungarian society did not consist in constitutional power, but in specific economic position of a city as a whole in society which still did not give up feudal path. As an political instrument in the hands of Habsburgs or members of nobility, spent burghertum many centuries in exhaustive ethnic wrangling, including also bloody conflicts. Thanks to them Hungarian burghertum remained ethnically heterogenous social layer.

Regarding the known fact, that assimilation always goes in favour of *ruling* class, nation, or, ethnies in a stronger economic position, we can assume that positions of a Slovak, German and Magyar burghers in Hungarian city before nineteenth-century surge of a forceful Magyarization were almost even and the chances to improve their social status by assimilation were equal to zero. This situation radically changed after removing of Latin and introducing Magyar as official language in 1830-1840s' and after the Austro-Magyar Compromise of 1867.

To complete the general anamnesis of ethnic structure within lowest levels of society, the process of internal and external colonization outside cities should be mentioned. The first to be mentioned, *Schultheis colonization* (roughly since the thirteenth until seventeenth century), was simply internal expansion of Slovak and German free-peasant population from overpopulated parts into empty mountain areas, regulated by domestic landowners. In terms of ethnic assimilation processes it generally brought about Slovakisation.

The second one, multi-ethnic *Wallachian colonization* of Slovakia, lasting for about two centuries as a result of migrations processes triggered by the Ottoman conquest of Balkans, deserves more attention. During it, from the fourteenth until seventeenth century, numerous groups of nomadic Rumanian shepherding population moved along the Carpathian mountain ridges to Ukraine, and further to southern Poland and northern Slovakia, to stop on westernmost protrusions of Western Carpathians in Moravian Slovakia and Wallachia (Moravske Slovacko a Valassko, eastern parts of Moravia).

Conditions, favourable for colonization of large mountain regions and introducing extensive highland sheep husbandry of modified Balkan type, brought about the definitive shape of dialect and folk culture in Slovakia, giving it mixed agricultural-pastoral character with numerous elements originating in amalgamated Rumanian, Ukrainian (Ruthene/Russyn, both Hutsul and Lemko), Polish, Slovak and Moravian pastoral culture. Characteristic for this amalgamation was shifting ethnocultural elements connected with shepherd way of life westwards, Slavicizing of Rumanian ethnic elements.<sup>37</sup>

As a result of this, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, the lowest layer of rural population in Slovakia, however assimilated into Slovak, was disintegrated into small, illiterate, locally bound endogamic communities, incapable of integration outside their own social class, communicating and identifying, as a rule, exclusively with their local cultural markers, having no national feelings, aware only of their ethnic origin.

Moreover, this late shepherd colonization influx from Balkans via Ukraine brought about marked differences in way of subsistence, way of life and mentality. While Slovak burghertum struggled for participation in municipal self-government and followed mainly German/Western cultural patterns symptomatic for urban culture of that time, illiterate rural population lived close to nature. The farmers from lowlands, belonging to more civilized old Slavic agricultural colonization, combined tilling with village crafts, whereas new inhabitants preferred free unbound life in harsh mountain climate with their herds and elements of brigandry. In the nineteenth century, it was this part of population, who became, in spite of its non-Slovak origin, symbol of Slovakness for romantic poetry. The typical representant of it, a *valach or baca* (younger or older shepherd), evokes image of a Slovak even today.<sup>38</sup>

Being from 1514 until 1848 subject of serfdom, Slovak peasantry was the most homogenous social layer, whose living standarts and local type of culture, differed according to geographic conditions. Able to absorb Slavicized Wallachians, this social group developed as mono-ethnic and for nation-builders they seemed to be untouched by non-Slovak cultural elements. Poor, having only their folk culture and their own way of life, this nameless mass became matter of interest already for the physiocrats of Maria Theresa and Joseph II period. Thus, subject to demographic censuses, and also the subject of more or less superficial observation, matter of timid Habsburg reforms, folk layer started gradually to attract attention of scholarly layers, frequently of the same extraction. Existence of a rightless mass, which in unrealized visions Habsburg Emperatrice should become the resource of future richness of the country, became more and more visible.

