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ALICA KURHAJCOVÁ

*From Monarchy to Republic. Symbolic Assumption
of Power in Zvolen County's Towns as Reflected in
Memorial Culture*

ZOLTÁN BERECZKI - ÉVA LOVRA

*Tears in the Fabric of Cities in the Socialist Successor
States of Austria-Hungary after World War II*

DANA KUŠNÍROVÁ

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Socialist Industrialization and Development of City
Limits in Košice, Slovakia 1945-1989*

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Contents

Alica Kurhajcová

- From Monarchy to Republic: Symbolic Assumption of Power
in Zvolen County's Towns as Reflected in Memorial Culture 4

Zoltán Bereczki - Éva Lovra

- Tears in the Fabric of Cities in the Socialist Successor States
of Austria-Hungary after World War II 42

Dana Kušnírová

- From City to Agglomeration: Socialist Industrialization
and Development of City Limits in Košice, Slovakia 1945-1989 92

Klára Kohoutová

- Approaching the Relationship between Democracy
and Populism: Grass-Roots to Literature 112

Reviews

- Atlas Wyszehradzki – Visegrad Atlas.
Ed. Przemysław Śleszyński, Konrad Czapiewski (Bence Biró) 122

- Stipe Kljaić, Nikada više Jugoslavija. Intelektualci i hrvatsko
nacionalno pitanje, 1929–1945. (György Lukács B.) 128

- Béla Tomka, Austerities and Aspirations: A Comparative History
of Growth, Consumption, and Quality of Life in East Central
Europe Since 1945 (Miklós Mitrovits) 133



Mgr. Alica Kurhajcová, PhD.

Department of History, Faculty of Arts

Matej Bel University in Banská Bystrica (Slovakia)

e-mail: alica.kurhajcova@umb.sk

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Abstract

The main goal of the paper is to detect the creation and enhancement of the new Czechoslovak statehood and the Czechoslovak, let us say, the Slovak national identity after the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. The paper aims at demonstrating and comparing the practice of the symbolic assumption and establishment of power via the example of memorial culture in public spaces in the territory of the most significant towns located in Zvolen county (Banská Bystrica, Brezno and Zvolen). There are also partial aims: namely, to make the reader acquainted with the form and symbolism in three distinct periods: before 1918, subsequently in the first years of integration of Slovakia within Czechoslovakia until 1920 or 1921, and finally in the first decade of the republic's existence. Following the behavioral patterns of communal elites and inhabitants of these towns, facing new reality, it is also possible to take into consideration the social psychological processes such as acceptance, integration, adaptation, resistance, continuity, discontinuity, which were typical for the initial decade of the First Czechoslovak Republic's establishment. Finally, yet importantly, it is plausible to examine their attitude towards history and cultural heritage of their town.

Keywords

realms of memory, memorials, urban space, Zvolen county, the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century

Alica Kurhajcová

From Monarchy to Republic: Symbolic Assumption of Power in Zvolen County's Towns as Reflected in Memorial Culture¹

The end of the 20th century has been significant for Slovak historiography due to the innovative approach of research in the history of towns. However, urban ethnology and anthropology had already applied this approach long before. Since then, the town has not been viewed solely as the place for organizing the greatest political events, but as a dynamic place with its own identity and a unique development.² The new qualities in the area of the 19th and 20th century urban historiography in Slovakia were predominantly brought about by the historians who applied the cultural-historical concept of memory during urban space research alongside questions connected to collective identities' formation.³ This enabled them to specify, in more detail, political breakthroughs and changes on the local level, the take-over and legitimization of a new (or rather old-new) political power, as well as to observe the loyalty of towns' elites and common people in a more differentiated light. Moreover, the changes occurred not only on the real political scene but also on the cultural-symbolical level – generally through the means of re-defining *the realms of memory (media of remembrance)* in the public space. By the words of the French historians dealing

- 1 The article is a partial outcome of the project KEGA no. 009UMB-4/2020: Pamäť mesta v historických obrazových prameňoch [Memory of town in the historical visual sources] at the Department of History, Faculty of Arts, Matej Bel University in Banská Bystrica (Slovakia).
- 2 Bácskai, "Historiografia miest"
- 3 To the research of historical / cultural memory in urban space in Slovakia, see Lipták, "Rok 1918", Csáky and Mannová, *Collective Identities in Central Europe*; Mannová, *Minulosť ako supermarket?*

with the given topic, Mona Ozouf and Pierre Nora, significance was attributed to the transformation of *realms of memory* (*lieux de mémoire*) in their widest sense - in terms of material, symbolical as well as functional meaning -, which happened when the regime was changed.⁴ The cultural program of new governments focused on: renaming the cities, squares and public institutions, destruction of any ancient régime's features and determination of new symbols, installations of appropriate statues, placement of commemorative plaques and "rewriting" the calendar of public holidays and commemorative days. The changes were supposed to be visible and understandable at first sight.

The inhabitants of cities had to cope with this situation after 1918, which was when the Slovak region of Upper Hungary was in the process of separation from the Hungarian state's framework into a newly defined Czechoslovak one. Secular, national-political - monuments, viewed as carriers of symbolic features as well as being symbols themselves, played their part in the symbolic occupation of public space, too. Building – demolition – building: this is the simplest and most general description of the treatment of monuments in Slovakia before 1918 and in the interwar period. It must have been quite complex and specific for each area to deal with the past in the given period and to confront oneself with a new constitutional situation and identity. The monument culture of three significant towns located in the Zvolen county – Banská Bystrica, Zvolen, and Brezno – could represent the examples in which one can explore the transformation from monarchy to republic, the establishment of the Czechoslovak Republic as well as the strengthening of Slovak national identity in the first decade of the new state.

In my paper, I will focus on three phases: approximately the period of dualism that the first years of Slovakia's integration into Czechoslovakia (until 1920 or 1921) follows, and finally, the first decade of the republic's existence. Regarding these towns' inhabitants and communal elites along with their reaction to their new situation, it is possible to examine the social-psychological factors such as acceptance, integration, adaptation, resistance, continuity, discontinuity and so on, which accompanied the period after the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. Finally, it is also plausible to follow their approach to history and cultural heritage of their town.

4 Ozouf, *Revoluční svátky 1789 – 1799*, 146-147. and See also Nora, "Between Memory and History", 18-19.



Brezno in the early 20th century - with churches and a town's tower in the background
(Fortepan / Magyar Földrajzi Múzeum / Diagyűjtemény)

Monument as a Realm of Memory

Secular monuments were built from the 19th century onwards. It was a period when the statues of monarchs and saints disappeared, and the statues of national heroes came to prominence with the gradual transfer from estate-dynastic values to national-civic ones. On the one hand, their significance and number increased in proportion to the modernization of towns, secularization, and urbanization of society. On the other hand, rising nationalism and a boom of historicism came to the fore at the same time. Other factors contributed to the expansion of national-politically oriented monuments such as the advance of mass politics, print and propaganda as well as the increase of people in education. These political-social changes and national-emancipation processes called for a “new” kind of monument, which was

supposed to perform several functions such as orientation in culture and history, immortalisation as the preservation of historical traditions, and the building of the cult of personality, representation (promoting national and state ideology), legitimization (confirming the then political regime and power occupation of public space), identity-formation, and in some cases, aestheticization and urbanization.⁵

The aspect I intend to deal with in this article moves the meaning of the monument further, from an aesthetic and solely artistic nature towards a rather visible nature in the realm of memory – as a means of formation and cultivation of historical memory and national identity of the given community predominantly since the second half of the 19th century. National monuments helped create alternative history, a second life significant national figures, as well as fostered national traditions and often simplified pictures of the past: modern myths. Thus, it contributed to the formation of national identity of those who were able to decode the messages conveyed in them, take to heart their content - usually as participants of festivities, and self-identify with them. In the case of competing national movements, their realization changed into a political act and their ritualization became an instrument of control and political struggle.⁶ These tendencies may have been detected in the territory of the Habsburg monarchy as well as in the Kingdom of Hungary, including Upper Hungarian towns, more intensively since the second half of the 19th century. The more the national collective disposed of the relatively stable political, economic, and/or cultural-institutional background, the more favourable their starting position became. Then, the political elites of the successful national movements were the ones who decided whether the civic initiative of building monuments was to be supported (thus become *media of remembering*) or else limited or destroyed from the outset (and thus creating *media of forgetting*).

The situation on the Hungarian political scene since the first half of 19th century indicated that the politically as well as culturally more influential Hungarian patriotic circles had considerably more influence in deciding monument policy than the slowly developing Slovak national emancipation movement. However, it was not

5 Hojda and Pokorný, *Pomníky a zápomníky* 16. Pótó, *Az emlékeztetés helyei*, 22. Kessler, *Paměť v kameni*, 35-37.

6 Kurhajcová, "Dominancia a marginalizácia", 766.

until the Austro-Hungarian compromise that the power arena fully opened to them. The accentuation of political hegemony of Hungarian (i.e., Magyar)⁷ political representation within the borders of Hungary and their effort to present a multinational state as homogeneously *Magyar* were reflected to a great extent in the symbolism of public space – including monument culture until 1918. Squares, streets, parks, and public buildings were lined mostly with materialized heroes, significant people, and symbols of memorable events from Hungarian-Magyar history (Kuruc insurgents, revolutionaries, writers, and statesmen), royal couples (though less frequently found), and sometimes local figures and traditions were also present. Based on this research, it is possible to assume that monuments installed in the Upper Hungarian counties in the dualist era reflected on the prevalent historical memory of the Magyar nation, concurrently being the indicators of the Slovak nation's memory marginalization, as well as of the historical memory marginalization of German speakers at the beginning of the 20th century. Monument culture in the Kingdom of Hungary – in the same way as the later festive one – demonstrated a double historical narrative: predynastic, loyal towards the ruling Habsburg dynasty (*the Labanc tradition*) and, to a greater extent, a revolutionary one, directed against a foreign dynasty (*the Kuruc tradition*).⁸ While the monuments of monarch, his family members and Hungarian statesmen, as symbols of the Compromise between the throne and Hungary, represented the official memory of the governing liberal elite, the monuments of anti-Habsburg rebels mirrored the memory as asserted by the politically influential Hungarian parliamentary opposition, especially the Independence Party.⁹

The national monument of Slovaks as a *realm of memory* did not find a respective place in the period of dualism in Hungary. It was only minimally present in the public space. Due to the unfavourable Hungarian policy towards non-Magyars and subsequent administrative limitations or financial problems, a tombstone became nearly the one and only symbol in sculptural art used to “form” the Slovak

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- 7 In order to point out the complexity of the Slovak-Hungarian issue before 1918, I will distinguish between the terms: “Hungarian” (state-political significance; in Slovak “uhorský”) and “Magyar” (ethnic-cultural significance; in Slovak “maďarský”).
- 8 Sinkó, “Zur Entstehung der staatlichen”, 251-271.
- 9 Lipták, “Monuments of Political Changes”, 72-75.

national pantheon. Only four inconspicuous individuals – Slovak poets and priests – were given the honour of having their commemorative plaques installed at their birth houses¹⁰ or in the church's interior,¹¹ outside of the cemetery. These sculptural artefacts were supplemented by sporadic busts of Slovak nationalists (*národovci*). However, they were hidden from the eyes of the wider public most of the time. Despite this unfavourable situation, the discourse that pertained to monuments and monument-building was paradoxically quite frequent in the Slovak environment in the period of dualism. The term “monument” as understood in the spirit of Horatio's verse – *I have made a monument more lasting than bronze* – was commonly used in biographies, jubilee articles, or obituaries for designation of significant literary works and deeds of merit in the area of Slovak language cultivation and national awareness enhancement.¹²

The events in autumn 1918 led to a turning point signaling a gradual change. As a consequence of the revolution of 1918 and the Hungarian Kingdom's disintegration, the pillars of the official historical memory were affected in four ways, as noted by Ľubomír Lipták: new monuments were created, most of the then existing monuments were destroyed or removed from public places, some were accepted or partially modified and kept, and another part was “dehungarianized” and incorporated into new Czechoslovak structures.¹³ The destruction of monuments was the most dramatic way of parting with the past insofar as it resembled the ancient régime and its unpopular protagonists. The first two waves in 1918-1919 affected mostly Kuruc heroes and revolutionary leaders, for instance, statues of Lajos Kossuth in southern Slovakia, the third wave in 1921 hit the “Habsburgs” in the time when the former King Charles IV attempted to take over the government in Hungary and even up-till-then overlooked millennium pillars in Devín and Zobor did not stay intact. Czech areas, such as Prague or towns with German inhabitants situated in border regions,

10 Namely: memorial plaque to the Catholic priest and poet Ján Hollý (Búrsky/Borský Svätý Mikuláš, 1885), the poet Ján Botto (Vyšný Skálnik, 1887) and to the Protestant priest Michal Miloslav Hodža (Rakša, 1911).

11 Namely: memorial plaque to the linguist and Catholic priest Anton Bernolák (Slanica, 1913).

12 Kurhajcová, “Dominancia a marginalizácia”, 774-784.

13 Lipták, “The Urban Middle Class”, 26.

met similar fate. The monuments representing symbols of a “three-hundred-year-en-
slavement” of the Czech nation and Germanization, such as statues of Habsburg rul-
ers, Marian Baroque Columns and statues of saints, seen as symbols of unsuccessful
battles at White Mountain followed by the oppression as well as hegemony of the
Habsburg dynasty and Catholic Church, were, however, removed.¹⁴



Banská Bystrica in 1906 – part of the main “King Béla IV” square with the Marian
Column. Today it is called The Slovak National Uprising Square
(Fortepan / Magyar Földrajzi Múzeum / Erdélyi Mór cége)

In Slovak territory, this was how new space was opened for the monuments of
19th century Slovak national heroes, liberators, founders of the republic, especial-
ly for the statues and busts of Milan Rastislav Štefánik, and other personalities of
Slovak culture. The monuments were also built to all those who died in the WWI,
which was a new element. As regards the rituals performed in the vicinity of the
monuments, however, there was no significant difference between the inter-war era

14 Lipták, “Monuments of Political Changes”, 76-80.

and the past; only the content of rhetoric and the symbols changed. The symbols of the Hungarian struggle for freedom were replaced by the Slovak ones – the symbols of Kossuth's and Petőfi's sympathizers were overridden by symbols of Hurban's followers and legionaries. The Magyarization project in the dominantly non-Magyar public space was replaced in Czechoslovakia by the similar (Czecho-)Slovakization project in the areas of southern Slovakia, which was inhabited mainly by the Magyar minority. However, the consistent "eradication" of the past of this ethnic minority "unsuitable" for the Czechoslovak state power, as shown by the example of the interwar town Komárno, was realized only after the WWII.¹⁵

In the following sections I will focus on how the public spaces of towns located in Zvolen county communicated outwards when referring to monuments culture.

Labanc or Kuruc Tradition prior to 1918?

The intensity with which the first secular monuments were built closely reflected the extent to which the towns of the Zvolen county were influenced by modernization, nationalization, or elements of historicism derived from their citizens' interest in local history and famous natives. Banská Bystrica, Zvolen and Brezno belonged to the group of small or medium Upper Hungarian towns in terms of the number of people, categorized as towns with settled council (*rendezett tanácsú város*). The seat of the Zvolen county (Zólyom vármegye), Banská Bystrica (in Hungarian Besztercebánya, in German Neusohl), was a modern administrative, economic and cultural-educational centre with more than 10,000 inhabitants at the end of dualism.¹⁶ Although administration, industry and trade were located in Zvolen (in Hungarian Zólyom, in German Altsohl) too, Zvolen was mostly known to the local people (in 1910 the number of population reached the number of 8,799) as a strategic transport railway junction. Brezno (in Hungarian Breznóbánya, in German Bries/Briesen), by its approximately 4,000 inhabitants, retained its agrarian and small-business-

15 Mannová, *Minulosť ako supermarket?*, 317.

16 Since 2020, the history and public space of Banská Bystrica in 19th and 20th centuries has been presented by the memory portal *PamMap – Memory of the City Banská Bystrica* (via digitization of historical sources, primarily image materials – postcards and photos): <https://www.pammap.sk/banskabystrica>

like character for quite a long time.¹⁷ Modernization influenced the abovementioned towns in the order presented with a different scope of intensity at the end of 19th and the beginning of the 20th century. In some places it overlapped the inter-war era. It was demonstrated by new functional buildings and areas, which were possibly thanks to the early intervention aimed at the removal of urban fortifications and gates, the rebuilding of old burgher's houses, the laying of railway and engineering networks as well as to the industry development.

Modernization supported by Hungarian ministries, fostered also the nationalization (Magyarization) of the public space. Simply put – the originally Slovak-German town of Banská Bystrica and the Slovak towns of Zvolen and Brezno transformed gradually into Hungarian-Slovak (i.e., Magyar-Slovak) towns superficially. Besides, it was not only for the medium of public institutions (schools, authorities, church) and communication in Hungarian that the implementation of the Hungarian state idea as an official ideology of the Hungarian political representation could have been realized, but also Magyar national symbols. At the same time, this was the way of suppressing and limiting all non-Magyars here, especially Slovak national manifestations.

The county's seat was under scrutiny by government organs from the very beginning due to the mentioned tendencies manifested in 1870s and more vehemently in 1880s.¹⁸ In Zvolen, the Magyarized groups supported by the town's municipality were spurred to action at the turn of the 19th and 20th century. Their action might be described as a reaction against the activities of a few Slovak lawyers and journalists in the Slovak Folk's Bank [Ľudová banka] and editorial office of the Slovak newspapers called *Zvolenské noviny*.¹⁹ Among the three towns, Brezno was the only one which succeeded in maintaining its Slovak national character and local traditions. Actually, the number of people who expressed their appurtenance to the Slovak language in 1910 census was still stable (73.7% in comparison to 24.2% of the Hungarian-speaking inhabitants), even in comparison to the previous towns (with only 40.7% of Slovaks in both cases in comparison to 48.8% of the Hungarian-speaking inhabitants in Banská Bystrica and up to 56.5% in Zvolen).²⁰

17 Čéplö et al. *Výbrané populačné štruktúry*, 382, 387, 415.

18 Kurhajcová, "Príklad dominancie či marginalizácie", 113-122.

19 Valach, "Prenasledovanie kultúrneho", 88-96.

20 Čéplö et al. *Výbrané populačné štruktúry*, 1754, 1759, 1785, 1915, 1918, 1934.



Commemorative Plaque dedicated to Károly Böhm in Banská Bystrica, 1913
(A budapesti ág. hitv. evang. főgimnázium értesítője az 1913/1914-iki iskolai évről)

The end of the 19th century saw a gradual change in how public places were used not only as religious and marketplaces but more and more as places for organizing different mass events and festive processions. In this way, they were changed into realms representing political attitudes and ideas of a forming civil society. Their visualization was also to be supported by monuments as in other towns in the Kingdom of Hungary where, for example, the statues of the *Honvéds* or of the famous personalities such as Kossuth and Petőfi played a highly important role in reminding the people of ideals of freedom and the struggle of nation for Hungarian independence during the 15th March celebrations. The dominant feature of the main square in Brezno, as well as in Banská Bystrica was still a sacred object – the Baroque Marian Column. Although in the historic centre of B. Bystrica it was a common tendency of the county's or town's elite to lead by example and follow the footsteps of Hungarian patriotism, in the period of dualism, the financially non-demanding commemorative plaques, in comparison to statues, were elaborated, and during the Great War, only one bust was publicly erected. In 1896, the local Millennium Committee together with their chairman Emil Jurkovich, a local historian, and a pedagogue, were the first

to suggest marking significant historic buildings in the town in this way. It was this occasion which triggered the idea of erecting a statue to Béla IV, the King of Hungary, “the second great founder of the country who awarded Banská Bystrica with the title of the royal free town”²¹. But no specific steps were taken in order to realize it. The idea came true more than a century later – on June 25th 2021, when a bronze statue of King Béla IV was unveiled in Banská Bystrica.

The Jewish religious community in the county’s seat was one of the first to become involved in this area: in 1903, during the celebration of the 25th anniversary of the Jewish folk school establishment, there was a commemorative plaque with the text installed in the hall, emphasizing the role of the local Jewish community and their school in developing the patriotic and religious sentiment of pupils. The accompanying ceremony of introducing the plaque into public life was a manifestation of doubled identity – confessional (Jewish) identity alongside state-cultural one (Hungarian-Magyar).²² The Jewish inhabitants’ self-identification with the Hungarian (Magyar) nation became more evident before, just like during the celebration of the Hungarian millennium.²³ Before the war, in September 1913, the long-term mayor of Banská Bystrica Július Česník (Gyula Csesznák) assumed ownership of a commemorative plaque in the memory of Karol Böhm (1846 – 1911), who was a well-known native university professor of philosophy in Kolozsvár (Cluj) and a member of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. This act was performed duly by the local Madách Society. The symbols on the commemorative plaque, attached on his birth house, reflected Böhm’s professional life: except for an inscription in Hungarian and the relief of his effigy, it was decorated by philosophical quotes and features of the Kolozsvár University, too.²⁴ The ceremony of unveiling a plaque symbolized not only national patriotism and local patriotism, but also demonstrated Hungarian science, education, and culture, which were attended by scientists from various Hungarian towns.²⁵

21 Ének a városról. (1896, April 12). *Besztercebánya és vidéke*, 9(15), 1.

22 Az izr. elemi iskola jubileuma. (1903, July). *Besztercebánya és vidéke* 16, 1-2.

23 Kurhajcová, *Nyilvános ünnepségek*, 276-277.

24 See picture of the commemorative plaque dedicated to Károly Böhm in: (1914). *A budapesti ág. hitv. evang. főgimnázium értesítője az 1913/1914-iki iskolai évről*. Budapest: Franklin-Társulat könyvnyomdája.

