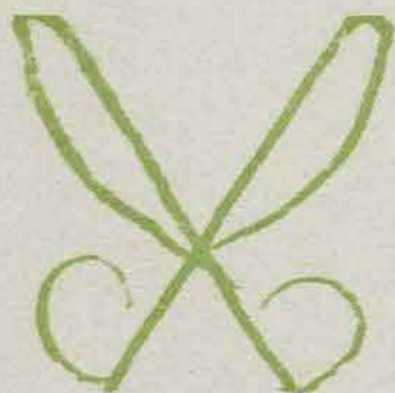

SLOVENSKÝ NÁRODOPIS



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PODOLINSKÁ, T. – KOVÁČ, M.: Daughters of Luna. Ritual Status of Woman in the Mayas-Lacandons Society

first page: Scissors. Line-drawing from the oldest City-book of Bratislava. 1364.
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**THE BLUE CROSS ASSOCIATION AND ITS ACTIVITIES IN
BRATISLAVA****LUBICA FALTĀNOVÁ**

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Key words: Blue Cross association, religion

Ethnological and historiographic works from the middle of the 1980s direct attention to the rich life of Bratislava's inhabitants in cultural associations and its unprecedented growth during the first Czechoslovak republic. The associations operated in various areas of life – in economic, social, cultural, humanitarian, religious, and sports.¹ The literature concerning associations indicates that in addition to associations, there were other types of getting together - including private professional groups, for example business associations, cooperatives, etc.² Particular categories of gathering are often not differentiated in statistics and sources. They have become a center of scientific interest through a variety of contributions focused on the social, cultural, political, economic, and sporting life of the inhabitants of Bratislava and on the issue of nationalities.³

With respect to the multinational image of Bratislava, a question of founding and functioning of associations according to the nationality and religion of the inhabitants is important.⁴ The interdependence between the foundation of associations and particular nationalities and religions was confirmed. This paper speaks about the activities of the association known as "Blue Cross" and correlates with the facts and research results obtained so far. The analysis of the documentation and literature points to the functioning of the association with regard to religious, national, social, cultural, and humanitarian aspects.

The paper leans on the archive material, direct interviews and various published works. The family archive material itself of the members of the Bratislava Blue Cross chairman's

family (who do not wish to be named), dating from the foundation of the association until 1947, is worthy of special attention. On the one hand, there is a full set of quality texts, containing original and interpreted texts and photographic material, and on the other hand, a cultural phenomenon, texts dealing with the relationship of members of the association to their history, and association values established through the group's activities. Thanks to the active interest of former members of the association in 1972 on the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of the establishment of Cirkev bratská (the Brothers Church) in Bratislava, the material was arranged by the wife of the chairman of the association (who was still alive at that time) chronologically and into sections, with commentaries and explanations. Written personal memories, autobiographies of the married couple, transcripts of interviews and the stored material established a valuable database for the issues studied.

The following materials were available: a) the first comprised of several separate items with titles given in the contents list: Memories of Sister A. Š.; Brother J.Š.; J.Š.: How Jesus Christ Found Me; J.Š.: Some More Experiences from Russia and the Appendix to Memories; Dialogue on an old picture, Thoughts on an Old Picture; Thoughts on an Album of Aunt and Uncle Š.; Your Mercy is Better than Life; A Word in Conclusion; The Lost Coin (the content and characteristics of writing); b) the second material was compiled by Juraj Potúček, the author of several works on small Protestant churches. Its title is: J.Š. (1887-1976) missionary and temperance worker in Bratislava. (Correspondence - articles - documents). Compiled by Juraj Potúček on the occasion of his 90th birthday. Bratislava 1977; c) an album of chronologically arranged photographs is both an important source and document of the association. It contains several text components. A list of identified persons, dates, events, and places is appended to the photographs; d) A diary of J.Š. written during his captivity on the Russian front, in Czechoslovak legions till his return to ČSR in 1919. Autobiographies and biographies have not been the subject of analysis because, as reported in the particular works, the biographical method should be based on the representativeness of the sample as a means of reaching the objectivity of the interpreted data. Here they represent comparative material for direct interviews and literature.