Differing from physiocrats, recruited from Habsburg high aristocratic bureaucracy or intelligentsia, the nation-builders of Stur group did not need to discover folk. Most of them simply came from it by their origin, or, knew it intimately, coming from poor, but educated

Lutheran teachers or pastors whose life was closely bound with life of folk. Therefore, the Romantic nation-builders, oppressed by 1830-1840's surge of forceful Magyarization, enlightened by ideas of Herder, found Slovak folk culture suitable for their nation-building projects. In high estimation of symbolic qualities of Slovak folklore and folk spiritual culture, in an extremely short time period they urgently created from folkloric fundamentals full-fledged Slovak *national literature*. After this, having built grounds of modern national culture, in the course of Revolution of 1848-1849, they tried risky job of turning Slovak folk into Slovak 'political nation'.

Missing such important social layers as Slovak speaking and Slovak feeling nobility and burghertum, Slovak project of creating modern nation should have been based on other grounds.

The scarce remnants of both higher layers could have been addressed effectively only on basis of Slovak Lutheran Church, shaken by Magyarization attempt even earlier than other parts of nation in spe. Thus happened, that Catholic cleavage of Slovak scholars looked first steps of nation-building process as a Lutheran enterprise.

Having been discovered by taking part in the Revolution of 1848-1849, Slovak *folk*, on its way to *modern nation* became matter of standing attention of Magyarization efforts. These, executed mainly by schooling system, could not be carried out completely, because the majority of folk layers attended school too short, to undergo a substantial change of awareness. High illiteracy rate in Slovak folk layers thus happened to become the main obstacle to successful Magyarization.

Situation changed substantially after Austro-Magyar Compromise in the 1867, giving way to outright Magyarization, aiming to homogenize the multi-ethnic population into unified Magyar state-nation without any ethnic rights except of Magyar ones. To perform this purposes, Magyar government should undertake new measures. First of them was the new Nationalities Bill, introduced in 1868, enabling reorganization of schooling system. After it, extent of Magyarization of any non-Magyar individual depended on type and quality of schooling, and, therefore, most of all, afflicted *educated layers* of non-Magyar society.

As it has been already said, in 1777, the *trivial* schools in Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, according to *Ratio-Educationis*, were obligatorily bilingual, using Latin and language of local population. In spite of spirit of this instruction itself, schools remained mainly ecclesiastical, organized with necessary financial help of state. In communities, where this help was needed, on the ground of Nationalities Bill (Legal Article 44/1868) government could impose Magyar as a language of instruction for non-Magyar population. Thus, the article was largely misused to Magyarize the Catholic schools all over Slovakia. By Magyarization practices, persecution and discrimination of students for their Slovak conviction after 1868, Slovaks lost about 1800 schools. Magyarisation effects of schools, because of their major impact on national allegiance shift in favour of Magyars, deserve special attention.

It was at school, where main changes of national awareness were achieved by means of instruction in a foreign language, impossibility to learn spoken and written mother tongue, studying of Hungarian history from Magyar nationalist point of view, being influenced by Magyar ideological propaganda, etc. Slovak peasant, or, even members of intelligentsia, who underwent trivial and secondary general schooling in Magyar were incapable to express thoughts in their mother tongue, to execute main numerical operations, say prayers, greetings and formulas in their own language, not mentioning their deformed pronunciation and using Magyar orthography in Slovak writing. This kind of practices left deep identity impact on several generations of Slovak citizens of Hungary.

Another heavy cultural loss was that of recently, with a great sacrifice from wide public means collected money established multi-purpose political institution Matica Slovenska and three Slovak secondary general schools (gymnasiums) in Martin, Revuca and Tisovec. Seeming to become a dangerous precedent for funding more Slovak institutions active in nation-building process, they were closed, their property was confiscated and used for Magyarization purposes. Useless to stress, by this acts of Hungarian government many unique museal artifacts, collected as historical monuments of Slovak nation disappeared and were never returned to Slovakia.