25 Böhm Károly ünnepe. (1913, October 2.). *Besztercebánya és vidéke* 26(40), 1-2.



Gathering for the unveiling ceremony of Rákóczi's bust in Zvolen, 1907
(Vasárnapi Ujság, 9 June 1907)

Another bust that carried an apolitical message was that of Joseph Dekret, a Chamber forester and pioneer in forestry, a native from Dobroč who settled permanently down in the town in 1814 until his death in 1841. The bust was created by sculpturer Ferenc Sidló in 1915 and it was placed in the building of the Royal Hungarian Directorate of Forestry.²⁶

Meanwhile the monuments in Banská Bystrica reflected local traditions and characters unburdened by the past, whereas public space in Zvolen in the period of coalition government were “occupied” by the Kuruc tradition. There was a wave of enthusiasm that swept the town’s representatives in Zvolen due to the return of the bodily remains of the leaders of the uprisings against the Habsburgs, which were delivered from the Ottoman Empire to Hungary in 1906 (as approved by the monarch), having agreed with the decisions of the Hungarian Association of Train Drivers in Budapest (*Mozdonyvezetők Országos Szövetsége*) to build the statue of Francis II. Rákóczi in the town. It would have been highly inappropriate to reject such a unique offer, the first of its kind, which was both a symbol of prestige and patriotism for Zvolen. The ceremony of unveiling the bronze bust of Rákóczi was held on 2nd June

26 Burkovský and Furdíková, *Život zasvätený lesu*, 60-61, 93-94.

1907 in the public park situated on the main square accompanied by Kuruc symbols and a great participation of the states', counties' and towns' representatives, various associations, and local schools. Rákóczi's heroic fight for freedom of the Hungarian nation, as well as his self-sacrifice and unselfish love for his homeland were repeatedly emphasized in numerous speeches.²⁷ Local memory of the last estate anti-Habsburg uprising was suppressed (except for the sporadic historical works)²⁸ – as it was inappropriate to recall the hard times which struck the inhabitants of Zvolen after their town was occupied by the Kuruc army from November 1703 and the burning of Zvolen after their retreat in 1708.²⁹ The official memory of Rákóczi was interlinked with the ideals of heroism, the struggle for the nation's freedom and patriotism. In general, Francis II. Rákóczi as a historical figure, was not viewed as problematic in Slovak culture. However, the Slovak national emancipation movement considered it a problem when the anti-Habsburg pre-national events (Rákóczi's uprising was one of them) were interpreted from national point of view – as the ideological part of the Magyar national narrative.

The same Zvolen elite, that initiated the Rákóczi statue, however, were also interested in loyalty towards the Habsburg dynasty since they planned to install the monument for Elisabeth of Bavaria, Queen of Hungary, at the opposite end of the same promenade.³⁰ Ultimately, however, this installment was not realized.

Even though there is a scarcity of information about the building of memorials in Brezno before 1918, I can be certain that the town park in the main square contained a pyramid-shaped stone memorial, on top of which was a mythical bird of prey *turul*,³¹ a Magyar national symbol (dating to the end of the 19th century).³² Based on this symbolism, one can deduce that it belonged to one of the numerous

27 For more details, see: II. Rákóczi Ferencz első szobra áll. (1907, July 1.). *Mozdonyvezetők lapja* 3(7), 225-239.

28 For instance Bánik, "Slobodné a kráľovské", 165.

29 Nagy, "Matej Bel o udalostiach", 135-137.

30 Štátny archív v Banskej Bystrici, pracovisko Archív Zvolen [State Archive in Banská Bystrica, subsidiary in Zvolen], fond Mesto Zvolen/adm., 1906: Jegyzőkönyv az 1906. évi december hó 28-án Zólyomban megejtett helyszíni szemléről (no. 3659/906)

31 See picture in: Horehronské múzeum v Brezne [Horehronie Museum in Brezno], fond Zbierka dokumentov [Collection of documents], no. F2127.

32 Fillová, "Urbanizmus architektúra", 235-239.



The first Rákóczi bust in Hungary
(Vasárnapi Ujság, 9 June 1907)

projects established in Hungary on the Millennium celebrations.³³ It referenced the pagan past of the seven Magyar tribes who were led by this mythical bird to their new homeland. A part of this monument was a memorial tablet commemorating Elisabeth of Bavaria,³⁴ probably as a tribute to the queen after her tragic assassination in September 1898. Bearing the previous evidence in mind, the interpretation of the memorial's message encourages us to explore the monument in a completely different light: is it possible to speak about the combination of symbols of two opposing concepts – pagan-Kuruc on the one hand and Christian-Labanc on the other, which was not totally unusual during the millennium celebrations? Or was it about recoding the symbolism of the original “millennial” memorial to a “dynastic” one after the death of the queen? The intention of its creators and initiators is not known, but both possibilities could be considered since it was not an entirely unique phenomenon. In the two villages located in Veszprém county, two monuments were installed: the first so called combined obelisk, unveiled in August 1899 – “*to the memory of the Hungarian millennium and as a tribute to the tragically deceased Elisabeth the queen*” (Bakony-Magyar-Szombathely), and the second, so called recoded obelisk, which, despite being built during the Millennium, was later changed to the memorial of Elisabeth as part of the folk tradition (Lepsény).³⁵ Except for this, the concentration of symbolic features in one memorial could serve a practical purpose – providing individuals with the possibility to interpret what was close to their heart: for some it was the millennial homeland, for others it was the memory of the queen. The after-war news revealed the fact that there was also a Rákóczi bust in Brezno³⁶, although the sources dated to the period before 1918 do not mention so.

It cannot be omitted that the Upper Hungarian towns were connected with the

33 Varga, *The Monumental Nation*

34 Horehronské múzeum v Brezne [Horehronie Museum in Brezno], fond Zbierka dokumentov [Collection of documents], Erzsébet királyné emlék setatér, 1904 (photograph from the privat archive of Ladislav Baitrok in Budapest).

35 Vér, *Erzsébet királyné*. See appendix – Table no. 10: Erzsébet emlékművek, 1898 – 1914.

36 Orosová, “Problémové pomníky”, 146.

lives of many significant Slovak personalities such as the following: a writer and theologian Karol Kuzmány, born in Brezno and working in Banská Bystrica as an Protestant pastor; Gustáv Kazimír Zechenter-Laskomerský – a mining doctor and writer who worked in Brezno; Ján Chalupka – an Protestant priest and dramatist from Brezno; Adolf Peter Zátarecký – a pedagogue and a collector of folk literature from Brezno; Ján Botto – a romantic writer in Banská Bystrica, or Juraj Bánik – a lawyer and a notary from Zvolen. Before 1918, even in these towns, conditions were far from favourable for the erection of their statues in the squares or the attachment of their commemorative plaques to the building facades they worked in. The immortalization of well-known individuals was scarcely helped by the fact that local Slovak families³⁷ were present: the last four of the abovementioned personalities, who lived in the mentioned towns until their death, were awarded with a tombstone at most.

The monument building project, which failed to be realized, tells us a great deal about the attitudes of the county's or town's elites towards the official state ideology and the extent to which they could decide independently. Actually, they pose a number of questions: was it because of hesitation, disunited attitude(s), lack of financial resources, or it was due to a deliberate choice as to whom a monument should or should not be built? There were many of such cases in Banská Bystrica but the question of money did not pose a significant problem in any of them. One case which can exemplify the previous piece of information occurred in 1891. This was the year when the county board had the opportunity to honour a native of Banská Bystrica, Béla Grünwald (after receiving a message about his tragic death), a former county vice-administrator and a member of the Hungarian Parliament.³⁸ However, his personality was viewed contradictorily in that period: pro-governmental elites drew attention to his unselfish patriotism, his reformational activities, writings skills, as well as his fight against the threat of Pan-Slavism,³⁹ whereas his opponents, mainly from Slovak ranks, condemned his propaganda and zealous policy of Magyarization. The locals must have been aware of his private life interwoven with love affairs.⁴⁰

37 Schuster, "Poznámky k histórii Brezna", 55.

38 † Grünwald Béla. (1891, May 17.) *Besztercebánya és vidéke* 4 (20), 1.

39 É. (1892, December 11.). Grünwald emléke. *Besztercebánya és vidéke* 5 (50), 1.

40 Kodajová, "Negatívny hrdina v pamäti", 43-55. Demmel, "Spisovateľ politikom", 17-43.

The building of a statue in honour of Grünwald was postponed despite the intention being announced in the first half of the 1890s: ultimately, instead of the previous idea of a commemorative plaque, the county's representatives ordered a portrait of him to be made for the county hall and it was eventually unveiled in 1894.⁴¹ This type of prolonged decision-making, as was indicated in the local press, could be traced back to the town deputies having incongruent feelings and prejudices towards or against Grünwald.⁴²

In 1902, the committee under the presidency of the county's vice-administrator Mátyás Répasi, repeated the plan to build a statue in Grünwald's honor,⁴³ however, local Slovak contributors of *Národný hlásnik* from nearby Radvan and Zvolen strongly opposed this,⁴⁴ partly because of Grünwald's involvement in shutting down the Slovak cultural association – *Matica slovenská* – and Slovak secondary grammar schools:

“The gentlemen [those in power, who supported the state ideology – noted by A. K.] [...] are now searching for their merits in mocking not only our Slovak-national expression(s) but also our Christian-religious feelings. It is a great and praiseworthy activity to build monuments and statues to those who deserve such [...]; but to build them from the begged coins for those who committed suicide [Grünwald took his life on the bank of the river Seine in Paris – noted by A. K.]: is a shame for all those who build them as well as for those who merely observe [...] this comedy.”⁴⁵

Although the public financial collection for this memorial continued, it lost its significance after the collapse of the monarchy. I do not yet know the answer to the question why the building of Grünwald's memorial was deferred to such an extent. Firstly, it could have been due to the controversy of his personality or to the “pressure” from the public, reluctant to build “*a monument to a self-murderer*” or with

41 Vármegeyi közgyűlés. 1894. május 9. (1894, May 13.). *Besztercebánya és vidéke* 7(19), 1; Répasi, M. (1894, June 24.). Alkalmi beszéd. Grünwald Béla arcképének leleplezésénél. *Besztercebánya és vidéke* 7(25), 1-2.

42 Városi közgyűlés. (1892, November 20.). *Besztercebánya és vidéke* 5(47), 3; É. (1892, December 4.). Grünwald emléke. *Besztercebánya és vidéke* 5(49), 1; É. (1892, December 11.). Grünwald emléke. *Besztercebánya és vidéke* 5 (50), 1.

43 Szobrot Grünwald Bélának! (1902, December 21.). *Besztercebánya és vidéke* 15(51), 2.

44 Radvaň, 13. júna. (1903, June 20.). *Národný hlásnik* 36 (12), 185.

45 Zvolen, 20. septembra (Grünwaldov pomník). (1902, September 27.). *Národné Noviny* 33(113), 3.

his controversial reputation, which could shed a bad light on the town and its inhabitants. When looking back to Grünwald's anti-Slovak activities, there is an irony - if it is plausible to trust the post-war press - that the collected sum aimed at building his statue was to be divided between two national associations in 1919, namely – *Muzeálna slovenská spoločnosť* [the Slovak Museum Society] and the renewed Slovak Cultural Institution *Matica slovenská*.⁴⁶ Were there an effort to unveil a statue to a native, it probably did matter to which personality this honour would be awarded.



Unusual monument in Brezno before 1918 – with the Turul and the memorial tablet commemorating Elisabeth of Bavaria (Horehronské múzeum v Brezne [Horehronie Museum in Brezno], fond Zbierka dokumentov [Collection of documents], no. F2127)

Even Gabriel Bethlen, the Prince of Transylvania, was not given a tribute in the form of his own statue which would have been erected in the county's seat. Originally, there was a plan to unveil it on the 300th centenary of Bethlen being elected as

⁴⁶ Zasedanie župného výboru. (1919, September 3.). *Hronské noviny* 1(20), 1.

the Hungarian King at the Diet in Banská Bystrica, as the town's authority informed about it at the end of January 1918,⁴⁷ but the situation after the war changed dramatically. The year 1920 brought new challenges for the newly-born republic.

Coping with the Past in the First Years after the Collapse of Monarchy

Integration of the Slovak territory into the Czechoslovak Republic since its declaration on 28th October by the National Committee in Prague and subsequently in Turčiansky Sv. Martin on 30th October 1918 by the Slovak National Council - until the official signing of the Trianon peace treaty was not without problems. It was not only political and military struggle for public space but also it was a symbolic one.⁴⁸ The situation during the winter months of 1918 was quite disturbing in the towns of Zvolen county.

There were the towns such as Banská Bystrica and Brezno, which created Hungarian national committees, following the call made by the Károlyi's government in Budapest, which happened exactly on 1st November in Banská Bystrica and in Brezno, although the members in Brezno distanced themselves from the official name and accepted only the designation as "town council" - *mestská rada*.⁴⁹ In Banská Bystrica, by the end of November, there were still members of the municipal self-governing bodies remaining with the Budapest centre. They expressed their approval of the integrity of Hungary and the republic as its state establishment and opposed the integration of the county's seat into a new state framework.⁵⁰ In Zvolen, on the contrary, the active Slovaks centred around the Folk's Bank reacted to the statements made by the Slovak National Council in Turčiansky Sv. Martin, whose local district, and county committees were supposed to ensure a smooth separation of Slovakia from Hungary.

47 Štátny archív v Banskej Bystrici [State archive in Banská Bystrica], fond Magistrát mesta Banská Bystrica [Municipal government of the town Banská Bystrica] (1020) 1255 – 1922, box 421, no. 916: Besztercebánya sz. kir. város képviselőtestületének, 1918. évi január hó 29-én tartott rendkívüli közgyűléséről felvett jegyzőkönyv kivonata (Bethlen Gábor szobor ügyében), XIV-387/1909.

48 Krajčovičová, "Začleňovanie Slovenska", 57-93. Kazansky, "Integrácia stredného", 7-40.

49 Alberty, "Brezno v 20. storočí", 58.

50 Kurhajcová, "Od monarchie k republike", 38-39.

They were the first to declare the creation of the Slovak National Council' Committee on 31st October in the premises of the Bank of Zvolen⁵¹, later in Brezno (from the originally "Hungarian" National Committee – "town council")⁵² and on 30th November in Banská Bystrica. Here that the two committees of the National Council functioned in a parallel way – Slovak and Hungarian. This power constellation was mirrored in the towns' spirit as well as in symbols at their public places.

By the end of 1918, the Slovak national flag was occasionally seen waving on houses and public buildings. Furthermore, in Brezno, one could sometimes hear the public singing of hymns which became a common feature of people's lives. However, the pro-Hungarian elite in Banská Bystrica promoted the new and fair Hungary – "without king and policy of the posh gentlemen and their tricks" through the medium of leaflets and papers – all until the arrival of the Czechoslovak military on 22nd December 1918, while the representatives of the Slovak workers called for the independence of Slovakia. The orders from Paris for the Hungarian military garrison to retreat from the towns and the news about the Czechoslovak army approaching to Banská Bystrica did not let the county's as well as the town's elite indifferent, which resulted the change of their behaviour to non-conflicting acceptance of reality and to a certain extent adaptation to new conditions. This elite did not resist which could have originated from the powerlessness and impossibility to oppose the stronger – winning powers (the Allies), avoiding thoughtless acts and counting on fair decisions, which were to be reached after the peace negotiations. Nevertheless, the continuity with the old regime was not completely broken: a new personality appeared in the Zvolen county's leadership in January 1919 – a Slovak lawyer from Zvolen, Vladimír Fajnor, alongside the old-new faces in the newly created Czechoslovak state service. The state service position was conditioned by taking a vow of fidelity to a new republic. In Banská Bystrica, for instance, this was done by more than two thirds of the former members of the town-council (the members of the newly-appointed municipality) – from spring 1919.⁵³ Július Česník in charge of Banská Bystrica with no interruption since 1893 and since 1910 Otto Rosenauer in charge of

51 Mičko, "Zvolen medzi dvoma svetovými vojnami", 168.

52 Alberty, "Brezno v 20. storočí", 58.

53 Kurhajcová, "Od monarchie k republike", 39-43.

Zvolen continued in the function of mayors until 1922.⁵⁴ Dušan Lichard became the newly appointed mayor of Brezno.

The continuity was more visibly broken due to the Czech and Slovak soldiers, legionaries and passionate groups in the Slovak population impacting the culture of secular monuments as symbols of the ancient régime. Banská Bystrica, however, did not have to deal with post-revolutionary waves of monument destruction (except one case) in the first few years. The smooth cooperation of urban officials during the occupation by the Czechoslovak army may have contributed to the fact that the monuments here were not destroyed. Even at the turn of spring and summer 1919, when fighting for the Slovak territory continued, the military encounters between the divisions of the Hungarian Red Army and the Czechoslovak army only partially influenced the town.⁵⁵ It is also important to point out to the fact that more monuments in the town were planned than built, so there was in fact very little to destroy. The bust of Joseph Dekret survived the uncertain times in its original place. The memorial tablets from Hungarian times (whose fate is unknown for now), besides the fact that they were not located in easily visible places, did not evoke any revanchist feelings. Purportedly, it was “the ceramic coat of arms on the Art Nouveau building of the Forest Directorate which attracted legionaries who knocked it down”.⁵⁶

Brezno and Zvolen were acutely confronted with the demolition of monuments. Military transport ran through Brezno during the conflicts of 1919, and the people from more stricken southern counties took refuge there. Zvolen was occupied by the Hungarian Bolshevik Army from 7th to 13th June 1919.⁵⁷ It is very probable that the reaction to these events materialized in the form of removing “problematic” pro-Hungarian oriented monuments in both towns: the unknown perpetrators in Brezno knocked down the mythical bird *turul* from Queen Elisabeth’s monument⁵⁸ and allegedly also destroyed the bust of Francis II. Rákóczi; they knocked him off his pedestal in Zvolen, too.⁵⁹ Since these iconoclastic activities were of mass character, the local authorities could not prevent them although they stressed the importance of

54 Szeghy-Gayer, “Mešťanostovia na rózcestí”, 334-360.

55 Kazansky, “Integrácia stredného”, 33-35.

56 Olay, “A magyar emlékművek”, 360.

57 Alberty, “Brezno v 20. storočí”, 60. Mičko, “Zvolen medzi dvoma”, 168-169.

58 Babják, “Osudy pomníkov”, 39.

59 Olay, “A magyar emlékművek”, 359.



Postcard from Brezno from the 1930s – The monument of General Štefánik standing in front of the building that was the Town Hall at the time.. Today it is the seat of the Horehronie Museum (Horehronské múzeum v Brezne, fond Zbierka dokumentov, no. F2355)

protection of artistic or historically valuable monuments. The monuments' boards in Slovakia called for their protection until the peace treaty with Hungary was signed, but as it was evaluated by Martina Orosová, the monument protection in post-war period was quite unfavourable. The Ministry of Education and National Enlightenment of the Czechoslovak Republic condemned these acts as barbaric. The Hungarian government, however, saw mostly the Czech elements behind those actions, which created a starting point for the campaign against the Czechoslovak Republic. Therefore, they demanded compensation for all destroyed or damaged monuments based on the Trianon Peace Treaty on the exchange (among other things) of artistic and historical collections. When the State Department for Monuments Preservation in Slovakia (*Štátny referát na ochranu pamiatok na Slovensku*) examined the state of monuments and memorials in Slovakia in 1922, the busts of Rákóczi in Zvolen and Brezno had already been removed from the square: while the town of Brezno reported on not possessing it⁶⁰, the Zvolen bust was deposited to the Municipal Museum, after all the trouble, it finally ended up in front of the Manor House in Rákóczi's native village of Borša.⁶¹

Ultimately, the State Department (*Štátny referát*) refused the Hungarian government's demands for compensation for removed monuments since these monuments (such as the bust in Zvolen) had in fact been built by using the funds of local associations, town's, or county's citizens. The approach to dynastic monuments, and often to non-dynastic monuments, became more restrictive following the 1923 *law on the Protection of the Republic*, which aimed at removing the last remnants of any monument reflecting pro-Hungarian or pro-dynasty sentiment.⁶² The situation in Zvolen county towns had already stabilised, and it was more common to see the first efforts to prove loyalty and allegiance to the Czechoslovak state power.

60 Orosová, "Problémové pomníky", 145-148, 152.

61 Balassa, "Egy Rákóczi-szobor", 9-11.

62 Orosová, „Problémové pomníky”, 148.



Park in the main square of Zvolen with the Rákóczi bust, 1907
(Fortepan / Magyar Földrajzi Múzeum / Erdélyi Mór cége)

For Whom Were the Memorials Built in the First Decade of the Czechoslovak Republic?

After “decluttering” the squares and streets from the signs of memory of Magyar supremacy, the old-new elites were confronted with the task of filling the urban space with acceptable memorials. The new realms of memory were expected to declare the Czechoslovak statehood and identity, principles of democracy and freedom alongside an anti-Hungarian and anti-monarchist stance. The official state ideology, visions of influential political parties and their representatives often shaped the process of remembering the nation’s past, cultivation of historical memory, and revival of the national traditions. The memory of historical events and personalities in the inter-war Czechoslovakia was politically instrumentalized in terms of the official state idea of Czechoslovakism (i.e., the idea of national unity of the Czechs and Slovaks) on the one hand and the Slovak nationalism (i.e., the idea of the independent Slovak

nation) on the other. Regional conditions such as reorganization of county administration in February 1920, and competition between Banská Bystrica and Zvolen for the accolade of the county seat alongside the lack of finances for realizing greater sculptures, which were postponed till the end of the 1920s-1930s, indirectly influenced the intensity of memorials creation in towns.