The religious content of the Blue Cross association is expressed in the definitions of the association. The data about the circumstances of the establishment of the Blue Cross movement in Slovakia and within Europe contribute to the clarification of the main aims. One of the sources defines the association as a "Christian Pietist-Methodist association, the mission of which was the fight against alcoholism, gambling and a disorderly way of life from the very beginning". According to this source the association was founded at the beginning of the twentieth century by the Swiss Fritz Berger and was based to some extent on the traditions of German Methodism and/or a movement known as Halle pietism established by two Lutheran clergymen in the 17th century.⁶

According to other sources, Blue Cross was set up by an Evangelical priest of the Augsburg confession (ev.a.v.) L. L. Rochet in 1877 and, as an international association, it had its seat in Geneva. Gradually, it penetrated several European countries, Switzerland, Germany, England, Denmark and Sweden. In 1893, the first association of the Blue Cross was established in historical Hungary. At the turn of the 20th century, there were 500 Blue Cross associations in historical Hungary with 20,000 members.⁷ In Slovakia, the establishment of the Blue Cross is linked with the names of the two sisters (Kristína Royová and Maria Royová), who helped to set up the association in Stará Turá in 1897. There is a lot of literature that sheds light on the circumstances and the establishment of the association in Stará Turá.⁸ Some papers state that the awaking of the movement in Slovakia is due to

the Roy sisters (Maria and Kristina) in the Evangelical Church of Augsburg in Stará Turá, Slovakia in 1888". According to the cited author the movement was established as an association in 1897 as Blue Cross, Evangelical Augsburg creed, internal missionary and temperance association".⁹ According to the principles of the Association, membership of the Blue Cross was bound up with the biblical spiritual resurrection. According to the Bible: 'You must be born anew' (John, 3, 7).

In other words, as authors close to the movement write in their works, spiritual work was built on the basis of the Bible and according to religious explanation, it was based on a personal turning to Jesus Christ.¹⁰ The acceptance of members was also based on the Bible, the Association brought together people who believed in God, converted Christians, and believers in temperance. The Pietist trend of the movement is also reported in Blue Cross in Slovakia development studies.¹¹ The activities of the Roy sisters were also influenced by the modern Christian movement. For example, the work of the sisters in Stará Turá was influenced by contact with representatives of Jednota českobratrská, the new free reformed church in Bohemia. Its members found an organizational basis in Blue Cross, because their aim was not to create new church denomination, but to develop a spiritual revival within the Evangelical Church.¹²

The Association in Stará Turá was the center of activities in Slovakia and members of the Bratislava branch were in permanent contact with representatives of the Blue Cross in Stará Turá, similarly as other branches. From an ethnological perspective, there is some interesting data from the initial activities of the Roy sisters. The beginnings date back to the period before the founding of the Blue Cross. It is a question of the internal interest of individuals on the one hand and external circumstances on the other hand, together shaping the initial incentive to activities resulting in the organized movement. This data points to important links in the early stages of their work with the traditional milieu of the local community and with traditional occupations in the region of Podjavorina. The ideas, gradually put into practice, were directly linked with knowledge of the social position of local pedlars selling embroidery and wooden kitchenware. Kristina Royová began to take interest in the low social and spiritual level of the pedlars' children. She wrote: "My heart bled for the children of pedlars". They were pitiable orphans of living parents. Ten months cared for by others, in reality neglected, followed by two months with the parents, who wanted to make up for what they had not provided with resultant caressing, overfeeding and the living of a completely abnormal life. I have longed to do something for them for years, especially for the children of our religious pedlars." Her aims led to her establishing a temporary home for pedlars children. The care later focused on orphans. It is, however, just one part of the activities of the Blue Cross in Stará Turá.¹³

Members of the movement described themselves as converts and believers while non-members were called unbelievers. They addressed each other as brother and sister. The symbol of the association was the blue cross and they were known as "modrokrižania" (modrý križ = blue cross). With regard to the foundation of the movement and the spreading of the associations, attention is drawn to the inter-church character of the association, its leadership having the form of an alliance and its international orientation. The majority of the members of Blue Cross belonged to the Evangelical Church of Augsburg confession. Tracing the spread of the Blue Cross associations in Slovakia, some significant personalities should be mentioned. There is one to whom we should pay particular attention and who had a decisive influence on the establishment of the association in Stará Turá, namely Ján Chorvát. As a teacher in Stará Turá, he became familiar with the work of the Roy sisters.

After his return from the missionary institute in Switzerland, he was the one to initiate the setting up of the Blue Cross in 1897. He cemented and coordinated all activities of the Blue Cross.¹⁴ It was the period when the movement began to spread to Gemer, Novohrad, and eastern Slovakia around Košice. Encouraged by people with a new approach to religious life, new branches of the Blue Cross were gradually opened in Ozdín (1902, district of Poltár), Málinec (Poltár), Tisovec (district Rimavská Sobota), Mengusovce (district Poprad), Trebejov (district Košice), Obišovce (Košice), Beniakovce (Košice), Bratislava, and other places. New ideas were disseminated by the missionaries themselves, but also by "self-made-persons", individuals and local initiators who had been inspired by various sources. Magazines and books were very important.