From 1867 onwards, Slovak peasants and intelligentsia, although in a different way, were exposed to a systematic Magyar assimilation pressure also in the Calvinist, Roman Catholic and Greek-Catholic Church life. In the 1900's, Magyarization activities achieved dangerous forms and extent, including more and more frequent bloodshed. Similar conflicts, committed on other non-Magyar nations in the same years attracted attention of world public. Thus, in 1907, after 14 parishioners were massacred and dozens of others wounded by Magyar gendarmerie, Catholic community of Cernova, during the subsequent biased trial attracted attention of Bjönstjerne Björnson, L. N. Tolstoy, Bauduin de Courtenay, Robert W. Seton-Watson and others. The last of them, being historian of Scottish origin, undertook the difficult task of studying Hungarian history and unveiled Magyar assimilation practices. After dissolution of Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, R. W. Seton-Watson acted as an important expert on Hungarian history at the Peace Conference in Versaille.<sup>39</sup>

It is not necessary to bring an exhausting evidence about escalated Magyarization efforts in the period of 1870-1918. Attention of Magyar government focused upon manipulation of statistical items in favour of Magyars, choice of public officers in governmental and municipal offices, manipulating course of parliamentary and communal elections, manipulating of public opinion through newspapers and the Press Bill, all forms of cultural and voluntary public life, consistently executed illegal discrimination of non-Magyar entrepreneurial and financial activities, etc. in order to determinate citizens to shift their national allegiances as an interchange for acquired jobs, advantages, or, simply in order to avoid disadvantages and persecution.

Largely were for Magyarization purposes misused anniversaries of important historical events. In 1896, celebration of Millenium of Magyar landtaking (*honfoglalás*) became an excellent example of a host of elaborated Magyarization activities, taking many months. To illustrate only the most interesting ones, collecting of important chef d'oeuvres of 'Hungarian' art, being part of the most excellent Budapest museum collections, should be shortly mentioned together with many important documents of common multi-ethnic Hungarian history, taken from counties and subsequently preserved in central Hungarian archives until present days.

## Conclusion

The nineteenth century nationalist competition, was easily won by Magyar nation because of their access to constitutional essence of power by means of social structure, forming the proper political nation. Nevertheless, it took more than a century, until Emperor and Austrian government gave way to the first steps in outright and forceful Magyarization of non-Magyar nations in Hungary (1830-1840) before the Spring of Nations. Second period of Magyarization efforts, 1849-1867, started immediately after the lost Revolution. Last period, 1867-1918, led nearly to complete cultural genocide of non-Magyar nations, exposed to various kinds of inconsiderate Magyarizing experiments.

Key to understanding how the idea of a modern nation was projected into Magyar ethnocultural and constitutional model, conserving its archetypal symbols and myths lies deep in fascinating ethnic history of Hungarian Realm. In this concise outline of palette of Realm, it was impossible to give description of all ethnies. For instance Jews, in spite of their long presence in the region, were, unfortunately, completely omitted from my account because their real participation in civic life is of very recent date and their destinies in last two centuries were effectively searched by other scholars.<sup>40</sup>

Fundamental for Slovak identity still remains the position inbetween two geopolitical worlds: Western and Eastern one, reflected in way of Christianization, then merging of territory into two-fold Habsburg Empire and later, into Czecho-Slovak Republic. Slovak identity developed on the edge of struggle of two very different patterns.

Unfortunate combination of conservatist German Catholic Habsburgs, who hampered successful development of civic society and nationalist Magyar nobility who in favour of their own political rights seized all modern constitutional life to control development of non-Magyar modern nations brought about Empire, called 'Prison of Nations.' The absurd mono-ethnic concept of a chosen-state-nation was finished despite the protests of afflicted non-Magyar nations, bringing constant growth on tension within Realm, leading gradually to its final dissolution.

For long decades, unsolvable problems of backward Hungarian economic, political and social life concentrated in one point of intersection and projected themselves into conceptualizing identities of conflicting nations. Degeneration of effective constitutional life resulted in hypertrophy of non-Magyar national political theoretical concepts, which could never come into life. Unfortunately, the painful state of things was conserved until the dissolution of the Habsburg Monarchy, which indirectly, induced and as a state of mind of certain part of population survived until nowadays.