When talking about Zvolen, it must be added that the first decade of the Republic can be described as “bleak” as regards the erection of memorials. At most, memorial trees – *the Linden Trees of Freedom* – were planted in honour of the first president, T. G. Masaryk, co-founder of Czechoslovakia, which took the place of Rákóczi’s bust. The case of Zvolen is an example of using trees as metaphorical memorials. The vandals who damaged the “Linden trees of Masaryk” were purportedly taken to court for destroying the “memorial”.⁶³ From January 1923, when Zvolen became the Hron County seat, which was a reorganized extension of Zvolen County named *Pohronská župa*, the city experienced dynamic development and a building bustle. However, the energy and finances invested to support the town were aimed more at the development of cultural life and at the construction of functional infrastructure, such as administration buildings, financial premises, and flats, rather than at building memorials.⁶⁴ On the other side, the Slovakness and loyalty of the town’s elite were barely shaken in comparison to the one in the former county seat, i.e., in Banská Bystrica. After 1918, Banská Bystrica featured in the newspapers and memoirs under the label “Magyar”, “*Mad’arón*” or “Magyar-Jewish one” for quite a long time. In Banská Bystrica “one can hear that even the gypsy plays Hungarian songs and there are Hungarians (Magyars) in their heart and soul, but Banská Bystrica is no longer an island, it adapts to its Slovak village, becomes Slovak and it will be a Slovak one [...]”;⁶⁵ this was how the editor from the local press *Hronské noviny* defended the town in 1922, in the period when only a little more than 8% of inhabitants claimed their Hungarian (i.e. Magyar) nationality.⁶⁶

63 Balassa, *Egy Rákóczi-szobor „utazásai“*, 10.

64 Mičko, “Zvolen medzi dvoma”, 170-173.

65 Aká je Banská Bystrica? (1922, October 1.). *Hronské noviny* 4(40), 1.

66 Čéplö et al. *Výbrané populačné štruktúry*, 1915.

The memories of the former roles of the town's elite in strengthening the Hungarian patriotism which nourished the picture of the "Magyarized" Banská Bystrica in the first years of the new republic were supposed to be eliminated by eternalizing memory of M. R. Štefánik – a military general, scientist, diplomat, an organizer of the Czecho-Slovak army (legions) during the war, a minister of war for Czecho-slovakia, and a significant agent in the establishment of the new state. Right after his tragic death on 4th May 1919, many began to consider him as the greatest hero ever and a symbol of the Czechoslovak statehood.⁶⁷ The privilege of being the first among others to hold the memorial of Štefánik was significant not only in terms of both legitimizing the existing state and promoting the official regime, but also it was important for the Slovakization of public space and the subsequent improvement of the town's image. The motif of prestige might have been strong in Banská Bystrica during that period, especially when the town strived for maintaining the county seat position. Financial problems ultimately confronted the apparently-auspicious initiative to build a memorial for Štefánik – an initiative which sprouted in the ranks of the town's military garrison officials. The town's committee did not show any willingness to provide the land for building the memorial either. Finally, the above lifesize statue of Štefánik, created by Miroslav Fríco Motoška, the native of Banská Bystrica, was bought by the Slovak League of America for the public space in Cleveland. Purportedly, it was also the people of Zvolen who were playing with the idea of installing the memorial of Štefánik in their town, yet it was first realized in Brezno.⁶⁸

In the first years after the revolution 1918, Brezno was presented as "Slovak". The Slovak character of the town was either connected to the most significant Slovak families or with the readiness of Brezno "to accept the *Matica slovenská* into her lap" at the beginning of 1860s (this did not happen since it was Turčiansky Sv. Martin which became the seat of *Matica*).⁶⁹ Besides this fact, in 1921, 94.7% of the inhabitants of Brezno stated their Czecho-Slovak nationality in a census.⁷⁰ Brezno's

67 Macho, *Milan Rastislav Štefánik*

68 Macho, *Milan Rastislav Štefánik*, 420-428.

69 Zibrin, "Brezno za vojna", 74.

70 Čéplö et al. *Vybrané populačné štruktúry*, 1759.

Slovak character predetermined the town for building a memorial to M. R. Štefánik, a national hero and “great son of Slovaks”, according to the author of jubilee article.⁷¹ As is often the case with national heroes, his work ethic and life-story (of an advancing career and unexpected downfall) should become a model for present and future generations. The memorial of Štefánik acted as a symbol of harmony, freedom, and religious tolerance, persistence and immortal deeds, commitment to and love of family, nation, and state. After the preparatory works exerted by the town’s authorities - preceded by public collection in the Brezno district and among the Slovaks living in USA -, these ideas were successfully incorporated into public space in two phases: first, during the celebration of the 10th anniversary of Czechoslovakia’s birth on 28th October 1928, when the corner-stone of Štefánik’s memorial was laid, and second during the 10th anniversary of his death in May 1929 when the memorial was solemnly unveiled. The bronze statue of Štefánik as *a general – diplomat* rested on a stone pedestal, with the names of the fallen inhabitants of Brezno and soldiers of the Austro-Hungarian army engraved on the back half of the pedestal.⁷²

As is evident, the symbolical elements and rhetoric of the celebrations articulated several period narratives in this realm of memory. During the First Republic it became the pillar of the Czechs’ and Slovaks’ idea of the common state, the symbol of continuity of their struggle for national and state independence which began according to the jubilee speaker, Štefan Krčméry, a secretary of *Matica slovenská*, in the revolutionary year of 1848 and was successfully carried out till the end under the leadership of Štefánik.⁷³ At first sight, the monument embodied incompatible elements – two actors fighting against each other: Štefánik as the representative of the victorious legionaries against fallen soldiers on the side of the defeated party. The linking element could be the motif of their tragic death and painful loss.⁷⁴ Except for this, as Peter Macho reminds us, the soldiers who fell on the “wrong” side became – after 1918 – neither heroes nor traitors, but were instead mostly viewed as victims of the ancient régime.⁷⁵

71 Repka, “Postavenie pomníka”, 9-22.

72 Babják, “Pomníky a sochy”, 92-93.

73 Štefánikova oslava v Brezne. Desiat’ tisíc Slovákov vzdávalo hold pamiatke Štefánikovej. (1929, May 9.). *Národný týždenník I* (11), 3.

74 Babják, “Pomníky a sochy”, 83.

75 Macho, *Milan Rastislav Štefánik*, 36, 39.



The unveiling ceremony of General M. R. Štefánik's statue in Brezno (Horehronské múzeum v Brezne, fond Zbierka dokumentov, no. F424)

Ročník I.

V Lučenci, dňa 9. mája 1929.

Číslo 11.

NÁRODNÝ TÝŽDENNÍK

Predplátné:
Na celý rok Kša 40—
Na pol roka „ 20—
Jednotlivé číslo „ 1—

Neodvislý politický a spoločenský týždenník

Vychádza každý piatok,
Redakcia a administrácia:
Lučenec, Parková ulica 15.
Ruhopisy sa nevracajú.

Dr. Ľudovít Bazovský:

Sláva šlachetným.

Hovorí sa, že nevdak je odplatom sveta, že svet nevdakou platí. A tomu je aj tak. Za dobré skutky vďaky nečakaj. *Vďačným byť je len veľkým duchom, len charakterom dané.* Len tí sú vstave vďačnými byť, ktorí sa vedia pozviesť nad priemer.

Aj na tom mnoho záleží, z akej pohnutky pochodia činy na vďaku poukazujúce. Mnoho ráz aj vďaka je otázkou „kšeftu“, otázkou vypočítavosti.

V Brezno postavili pomník generálovi dr. Milanovi Rastislavovi Štefánikovi. Pomník tento teraz 5. t. m. bol odhalený. Ja sám osobne lutujem, že som tam nemohol byť prítomný, lebo viem, že *Brezno postavilo pomník zo štachetnej vďaky.* Brezno kornalo zo slovenských národných pohútok, keď Slované



Štefánikova socha v Brezno.

Ešte niečo o divných obchodoch viedenskej poisťovne.

V 6. čísle našich novín poukázali sme na obchody viedenskej poisťovne Fenix s válečnými pôžičkami, ktoré pravidzata na okoli banko-hystrickom, a ktoré neoravňavajú sa s patričným ministerským nariadením a takýmto vybavením poškodované sú stránky, ktoré sa svojho času posilily na válečné pôžičky a ukrátený je pri tom aj štát.

Poisťovňa Fenix nás požiadala cestou svojho úradníka, ktorý osobne bol u nás, aby sme nepokračovali v článkoch, pokiaľ samé riaditeľstvo Fenix-a nepoda nám listovne vysvetlenie. Osvedčili sa, že vysvetlenie príde do desať dní. Minulo od tedy už dvadsať dní, ale očakávané vysvetlenie sme nedostali. Konstatujeme, že poisťovňa Fenix skutočne tak vybavovala tieto obchody, ako sme to boli my uverejali. Konstatujeme aj to, že dia slov zastupcu poisťovne Fenix, obchody tieto uzavierané boli dia nariadenia riaditeľstva Fenix a suma poisťovne uznáva, že to nebolo fair, keď nás požiadala, aby sme vyzvali tie stránky, ktoré nie sú spokojné s takýmto vchovaním ale štátnu

Report on the unveiling of the statue of General M. R. Štefánik in Brezno (1929)

One of the more visible manifestations of Slovak national identity, which was duly emphasized, was the celebration of unveiling the memorial tablets dedicated to the personalities of Slovak culture and church of the 19th century such as the Protestant superintendent Karol Kuzmány, whose memorial was located at his birth house in Brezno (17th October 1926),⁷⁶ the Catholic bishop Štefan Moyzes (a memorial dedicated to him was situated at his bishop residence), and Karol Kuzmány whose memorial was located on the facade of the Protestant parsonage in Banská Bystrica. The last two memorial tablets were both unveiled on 19th June 1927 in Banská Bystrica.⁷⁷ The renewed *Matica slovenská* and its local branches cultivated the memory of both bishops, which was done as a gesture of thanks for their participation in the establishment of *Matica* in 1863 as well as for being her first leading functionaries – Moyzes as a president and Kuzmány as a vice-president. Their inter-confessional national work representing *Matica* in the first years of its existence made Moyzes and Kuzmány into an inseparable twosome in the nation's historical memory.⁷⁸ The Moyzes–Kuzmány tradition was not only honoured during the celebrations of unveiling the memorials tablets but was also updated and transferred to then-current political relations.⁷⁹ It was supposed to become an example of unity and common cooperation for political parties which – although standing on the platform of Slovak nationalism – were still religiously distanced from each other. This unity was – according to other Slovak speakers – supportive of “our Czechoslovak

76 Odhalenie pamätnej dosky dra Karola Kuzmányho v Brezne. (1926, October 22.). *Hronské noviny* 8(42), 2.

77 „Nehľadáme, čo nás delí, ale čo nás spája!“ Sviatok slovenskej jednoty a svornosti v Banskej Bystrici. – Len v duchu Moyses a Kuzmányho môžu zasvitnúť pekné dni slovenskej kultúry“. (1927, June 22.). *Národné noviny* 58(71), 2; Národné slávnosti v Banskej Bystrici. Odhalenie pamätných dosák Štefanovi Moysesovi a Karlovi Kuzmánymu. (1927, June 24.). *Hronské noviny* 9(26), 1.

78 Kodajová, “Oslavovanie Karola Kuzmányho”, 313-325.

79 See the occasional speeches: J. J. [Janoška, Jur]. (1926, November 1.). Pamiatka Dra Karla Kuzmányho. *Cirkevné listy* 40(19-20), 322; Moyzes a Kuzmány. Z prednášky dr. Jozefa Škultétyho v slávnostnom výbore Matice slovenskej 18. júna 1927 v Banskej Bystrici. (1927, June 22.). *Národné noviny* 58 (71), 1; Kázeň pri odhalení pamätnej dasky Dra Karla Kuzmányho 19. VI. 1927 v B. Bystrici; povedal pred chrámom Dr. Ján Slávik (1927, July 15.). *Cirkevné listy* 41 (12-13), 214-216.

homeland".⁸⁰ As was stated by the historian Július Mésároš, this tradition "*could only soften but not bridge the internal differences of political parties in Slovakia*".⁸¹

The citizens of towns of Zvolen County made use of the attractive power of political memorials as tools of power assumption, constitution and establishment of "new" identities not only in the then-Kingdom of Hungary but also after the birth of Czechoslovakia. There were not many memorials built in the first decade of the Republic, but those which were realized, fulfilled the "required" purpose of marking the particular trend: they proclaimed the loyalty to the Republic, they Slovakized public space, and symbolically fostered – among townspeople – the concept of belonging to the Slovak nation. However, the historian must bear in mind the fact that the process of identifying people with nation and state was far more complex and it was influenced by other factors such as political beliefs, social position, religious affiliation, or personal experience.

Translated from Slovak by Mgr. Anna Slatinská, PhD.

English Proofreading: Criostóir Ó Loingsigh

80 Janoška, Jur st. (1927, July 15.). Slávnostná reč pri odhalení pamätnej dosky Dra Karla Kuzmányho 19. júna 1927 v Banskej Bystrici; povedal pred evanj. farou biskup Dr. Jur Janoška. *Cirkevné listy* 41 (12-13), 217-218.

81 Mésároš, "Kuzmányovská tradícia", 300.

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Zoltán Bereczki PhD

University of Debrecen

Faculty of Engineering,

Department of Civil Engineering

Email: bereczki.zoltan@eng.unideb.hu

Éva Lovra PhD

University of Debrecen

Faculty of Engineering,

Department of Civil Engineering

Email: lovra.eva@eng.unideb.hu

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Abstract

It is needed to reinterpret the concept of plots and internal systems in the context of urban structure and the built environment due to the urban planning decisions of the 20th century. The study deals with tears of historic urban tissues (roads, new urban structures), and settlement-like or individual enclaves of buildings in the post-World War II period. In the focus of the research methodology and criteria system of discussed in the study stands the street network (space syntax), the plot structure (urban morphology) and the construction, i.e. the relationship between buildings and open spaces (space syntax: convex analysis, visibility analysis; urban morphology). The criteria system, even the city itself, has several layers. The study of the three cities that once belonged to the Austria-Hungary, Miskolc, Košice (SK) and Subotica (RS), reveals the location- and country-specific nature of the structural changes and can provide a basis for further studies.

Keywords

tears in urban tissues, urban morphology, Space Syntax, Miskolc, Subotica, Košice

Zoltán Bereczki - Éva Lovra

Tears in the Fabric of Cities in the Socialist Successor States of Austria-Hungary after World War II

Introduction

The fabric of cities is never seamless. This is due to the fact that the structure of cities is the imprint of decisions about urban planning, as well as decisions and plans might lead to the formulation of layers, or they veil layers that formed earlier. The desire for rationality was not the sole motive behind decisions in the 20th century. We find that economic, political and social pressure were also important factors in planning. In the 1930s, the outstanding Hungarian poet Attila József described tears as if they were subject to law:

*“I looked up from under the evening
at the gear wheels of the skies -
from glistening threads of chance
the loom of the past was weaving law,
and again, I looked up at the sky
from under the vapours of my dreams
and I saw that the fabric of the law
was always bursting apart somewhere.”¹*

1 Attila József: Eszmélet. Translated by Michael Beevor. In Thomas Kabdebo (ed.): Attila József: Poems. London, 1966. <https://www.mathstat.dal.ca/~lukacs/ja/poems2/jozsef-eng.htm#11>

These thoughts may refer to the rules that determined the urban fabric around the turn of the 19th and 20th century. Decisions about urban planning overwrote the rules as they attempted to respond to changes and new demands that arose, first, after World War I, and then after World War II. Because of these new directions, one needs to revise notions that describe urban morphology, as well as the internal rules of settlements in the context of urban structure and built environment.

In the present paper, breaks and tears of urban texture are studied, based on common criteria, by looking at certain selected areas of Miskolc (Hungary), Košice (Slovakia, in Hungarian: Kassa) and Subotica (Serbia, in Hungarian: Szabadka); towns that adopted the models of state socialist type of urban structures.

The main criteria we applied for selecting the three towns were as follows:

- before 1920, they were regional centres within the territory of the Hungarian Kingdom in a position that was neither central nor peripheral;
- their location fell on the territory of three different countries after 1920;
- the towns kept their regional importance as centres, even if their positions and weight within the spatial pattern of the new country differed from their previous situation;
- came closer to international borders;
- they underwent significant changes during the 20th century;

As parts of the Austro-Habsburg Empire, the three towns that we study shared a lot in terms of the urban development plans that influenced them, yet, subsequently, for most of the 20th century, they developed as part of three different states. Differences and similarities between these urban plans are also part of the research project.

It is a common feature of the selected areas that the system and location of the plots, including the buildings, underwent a complete transformation as a result of which hardly any traces of the original fabric left. The area thus transformed looks as if there were a break in the compact urban structure. All three areas selected are bordering parts of the town centre where the original fabric is present. This way, the rupture becomes tangible.

The broken fabric no longer functions as a historic layer in the selected areas: the new texture has overwritten it. Although in his theory of spatial hierarchy², Mi-

2 The relative weight of factors (urban structure, the pattern of streets, land-use and functions) that matter in studying cities depends on their spatial and temporal longevity. Therefore, urban structure has the greatest importance while temporary functions are less important. Conzen and Conzen, *Thinking About Urban Form*.

chael Robert Günter Conzen (M.R.G. Conzen – as he is known in the literature) argued that the most permanent element of the urban structure is the “town-plan”³. In the studied areas, only functions and the land-use were partially preserved, while plots and the network of streets were totally erased.

The three areas that we selected are the Vörösmarty Housing Estate (the former Gordon neighbourhood) in Miskolc, the Aleja Maršala Tita in Subotica (Marshal Tito Avenue, commonly known as Radijalac, meaning avenue) including its surroundings, and the Komenského street with its surroundings in Košice. Each of the three areas carries all the characteristics based on which we may call them areas where the urban fabric is torn. Just like the cities, the interdisciplinary methodology applied also consists of multiple layers. It makes possible to read the fabric in a complex way, as if it were the imprint of needs and thought patterns that changed over time. The present study compares the post-World War II texture to the one that it had replaced: the urban texture during the time of Austria-Hungary. For classifying and characterizing original textures, the study uses Éva Lovra’s catalogue of urban fabrics with its labels.⁴

This multi-layered methodology applies urban morphology and space syntax simultaneously. As Sam Griffiths posits: “a language of historical space cannot emerge from theory building; it starts with the empirical task of description”.⁵ Both urban morphology and space syntax makes conclusions about the spaces it analyses based on shapes and correlations that one may clearly define through empirical research.

One may define the morphology of cities and urban fabrics through studying the interaction among elements of the urban environment – built environment, gradual spatial and horizontal development, and elements of the urban texture (streets, squares and green areas). The map of a town shows one of the morphological features in macro scale, the extent and shape of built areas signal the key directions of development, while the changes and size of individual plots reflect the area of the foundation of the town and the topography of that period.⁶ Contours of buildings

3 By urban layout, we mean the combination of urban blocks and plots that form the structure of a given locality.

4 Lovra, *Városok*, 74–83., 199–201.

5 Griffiths, “Temporality”, 93.

6 Lovra, “Typology of the Urban Fabric”, 238–244.

constitute the master lines but other elements such as empty plots and public spaces play a part, too. “Spontaneous or planned organization of elements produce the structure of the city.”⁷

“Space syntax is a set of techniques for analysing spatial layouts and human activity patterns in buildings and urban areas. It is also a set of theories linking space and society.”⁸ Space syntax observes cities as networks, and studies the role of certain places in the whole, involving the configuration of the network itself. By “space”, we mean an area with well-defined physical boundaries, similar to what it means in architecture. Space is a room in a building surrounded by walls, an urban square enclosed by buildings, a street with buildings in an unbroken row (in the latter case the space is elongated), and all other spaces that have other built elements along their boundaries. In this paper we use the notion of space as an area that has boundaries and we do not only refer to it in the sense that urbanism does. In the future, the combination of urban morphology and space syntax can be complemented with social history, since the development of a certain town cannot be interpreted without taking trends in urban development, historic and social aspects into account.

With this methodology, we cannot only reveal those features of changes in the urban structure that are specific to a country or a place but political, social and economic aspects, too. The objective of the two-step analysis (social history based on configurational-morphological study) is to render tears visual and presentable. This way we may interpret configurational-structural aspects of the planning activities of the 20th century using a pre-set-criteria, then, we may link these to the historic, social and political background.

The network of streets (space syntax), pattern of plots (urban morphology), and the relationship between built and empty spaces (space syntax together with urban morphology) are at the centre of the methodology and criteria applied here. Studies of Éva Lovra have attempted a comparative analysis of the textures of Central European towns for the pre-1918 period. Moravčíková *et al* discussed the housing estates of the 20th century in Slovakia⁹, Zsuzsa Körner and Mária Nagy did the same

7 Lovra. *Városok*, 52.

8 The Space Syntax Online Training Platform

9 Moravčíková *et al.*, *Bratislava Atlas*

in a descriptive manner for Hungary¹⁰, and Éva Lovra for Serbia.¹¹ Tamara Zaninovic carried out research using the methods related to space syntax for Zagreb.¹²

Apart from changes of the urban structure, we can also look into the transformations that occurred within the given texture how internal relations and systems changed fully or partially because of new constructions. By analysing three towns from three countries, the present study also places the types of transformations of the fabric into historical perspective. Hence, we may apply a common set of criteria to study the former Habsburg Central Europe. The methodology laid out here prepares the common ground for future comprehensive comparative studies. The aim of the present paper is not to describe and assess a chronology and the development of housing estates, but to visualise the tears of the fabric and to study them by using methods of morphological analysis and space syntax.

Sites of analysis: Košice - SK (Kassa), Subotica - RS (Szabadka) and Miskolc – H

Camillo Sitte is one of the key figures of urban planning at the turn of 19th and 20th century. If we disregard the urban landscape and the built environment (historicism as style) his impact is identifiable on the post-1945 urban fabric as well: “The picturesque cityscape that he and his followers advocated did not only mean that the structure of cities should change accordingly, but also included different dynamics of the cityscape. His work reflected that historicism was in full bloom. He broke the rigid geometry of urban network by introducing avenues diagonally. He closed these with buildings that determined the focal point of roads”.¹³ However, Sitte stressed the importance of reconstituting continuities with the past as well as of reinstating enclosed spaces. These were exactly the aspects that did not remain intact in periods when the urban fabric was torn.