Several centers were formed in Slovakia, often independently of each other, gradually interconnecting through the organization. For instance, foundations for the work in eastern Slovakia were laid by an inhabitant of Trebejov: he learned about the religious revival movement in the journal *Betania* published by Jednota českobratská, an emigrant living in America. He began to spread the new spiritual ideas after his return to his home village. They were further distributed through personal contacts with the inhabitants of other villages. At first, people gathered in private houses or various buildings such as evangelical schools, but later they began to be organized into associations of the Blue Cross and chapels began to be built.

The dissemination of Blue Cross associations among Slovaks living in Hungary and Yugoslavia is a special topic. It is of particular interest that the movement was spread among Slovaks abroad by missionaries from Slovakia. They encouraged and regulated the developing activities, at first by sporadic visits, later by more permanent stays lasting several years. The germ of the new spiritual activities stemmed from various sources. In relation to Slovaks abroad some data of this kind might be interesting. For instance, contacts with relatives living in Slovakia also helped to establish the new spiritual belief. The case of a family from Slovak Gemer visiting their relatives in Petrovac as early as the end of the nineteenth century serves as an example.¹⁵ But there are also other links between Slovakia and areas south of it, which played a part in spreading the phenomenon. For example, in recollections of the beginnings of their work in Nyíregyháza, "brothers" from Ozdín and the neighbouring villages in Novohrad, who used to go there to sell wheels, are mentioned. Some American and British persons who had been active as priests and distributors were also designated as the first propagators of the movement: they invited people to deepen their commitment to the biblical New Testament.¹⁶ The chain of impulses was concretized in the organizations of the movement.

Among longer term Slovak missionaries whose new spiritual orientation and activities were centered in Blue Cross, was Jozef Roháček. (Evangelization missions operated on an international basis - there was a separate mission for south-eastern Europe in Germany). Jozef Roháček worked as an evangelist in Bácska-Kysáč from 1906 and from 1911 in Nyíregyháza, he was later replaced by Ján Roháč (born in Stará Turá, 2nd vice-chairman of the association in Stará Turá, elected at its establishment) in Kysáč, who was active there till 1939. There were also other representatives of the Slovak Blue Cross and lay preachers from among the local Slovaks. Blue Cross associations were formed among Slovaks in the south of Hungary in Petrovac, Kysáč (1904), Kovačica (1906), Ilok, Pivnica (1907), Padina, Stará Pazova, Šíd, and Nyíregyháza. Congregations in those regions were regarded as an essential part of the Blue cross in Slovakia. Extensive contacts between Slovakian and Nyíregyháza members changed after repatriation of the Nyíregyháza Slovaks to the area

around Levice, the villages Horná Seč and Dolná Seč, after WWII, after almost the whole congregation moved there with the preacher. As early as 1949 a biblical conference of the Blue Cross was held in Levice and members from Bratislava were also in attendance.¹⁷ Contacts with Slovaks living abroad and representatives of the association in Stará Turá influenced the foundation of the Blue Cross in Bratislava.

The spread of the revival movement is associated with conflict with various institutions – the church, state organs, the community and family. Puritan-religious conviction emanating from Pietism had not always been seen as a positive contribution to the church. Throughout its existence members faced accusations of sectarianism and schism from the church. They did not leave the Church, however, as separation was not their aim (they attended both assemblies and worship and observed the principles of church life).¹⁸ On the other hand, the external signs of the community – separate meetings of supporters of the movement, the building of chapels, the acquiring of new principles of living, in the form of temperance, refraining from drinking alcohol and smoking, influenced the differentiation process in the religious and social life of the community and family.

Some traditions such as weddings were according to the new principles without music, dancing or alcohol as the participants took no part in entertainment. The spectrum of influence in family life was broader because family members of different ages and positions within the family became adherents of the new spiritual communities. The arrival of new habits in religion raised many controversial questions. Several sources on their acceptance in the form of personal data and experiences are available. We shall give at least some examples to elucidate how the whole process was reflected in the attitudes and experiences of the individuals and in the surroundings.