## ENDNOTES

- 1 Speaking about Slovakia in its stateless period I always bear in mind its territory, as defined first by the Versaille conference in years 1919-1920 within borders of Czechoslovak Republic, as the territory of compact spread of Slovak dialects, where Slovaks lived for centuries as a majority population. For the sake of convenience, I speak about medieval Slavic ancestors of Slovaks as about Slovaks, although their Slovak ethnic and national identity developed only later.
- 2 In 836, the core of Great Moravian territory, two tiny principalities, on both sides of the Morava river, in 836 unified under rule of Prince Mojmir. During its largest extent *tribal confederation* included almost whole territory of what is nowadays Slovakia, Moravia and adjoining parts of Bohemia, Poland, Austria and Hungary. Growing territory of confederation with increasing state ambitions was in constant conflict with neighbouring German Eastern Mark and experienced numerous German power interventions, such as enthroning and dethroning of Great Moravia's rulers. Being vassal, this formation survived for several decades and was definitely defeated only after the disastrous Battle of Bratislava (Pressburg/Possonium 907).
- 3 Both Magyar and Slavic scholars (for instance I. KNIEZSA, P. KIRALY, K. JIRECEK, F. MIKLOSICH, E. MOOR, J. STANISLAV, V. SMILAUER, B. VARSIK and many others) brought large evidence about the impact of conquest in language, showing that Magyar toponymy, onomastics, terminology of agriculture, folk craft production, house and dwelling, societal, political and administrative organization of country, law, etc. did broadly borrow from Slavic, predominantly Slovak and Slovene dialects, which, at that time, did not differ very much from each other. Large amount of Slavic population assimilated gradually on the territory inhabited by Magyars is still traceable until 1526. See In: STANISLAV J.: *Slovensky juh v stredoveku*. [The Slovak South in the Middle Ages.], vol. 1-2, Bratislava 1947 ; VARSIK B.: *Osídlenie Kosickej kotliny*. [The Settlement of Kosice Basin.], vols. 1-3, Bratislava, 1974-1978; SMILAUER V.:

Vodopis Slovenska [Onomastics of Water Bodies in Slovakia], Bratislava, 1925; HODAL J: Včlenenie starých Madarov do staroslovenskeho spoločenského zriadenia. [The Incorporation of Old Magyars into Old Slovak Societal Organization.] In: *Historický zborník*, roc. VI, 1946, pp. 297-322; JIRECEK K. - PROVE F.: *Historický slovar slovanskeho práva*. [A Dictionary of History of Slavic Law.], Praha, 1889; MIKLOSICH F.: *Etymologisches Woerterbuch der slawischen Sprachen*, Wien 1886; MIKLOSICH F.: *Die slawischen Elemente im Magyarischen*. Wien und Teschen, 1884; MOOR E.: *Die slawischen Ortsnamen der Theissebene*. *Zeitschrift fuer Ortsnamenforschung*, Jg. VI, pp.3- 37, 105-140; MOOR E.: *Wes-tungarn im Mittelalter im Spiegel der Ortsnamen*. Szeged, 1936. koniec endnote 3