10 Körner and Nagy, “Az európai és a magyar telepszerű lakásépítés”, Körner, ”A telepszerű lakásépítés”

11 Lovra, *Szabadka urbanizmusa*

12 Zaninović et al., “Urban Landscape”, 274–305.

13 Lovra, *Városok* 135.

At the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries, the daily called *Felsőmagyarország* discussed the development of Košice and came to the conclusion that it was unplanned due to the lack of proper, official plans for expansion.¹⁴ The city developed along the inherited fabrics without plans and with regulation that regarded only individual buildings. However, in 1921, it gained an urban development plan that defined the main directions (László Wurga – Jenő Lechner)¹⁵, that only partially touched the area of the later Komenského street (curved roads and the squares dividing them). During the First Czechoslovak Republic, between 1918 and 1938, the geopolitical position of Košice changed and this resulted in new demands that concerned urban plans, too (Josef Choccol 1938).¹⁶ Thus, the Komenského street gained a new profile during the interwar period. Until the 1920s, public buildings (such as schools like the Cadet's School at the end of the street and the School of Agriculture opposite to it), spaces of recreation, and smaller residential quarters dominated the urban fabric. First streets emerged between the educational institutions with typically elongated plots, perpendicular to the streets. Then, during the interwar period, the construction of residential buildings gained momentum (civil servants' estates at the end of the road). These buildings in unbroken rows appeared where the free plots were in the streets inhabited by single-floor houses. Four pavilions were erected at the juncture of the two main streets that were to be permanent structures. However, as the joint work of Priatková, Sekan and Tamáska established, the construction projects between 1919 and 1938 did not follow a plan. Rather, buildings emerged where plots were the least expensive.

“After the war, the socialist system continued the construction through the further development of the block structure, and it was this particular era when the street that could thank for its unified appearance.”¹⁷ Designing urban squares and focal points are characteristics of the Socialist Period. The space that became the centre of the quarter came into being as a result of demolishing the existing fabric at the juncture of Komenského Street and Letná Street. In 1952, contemporaries celebrated the official post-war plan (authors: F. Koči, J. Hrůza) that laid down Kosice's urban

14 *Felsőmagyarország*

15 Sekan, “Kassa városrendezésének története”, 60.

16 Sekan, “Kassa városrendezésének története”, 61.

17 Priatková, Sekan and Tamáska, “The Urban Planning of Košice” 86.

development plan as a great achievement of socialist urban planning.¹⁸ However, another plan that came to force in 1961 (authors: Milan Hladký, Ján Kurča, Iván Bányai) was a return to modern urban design.¹⁹ This latter envisioned a less compact urban structure but maintained the closed and complex features of it. The final development of Komenského street took place within this framework. (See Figure 1 and 2)

The stadium of Lokomotiva Košice sports club was built at one end of the current main axis of the town. Yet, the next urban plan of 1976 treated the city as an area administered as a unit but consisting of separate parts.²⁰ Thus, the urban structure ceased to be a compact one.

Although Subotica had notable urban planning document dating to the pre-World War II era (authors: Mihály Könyves-Tóth 1884²¹, Kosta Petrovic 1927/28),²² these did not alter the actual structure of the city to any significant extent. The period after 1948 prompted the introduction of new methods in urban planning, increasing the density of population, building infrastructure and a number of new apartments. The bombings of 1944 destroyed a large proportion of buildings in the city.²³ In 1948, following the formation of second Yugoslavia (from November 1945 the official name was Yugoslavian Democratic Alliance, then in 1946 it changed to Yugoslavian Federal Republic), the government launched preparatory works for a general regulation plan.²⁴ The Urban Regulatory Plan of Subotica, finished in 1951, was

18 Priatková, Sekan and Tamáska, “The Urban Planning of Košice” 80.

19 Priatková, Sekan and Tamáska, “The Urban Planning of Košice” 82. In his work on Kosice, János Sekan writes about Bohuslav Fuchs’ plan of 1951. He calls it “the plan denied”. The plan of 1961 adapted Fuchs’ solutions almost fully.

20 This plan was still in force in 2018. It went through a revision in 1993. Bél Aexander prepared the detailed urban plan in 1976. I was based on the concept (prepared by a team: architects Němec, Krásný, Hexner and Zajíc) that authorities thought to be the best one from the pool of plans submitted to their call in 1972. Sekan, *Kassa városrendezésének története*. 72–73.

21 Mihály Könyves Tóth’s proposal is at the Historical Archives of Subotica (henceforth: TLSZ), F:003 3.2.1.4.

22 TLSZ F:047 II-70/1927.

23 TLSZ F:003 3.2.1.71. TLSZ F:070 1629/1945 és TLSZ F:070 6078/1945.

24 De Negri et al., “Stambena izgradnja”

based on this. It came to force in 1952 and remained applicable until 1959.²⁵ 2000 of the existing flats did not meet the minimum requirement in terms of sanitation and it turned out that there was a shortage of 2300 flats on top of that.²⁶ In 1954 a preliminary urban plan was also prepared that saw the solution in constructing multi-story buildings in place of the bombed and single floor houses next to the city centre.²⁷ The proposed residential quarters included new public buildings among the residential houses. Subsequently, the construction of the first four-story buildings began in 1958, based on uniform plans.²⁸ The 1959 excerpt of the general plan on mass housing divided the city into central zones and outskirts.²⁹ The Radijalac (Aleja Maršala Tita) area studied in this paper is part of Microzone number 15, meaning that it is part of the very central part. The idea of the new avenue originates earlier than the second part of the 20th century: it first occurred in István Frankl's plan of 1910³⁰, which followed the ideas of baroque style urban planning since the allée with trees planted along it would have connected to the area called Sétaerdő to the town hall that was under construction at the time. (The designers of the town hall were Marcell Komor and Dezső Jakab, and it was built between 1908 and 1912.) The allée also appears in Petrović's plan of 1927/28. Eventually, the construction of the Marshal Tito Avenue began in 1958 under the supervision of Franjo (Ferenc) De Negri and was completed ten years later. By that time, the head engineer was Dragutin Karlo De Negri, Franjo's son. (See figure 3 and 4).

Karlo De Negri described the development project in the following terms: "This was the period when the Marshal Tito Avenue materialised. It was no less than one of the most successful and most drastic urban development projects in the history of Subotica. In this case, we can talk about the rehabilitation and reconstruction of the urban texture. In the spirit of modern urbanism, by replacing the ageing and substandard flats, a functional link came into being between the Sétaerdő (Dudova šuma), which

25 De Negri et al., "Stambena izgradnja". 89.

26 Dulić, "Subotica". 157.

27 TLSZ F:003 3.3.1.42.

28 TLSZ F:138 1956.

29 TLSZ F: 138 1959. akta br. 16158

30 TLSZ F:003, 3.1.1.14. és TLSZ F:003, 3.1.2.74.

is the sports and recreation hub and the city centre.”³¹ By looking at the process of the making of the avenue, we can also trace the development of the technology of construction³²: while the buildings of the first section (progressing from the centre towards the Dudova šuma) feature the brick of the 1950s, the so-called Antić-type solitary houses used a technology based on sliding formworks, and the last section had pre-fab elements, as well as cladding made of aluminium. These technologies were novelties in the 1960s.

In Subotica, the main changes concerning the texture of the centre, including the construction of the Avenue and its environment, took place before 1975. Even though the development of the area is still an ongoing process, the landscape of the Avenue has not changed. In Subotica, there were two “massive complexes” inconsiderately inserted to the inherited fabric Aleja Maršala Tita itself and residential quarter called Prozivka. These constitute a new spatial structure that cause a significant rupture in the outlook of the historical centre.”³³ (see **Map 4**)

In Miskolc, the studied area is the Vörösmarty Housing Estate – the former Gordon neighbourhood – south of Szinva stream and southeast of the historic centre of the city. The corresponding sheets of the first military survey of Hungary date back the late 18th century and show that this area had already been inhabited at that time, and we can also make out the network of streets from this survey. The cadastral maps of the late 19th century³⁴ reflect a situation that was very similar to the one that aerial photographs of the 1970s reflect.³⁵ The area had an organic fabric where some larger streets and many smaller ones ran through. The larger streets did not follow a straight line. The smaller streets gained their names after trades such as Butcher, Smith, Mason, Hatter, Confectioner and Turner. Most houses were single-floor but in larger streets multi-storey and public buildings existed too, for instance, the orthodox Jewish bath at the juncture of the erstwhile Pece stream and the Szinva. The

31 Mitrović, “Naša arhitektura je bila” 16.

32 Lovra, *Szabadka*, 32–45

33 Generalni plan Subotica–Palić do 2020. Subotica, 2006. 167.

34 Papp, Somorjai and Tóth, *Miskolc régi térképeken* 27.

35 Source of photograph: www.fentrol.hu Lechner Nonprofit Kft. Downloaded 15 May 2020

Gordon area used to be diverse both ethnically and socially.³⁶

By opening some wider roads that would have run from North to South, the regulation plan of 1897 proposed that less variance should occur among the size of plots, but this would not have impacted the density of buildings in the area.³⁷ This plan was not realised, the structure and urban layout remained practically unchanged until 1959, when the headquarters of the trade unions was built there. The headquarters emerged at the most important juncture of the quarter: where the highway to Budapest reached the area. The freestanding building follows the standards of modernist architecture. Consequently, it looked alien in the otherwise dense urban fabric. According to Béla Horváth, "the choice about the kind of space the trade unions' headquarters should stand in represents the sense of arrival. One feels that beyond the spacious and green neighbourhood of the Felszabadítók [Liberators'] Road (today's Görgey Road) we are approaching a more closed and rather dense city centre."³⁸ Horváth also published a proposal about his vision about the environment of the building. According to that, the then existing network of streets would have been preserved. In 1951, a propagandistic poster that László Menner and Ottó Péri designed also suggests that the existing patterns of buildings would remain.³⁹

In contrast, the urban plan of 1968 foresaw "the overall modification of the current structure".⁴⁰ A series of demolitions began when the age of pre-fab housing set in.⁴¹ According to Csaba Bodonyi's recollection, "[...] they needed to make room so they demolished buildings. At many places they removed the past of the town. It is even worse that they did not only destroy houses, but they also got rid of urban structures and networks of streets. [...] For example, within the Vörösmarty housing estate, the old streets disappeared and no new ones were created."⁴² Another important architect of the time, Károly Dósa, recalled that the process of demolition would

36 Lengyel, "Szilánkos," <http://beszelo.c3.hu/cikkek/szilankos-mennyország> Downloaded: 15 May 2020

37 Lovra, *Városok*, 144.

38 ifj. Horváth, Marjalaki Kiss and Valentiny, *Miskolc*, 129.

39 Hajdú and Nagy, *Új város*, 14.

40 Hajdú, "Új város épül," 181.

41 Dobrossy, *Miskolc Mindszent*. See Chapter 3 for more about the demolition.

42 Hajdú and Nagy, *Új város*, 27.

have reached the city centre, too.⁴³ He designed the headquarters of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party in the western part of the area. On this, he wrote that while he was making the design, no urban plan existed that he could have taken as a point of reference.⁴⁴ (Figure 5) It is telling that the site of the first pre-fab building of the city was selected based on concerns for infrastructure and not because an urban plan demanded it: this was the path of the main sewage channel from the Avas Hill to the Szinva stream.⁴⁵ Aerial photographs taken in the 1970s (Figure 6) and reports in newspapers were talking about a gradually vanishing neighbourhood.⁴⁶ The new main north-south roads (the current Corvin Street and Király Street) cut through the urban space without any regard for pre-existing fabric. The position of Király Street is especially accidental: it erased the Jewish bath, and, at the same time, it left a significant pair of buildings with towers, one block to the west from the bath, at the juncture of the imputed Munkácsy Street in a way that looks incoherent in terms of the micro-urban scale.⁴⁷

Methodology

For a comparative study of tears in urban fabric, a unified set of criteria is needed and analyses that produce quantitative results. In order to follow through this engineering minded methodology, we divide the studied areas into geometric elements and transform them into graphs so that we can analyse the relationship between them.⁴⁸ Thus, in our analysis we only include the configuration and relationship between the morphological elements that we defined in identical ways in all three cities and in both periods.

43 "Then, instead of church towers, ten-storey pre-fab houses would characterise the city centre." Hajdú and Nagy, *Új város*, 14.

44 Hajdú and Nagy, *Új város*, 30.

45 Hajdú and Nagy, *Új város*, 35.

46 Pedestrian way in the place of Munkácsy Street. Design of the block of flats at the city centre. Hajdú (ed.), *Új város* 74.

47 Dobrossy, *Miskolc írásban*, 102–109.

48 Lovra, *Városok*, 55–59.



F1: Košice, Komenského - Street with Watsonova Street left in front of the buildings, 1967. (Fortepan / Fortepan / Album004 number: 93813)



F2: Košice, the juncture of Tomášikova Street – Tolstého Street 1967.
(Fortepan / Fortepan / Album004 number: 93812)

For describing the spaces for the descriptive analysis, we mainly applied two methods. The first one is that Éva Lovra called an integrated urban morphology in his monographic study of Central European cities.⁴⁹ Within this method, the morphological study consists of several steps, however, in this paper we focus on the first step. This step is about distinguishing between types of fabrics, identifying them and then describing their main characteristics (network of streets, position of plots, built area, green area etc.) Lovra assigned codes to these types of fabrics using letters of the Latin alphabet.⁵⁰ For a more in-depth study of the neighbourhood, the method of micro-urbanism shall be applied.⁵¹

Besides this integrated urban morphology method, we also make use of some tools of space syntax. Space syntax observes cities as configurations and primarily studies the way how individual elements are connected.⁵² It distinguishes two main characteristics of architectural spaces (meaning both architecture and urban architecture): intrinsic and extrinsic features. Features that we directly notice, such as shape, scale and proportions, are intrinsic ones. The way we take notice of the relationship between spaces or the place of a certain space within the layout of the building or city is indirect. “Extrinsic properties cannot be seen all at once, but must be pieced together through movement, inference, recollection and so on. Our picture of them is, in consequence, much less clear.”⁵³

Space syntax primarily uses dual graphs for analysing relations between spaces. In these graphs, nodes mark spaces while edges refer to connections. **(Graph 1-5)** This method is adequate for analysing architectural spaces and spatial connections, as well as for deciphering the configuration of entire cities. In case of buildings, the nodes of graphs are convex spaces, while in cities the nodes of graphs are axes binding the network of streets and squares.⁵⁴

49 Lovra, *Városok*, 55–59.

50 Regarding the catalogue and codes assigned to different types of fabrics of the 1867–1918 period see Lovra, *Városok*, 74–83., for pre-1867 types see 199–201. Studying and classification post-1918 urban fabrics is subject to ongoing research.

51 Lovra, *Városok*, 138–141.

52 Kropf, *The Handbook of Urban Morphology*. 17.

53 Hillier, “Space as paradigm” 56.

54 In the 2000s segment maps and analysis emerged as new methods. Axial maps had been in use as a tool of analysis since 1984. Turner, “Angular analysis”, 30.1–30.11.; Turner, “Could a Road-centre Line”, 145–60.

This would be mere intellectual play if it had not been aimed at understanding the impact of spaces on humans and society. However, the title of the book that laid down the ground for space syntax, *The social logic of space*, tells that it is very much concerned with the social dimension.⁵⁵ Since the publication of that book, a number of research has indicated that there is a close link between quantified indicators that space syntax analysis produced and actual social phenomena.⁵⁶

Although space syntax analysis has been mostly used for studying the current situation of cities, lately, a growing number of works chose to tell the development of cities through historical maps. This method includes two stages. The first step is to describe features of the space using descriptive techniques while the second is to look for correlations that is to study the impact of features on social phenomena and vice versa.⁵⁷ By using historical maps, the main goal is to understand processes that took place in the past as well as to see if these have an impact on present conditions. One must highlight the importance of some authors such as Sam Griffiths, Paulo Pinho and Vítor Oliveira in both laying down the theoretical ground and applying these.⁵⁸ Sam Griffiths is the key author to note for research on Central European topics.

The objective of our study is to visualise and understand the tears in urban fabric especially with a view on post-World War II developments. The second step that we can only touch on in this paper is based on just this: linking construction activities and the socio-cultural background. Quoting Sam Griffiths: “the premise of space syntax for historians is that it provides a way into conceptualizing and thinking about the role of »space« and its relation to life in the built environment that does not rely uncritically on powerful images imported from well-established historical discourses.”⁵⁹

The extent of the tears that we examine falls at the intermediary scale in terms of urban architecture. The number of streets is limited, hence, we only study the indicators that are relevant for such smaller networks and spatial systems.

55 Hillier and Hanson, *The social logic*.

56 For a recent presentation of the method see: *Rashid*: “Space Syntax,” 230–237.

57 Rashid, *Configurational Approach*

58 Griffiths, “Temporality”

59 Griffiths, “The Use of Space Syntax”



F3: Subotica, the eastern edge of the main avenue before 1965 (Lovra, *Szabadka* 116.)

One of the most important indicators that space syntax uses is integration: „Integration is a normalised measure of distance from any space of origin to all others in the system. In general, it calculates how close the original space is to all other spaces, and can be seen as the measure of relative asymmetry (or relative depth).”⁶⁰ Here, distance does not refer to metric distance but to a topological one: the distance between certain nodes of the graph. For studying integration of urban spatial systems (system of streets and squares), first the axial map of the observed area has to be drawn, where straight axes indicate connected spaces.⁶¹

Regarding pre-1920 conditions, it was quite clear where the boundaries of the studied spaces are located. Since within these fabrics private plots and public spaces can be easily distinguished and the building lines follow the line of streets, the boundaries of the space network polygons are practically the boundaries of blocks of plots.

In the maps of the transformed 20th century areas, such boundaries do not correlate to that extent. Thus, in the latter case, we needed to draw the relevant polygons on current municipal maps relying on our preliminary knowledge of the area. These

60 The Space Syntax Online Training Platform

61 Turner et al. ”From isovists to visibility”

polygons usually include those areas where one can move around (on foot or by car) freely, such as streets, pavements, parking lots and accessible green spaces.

We also drew visibility graphs on the areas and analysed them.⁶² A visibility graph shows, as its name suggests, how visible a given point of space is from other parts of the space. Values grow with the quantity of spots from where the point is visible.

For studying visibility in pre-1920 times, we could use the same map that we applied for the integration analysis. This was so, because in these types of fabrics the development is either in unbroken row, or fences filled the gaps between buildings. Thus, boundaries of visibility areas overlap with the boundaries of the spatial network.

For looking at visibility on the maps of the 20th century areas – the tears in the urban fabric – we could not use the map that we used for integration analysis. In these areas, buildings hardly follow the boundaries of networks used for traffic and human movement: on the field, these (e.g. kerbs) are at ground level, thus do not influence visibility. Therefore, while carrying out analysis of the latter period, we made use of maps that only indicate buildings as elements that block the visibility.

Morphological and configurative analysis of the tears in the urban fabric

The areas under study fell under different categories in the initial, pre-1920 period. On the map of Košice dating from 1912 we see that the area under analysis is at the periphery and is just about being populated with buildings. (**Map 1**) In Lovra's typology, it fits to a category that is one of the typical pre-1867 textures (label in the catalogue: *Ah*). It is characterized by "*irregular network of streets that follow the varied geomorphology of the terrain. Plots are oriented in one of the following two ways: a) they are either divided into two parts where the house and the courtyard occupies the front area close to the street, and the garden takes up the larger part of the plot in the backyard; b) or the plot is divided between the house, supplementary*

62 Pinho and Oliveira. "Cartographic analysis"

buildings and the courtyard. The residential building is of 'L' shape, but the central part of it is in the middle of the whole plot. In the case of type a) there is an intermediary space/courtyard between the main building and the garden."⁶³ This type of fabric also appears in other parts of Košice, typically in the areas that are directly next to the medieval city walls, on the outside. For instance, in the map from 1912, on the eastern side of today's Moyzesova (then Rákóczi boulevard) and on the western side of today's Štefánikova (then Múzeum Street). At these locations, the type of fabric persisted until today. (Map 2)



F4: The Avenue in the 1960s. The photo is Architect Dragutin Karlo De Negri's property. (Lovra, Szabadka 102.)

63 Lovra, Városok, 200.

In the map of 1912, another typical fabric of the period, the Dualist Austria-Hungary, can be identified, its label is *C* in the catalogue. This type contains “*regular shaped plots along streets that follow straight lines. The size of plots varies and they are mainly on the corners. They might be single or double plots but the number of plots that form a block is maximum five. The buildings (rarely more than one) stand freely on the plots. These buildings tend to stay near the centre of the plot and are typically public buildings, or, less frequently, villas. Extensive green areas or planned parks surround the buildings.*”⁶⁴ Thus, planning appears in the area, but only at a local level.

In Subotica, another pre-1867 type of fabric can be identified (label in the catalogue: *Bc*). Its characteristic is the following: “*The network of streets is irregular. Plots are partly regularly shaped: their shape is close to elongated rectangles. Buildings are freestanding, and are located at the front third part of the courtyard. In some cases, agricultural buildings can be found among the supplementary buildings.*”⁶⁵ (**Map 3**) With slight modifications, this type of texture survived in adjacent areas of the studied area and also in the peripheral part of the wider centre. Since the reconstruction of the buildings is an ongoing process, the locations where we can observe these patterns are shrinking.