The chairman of the association of the Blue Cross in Bratislava, born in Nyíregyháza in 1887, recollects in written form: “In 1910 news about a new faith was spread round our town (Nyíregyháza, author’s note) and around the sheep farms. Since I had been brought up in a religious family and school, the faith began to attract me. Stories had been circulating about those who attended the meetings: that they were believers, others said they were Baptists, still others that they were the Nazarenes, sectarians. Soon, those who went to meet the believers began to meet next door. I began to watch the family next door... There were some missionaries who visited us... And since they began to gather to listen to the Word of God, I also went there now and again. Sometimes just to warn them that they should not leave the Lutheran church to look for a faith. Those believers who had gathered to read the Word of God said that people should not dance, eat or drink because it all was a sin...” There are another three pages containing a detailed account of the perception of the chapters read from the Bible during a period of 3 to 4 months, descriptions of situations where friends stopped taking part in entertainment because of the gatherings, participation in assemblies held in an evangelical hall - “at that time, the church was not yet afraid of these sectarians”, there were about 200 people at the assembly... The assembly was led by laymen, two brothers. One of them was a tailor, the other was a shoemaker. Our neighbour invited me to join in the assembly. Poems were recited, and religious songs were sung.” He wrote of the influence of the Bible “as if I had heard the knocking of Jesus Christ on the door of my heart to open it...” Then at another gathering: “When we were leaving the assembly, friends with me asked me where were we going. It was not yet time to go to a ball, we used to go for a walk with girls, or to a restaurant to have a beer, and there often came to blows. But I said “I am going home”. They asked me, “why home, and not to the ball?” I answered: “I will not go to the ball and I will never go again.” They said to me:

“Have they already persuaded you too?” ... That same evening I went again to the assembly in Janovské salaše less than one kilometer from our place, instead going to the ball. A woman born in Nyíregyháza in 1893 and later living in Bratislava from 1926 recollects on twelve pages: “The assembly took place in Vrbovské salaše... the words of the gospel according to Matthew woke me up... We come home: Where have we been? In Vrbovské salaše... and that was it. On Monday morning there was war... My father couldn’t stand that I had gone to the assembly, he told me on Sunday that he would turn me out of home if I went to the assembly once more. I was prepared for it ... and when he really turned me out, I left...” Verbal attacks, articles against the movement, even the arresting of some missionaries, and quarrels in families – all caused some members of the Blue Cross to leave for other religious denominations. The representatives constantly defended their aims – to revive the Church spiritually. However, there are also many examples of mutual cooperation between the Evangelical Church and the Blue Cross. The movement was designated as a religious sect by state organs in the socialist period.

There were several events before the foundation of the Blue Cross in Bratislava in 1927. The group was formed by a group of immigrants, who had come to Bratislava after 1918, differentiated on the basis of ethnic and local origin. As early as that period a group of people gathered in Bratislava in two houses of Czech workers from the Klinger factory and later they met in the school on Podjavorinská street for home worship. In the first gathering of the Klinger colony at one of the family houses in 1920 there were, according to a photograph, 23 participants.

Identification of the participants suggests that the group comprised of individual family units. The family composition of the association influenced several aspects of its running but, on the other hand, the association also influenced family life and ties. As for the ethnic composition of the group, it consisted of Czech families and the Slovak supporters of the movement. From the religious point of view, Evangelists (ev.a.v) formed its basis, but there were also other religious groups at the beginning of the group’s existence. It was reported that one of the families was originally Baptist. From the perspective of the origin of individuals from Slovakia, there were two fundamental links, to Stará Turá and to Nyíregyháza. At that time, there was already an important representative from Stará Turá (from the photo of the 1920 founding assembly), from 1921 working with her husband, a missionary, who returned to Slovakia from his stay in Nyíregyháza. Other post-war immigrants, who were on their way to Bratislava, were born in Nyíregyháza. The reasons why the Nyíregyháza Slovaks settled in Bratislava were historical, political and economic, but also related to their movement affiliation. They had already become adherents of the new revival movement in the Church in their birthplace.

The individual fates that had led them to Bratislava varied. For instance, J.Š. (1887-1976), who served as a chairman of the association for many years, had arrived in the Czech lands from Russia as a Czechoslovak legionary in 1920. Being a Slovak, he could not return to his family in Hungary. He got to Bratislava on the basis of his former contacts with representatives of the Blue Cross. Networking of the members of the group played an important role in personal contacts, spiritual activities, family and working life. It helped J.Š. who arrived in Bratislava in 1920, e.g. helped him to find a job). Together with other four families from Nyíregyháza, they formed a group denoted in texts as Nyíregyháza group. At that time, before the establishment of the Blue Cross in Bratislava, basic features of the group had been shaped at the local and supra-local levels - regular gatherings Bible readings, participation in biblical conferences held in various Blue Cross centers (e.g. in

Stará Turá in 1923, with 200 participants mostly from Slovakia), musical events, missionary activities – regular visits to other towns, dissemination of literature, personal appearances at gatherings, and charitable activities, particularly collections in support of the Blue Cross in Stará Turá. The association's function was also educational, which reflected conditions in Bratislava at the beginning of the movement. From 1921 onwards one of the missionary workers who returned from his mission in Nyíregyháza, became a member of the association in Bratislava and, in addition to his theology studies, he performed spiritual education, taught missionary work, the Slovak language, spelling, and social studies.²⁰