- 4 STANISLAV J.: *Zivoty slovanských apostoľov Cyrila a Metoda v legendach a listoch*. [The Lives of the Slavic Apostles Cyril and Metod in Legends and Letters.] Martin, 1950; AVENARIUS A.: *Byzantska kultura v slovanskom prostredí v VI.-XII. storoci*. [Byzantine Culture in Slavic Milieu from Sixth until Twelfth Century.] Bratislava 1992.
- 5 JASZI O.: *The Dissolution of the Habsburg Monarchy*. The University of Chicago Press, Chicago and London, 1971, p. 34.
- 6 VRTEL L.: *Na troch vrskoch biely kríž*. Rozprávanie o slovenskom znaku. [The White Cross upon Three Hills. A Narrative about the Symbol of Slovakia.], Archa, Bratislava 1990, p. 14.
- 7 TIBENSKÝ J.: *Chvaly a obrany slovenskeho národa*. [Praises and Defences of Slovak Nation.] Bratislava, 1965, pp. 40-41.
- 8 Surprisingly, this form is used by some Hungarian scholars even nowadays speaking about contemporary Slovak folklore research. Cf. VOIGT V.: *Slovo na záver komárňanskej konferencie o interetnických vzťahoch*. [Conclusions of the Komárno Conference on Interethnic Relationship.] In: *Interetnische Beziehungen im noerdlichen Teil des Karpatenbeckens*. *Acta Museologica 1-2*, Komorn 1991, p. 372.
- 9 BRTAN R.: *Vznik piesne Nad Tatrou sa blýska*. [How the Song ... was born.] *Slovenske Pohľady*, roc. 87, 1971, s. 96-114.
- 10 In Hungary, municipality means free, the self-governed royal/tavernical city and the county (*zhupa, comitatus*). The *seigneurial* serf town (*oppidum*), in political and social terms subjected to landlords, and therefore, of lesser importance, is not treated separately.  
Counties developed from the Slavic tribal defence system as 'a territory controlled by tribal chieftain from a fortified garrisoned castle'. [HODAL J.: op. cit., *ibid.*] *Comitatus* was administrated by a *comes* or *ispan*, a noblemen of higher rank, originally a tribal chieftain, the military commander responsible to king. Subdued to him were, freemen of lower nobility. Under King Bela IV, county was transformed into a nobility governed body of state apparatus, consisting of a juridical (*sedes judiciaria*) and constitutional (county assembly, *congregatio*) authorities. Whereas originally in assemblies, called by king all noblemen could take part, later, according to Tripartitum, the *congregatio* delegated only deputies of higher nobility. [Cf. KADLEC, op. cit. 121]  
In Hungary at the beginning of last century, one man in every twenty was noble, most of them being impoverished lower nobility, whose main asset, their votes, were subject of election manipulations by higher nobility. The counties with their corruption and backwardness often denoted as a main administrative evil, were the main support of Hungarian constitutional rights and the stronghold of resistance against Austrian pressure. Despite attempts to reform them substantially in 1848, 1876 and 1886, counties as political and administrative units survived relatively unchanged until 1918. [KADLEC, 118, 121, 132, 135, 210, 219, 282]; SETON-WATSON R. W., *Racial problems in Hungary*, New York 1972, reprint, pp. 144, 239-242.]
- 11 LIPSCHER L.: *K vyvinu politickej správy na Slovensku v rokoch 1918-1938*. [To the development of political administration in Slovakia in years 1918-1938.] Bratislava, 1966.
- 12 LIPTAK L. et al.: *Politické strany na Slovensku 1860-1989*. [Political Parties in Slovakia 1860-1989.] Bratislava, 1992, *passim*.
- 13 The adjective *Hungarian* is in this paper consistently used according to its Latin and Slovak meaning, i.e., in sense of common 'nationalship' or multi-ethnic/supra-national character of the Realm, including also the ruling Magyar nation, whereas *Magyar* refers to the proper Magyar ethnic character only.  
Using the adjective Magyar for members of proper Magyar ethnic group throughout their centuries-long history one should be aware of substantial cultural, social and political changes they underwent.
- 14 Here and elsewhere, under the term 'natural Germanization' or 'natural assimilation', etc. I bear in mind processes brought into life without purposefully imposed legal norms or other purposeful in-