In Miskolc, the initial texture of the Gordon quarter was a pre-1867 type (label in the catalogue: *Ac*). Features: “*Plots of long rectangular shape where the position of the buildings follow a common pattern or rhythm. The main building and the adjacent additional ones form a partial boundary to the inner courtyard. Buildings are in alignment with the line of the street and there is an empty space between the street and the line of buildings. Courtyards may interfere with the closed line of buildings. Buildings or fences separate backyards from front yards.*”⁶⁶ Such fabrics are densely built areas both in terms of the number of plots and buildings. (**Map 5**) Today, this fabric can be found in the centre of Miskolc, especially in the area that falls north of the eastern part of the main street (Széchenyi utca). This so-called Bazaar Block was partially demolished but the transformation was not as extensive as in the case of the studied area. (**Map 6**)

64 Lovra, *Városok*, 74.

65 Lovra, *Városok*, 200.

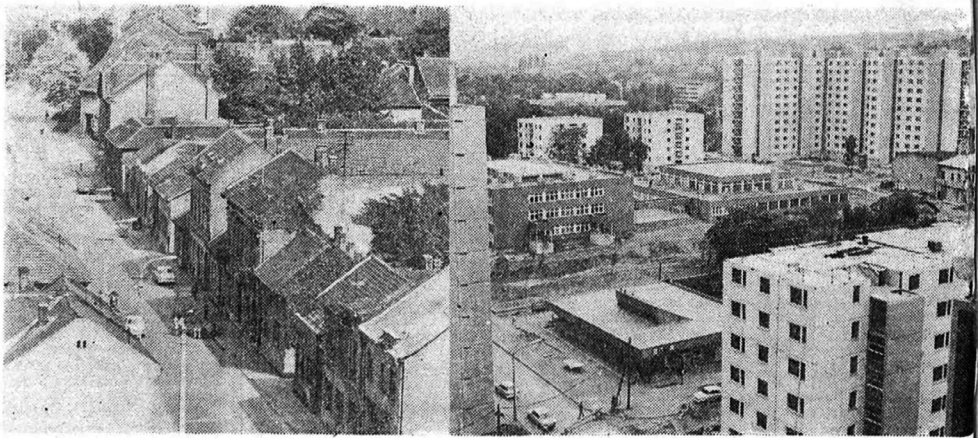
66 Lovra, *Városok*, 200.

In the case of Miskolc and Subotica, we applied the same raw space syntax analyses for both periods (pre-World War I texture, and the present conditions): measuring axial integration of the network of streets, and visibility analysis of spatial systems. For Košice, we applied a different approach because, as we have seen, the area of the Komenského street was partially empty in the pre-1920 period. The density of buildings is sufficient for identifying the types of textures that existed but it is insufficient for space syntax analysis. We can read tendencies nonetheless.

In the map of axial integration, a colour scheme refers to different grades of integration. Colours change gradually. Red axes are the most integrated, while the blue ones are the least. It is beneficial if the integration values are relatively even across a quarter since services and institutions tend to appear at sites with the highest level of integration. If there are large gaps in terms of integration, it is likely that all life will take place in few (or a single) streets with high integration value, while the other streets become deserted with all the negative consequences. In the maps showing axial integration of Miskolc and Subotica and the graphs representing these links, it can be seen that the pre-1945 conditions were more balanced than the current situation. **(Map 7 and 8; Graph 1 and 2)**

In Subotica, the pre-1945 spatial hierarchy was fairly balanced. The area with the highest value (red) is the former Herczeg Street that has an east-west orientation and is in the north of the studied area. Another street with relatively high value (orange colour) is Fűzfás Street that has a link to Herczeg Street. The other streets fall in the yellow or green category and only the shortest small streets have dark blue (very low) values. Graph 1 is based on the map of the level of integration.

In the case of Miskolc, it is obvious that the main street of the quarter was the Vörösmarty Street (the former Alsó-Gordon Street) that runs east-west. **(Map 8 and Graph 2)** Its middle section, the part that is located between the former Zrínyi Street and Alsó-Szirma Street, has the highest value of integration (red on both the map and on the graph). Moreover, other sections of the streets and streets perpendicular feature high values, too (light red and orange colours on the map and on the graph). Minor streets do not fall far behind: most of them are yellow or greenish yellow. Streets on the western and eastern edge of the area have the lowest values (dark blue on the map and blue on the graph) but this is the consequence of studying the quarter separated from the larger network of streets in the city. Looking at these streets from



„Előben” 100 méter távolság sines a két felvétel között. A bal oldali képen még a „megmaradt” Vörösmarty út, míg a jobb oldali képen — az előbbi városrésztől nem messze — a belvárosi lakótelep egy részlete látható.

Laczó József felvétele

JEGYZET

F5: Miskolc, the Vörösmarty Housing Estate under construction in the place of the former Gordon in 1977.

(Észak-Magyarország, 29 May 1977, without page number. Photo credit: József Laczó)



F6: Aerial photo of the Vörösmarty Housing Estate in Miskolc, 1975.

(fentrol.hu Lechner Nonprofit Kft.)

the perspective of the entire town, it is clear that they would have relatively high integration values and that they are not marginal spots.

In contrast, when studying the maps of axial integration for the current situation and the graphs based on these maps, we encounter one or two strong axes with the rest of the streets remaining subordinate in all three cities. There are hardly any yellow parts that would represent intermediate values and the extremes dominate: red-orange and blue.

It is not surprising that the Avenue and the shorter street perpendicular to it, Petar Leković Street, stand out in Szabadka. (These are indicated with red on **Map 9 and on Graph 3**) Other streets crossing the Avenue also show relatively high values, while the other axes are clearly subordinate.

In Miskolc, Vörösmarty Street remained important and it even gained traction as its western part became straighter. However, the north-south oriented Király Street (that, until recently, was of Highway no. 3) has even higher values. This street is the outcome of an insensitive intrusion to the urban texture. The other new axis, Corvin Street, also shows similarly high values. The values of other streets fall much lower. Thus, we can read the principles that Modernism follows in traffic management: we see high speed roads and service roads instead of the earlier fabric that had a well-integrated network of streets.

The map and graph for current Košice is rather similar to the one we saw for Subotica. (**Map 11 and Graph 5**) Although Komenského Street is not an avenue, it acts as a strong axis much like Marshall Tito Avenue. It is also a feature in both cities that perpendicular axes have high integration values, while other streets are inferior in this sense.

We conducted the visibility graph analysis in order to assess the extent to which spaces are enclosed, visually determined, and convex. In chapter three of his influential work *Der Städtebau nach seinen Künstlerischen Grundsätzen* (1889), Camillo Sitte discussed the importance of enclosed urban spaces.⁶⁷ Within a convex space one sees each point from every other point of the space, while concave spaces have sections that are not visible from other spots. 18th century buildings, – mainly prisons – designed in a way that the inhabitants of cells running around their perimeter

67 Sitte, *Der Städtebau*, 38–47.

should not see each other while those standing in the middle of the space should be able to observe everything, are extreme examples of concave spaces.⁶⁸ A well-functioning urban space is just the opposite of this extreme in terms of visibility.

On the visibility graphs, the well-defined and transparent spaces are indicated with blue colour. On the other end of the spectrum, marked with red, one can find those spaces that are visible from many other points. These mostly have an amorphous shape.

It emerges from the visibility graphs of the studied areas that historic fabrics consisted of systems of spaces with visually clear boundaries. This was the consequence of the unbroken row of the buildings and the curves of the streets. Sitte emphasised that designing streets with curves was an important principle of urban design that enhances transparency.⁶⁹ In the visibility graphs of the original urban texture of Subotica (**Map 12**) and Miskolc (**Map 13**), those straight streets produced higher values that served as roads linking distant parts of the city: in Subotica we shall mention the Széchenyi Square in the southwestern part of the studied area, which was a continuation of Magyar Street, while in Miskolc such examples are Szemere Street in the western part of the area and Soltész Nagy Kálmán Street in the eastern part.

On the visibility graphs prepared for the period of the torn urban fabrics, we see that although the number of free-standing spaces increased, these do not have a clear function or shape. The only significant exception is the Marshal Tito Avenue that has clear boundaries and rectangular shape, thus it appears in red-orange between the buildings on the map. (**Map 14**) This area acts as a convex space despite its high visibility values. On the location we can confirm this if we observe that inhabitants use the Avenue (especially the middle strip that is park-like) as a promenade.

In case of Miskolc, we see a large amorphous red spot in the middle of the studied area: this is a juncture of two double laned roads that does not look like an urban space at all. (**Map 15**). On the location, this area is not transparent, hence, inhabitants do not spend time there. In contrast to Subotica, the lack of planning is evident.

In Košice, we also see a large red-orange area on the map close to the centre of the area we selected. (**Map 16**) Its shape is in between the results of Subotica

68 Hillier and Hanson, *The social logic of space*, 187–188.

69 Lampugnani. "Vienna Fin-de-siècle".

and Miskolc: it is not so defined as in Subotica but it is also less amorphous than in Miskolc. In Košice, the red zone is the actual centre of the studied area. This latter feature has to do with the fact that it has a convex shape and has clear boundaries. It is worth observing that while in the map representing axial integration, Subotica and Košice seemed to have common features, the visibility graphs of the two cities are quite different from one another.

Overall, the most important common feature among the three visibility graphs is that empty spaces emerged. However, in terms of shape geometry, and, thus, in terms of the use of spaces, they differ. It is the visibility graphs that indeed tell if interventions were spontaneous or well-planned. In case of the Avenue in Subotica, we can identify the plan even if it only partially came to completion.⁷⁰ As far as Miskolc is concerned, based on the recollections of contemporary architects we know that restructuring took place without a coherent concept.⁷¹ Košice falls between these two examples.

Looking back from the present, we see that not the urban fabrics themselves were responsible for the problems that finally led to their demolition. For instance, the area of the centre of Miskolc, that is currently under protection, belongs to the same type of fabric as the Gordon that was referred to as a slum in the contemporary (propaganda) press. According to contemporary documents, the reason for demolishing the Gordon quarter was its bad condition and lack of infrastructure.⁷² This, however, was not a valid reason for demolishing the entire network of streets. Moreover, the construction of prefab mass housing did not resolve social issues.⁷³ It is the task of future research to specify the correlations between social phenomena and spatial configuration.

70 Lovra, *Szabadka*, 32–45.

71 For example: Hajdú, *Új város*, 30.

72 Hajdú and Nagy, *Új város*, 31.

73 Darázs, *A Célváros*, 23.



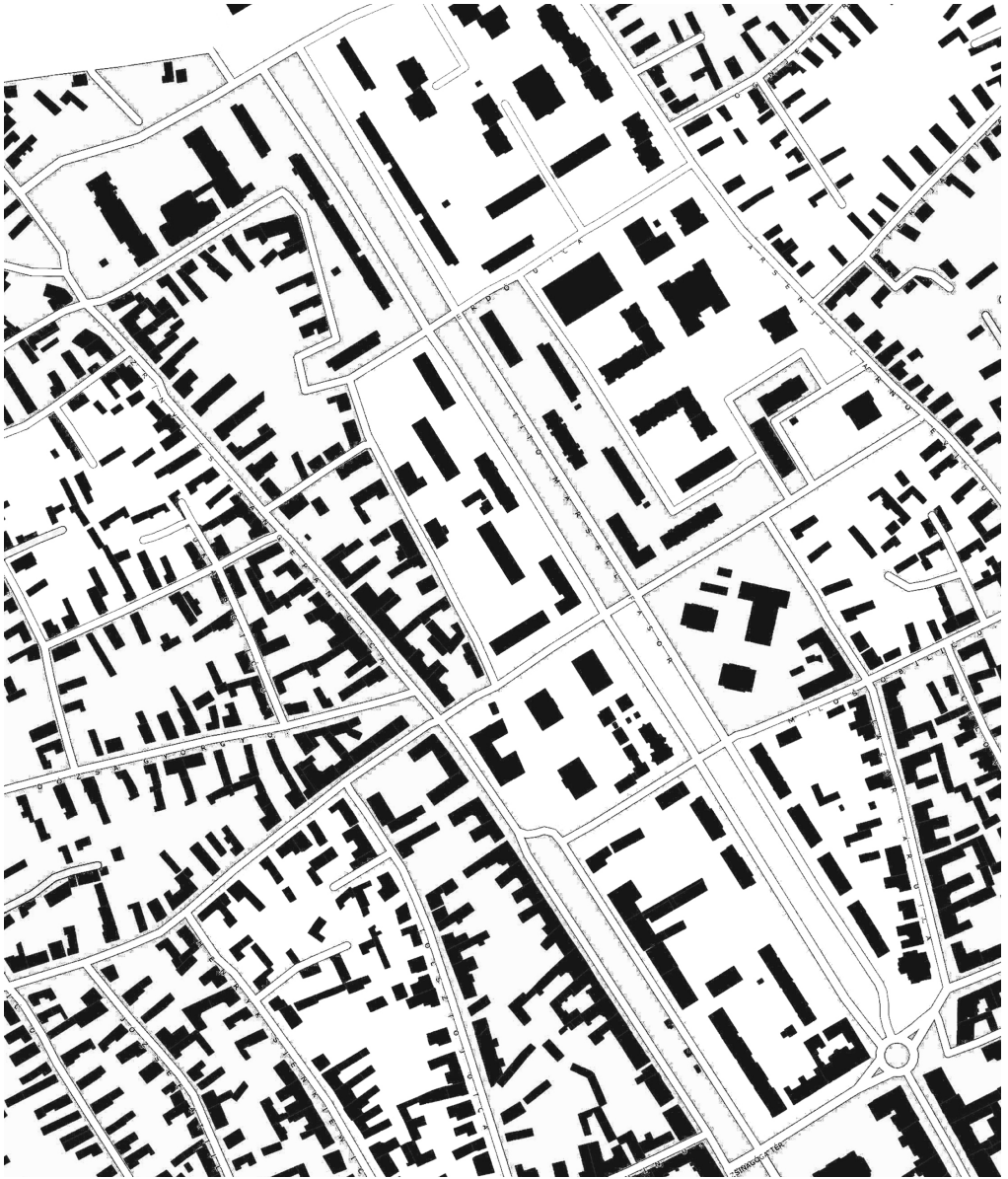
Map 1 Košice, the surroundings of the Komenského Street in the early 20th century. Drawn by Abdullah Alrammo (Urban Systems Engineering MSc student at the University of Debrecen), based on the map called *1912. évi Törv. hat. jog. fel. szab. kir. város belsőségének és környékének átnézeti térképe* (Zbierka máp a plánov v Archíve mesta Košice II 15/1-3).



Map 2 Komenského Street and its surroundings today. Drawn by Abdullah Alrammo based on the official municipal map of Košice (gis.esluzbykosice.sk)



Map 3 Subotica, the area that was to become the Avenue (Radijalac) in the 1880s. Drawn by Bashar Mahfoud (Urban Systems Engineering MSc student at the University of Debrecen) based on the cadastral map of Subotica from 1882. (TLSZ F.086).



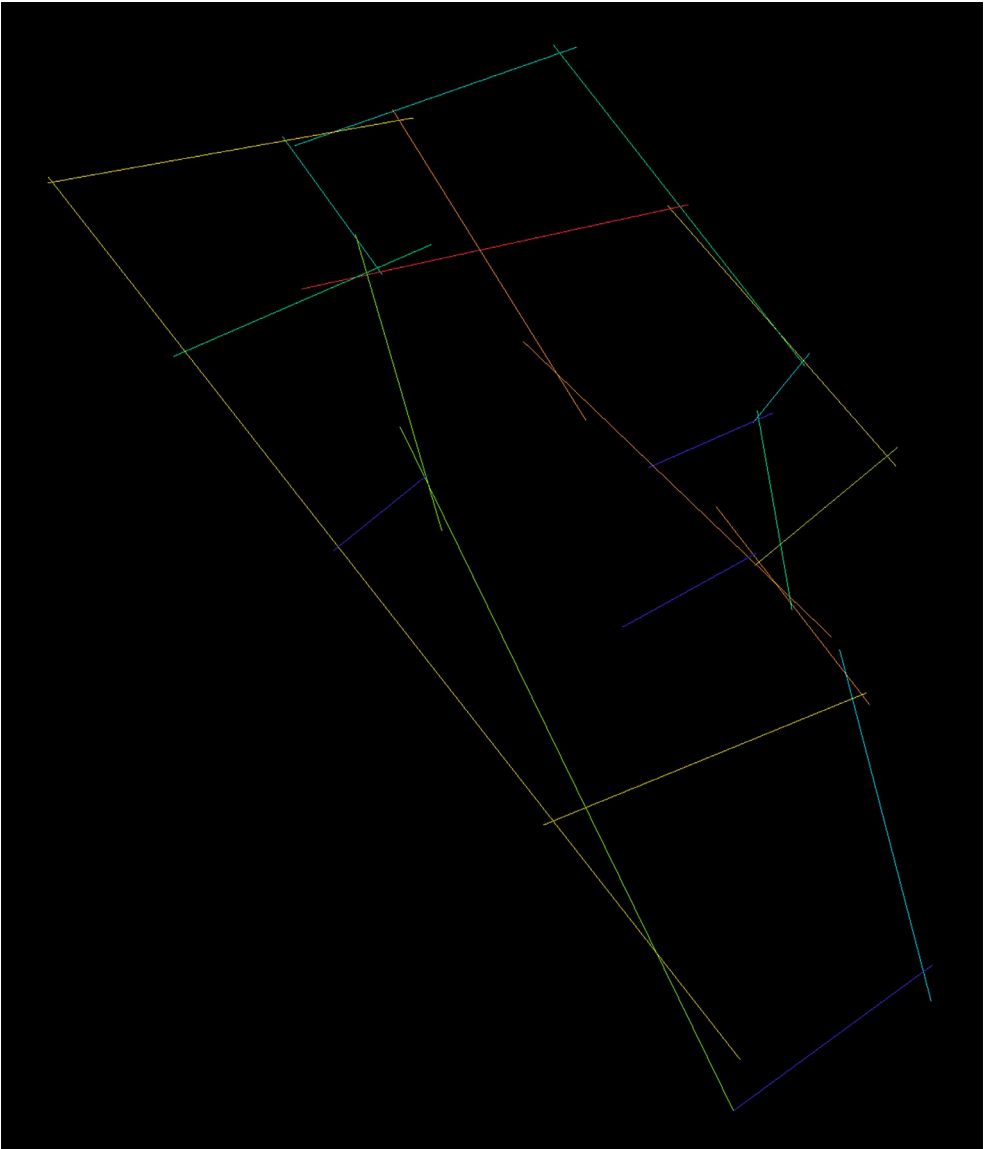
Map 4 The Radijalac today – Drawn by Zoltán Bereczki based on the official municipal map (suboticagis.rs)



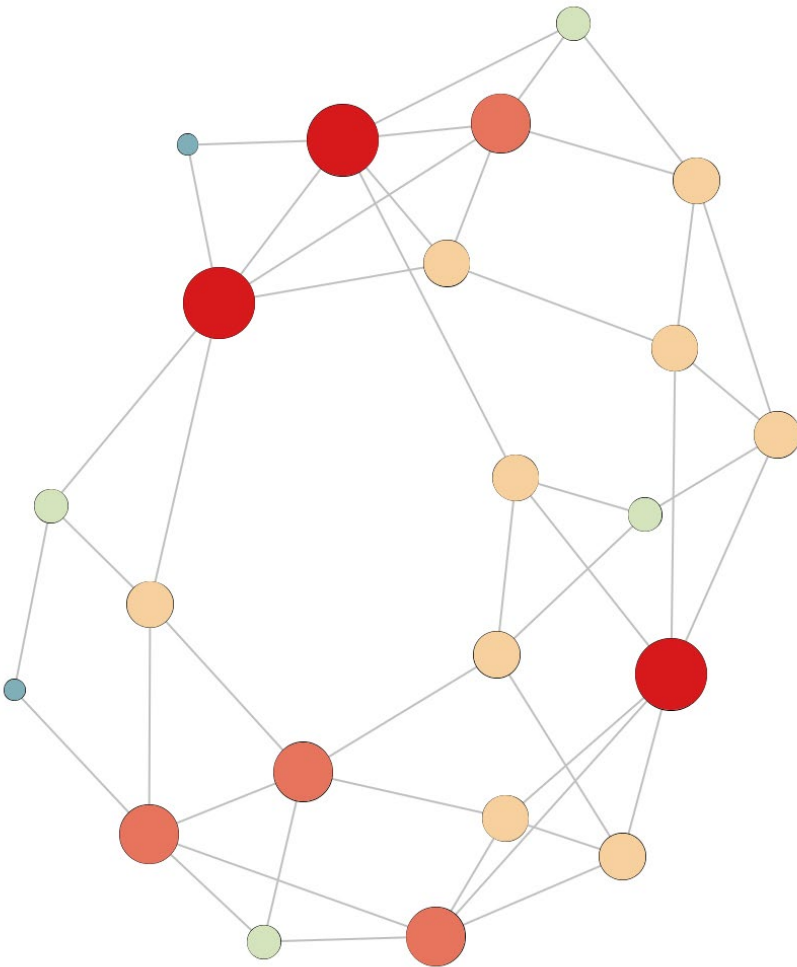
Map 5 Miskolc, the Gordon neighbourhood in the 1890s. Drawn by Abdo Mhrez (Urban Systems Engineering MSc student at the University of Debrecen) based on a contemporary cadastral map.