In addition to the essential activities of the group (gatherings, conferences, missionary work), there were also social and cultural activities, which included leisure activities such as making trips. These became a tradition from 1921 onwards. There are records from that period of summer trips to the surroundings of Bratislava, e.g. to Železná studienka. A photograph of 1924 shows the participation of a rather wide community of families on the trip, there were 41 people including children. The community was not closed, there were also “unbelievers” present. The programme of the trips contained religious elements (introductory readings from the Bible, singing, music, praying) and activities for leisure and recreation. It was a time of strengthening family religious traditions – the second generation of the group was shaped and marriages between its supporters confirm a tendency towards endogamy. If this phenomenon is followed from the very beginning of the movement in Slovakia and outside it, homogeneous matrimonies were created as early as the first generation of members. The development of family tradition is confirmed by the fact that families within the entire community studied are mentioned in connection with the group in Bratislava.

A crucial moment for the future development of the group was the separation of Czech families, which began to meet separately as a station of Jednota českobratská. The gathering in Bratislava was organized in the autumn of 1924 by a known Czech ethnographer living in Slovakia. The separated group met at first in his flat. The second group composed of Slovak members who founded a branch of the Blue Cross in Bratislava on February 13, 1927. J.Š., already mentioned above, was elected its chairman and remained in the position until 1948. His successor was, until the dissolution in 1950, another member of the Nyíregyháza group. This branch of the Blue Cross had its first seat in Grosslingova street No. 48, between 1929 and 1934 in a school in Karpatská street, and from February 1934 to 1950 in a room of the former library in Schulpe colony in Šancová No. 15 (the house still exists).

The work of the Blue Cross in Bratislava was tied in with the preceding activities. It is characterized by weekly gatherings, missionary work, choir activities, and socio-cultural activities. The size of the group at that time can be quantified by the capacity of the room in Šancová street. Every Wednesday and Sunday there met about 50 members of the Association. A significant part of the group was still composed of families from Nyíregyháza and Stará Turá. We can say that the work of the chairman of the Blue Cross in Bratislava was of primary importance for the existence of the group. His house with three rather small flats was, in addition to the prayer room in Šancová street, a significant center in the life of the Association. He provided accommodation for members (also non-members from other congregations) staying in town - whether they were employed there or just visiting town as distributors or participants in conferences. As a result there was a sense of belonging, the provision of contacts and a source of help. The chairman's house was a place for informal and business meetings for both adherents of the movement and representatives of other

groups - e.g. Baptists, and Jednota českobratrská. The memories and photographs provide evidence of the presence of a Jew, converted to Christianity (according to the data, "a Jewish missionary became a Christian but he said that he only recognized the Old Testament not the New Testament"). The ecumenical orientation of the Association was also seen in the support of alliance prayer weeks, which took place at the beginning of every year. The members of the association, its chairman in particular, were in constant contact, written and personal, with other centers of the Blue Cross in Slovakia, especially with Stará Turá, which he often visited with his family to meet the Roy sisters. Forms of personal contacts of the members of the association were gatherings and annual conferences of particular branches of the Blue Cross in Slovakia and biblical conferences in the Czech lands. There were also contacts with foreign countries.²¹ The connection between Bratislava and Stará Turá is also documented by the holidays of the children of Blue Cross members spent in Stará Turá in an orphanage founded by the Roy sisters. The texts and photographs show that members of the Bratislava association also traveled to Nyíregyháza, e.g. on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of the local Blue Cross in 1935. Missionary work was a special task.

A record from a diary of the association chairman describes a missionary journey under the title *Okružná cesta 1937* (A Roundtrip 1937). According to records, he traveled from Bratislava to Stará Turá on June 15, then to Vrútky and to eastern Slovakia, where he stayed longer and visited several places. On his way back he was in central Slovakia (Zelené, Ozdín, Lučenec, Lovinobaňa) and he returned to Bratislava on July 7, 1937 in the evening. On his 23-days' journey, he attended 28 gatherings and meetings in 18 days. He distributed Christian literature and magazines and encouraged the activities of the young people in spiritual singing. The chairman's children bequeathed a large library of Christian literature and other literature for public instruction.

Charity activities was part of the work of Bratislava members. This is documented by lists of donors. In one contribution, members of the association called for the raising money for the construction of a prayer station for repatriated Slovaks.