- terventions, as it was the case of the sixteenth century Habsburg Germanization, or, the violent nineteenth century Magyarizing efforts known from the Hungarian history.
- 15 LUBY S.: Obycajove pravo a sudna prax. Civilisticka studia zo slovenskeho prava. [Customary Law and Jurisdiction. Development of Civic Rights seen through the History of Law in Slovakia.] Bratislava, 1939; HOLAK J.: op. cit., ibidem; HOLAK J.: Niekolko kapitol o pravnom postaveni Zidov v stredoveku so zvlastnym zretelom na pomery v Bratislave. [Several Chapters on Juridical Position of Jews in Middle Ages with a Special Regard to Bratislava.] In: *Sbornik Matice Slovenskej, Historia, roc. XIII, c. 4*, pp. 428 n. Martin 1935.
  - 16 LEBOUTTE R.: 1. La notion d'isolat applique a la construction et a la reproduction sociale des minorites; 2. Superiorite technique et construction des minorites. The lectures within the EUI Seminar Construction of Minorities in sixteenth- twentieth century Europe, held on November 8 and 15, 1993.
  - 17 HERDER, J. G. von: Ideen zur Philosophie der Geschichte der Menschheit, 1784-1791, pp. 107-8.
  - 18 HOLAK J.: Vznik mestskeho prava na Slovensku. [The Genesis of Municipal Law in Slovakia.] In: *Sbornik Matice Slovenskej, Historia, roc. XVI-XVIII, (1938-1939), c. 3-4*, Martin 1940, pp. 203-223.
  - 19 As it is characterized by RUSSOCKI S.: Medieval „Political Nations“ in Central Europe. In: *Quaestiones Medii Aevi*, vol. IV, 1990, pp. 71-86.
  - 20 BELOHORSKY, A: Severne hranice Slovenska. [Northern Frontiers of Slovakia.] Bratislava, 1939.
  - 21 Since the beginning of the sixteenth century, more and more numerous members of Hungarian nobility started enterprising in agricultural production, which could not be characterised as a large-scale. As inn- or landowners, they reduced their net profits by renting properties to unnobles finding it unprestigious to commit to activities connected with work and money. KAZIMIR S.:IN: Dedinska krcma obdobia feudalizmu a kapitalizmu. [Village Inn in Periods of Feudalism and Capitalism.] Ed. J. JURKOVIC, Rempo, Bratislava, 1989.
  - 22 Material supporting this thesis can be found not only in collections of folklore production recorded in local dialects in the last century, such as BARTOS F.: Moravska nareci. [The Moravian Folk Dialects.] Brno, 1871, etc., but also in the fact of revival of Moravian national awareness, most manifest in the Movement for National Deliberation of Moravia as an opposition to Prague centralism in the 1990's. The latter one, after the re- establishing and homogenizing of the post-War Czechoslovak Republic in 1948 removed all centuries-long regional constitutional forms of Moravian (as well as Silesian) administrative and political autonomy, such as Diet (Landtag), general prosecutor, etc. Cf. FROLEC V.: Das maehrische historische Bewu3tsein und die tschechische Nationalitaet. In: *Ethnologia Slovaca et Slavica*, Tomus XXIV-XXV, Bratislava 1992- 1993, pp.31-54.
  - 23 In Slovakia, it is extremely difficult to drive a dividing line between the early Slovak and Czech literary languages. Czech, used by Slovak writers and municipality officers, was, both consciously and unconsciously adjusted to Slovak phonetic and lexical system, frequently ignoring the orthography, used contemporary to it in Czech lands. Therefore, in Middle Ages and early Modern times, it is an intriguing task to distinguish Czech from Slovak and to recognize, whether the form dealt with is a sample of Slovakized Czech, or, vice versa, Bohemized Slovak, because both ways were conceivable. In addition to this, also the 'Czech' language code of Kralice translation of the Bible, first published in 1593 was vernacular of a South-Eastern Moravian township, in which also significant Slovak personalities participated. For the nineteenth century father of Slovak nationalism, Jan Kollar, it was the most natural matter to follow tradition of this artificial 'Czecho-Slavic' language.
  - 24 VAVRINEC BENEDIKT Z NEDOZIER: Grammaticae Bohemicae... libri duo, Prague 1603. Supplement to this grammar was the application of its rules, the translation *Zalmove nekteri... v nove uvedeni a vydani 1606*. [Some Psalms... Newly Offered and Published 1606.]; TRUHLAR A. - HRDINA A. K.: Rukovet humanistickeho basnictvi v Cechach a na Morave od konce 15. do zacatku 17. stoleti. Zv. 1-5. [Manual of Humanistic Poetry in Bohemia and Moravia from the End of the Fifteenth until the Beginning of the Seventeenth Century. Vols. 1-5], Praha 1966. Zv. 1, pp. 182-186. It was the commonplace, that this scholar used Latin form of his name, Laurentius Benedictus Nudozierinus.
  - 25 BRTAN R.: Najstarsie slovenske umele piesne. [The Oldest Slovak non-Folk Poems.] In: *Slovenska literatura, vol. 10, Bratislava 1963, pp. 221-223*.
  - 26 MISIANIK J.: Slovenske lubostne basne zo 16. storocia od Balassiho. [The Balassi's Sixteenth Century Slovak Love Poetry.] In: *Slovenska literatura, vol. 5, Bratislava 1958, pp. 466-467*.