Map 6 Miskolc's Vörösmarty Housing Estate in the area of the former Gordon neighbourhood, nowadays. Drawn by Abdo Mhrez based on the official municipal map of Miskolc



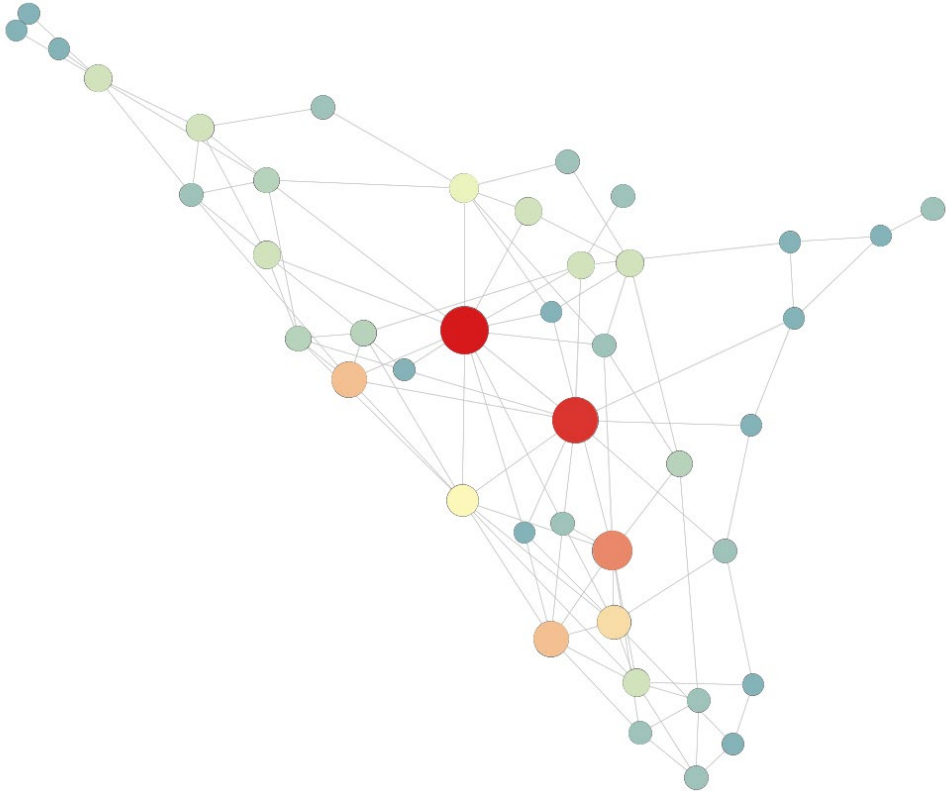
Map 7 Axial integration map representing the late 19th century situation of the area of the later Radijalac (Avenue), Subotica – The scale runs from red to blue, with red indicating high level of axial integration and blue referring to low. (Created by Zoltán Bereczki)



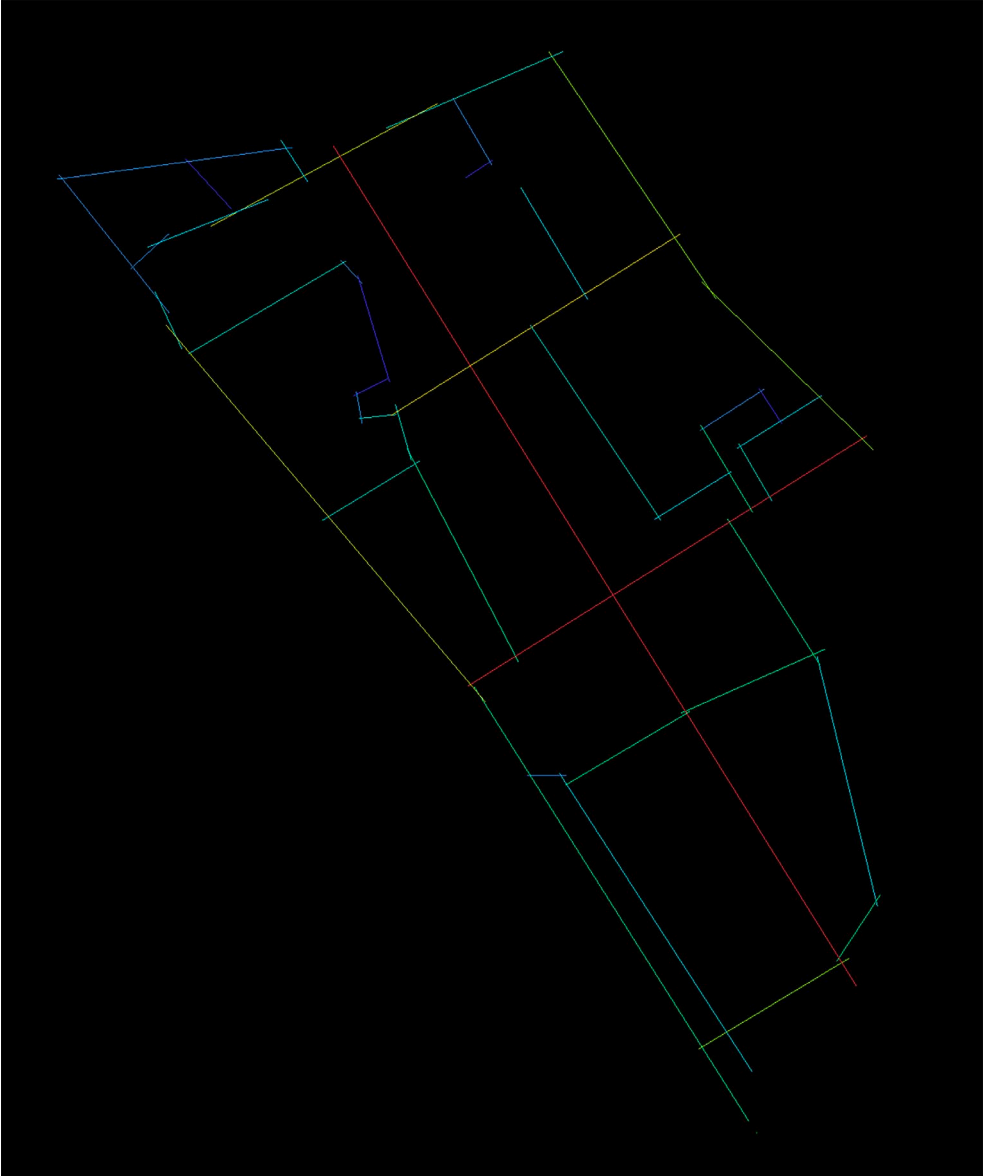
Graph 1 Subotica, integration level and connections seen on Map 7, on a graph. The red colour scale represents those nodes corresponding to the axis that have high integration value, while the blue scale refers to low integration level. (Created by Zoltán Bereczki)



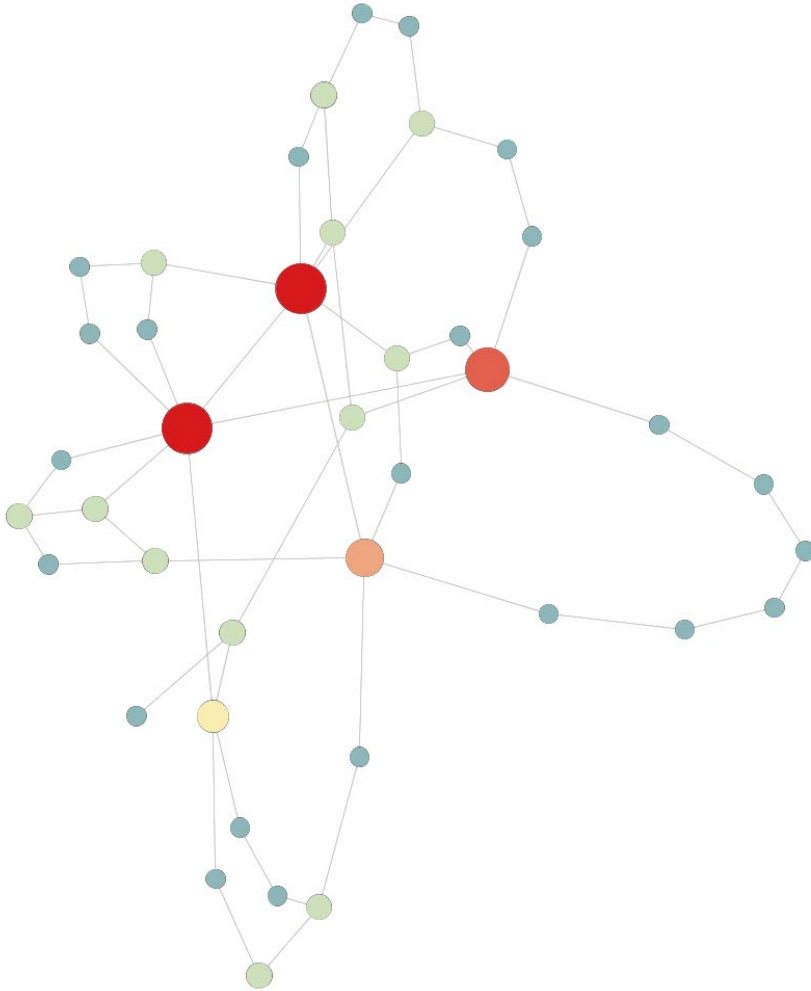
Map 8 Axial integration map of Miskolc-Gordon representing the late 19th century situation – The scale runs from red to blue, with red indicating high level of axial integration and blue referring to low. (Created by Zoltán Berecki)



Graph 2 Miskolc-Gordon, integration level and connections seen on Map 8 on a graph. The red colour scale represents those nodes corresponding to the axis that have high integration value, while the blue scale refers to low integration level. (Created by Zoltán Bereczki)



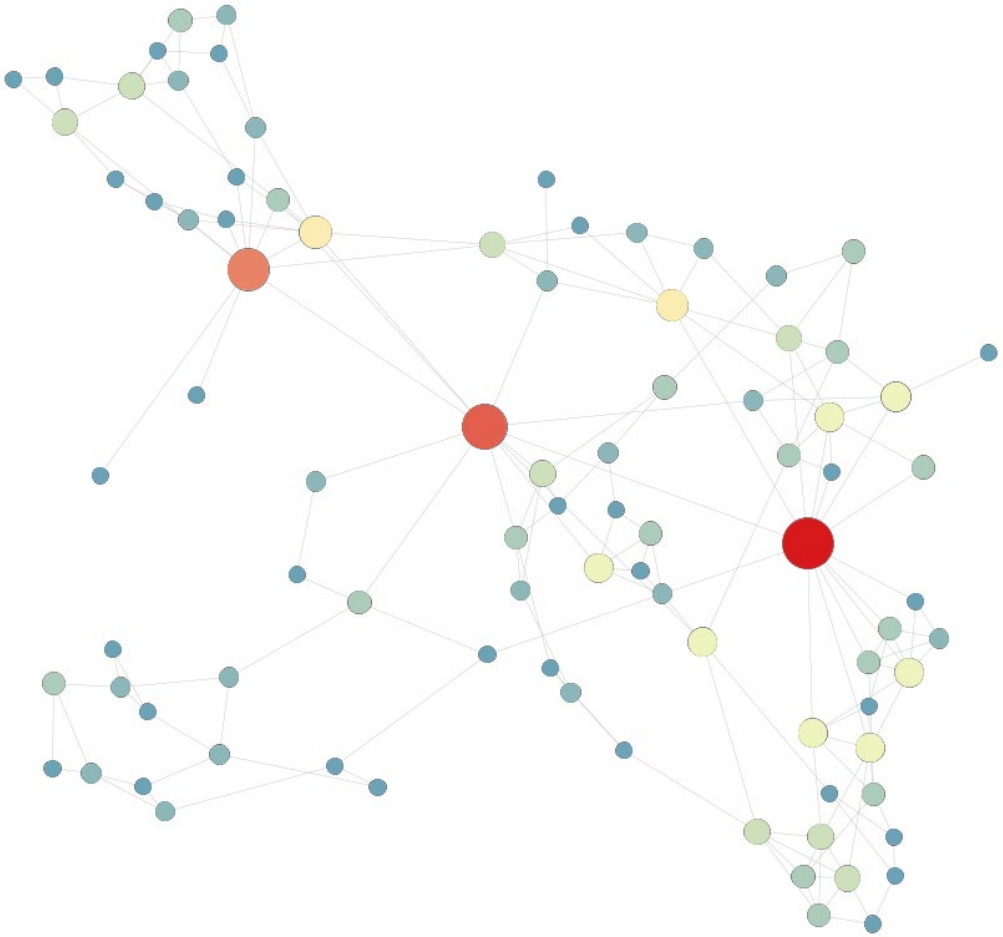
Map 9 Axial integration map of the Avenue and its surroundings in Subotica (Marshal Tito Avenue) – nowadays – The scale runs from red to blue, with red indicating a high level of axial integration and blue referring to low. (Created by Zoltán Berecki)



Graph 3 Subotica, integration level and connections seen on Map 9, on a graph. The red colour scale represents those nodes corresponding to the axis that has a high integration value, while the blue scale refers to a low integration level. (Created by Zoltán Bereczki)



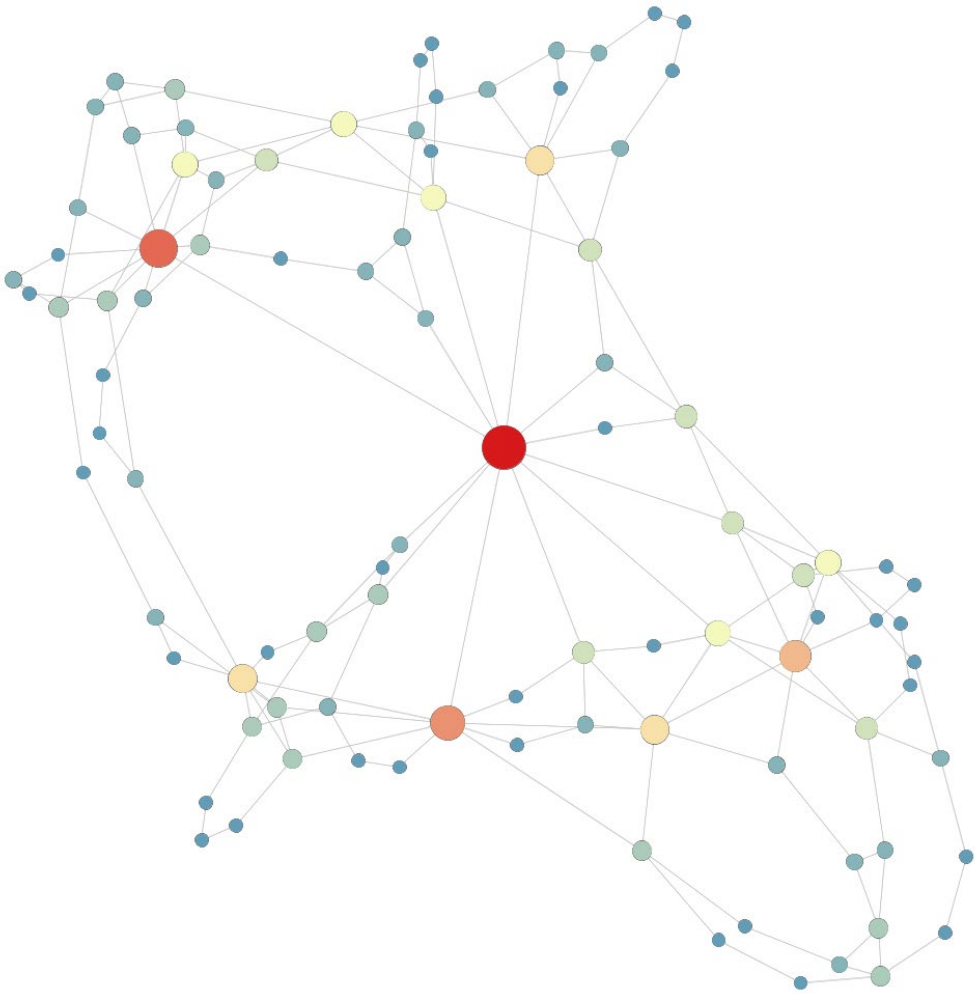
Map 10 Axial integration patterns in Miskolc's Vörösmarty Housing Estate (former Gordon neighbourhood). The scale runs from red to blue, with red indicating a high level of axial integration and blue referring to low. (Created by Zoltán Bereczki)



Graph 4 Miskolc, the integration level and connections seen on Map 10 on a graph. The red colour scale represents those nodes corresponding to the axis that has a high integration value, while the blue scale refers to low integration level. (Created by Zoltán Bereczki)



Map 11 Košice – The Komenského Street and its surroundings – The scale runs from red to blue, where red indicates a high level of axial integration and blue referring to low. (Created by Zoltán Bereczki)



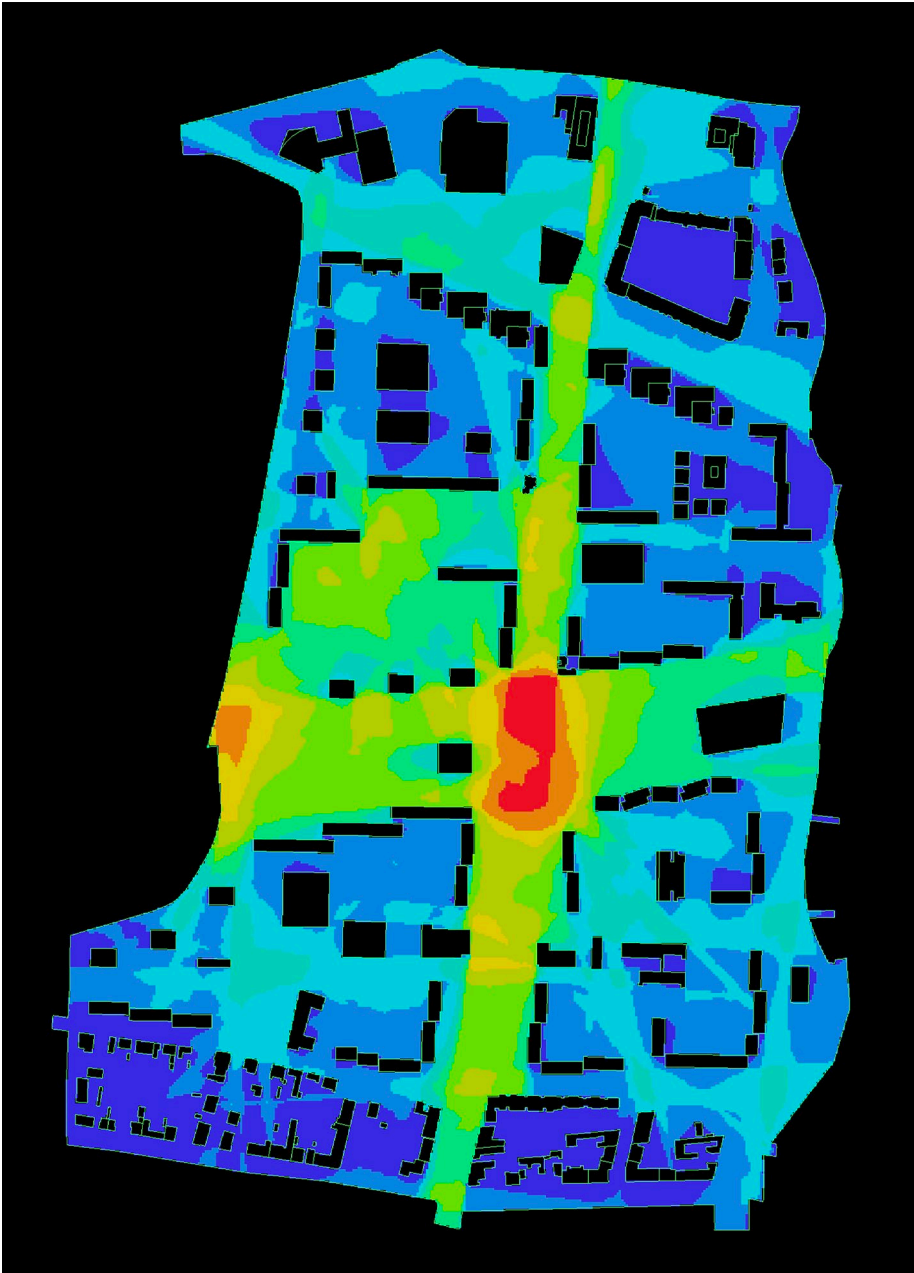
Graph 5 Košice, the integration level and connections seen on Map 11, in a graph. The red colour scale represents those nodes corresponding to the axis that has a high integration value, while the blue scale refers to a low integration level. (Created by Zoltán Bereczki)



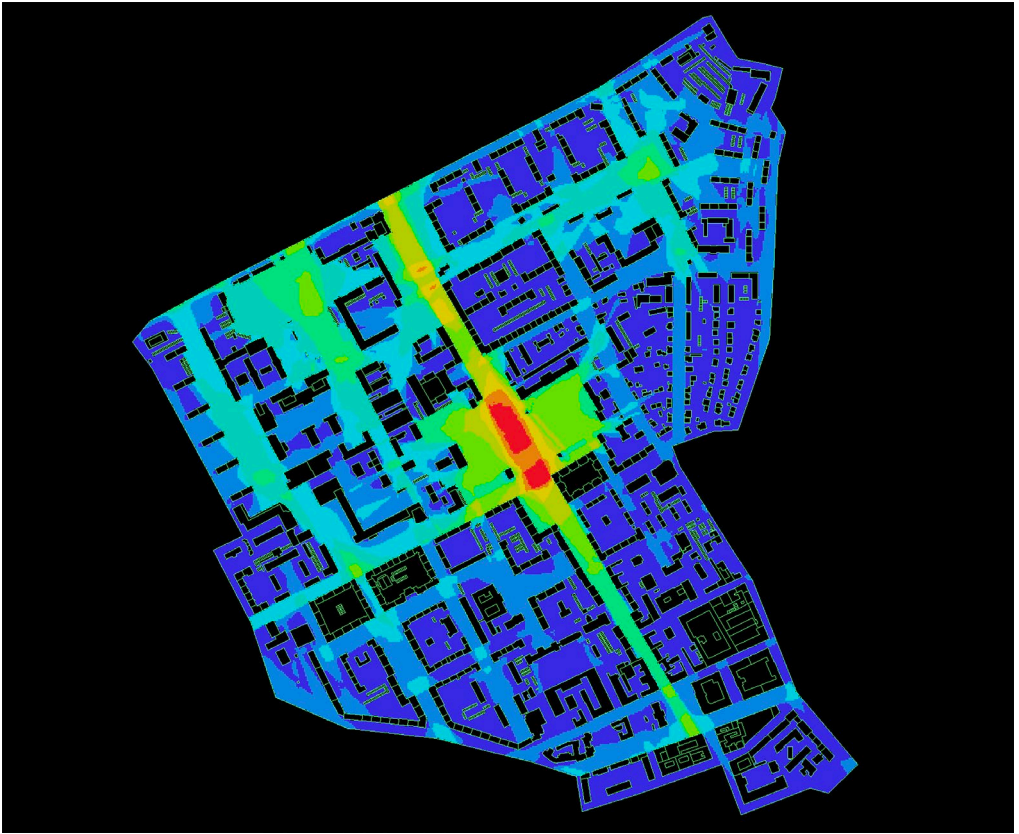
Map 12 Subotica, the visibility graph of the area of the Avenue based on the late 19th century situation. Red indicates more visibility, while the blue scale refers to a lower level of visibility.
(Created by Zoltán Berecki)