There was the organization of a Slovak biblical conference in Bratislava in 1938 and 1947, which was of importance to the activities of the local association.²³ The location of the three-day July Conference was the YMCA. There were guests from Slovakia, Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia and abroad (e.g. England). The conference had approximately 1100 participants accommodated in youth hostels and with families. The participants wore badges to show their membership of the Blue Cross. All assemblies and meetings took place in the Evangelical church in Panenská street. The programme with praying hours, gatherings, and evangelical evening ended with a trip to Železná studienka and to Devin castle.

Blue Cross in Bratislava was also active in publishing. It was to its merit that Christian literature of different character began to be published. The library's name was Svetlo (Light) and it issued nine publications.

Singing spiritual songs was a significant part of Blue Cross activities. The Blue Cross choir was comprised of young people and its members attended gatherings and conferences in Bratislava as well as in other places. In particular families, emphasis was laid on spiritual singing and musicality. Playing at least one musical instrument was part of their life. For example, in the chairman's family, the harmonium, piano, accordion, mandolin, and violin were played. Music was played while on trips, at informal meetings, and inside the family circle. The participation of young Blue Cross people in the Association of Evangelical Youth was encouraged, e.g. by organizing summer camps (chiefly at Počúvadlo lake).²⁴ A

variety of events organized for children was also part of association activities - every Christmas there was a programme prepared for children and presents were given to them.

The life of the Blue Cross association was intertwined with family life. It is particularly evident in the chairman's family. That they spent free time with their own families and other members families.

also serves as proof. The tradition of family trips continued into the twenties. Sunday gatherings were the place to make plans for the afternoon meetings. There were many places in Bratislava to meet - Železná studienka, Koliba, Horský park. The meetings had formal components (interpretation of the Bible, praying) but focused on recreational activities and sports (e.g. volleyball). In addition, when no trips were organized and there were free days, the families usually met at their homes, visiting one another. People, who remember that remember a period of intensive socialization.

Movement affiliation was mirrored in the occupations of individuals. A road-transport firm founded by two members of the association from Nyíregyháza and Stará Turá serves as an example. The group integrated Bratislava inhabitants with various social and professional backgrounds. There were physicians, businessmen, a well known photographer whom we can thank for the large quantity of quality photo-documentation, theologians, professors, house-wives, and students.

Apart from some negative attitudes of other people, developments within the Slovakian Blue Cross association were not straightforward either. It is reported that after 1918, "after the coup d'état some new elements of various religions came to Slovakia and began to influence the work in Blue Cross negatively..." There were several controversial trends within the association: one group was for the complete leave-taking from the Evangelical Church and joining some free Czech work (meaning especially Jednota českobratská), the second group, which was preponderant, was for remaining in the Church and for founding the Evangelical brotherhood. Since no agreement was reached, the old simple association of the Blue Cross continued to exist. The association existed till 1949, then it was dissolved together with other associations and was forced to integrate into the Evangelical Church of the Augsburg Confession as an intra-missionary part.²⁵ According to the respondents, part of the membership joined Jednota českobratská (in Slovakia it was re-named in 1969 Cirkve bratská).

The life of Bratislava in the 1920s and 1930s was colorful thanks to the life within various associations. Blue Cross had an international flavour, and that is the reason for its characteristics in a wider supralocal context. Thus the city can be looked upon as a whole open to external influences or as a city with new phenomena. Analysis of the association's activities contributes to an elucidation of the issues related to the multinational structure and religious composition of the population. It also alerts us to the influence of life within the association and to family life and social contacts.