- ELIAS M.: Peter Benicky a jeho Slovenske verse. In: BENICKY P. Slovenske verse. [Peter Benicky and his Slovak Verses.] Bratislava, 1981. Benicky is known for participation in anti-Ottoman wars and Hungarian war diplomacy of his period. His poetry contains many ideas criticizing Hungarian nobility dwelling on their privileges. He himself was known for waiving all debts to his serfs.
- 27 From the same century originate several aristocratic codices, besides that of Jan Job Fanchali's (1604), also of Anna Szirmay-Ketzerova's, Alzbeta Czoborova's, Turolucky Cantional (1684), bringing a rich information about the process of integrating Slovak folk elements into burgher and aristocratic culture. Hand in hand with Protestantism went also printing of the first songbooks in national (non-Latin) language. Here, in the famous *Cithara Sanctorum*, compiled by a Silesian Lutheran emigree to Slovakia, pastor Jiri Tranovsky, we can find among 402 texts about 40 songs of Slovak provenience, 90 Czech songs written by Tranovsky himself, Tranovsky's translations from Latin (8), German (60) and more than 200 Czech songs. Among 'songs of Slovak provenience' occurred either translations from German into Slovak or the creations of Slovak domestic authors such as Elias Lani and Jan Silvan; MISIANIK J.: Pohľady do starej slovenskej literatury. Bratislava, 1974, pp.133-135; TKACIKOVA E.: K charakteru slovenskej renesancnej poezie. Slovenska literatura 25, 1978, pp. 633-645.
- 28 MARSINA R.: Vysady pre zilinskych Slovakov z roku 1381. [The Privileges for Zilina Slovaks from 1381.] In: MARSINA R. et al. (ed.): *Narodnostny vyvoj miest na Slovensku do roku 1918. [Ethnic Evolution of Cities in Slovakia until 1918.]* Bratislava, 1984, pp. 13-38.
- 29 SIMONCIC J. et al.: Dejiny Trnavy. [A History of Trnava.] Bratislava, 1984; HOUDEK I.: Cechovníctvo na Slovensku. [The Guilds in Slovakia.] Martin, 1943, 110-111.
- 30 SIMONCIC J. et al.: op. cit., ibidem.
- 31 HOUDEK I.: op. cit., SPIESZ A.: Remeslo na Slovensku v období existencie cechov. [The Crafts in Slovakia during the Existence of Guilds.] Bratislava, 1972.
- 32 Vavrinec Benedikt z Nedozier: op. cit.
- 33 Corpus Iuris Hungarici 1608-1657, Budapest 1900, 18. Quoted according SIMONCIC J. et al.: op. cit., ibidem.
- 34 SLAVIK J.: Slovenske povstanie v Krupine roku 1615. [The Slovak Uprising in Krupina 1615.] In: *Slovenske Pohľady*, vol. XXIX, 1909.
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- 36 J. SATEK in his case study Bratislavski Slovaci v 17. storoci. [The Bratislavan Slovaks in the Seventeenth Century] wrote that also such a *German island within Slovak countryside* as Pressburg had an increasing Slovak and Croat population, composing lower (*non-burgher*) layers of the city society. These, together with scarce Magyars, constituted half of the city inhabitants. Exception in social appurtenance were the few members of lower clergy, both Catholic and Lutheran, who played an important role as representant of their ethnic-confessional communities. Their records of ethnicity of parishioners witness increasing importance of ethnicity in division of a strongly German city into its German and non-German part. On this excellent example of a rather large multi-ethnic city, including German, Slovak, Magyar, Croat and Jewish population (the last one from 1526 deprived of rights to own properties on the territory of city and resident *extra muros* of the Medieval city), surrounded also by the village population belonging to different ethnies, we can see the bifurcation of all, rural and urban Christian population according to their confessional adherence. In: *Historicky zborník, roc. IV*, Martin, 1946, pp. 393-401; VOZAR J.: Etnikum v banskyh regionoch. [The Ethnies in Mining Regions.] In: *Historicka revue, c. 10, Bratislava 1993*, pp. 12-
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