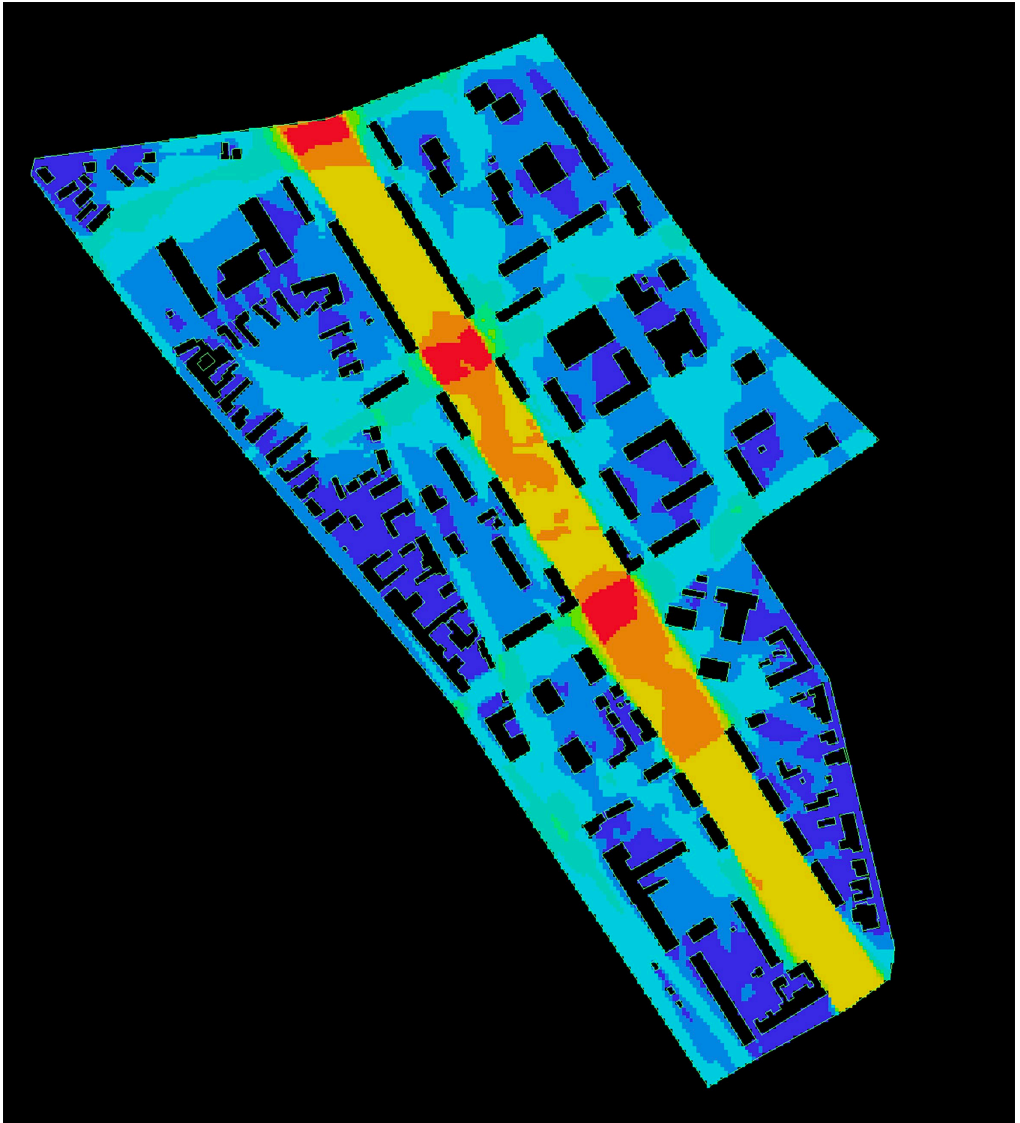
Map 13 Miskolc-Gordon quarter, the visibility graph of the area based on the late 19th century situation. Red indicates more visibility, while the blue scale refers to a lower level of visibility. (Created by Zoltán Bereczki)



Map 14 Subotica - Avenue (Marshal Tito Avenue) based on the current situation – Red indicates more visibility, while the blue scale refers to a lower level of visibility. (Created by Zoltán Bereczki)



15 The visibility graph of Miskolc's Vörösmarty Housing Estate and its neighbourhood based on current patterns. – Red indicates more visibility, while the blue scale refers to a lower level of visibility. (Created by Zoltán Bereczki)



Map 16 The visibility graph of Košice's Komenského Street and its neighbourhood based on current patterns. – Red indicates more visibility, while the blue scale refers to a lower level of visibility. (Created by Zoltán Bereczki)

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Mgr. Dana Kušnírová

Department of History, Faculty of Arts

Pavol Jozef Safarik University, Košice (Slovakia)

Email: dana.historicke@gmail.com

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Abstract

The City of Košice, which is currently the second largest in Slovakia, underwent an exponential territorial growth during the second half of the 20th century. The reason behind it was the industrialization of East Slovakia as part of the Czechoslovakian government program after the Second World War. City was chosen as the centre of a new industrial area in eastern Slovakia following the Czechoslovakian communist coup d'état and the culmination of Cold War at the end of 1940s. This included the relocation and extension of already existing, nationalized old factories or the localization of new ones, most notably East Slovakian Iron-works. Inevitably, many new housing estates needed to be built to accommodate workers with their families, causing the expansion of the city borders in all directions. Part of this process happened via the annexation of the neighbouring villages, when connected with Košice, sometimes even involuntary. The paper maps the development and change of Košice's borders using archival sources, maps, research results by regional historians and daily press.

Keywords

Košice, communist regime, industrialization, city limits, extension

Dana Kušnířová

From City to Agglomeration: Socialist Industrialization and Development of City Limits in Košice, Slovakia 1945-1989

Introduction

In terms of political geography, the eastern Slovakian city of Košice is in a particular position since it lies close to the state borders with Hungary, Ukraine and Poland. The area of the city has been continuously inhabited since the Early Stone Age.¹ The city walls were completed in 1290², while for the next 500 years they firmly defined the limits of Košice. Their liquidation began at the turn of the 17th and 18th century.³ Yet, the fundamental shift in the territorial organization of the city occurred only after the restoration of the Czechoslovak Republic at the end of the Second World War when Košice was reunified with the country.⁴ The change in territorial organization was largely due to the process of extensive industrialization and associated hierarchization of cities, which were characteristic for the urban development of East Central European cities

1 Lamiová-Schmiedlová and Miroššayová, *Archeologická topografia*, 7.

2 Halaga, *Počiatky Košíc*, 3.

3 Němec, *Košice 1789–1918.*, 17.

4 Šutaj, *Parižska mierová konferencia*, 402.

during the second half of the 20th century.⁵ In this period, the area of Košice extended considerably during various phases of rapid development. The city crossed its historic geographical boundaries. Hence, the primary goal of the study is to map the development of Košice's built-up area ('*intravilan*' = *urban surface*) after 1945 in relation to industrialization and specific stages during which the fundamental territorial changes took place. The research presented here focuses on finding answers to the following questions: what factors influenced the process of expansion of the urban area of Košice, what was the relation between the industrialization and expansion of the city and how these changes are reflected in archive materials and relevant sources. The analyzed changes are still ongoing and play an integral part not only in the overall planning and urban development of Košice, but also they are relevant in terms of city economics. This is one of the reasons why I plan to include the presented results in my dissertation thesis, which is to be submitted in 2022.

I chiefly rely on the fonds of the local Department of Planning and the Department of Home Affairs as primary sources, stored in Archív mesta Košice [Košice City Archives, AMK]. I evaluate the official yearbooks that different municipal institutions produced. These provide me with a basic chronological orientation, as of very beneficial. I also use periodicals as sources: both of a professional nature, specifically the magazine *Architektúra ČSR* [Architecture of Czechoslovakia], and local dairies.

Two key notions of this study shall be conceptualized: *socialist industrialization* and *Košice's urban area*.

Although, the specific term *industrialization* is absent from the work of Marx and Engels, the concept is clearly present, however, the authors were concerned solely with capitalist industrialization. It was only Marxists after Marx who used their analysis as the basis of theory and practice of industrialization under socialism.⁶ Notably, Russian economist and sociologist Yevgeni Preobrazhenski in his work *New Economics*, which was originally published in 1926.⁷ Nonetheless, any form of discussion about the possibilities of directing the industrialization process of the Soviet

5 Tomka, *A Social History*, 348.

6 Kitching, "Industrialization", 257-258.

7 Preobrazhenski, *New Economics*, 312.

Union was halted after Stalin's rise to power at the end of the 1920s. In 1929, the First Five Year Plan was adopted, which proposed an ambitious programme of heavy industrialization. This could not be achieved without an extreme centralization of the power, near complete elimination of private industry, collectivization and the use of propaganda.⁸ Large funds were pumped into industry, especially within metallurgy, engineering and industrial construction with the goal to catch up with developed countries. After World War II, when the formation of the Eastern and Western Blocs was well under way, and the industrialization of the Soviet Union was seen as a success that resulted in a radical increase of its gross industrial production. The international prestige of the USSR also increased due to the Soviet Union's victory. States forming the East bloc started to implement similar economic principles and policies. Czechoslovakia implemented the Soviet model including a centrally planned economy, nationalization, orientation on heavy industry and focus on producing the means of production.

In terms of chronology, one can distinguish two types of industrialization in Czechoslovakia. Prominent Czech economic historian *Vačlav Průcha* suggests that industrialization that took place within the short span of time between the end of the war till the turn of the 1940s and 1950s with its primary goals of reconstruction of the country after wartime and reducing the gap between the Czech and Slovak parts, was inherently different from the subsequent *socialist industrialization*.⁹ The Czechoslovak communist coup in February 1948, and the deterioration of international relations in the late 1940s, with the onset of the Cold War, led not only to an ideological strengthening of industrialization but also to increased pressure from the Soviet Union to accelerate the industrial pace in countries within the Soviet bloc and put even greater emphasis on heavy industry.¹⁰

State and party leadership selected Košice to be the centre of the new industrial area in East Slovakia because of several reasons. Long before 1945, Košice used to

8 More on topic of Industrialization of USSR Davies, *The Industrialization of Soviet Russia*, volume 3., 601. See also Carr, *Foundations of a Planned Economy*, volume 3., 643.

9 Průcha (ed.), *Hospodářské a sociální dějiny*, volume 2, 269.

10 Průcha, *Hospodářské dějiny evropských*, 157.

be the economic, social and cultural centre of the Upper Hungary/East Slovakian region, respectively. Some industries developed in the 19th century, such as food and building industry or foundry. From a social point of the view, the aim of nationalizing the contested city and the definitive replacement of the Hungarian population with Slovakian also played an important role.¹¹ In geographical terms, it was due to its proximity to the borders with the Soviet Union that made the import of natural resources easier, together with the ideological reasons.

Since this study is concerned with the physical expansion of the city, I will understand Košice's urban area as the central and continuously built up part of the cadastral area of Košice. One may divide the timeline into seven main phases: 1. Definition of the historic core; 2. Residential parts of the city and construction gaps; 3. Areas of production plants; 4. Areas of civic amenities; 5. Road areas; 6. Railway areas; 7. Water bodies and streams.¹² Such division was chosen mainly due to its complexity.

I will look at the phenomenon of *socialist industrialization* in terms of the interdisciplinary field of border studies, specifically its historic-cartographic approach.¹³ This is one of the traditional uses of border studies and is based on the mapping of changes in borders, their morphological properties and socio-geographical research of border areas. In the past, it was applied mainly to research on the delimitation and demarcation of state borders after the First World War. However, the historical-cartographic approach includes, among other things, an analysis of the relationship between borders, state regimes and the morphological characteristics of borders, so I consider it suitable for examining changes in urban boundaries during the existence of the totalitarian regime.

11 Ficeri, *Potrianonské Košice*, 336.

12 AMK, Košice a životné prostredie. Problémy tvorby životného prostredia mesta Košíc. Podkladový materiál pre plenárne zasadnutia OV KSS, MV KSS, MsNV a ďalších orgánov. Košice 1968. 17-19.

13 Kolosov, "Theoretical approaches", 35. See also: Wilson and Donnan (eds.), *A companion to Border Studies*. 620.



City plan of Košice at the end of the first phase of its territorial development in 1959.
(Author's own collection)

The Initial Phase of Changes to the Borders of the Urban Area of Košice 1945-1959

The initial phase was marked by continuous housing crisis, a legacy from previous periods, which was characteristic also for other cities in Czechoslovakia and even the whole of Europe.¹⁴ Addressing the critical shortage of housing became the main goal of construction development in the city.¹⁵ As a result, several small housing estates were built during the 1940s and 1950s in an additive way in the southern and northern part of Košice. Economically, more important was the approval of *Budovateľský program*¹⁶ [Building Program] by the Czechoslovakian government in 1946. The program, among other things, brought two important changes, the transition to a planned economy in the form of a two-year-plan, which was followed with a five-year-plan (1949-1953), as well as the official beginning of industrialization of East Slovakia. Several changes within Košice's territorial structure and its overall urban development during the reference period reflected on these decisions.

The *Magnezitové závody* [Magnesite plants], a national enterprise were created after the nationalization (1945) of the company that had mined and processed magnesite in Košice since 1901¹⁷. Originally located in the northern part of the city, this plant was relocated in 1948,¹⁸ further to the north, outside the cadastral territory of the city, to the neighbouring village of Ťahanovce. Similar to that was the fate of *Strojáreň a zlievareň Karola Poledniaka* [Karol Poledniak's Machinery and Foundry], one of the biggest industrial entities in the city before 1945. After the nationalization, the factory was extended and in 1947¹⁹ construction began on a new plant, south of Košice, between the original airport and village *Barca*. The production of this plant ceremoniously began in 1950 and at the same time, the factory was renamed to *Východoslovenské strojárne, závod Sovietskej armády* [East Slovak Engineering Works, Soviet Army plant]. These cases were the first indications of

14 Zarecor, *Manufacturing a socialist modernity*, 11.

15 AMK. Malinovský, "Architektonický rozvoj mesta", 15.

16 *Budovateľský program tretí*, 1946.

17 Gulyás, *Magnezitový priemysel*, 38.

18 Augustín, *Magnezitové závody*, 101.

19 AMK, *Kronika mesta Košíc. Hospodársky život v rokoch 1945 – 1975 I. časť. Strojársky priemysel*. 22-26.

what was to come in the following decade in terms of the industrial development of Košice. These two enterprises were among the largest employers²⁰ in the city, so the aforementioned changes also marked the beginning of a trend when Košice's economic centres were located outside its cadastre area.

This period witnessed the first attempt to locate a large metallurgical plant in the immediate vicinity of Košice. In 1951²¹, there was a decision to build the *Hutný kombinát* [Iron-works] west of Košice. Due to various reasons that mostly concerned insufficient planning and supply, building of Iron-works was never realized, leaving immense financial losses for the Czechoslovak economy. A contributing factor was the parallel construction of other large projects in Czechoslovakia, in particular *Nová huť Klementa Gottwalda* [Klement Gottwald's New Ironworks] in Ostrava. The related ambitious plans in relation to the development of the urban area and the population of Košice failed. Also, as of the two masterplans adopted in the 1950s, very little was implemented in practice.²²

To sum up, in the first phase, Košice had to cope with reconstruction after the Second World War, housing shortage and the beginning of the industrialization program, without a definitive city's masterplan, at the same time.

20 AMK, fond Odbor plánovania, č.š.: 6, č.s.: 28/1955. Mestská plánovacia komisia pri MsNV v Košiciach. Prehľad o stave zamestnancov u jednotlivých hospodárskych organizáciách. 1955.

21 Londák, *Otázky industrializácie Slovenska*, 82.

22 Sekan, "Storočie plánovania Košíc", 26-27.



The construction of the residential area called Košice-West. On the right, it is block no. 14-18 in ulica Ipeľská (1964). (Fortepan/photo by Viktor Gábor)

2nd Phase - Development of Košice in Western Direction 1959-1972

At the end of the 1950s, the city was fully affected by the ongoing *socialist industrialization*. Despite the failure of the Ironworks' building, the Czechoslovak government insisted on their plans for making Košice the "steel heart" of the republic. Government Resolution no. 1040 of 19 November 1958 approved the construction of the East Slovak Ironworks nearby Košice. The construction of the factory

itself began in January 1960 within the cadastral area of several neighbouring villages.²³ Again, the need for a new masterplan arose, which was completed in 1959.²⁴ It was the key document for the purposeful development of the *agglomeration* Košice until then.

“The city was then on the threshold of development. The benefits that arose from the presence of [river] Hornád was no longer enough, it was necessary to move to new areas. A new concept development had to be sought. Košice was to grow from 83.000 inhabitants to 120.000 in 1965. In 1975, according to the masterplan it should have 180.000 inhabitants. The alternative solution considered was clearly in favour of the construction of the Nové mesto [New Town] on the western side of the [hill] Terasa, where approximately 50.000 inhabitants per 316 hectares were to find housing.”²⁵

In addition to meeting the housing requirements that the stated population growth in the city was supposed to bring, it was also necessary to install the appropriate civic amenities, which led to a substantial expansion of the housing zone. The outer, peripheral part of the city, outside *Košice's urban area*, named *Terasa* [Terrace] was chosen for the aforementioned housing estate *Nové mesto* [New City]. The selected areas were equipped with no utilities and partially used for agriculture.²⁶ Excavation works for *Nové mesto* began in February 1962²⁷ and were completed in 1972.²⁸ The housing estate was organically interconnected with the older part of the city via a main road and sidewalk for pedestrians. With its distinctive name, it also played an important ideological and political role as the centre of the socialist economic region. This fact was very much true even in 1985,²⁹ when the building of

23 Namely *Šaca, Veľká Ida, Sokolany, Haniska* and *Bočiar*. See Balog, *10 rokov VSŽ*, 151.

24 Malinovský, “Vývoj východoslovenskej”, 109.

25 Malinovský, “Vývoj východoslovenskej”, 111.

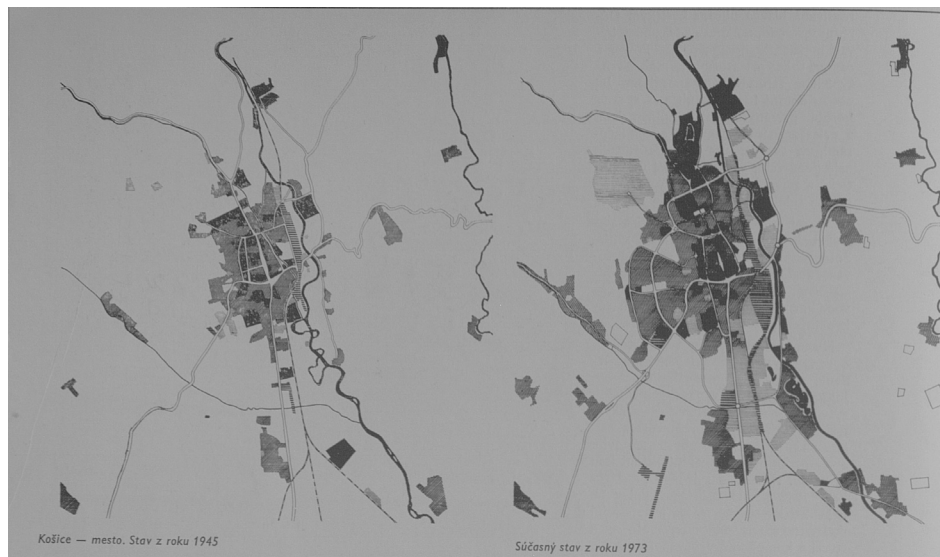
26 AMK, f. Odbor plánovania, č.š.: 26. Investičná úloha pre výstavbu sídliska Malá terasa – sever. 1960. 2-6.

27 Horváthová, *Architektonický a urbanistický*, 16.

28 Malinovský, “Vývoj východoslovenskej”, 111.

29 Motýl, “Ako vyrástol”

the City's National Committee *Biely dom* [White House] was completed there. Thus, for the first time in the history of Košice, its political centre was not located in the historic centre or in its close proximity. To this day, the City Council is still based in *Biely dom*. It was thus, in the second phase, when the territorial expansion of Košice to the west began.



Comparison of the territory of Košice in 1945 and 1973.
(Architektúra ČSR 3/1975 p. 110.)

3rd Phase - Annexation of the Surrounding Villages 1968-1976

The third stage of the expansion of Košice's city borders is characterized by the annexation³⁰ of the surrounding villages. This process consisted of two steps: first in 1968 when eight villages became part of Košice and in 1976 when another four were added.³¹ The annexation in 1976 was associated with the creation of the

30 Annexation occurs when a municipality extends its boundaries outwards, absorbing neighbouring territory. See Ross and Levine, "Annexation", 20-21.

31 AMK, Kronika mesta Košíc. Politický a verejný život 1945 – 1978. Politický život v roku 1976. 13.

new masterplan,³² because population growth in the city was faster than the 1959 masterplan anticipated. As a result, there was a faster depletion of residential areas proposed for housing construction. These circumstances led to the requirement to revise the masterplan and develop a new one. In most cases, annexed villages were connected with the city by continuous built up area. However, annexation could have taken place without the consent of the villages concerned. As I will show, after the democratization of Czechoslovakia in 1989, this proved to be a trigger of disputes. In general, determinants of Košice's consolidation can be divided into three groups: spatial - urbanization, economic and administrative - legal. In the next part of the study, the focus will be on the initial two that are relevant for us.