- 1 Scientific aspects of the period are studied in more detail by MANNOVÁ, E.: Spolky v Bratislave koncom 19. a v prvej polovici 20. storočia. Slovenský národopis 35, 1987, s. 363-369. MANNOVÁ, E.: Spolky - čertove volky, ale aj škola demokracie. In: SALNER, P.: a kol.: Taká bola Bratislava. Bratislava 1991, s. 67-90.
- 2 Reported by MANNOVÁ, E.: Spolky v Bratislave, op. c., p. 268.
- 3 In addition to the mentioned studies on associations in Bratislava there are a series of contributions, which point to particular issues of the groups, their functions or activities in solving selected culturological issues: e.g. SALNER, P. et al.: Taká bola Bratislava, op.c., p. 11-21. The work also contains data about relations between different nationalities living in the city and the founding of sports clubs. SALNER, P.: A plesali až do rána. Ibid. pp. 54-66. One aspect is the organization of balls by individual associations. FEGLOVA, V.: O sviatkoch a slávnostiach. Ibid. pp. 37-53. A part is devoted to data about the participation of particular associations in city festivities. FEGLOVA, V.: Dunaj a jeho brehy. Ibid. pp. 143-153. The chapter also deals with data about rowing clubs. NOSALOVA, V.: Kroj ako reprezentačný odev bratislavských stredných vrstiev v medzivojnovom období (1918-1938), p.371-379. About associations with a national awakening character focused on public education, compatriot circles (e.g. Živena, Slovácky krúžek, Skaličané), their activities, and influence on the occasional wearing of folk costumes. LUTHER, D.: Spoločenské konflikty v poprevratovej Bratislave (1919-1924). The author deals with the place of associations in relation to social and political changes after the establishment of the first Czechoslovak republic. STOLICNA, R.: Niekoľko poznámok o živote židovskej komunity v Bratislave. Slovenský národopis, 41, 1993, pp. 16-29. About some associations of the Jewish community. FALTANOVA, L.: Bratislavskí obchodníci v období medzi prvou a druhou svetovou vojnou. Slovenský národopis, 35, 1987, pp. 381-394. About relations between the activities of traders' associations (Bratislava Traders Corporation) and the integration process of socio-professional groups of Bratislava traders in the inter-war period.
- 4 E.g. MANNOVA, E.: op. c., 1987, p. 367. MANNOVÁ, E.: op. c., 1991, pp. 67-90. SALNER, P.: op. c., 1991, pp. 16-20.
- 5 How typical is the image of reality described in memoirs, letters and other forms of information, to what extent can this image be verified, about the issues of non-representativeness and subjectivism, about the application of this method in understanding the social reality in the works: Metoda biograficzna a jej zastosowanie empiryczne na gruncie nauk społecznych. Súbory príspevkov z konferencie. Warszawa-Jablonna, 8.-10.8.1978, rkp. - Papers presented to the International Oral History Conference. 24-26 October 1980. Universitet van Amsterdam, 1980. - Biography and Society Newsletter No. 3. Research Committee 38. International Sociological Association, 1984, Ed. E. M. Hoerning.
- 6 Modrý kríž. In: Lexikón náboženských hnutí, siekt a duchovných spoločností. Ed. F. R. Hrabal. Bratislava, Cad Press, 1998, p. 247.
- 7 SLEZÁČKOVÁ, J.: Život a dielo sestier Márie a Kristíny Royových. Stará Turá, 1991, p. 12. Further, SLEZÁČKOVÁ, J.: op. c., Údaj o počte spolkov: Spolok Modrého kríža. Svetlo, 1, 1990, p. 10.
- 8 It is thanks to Juraj Potúček that the literature was made complete. He presents an extensive bibliography within the above bibliography on small Protestant churches in Slovakia. POTÚČEK, J.: Príspevky k dejinám malých protestantských cirkvách na Slovensku a ich duchovného spevu (anabaptisti-habáni, Jednota Bratská, pietisti, metodisti, nazaréni, Bratská jednota baptistov, Modrý kríž, Cirkev bratská, Apoštolská cirkev a i.). Bibliography of the Blue Cross is on pp. 52-63. Henceforth as Príspevky k dejinám...
- 9 POTÚČEK, J.: Príspevky k dejinám..., p. 6.

- 10 RUPPELDT, F.: Abstinentné hnutie na Slovensku, Bratislava 1955, p. 14.
- 11 RUPPELDT, F.: Almanach cirkvi ev. a. v. na Slovensku za roky 1919-1928. For Blue Cross, see pp. 167 and 305. The following characteristics of Pietism is cited from POTÚČEK, J.: Príspevky k dejinám. p. 4. "The awakening movement which was formed in the German Evangelical Church of the Augsburg confession (ev.a.v.)...Pietism required from the Christians piety, humility, spiritual conversion such as was experienced by the apostle Paul, Pietism built a whole Christian life on the Word of God,... cultivated domestic worship and led believers to undertake missionary activities. Although Pietists did not leave the official Evangelical Church ev.a.v. on a formal basis, the movement suffered various problems, obstacles placed by the official Church and its representatives."
- 12 RYBÁRIK, J.: O duchovných prebudeníach na Slovensku za roky 1919-1928. (An outline of spiritual awakening within the Slovak Blue Cross on the occasion of 50th anniversary of its foundation). Cestou svetla, 1947, No. 5-6, p. 20.
- 13 SLEZÁČKOVÁ, J.: Život a dielo sestier..., p. 16,17. The complete activities of the Roy sisters, including their rich charitable activities, are presented. included is the foundation of the first Sunday school for children in Slovakia, an orphanage, a hospital, an old people's home, etc. Their literary activities are also known. The citation is from: ROYOVÁ, K.: Za svetlom a so svetlom. 1928.
- 14 SLEZÁČKOVÁ, J.: Život a dielo sestier..., p.12. Particular personalities active in Blue Cross and their activities were published e.g. in POTÚČEK, J.: Vzťah Jána Chorváta k spevu a hudbe. časť 1. 2., Bratislava, Ústav hudobnej vedy SAV, 1971. IBID.: Evanjelista a misijný pracovník medzi Cigánmi. Ján Roháček. Bratislava, 1969, 66 pp.
- 15 M. S.: Modrý kríž v Juhoslávii. Cestou svetla, 1, 1947, No. 5/6, p. 9.
- 16 ČINČURÁK, S.: Nyíregyháza - slovenské prebudenie. Cestou svetla, 1, 1947, No. 5/6, p. 8.
- 17 For re-emigration of the Slovaks after WW II, see PARÍKOVÁ, M.: Reemigrácia Slovákov z Maďarska v rokoch 1946-48. Etnokultúrne a sociálne procesy. Bratislava 1999. About Slovak re-emigrants – members of the Blue Cross, personal narratives, photographs and contributions: - členoch Modrého kríža okrem osobných výpovedí a fotografií i príspevky: Presídlenci z Nyíregyházy. Pravda 1947, No. 88, Sloboda 2, 1947, No. 88.
- 18 Some of the many articles attacking Blue Cross supporters: ZOCH, P.: Spolok Modrého kríža, hospoda sektárstva. Stráž na Sione, 7, No. 4, pp. 29-30. VAJDIČKA, L.: Je staroturanský „Modrý kríž“ na dobrej ceste? Cirkevné listy, 48, 1934, p. 187-190. ŠKOLNÍK, J.: Zo spolku Modrého kríža v Bratislave. Cirkevné listy, 48, 1934, pp. 187-190, pp. 483-486. CHORVÁT, J.: Prečo si nerozumíme. Snaha, 9, 1937, pp. 19-22, 76-77.
- 19 BEDNÁRIK, F.: Po problematike nelegálnych náboženských siekt. Slovenský národopis, 46, 1998, p. 359.
- 20 Jozef Roháček developed wide-ranging activities in Nyíregyháza, where he had been, as previously mentioned, since 1911. Thanks to him, the influence of the Bible deepened – by communal readings and discussion and prayers, with 30-40 people attending, but also by reading and praying in families. He also encouraged the reading of religious writings. Particularly the works of Kristína Royová were disseminated. He educated lay assistants. In general, attention was paid to musical life within the spiritual community. Jozef Roháček's activities are an example - as a talented conductor and musician, he taught musical theory to supporters of the movement, he founded a choir, and taught singing to members. He was accused of nationalist activities and therefore his work in the choir was finished. As reported in the album of the family archive according to MÁRKUS, J. A.: Isten műve napjainkban - Božie dielo za našich čias. Nyíregyháza 1935.
- 21 Biblical conferences took place in specific centers of the Blue Cross according to articles normally published annually in magazines in the first half of 20th century. The first conference was held in Stará Turá in 1904. Then there were conferences in Tisovec (1905), Kovačic (1913), several

- times in Ozdín, in Stará Turá, and Beniakovce. According to a photograph, 200 people attended the 1923 conference in Stará Turá, among them people from Bratislava.
- 22 ŠKOLNÍK, J., MACHAJDÍK, J.: Na novej stráží evanjelia. Cestou svetla, 2, 1948, No. 2. SKOLNÍK, J.: Vítame našich drahých bratov a sestru z Maďarska! Cestou svetla, 1, 1947, No. 1/2, p. 11-12.
- 23 Biblical conference of the Blue Cross and Snaha in Bratislava. Cestou svetla, 1, 1947, No. 5/6, pp.23-26.
- 24 According to memories and literature for young people, various evangelical visits to other centers of Slovakia were organized. E.g. RAKUSOVÁ, A.: Evanjelizácia v Hliniku. Cestou svetla, 1, 1947, No. 5/6, pp. 28-29.
- 25 RYBÁRIK, J.: O duchovných prebudeníach na Slovensku. (An outline of spiritual awakening within the Slovak Blue Cross on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of its foundation). Cestou svetla, I, 1947, No. 5-6, p. 20. As reported, the majority of members belonged to the Evangelical Church ev.a.v. In 1924, the last joint convention of the Bratislava Evangelical Church ev.a.v took place and the congregation divided into German-Hungarian and Slovak sections. The Slovak Bratislava congregation of ev.a.v. the Church had, together with its branches almost 3000 members at the end of 20th century. In: DROBNÝ, J.: Evanj. a.v. cirkev v Bratislave. Zlatá kniha Bratislavy. Bratislava 1928, p. 145.

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