As the city was steadily growing in the 1960s, it became clear that (new) available areas for Košice's further urban development were insufficient.³³ With the addition of the first group of villages at the end of the decade, prospective areas fundamentally expanded, especially to the east side and significantly affected planning in the next stage. Among other things, the new masterplan also stated that Košice experienced a large movement due to employment because job opportunities in surrounding rural areas hardly existed. Naturally, their inhabitants gravitated towards Košice, where there was a high concentration of jobs but lacked workforce. Moreover, at the beginning of the 1970s, a few urbanization initiatives were taken in the Slovak part of the country, for instance *Urbanizačný projekt Slovenska* [Urbanization Project of Slovakia], within which the Košice urban region was formed.³⁴ In this period, Košice took a leap towards the *hospodársko-sídelná aglomerácia* [economic-residential agglomeration].

When deciding on annexations, economic considerations were of equal importance. Before 1968, several key industries were dispersed in the area of the surrounding villages, their merger led to at least a partial correction of this situation. However, primary production capacity of Košice – East Slovaki Ironworks still spread

32 AMK, f. Odbor plánovania, č.š.: 56. URBION – Slovenský inštitút pre územné plánovanie v Bratislave. Smerný územný plán pre hospodársko-sídelnú aglomeráciu Košice. Predbežný návrh. Sprievodná správa. 9

33 AMK, f. Odbor vnútorných vecí, č.š.: 57, č.s.: 101/1. Volebný program MsNV Košice 1968-1972. Všeobecná charakteristika mesta. 5.

34 AMK, f. Odbor plánovania, č.š.: 56. URBION – Slovenský inštitút pre územné plánovanie v Bratislave. Smerný územný plán pre hospodársko-sídelnú aglomeráciu Košice. Predbežný návrh. Sprievodná správa. 44-53.

over in two districts of *Košice – mesto* [Košice – city] and *Košice – vidiek* [Košice – countryside]. It seemed that the issue of the industrial area of the ironworks was definitely resolved during the annexation of villages in 1976.



The construction of the residential area called Košice-West. On the left, it is block no. 4-14 of Trieda SNP (1964). (Fortepan/photo by Viktor Gábor)

However, the change came after the Velvet revolution in 1989 and with the ongoing restitutions in the 1990s. One of the allegedly annexed villages, Sokolany, entered into a lengthy legal battle³⁵ over the plots with Košice on which factory is based. At the end of the 2020, Slovakia's Supreme Court definitely ruled that the land belongs to the Sokolany cadastre, not to Košice. The City thus lost property tax, which in 2019 amounted to about seven million EUR.³⁶

4th Phase - The expansion of Košice to the Eastern direction

In the past, construction in the eastern territory was off-limits not only by the river, but also by the industrial area of magnesite plant and by the railways. Yet, with the plans for Košice to reach 300.000 inhabitants by the year 2000, a new space designated to housing estates was necessary. The development during the final stage was coordinated by the masterplan, which was created in 1976 and which we partially covered in the previous part of the article. In addition to raising the requirements for the implementation of urbanization processes, the plan also dealt with planning of the city until the year 2000 including the western and southern areas but mainly in the eastern direction.³⁷ That is how the plans for *Východné Nové mesto* [East New City] housing estate emerged in the first half of the 1970s.³⁸ Construction was to start in 1985, and the proposed residential area was to accommodate 102.000 inhabitants on an area of 687 hectares,³⁹ which would made *Východné Nové mesto* the second biggest housing estate within Slovakia.

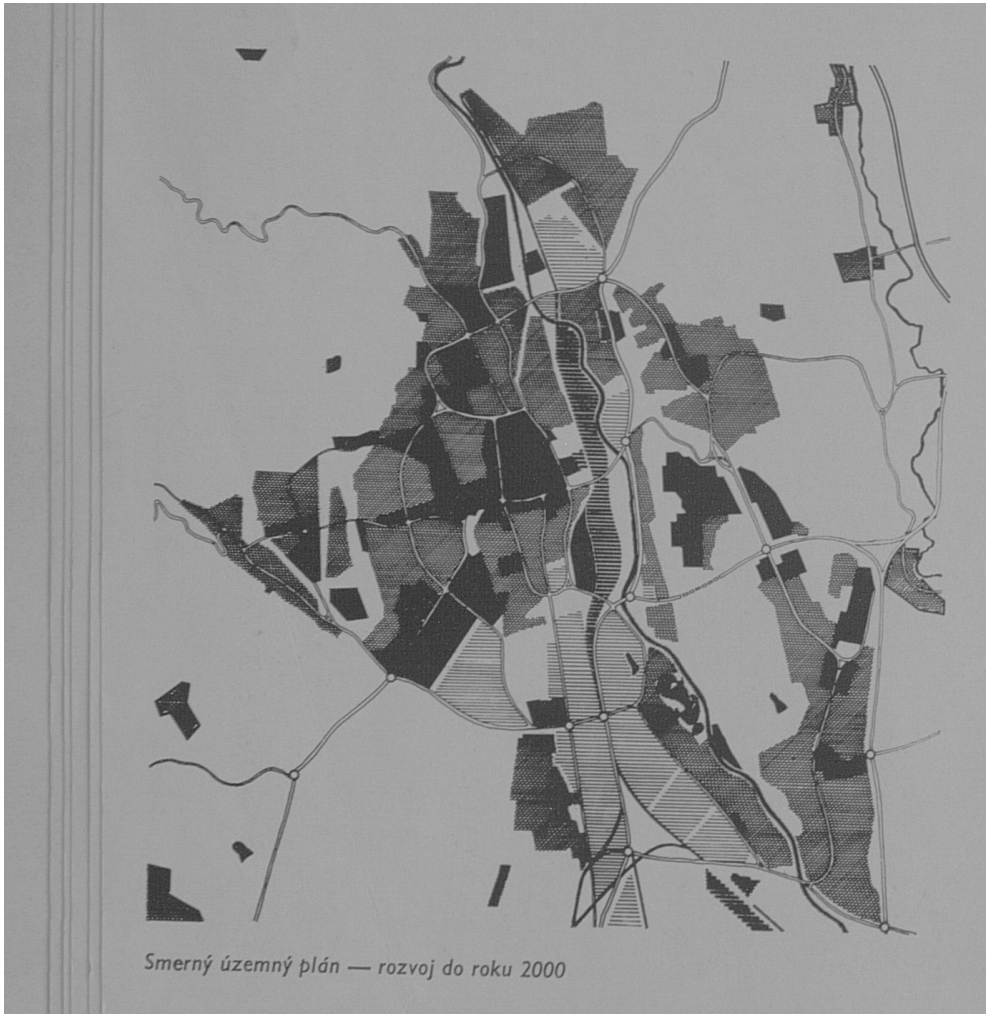
35 Pozemky pod U.S. Steel Košice patria do katastra Sokolian, rozhodol súd. Korzár Košice 9.11. 2020 <https://kosice.korzar.sme.sk/c/22531084/najvyssi-sud-pozemky-pod-u-s-steel-kosice-patria-do-katastra-sokolian.html>

36 Pozemky pod U. S. Steel Košice patria do katastra Sokolian, rozhodol súd. <https://kosice.korzar.sme.sk/c/22531084/najvyssi-sud-pozemky-pod-u-s-steel-kosice-patria-do-katastra-sokolian.html>.

37 AMK, f. Odbor plánovania, č.š.: 56. URBION – Slovenský inštitút pre územné plánovanie v Bratislave. Smerný územný plán pre hospodársko-sídelnú aglomeráciu Košice. Predbežný návrh. Sprievodná správa. 17.

38 Krásný, "Urbanistická studie Košice" 130-131.

39 Krásný, "Urbanistická studie Košice" 130-131.



Development of the city of Košice until the year 2000, according to plans from the mid 1970s. Growth to the east (Fourth phase) can be seen at the right bottom.
(Architektúra ČSR 3/1975 p. 110.)

Since economic progress is closely linked to huge energy consumption, already with the construction of iron-works, the possibility of locating a nuclear power plant near Košice was considered.⁴⁰ A decade later, the specified plans for nuclear power plant appeared,⁴¹ which was to be located 20 kilometres east of Košice and its

40 Ivanička, "Geografické základy"

41 Kecerovčania proti výstavbe jadrovej elektrárne. Noviny.sk 19.10.2017. <https://www.noviny.sk/ekonomika/31344-kecerovcania-proti-vystavbe-jadrovej-elektrarne>.

workers were to be housed in the upcoming *Východné Nové mesto*. In the following years, several geological surveys were carried out. Anyhow, plans for nuclear power plant were never realized and *Východné Nové mesto* was constructed only to a small extent. Several factors contributed to this result. First of all, the fall of the communist regime in Czechoslovakia in 1989, secondly, the split of Czechoslovakia in 1992 with the measures to protect the agricultural land fund⁴² and, last but not least, the Chernobyl disaster as the key factor. In 2007, the intention of a nuclear power plant was revived for a short time.⁴³

After the plans of the *Východné nové mesto* had fallen into the dust, the development of the eastern urban area continued due to a high demand from the real estate market. In 2008, project *Panoráma* [Panorama] started the construction of the new residential complexes.⁴⁴ During the years 2020-2021, a new masterplan was to be completed, which was to manage construction in the city for the next decades, with an emphasis on the development of Košice's river area.⁴⁵ However, due to the ongoing conflicts between the City of Košice and the Department of the Chief Architect, including the architects who worked on the masterplan, the work was suspended.

The masterplan from the 1970s thus remains valid and the second largest city in Slovakia has to deal with a non-existential spatial planning concept, while experts warn on the unfathomable consequences of this situation in the future.

42 Slov-Lex, právny a informačný portál. 01.01.2004. <https://www.slov-lex.sk/pravne-predpisy/SK/ZZ/1992/307/20040101.html>.

43 Jahnátek plánuje v Kecerovciach atómkú. SME Ekonomika 17.10.2017 <https://ekonomika.sme.sk/c/3540578/jahnatek-planuje-v-kecerovciach-atomku.html>.

44 V Košiciach vyrastá nové sídlisko. Košice: Dnes 14.12.2015 <https://kosicednes.sk/zaujímavosti/v-kosiciach-vyrasta-nove-sidlisko/>.

45 Lendel, "Architekti stratili".

Conclusions

In the presented study, I have experimented to map the development of the Košice's urban area in relation to industrialization after 1945, and to specify phases during which fundamental territorial changes occurred. Industrialization of Czechoslovakia in the second half of the 20th century is, in this study, understood as consisting of two phases. During the first phase, industrialization focused on the renewal of the post-war economy, transition to the planned economy and settlement of the Czech and Slovak parts of the country. The main characteristics of the second phase are the ideologically motivated adherence to the Soviet example and the emphasis on heavy industry. Industrial development in Košice also corresponded with such a division.

By analyzing archival and cartographic sources, I was able to identify four stages in the development of the borders of Košice, from 1945 to the present: 1. Initial phase; 2. Development to the west; 3. Annexation of the neighbouring villages; 4. Development to the east. It was established that fourth stage is still ongoing. During the second and third phases, we recorded the transition of Košice; first to the agglomeration and later to the economic-residential agglomeration.

It turned out that out of many consequences for the city that underwent socialist industrialization, changes of city boundaries is one of the most relevant in the field of urban history. To this day, Košice has had to deal with effects, which were left on the city and most probably will do so also in the future. Shaping of the city borders necessarily meant changes in the territorial structures, one can see changes, particularly with the relocation of the economic and political centres.

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Mgr. Klara Kohoutová PhD

Institute of Social Sciences CSPA Slovak Academy of Science

Email: kohoutova@saske.sk

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Abstract

Populism is one of the most commonly used terms in political and journalistic practices. Political leaders use it to gain votes or power. The main goal of populism is to mobilize the society for electoral victory. Electoral gain is therefore an essential criterion for success. In recent years, the number of populist movements has been rising around Europe at a rocket pace. While at the beginning of the millennium populist movements did not enjoy great popularity, today, a quarter of the European population believes in them. What has changed? Why are populist views so popular today? Many Czechs and Slovaks would be willing to leave the European Union and give up part of their freedom for stability. How to protect democracy? How to prevent political systems from falling back into the clutches of undemocratic forces? History has many lessons for us.

Keywords

populism, democracy, power, populist movement, freedom, authority

Klara Kohoutová

Approaching the Relationship between Democracy and Populism: Grass-Roots to Literature¹

Introduction

Populism has become a dominant element of politics over the time. Statistics shows that while populist parties in Europe gained 9.6% of the votes at the beginning of the millennium, in 2008, it was 17.2% and nowadays this rate is almost 25%. The European Union (EU), established in November 1993, was supposed to guarantee economic progress. EU member states enjoy many of its benefits today, for instance the freedom of movement, the possibility to work outside their country of origin without a labour permit, and so on. However, almost a quarter of the European population have to live below the poverty line or they are threatened by social exclusion. Many of them are worried about their future, others are afraid of stagnation and lose confidence in the political system. Instead of believing in a common future, notions like nationalism, xenophobia and self-closeness are expanding and this is what populists are looking for.

Populism controls the political directions of several states. One of the premises of this paper is that populism is a risk for democracy, since populists speak to their potential supporters the words they want to hear, offering quick and appealing solutions that are hardly feasible, and sometimes even harmful to society as a whole. This potential supporter is mostly disappointed with the current developments and feels

1 This paper was supported by VEGA project no. 2/0065/21 Social a psychological correlates of populist attitudes

that the ruling group is not interested in him. Populists divide societies by presenting two imaginary groups that are supposedly diametrically oppose each other: people and the elite. While the “people” group has exclusively positive qualities, the elite is corrupt and only defends their own interests or the interests of foreign masters. Populists pretend to represent the people. It is plausible to say that it is because of populist politics that less than three decades after the Iron Curtain got rid of the Soviet supremacy, democracy is struggling to survive in Budapest, Prague or Warsaw.

Before going further, it is important to stress that there is no clear definition of populism. Populism has lost its original meaning. In the 19th century, when the term populism did appear first time in USA, it meant rebellious. Originally, the term referred to a language style and a form of participation in politics. However, this specific way of expression did not deviate in any way from democratic principles. From a historical point of view, we can divide the development of populism into three periods:

1. *Agrarian populism*, which appeared in the second half of the 19th century in Russia;
2. *Latin-American populism* flourishing in Argentina and Brazil in the 1940s and 1950s;
3. *the new right-wing populism*, which appears until the 1970s.

Today, literature refers to the term as something negative: it has a pejorative meaning and functions as a label in most languages. One might argue the fact that their main aim is a desire for power already distinguishes populist politicians or groups of politicians. Arguably, Marian Kotleba and his promises serve just this purpose in the Slovak environment. Recently, many, including the author of this paper, have been losing confidence in classical political parties and looking for alternative solutions. Thus, people like Andrej Babiš or Tomio Okamura (Czech Republic), Marián Kotleba or Štefan Harabin (Slovak Republic) appeared on the scene. After all, Czech President Miloš Zeman, a social democratic politician, also changed his rhetoric and turned into a populist with an anti-immigration stance that leads the country eastwards.

Political scientist Vlastimil Havlík, devoted to Czech populism, tried to find the common features of the three biggest Czech populist parties:

- the centrism of the people as a homogeneous group of common interest;
- anti-elitism or anti-establishment, which manifests itself in demarcation from traditional parties;
- implementation of elements of direct democracy.

According to Havlík, a common feature of Czech populists is also the effort to depoliticize politics. One of the most famous slogans of November 1989 was *We are not like them*. It was a clear signal that the protesters would not take revenge. It was this motto that the political party Public Affairs (*Věci veřejné*) and the YES Movement (*Hnutí ANO* – ‘ano’ means YES in Czech) used in their campaigns. By using the term *they*, these actors refer to the representatives of traditional political parties. *Public Affairs* wanted to exchange traditional politics for healthy regime policy’s common sense, the YES Movement came up with the idea of running the state as a company. Here we can see a similarity with a former president Donald Trump.

In Slovakia, the most visible populism has been in Kotleba - People’s Party “Our Slovakia” (*Kotlebovci – Ľudová strana Naše Slovensko*). Their populism is manifested by Euroscepticism or misinformation and hoaxes about covid-19. Former Slovak Prime Minister Róbert Fico is not a populist at first sight, but in his speeches, he uses populist rhetoric, which is characterized by anti-elitist appeal and takes the role of a people’s representative.

Others, such as Slovak political scientist Samuel Abraham, go as far as to say that “*Populism is a partner of democracy. An undemocratic regime does not need populism, it negotiates respect and recognition by other means.*” Abraham also posits that populists do not have strictly set goals and attitudes. They have no problem changing their ideology or promising the impossible. These promises, or “solutions” are presented in simple terms so as many people as possible can understand them.

In her well-received book *Populism*, English theorist Margaret Canovan points to the fact that we cannot perceive populism in precisely defined negative or positive contexts. One should rather consider the extent to which a given political subject is populist. The basic premise of populism is a leader who claims that she speaks the language of all, who understands and solves common problems as an ordinary citizen. Margaret Canovan also underlines that populists do not present their leader as an exceptional person. Rather, they picture him/her as an ordinary person – representative of the people who understands the needs of citizens. The strengthening

of populist politics is one of the most discussed social phenomena in the transforming countries of Central Europe in the period after their admission to the European Union. Today, the work of populist politicians is a challenge for liberal-democratic systems because it exacerbates existing problems in the society and erases new ones. In some post-communist countries, populist forces have become part of the political systems. In some places, they are even in a dominant position (for example the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Hungary ...).

In fact, there are several other ways to approach populism. One can talk of it as an ideology, a political strategy or a way of political communication. Admittedly, today, due to the rich literature and diversity of positions, even political scientists may get lost in the quest for defining populism. There is an even more important set of questions, however: why do people believe in populist visions? Why do they associate themselves with views of the demagogue who shouts slogans? Why do the citizens of the countries of past totalitarianism or authoritarianism regimes take the side of populists?

According to the Slovak politician and sociologist Ferdor Gál, the underlying problem of democracy is not populism but the lack of citizens with developed critical thinking. She also argues that citizens are – paradoxically – the result of the links between long-term democracy and prosperity on the one hand and erosion of values, responsibility and consumerism, on the other hand.

Citizens, populism and democracy lessons / Moral of a workshop

The author of this paper participated in a programme that addressed the relationship between democracy and populism in a non-academic format. The Ministry of Education, Science, Research and Sport of the Slovak Republic, in cooperation with other organizations set up the *Science and Technology Week*, on an annual basis. The objective of the program is to improve society's awareness of science and technology in order to stimulate young people's interest in studying scientific and technical disciplines and also to address global challenges. As part of the Science and Tech Week at the end of 2019, with my colleague Lucia Heldáková, we organized a series of workshops with the title *Is democracy at risk today?* We discussed different topics with high school students:

- Historically, what were the periods when democracy in Czechoslovakia was in danger?
- What are the ways to promote democracy?

We divided the students into four groups:

1. The first group consisted of students who time travelled back 74 years to 1945, when World War II ended, Europe was in ruins while in the Soviet Union, a system called communism had been working for several years that seemed to be a suitable solution for post-war Europe. The students in this group had the task of coming up with 12 moves that could have helped Soviets and their supporters push through this political system in Czechoslovakia.
2. The second group also went back in time, but not so far, only until 1989. They had to take the role of those who were satisfied with the socio-political situation in Czechoslovakia. That is, they were to imagine that they perceived the communist regime as good and supported it. However, from January 1989, protests began and totalitarian regimes began to be looser in neighbouring states, some collapsed. We asked the students to point out specific ways that would have helped the system to stay in place.
3. According to our design, the third group of students also travelled back to 1989. However, unlike the second group, they felt suffocated under the communist regime. Therefore, they tried to find ways to help establish democracy.
4. The last group were students who simply had to stay in the present and find focus on the fact that they live in a time when populism is on the rise and sneaks into politics. We asked them to point out what phenomena deserve attention and what actions support democracy?

There were ten points that students considered important for the preservation of democracy:

- we must protect public space from hoaxes and misinformation, as well as protect space for media;
- take responsibility for the past, prevent people who had acted against democracy in the past making decisions about our future;

- observe the Constitution;
- secure freedom of speech;
- improve education;
- ensure fairness, for instance, a functional system of checks and counterbalances;
- reduce regional differences because they set a good ground for extremists;
- reduce unemployment;
- defend the independence of the judiciary;
- express one's political opinion (appreciates one's own opinion).

How do these points compare to pathways that academics have reconstructed or projected about the rise and fall of democracies? It seems that the members of the young generation we asked and the well-known authors share a lot about the content of threats and about the kinds of responses that would probably advance the cause of democracy.

In their book *How Democracies Die*, Steven Levitsky and Daniel Ziblatt argue that single steps or moves do not seem so serious or dangerous at the time they are made, but in the end, they can be. According to authors, democracy is not dying nowadays due to gunshots, revolutions and coups but because the 'watchdogs of democracy', mainly the judicial system and the press, allow them to fall. Fortunately, people still have the opportunity to leave the authoritarian regime. The book aroused a great response immediately after it was published. Steven Levitsky and Daniel Ziblatt show the rise of populism in a global context discussing historical and contemporary examples of states where democracy has collapsed or greatly reduced. The book was published in the USA after Donald Trump became the president of the country.

Although it was intended primarily for American readers, subsequently, it was translated in many languages. Erik Tabery, Czech journalist and editor-in-chief of the weekly magazine *Respekt* wrote an introduction to the Czech translation of this book: *'It does not happen too often that Czechs are in advance of Americans. It is a sad advantage in this case, but we have it. While Americans have never experienced the collapse of democracy, we went through it several times. Therefore, we have experience with what they just fantasize ... Therefore, more and more journalists, experts or historians are explaining to the American audience that each democracy that people lose interest in is at risk. Is the experience really stronger than studying? If so, why does democracy collapse in Europe so often? How is it possible that the*

generations that experienced the World War I could not resist Adolf Hitler in time? Are the Czechs more instructed by the Democrats after they went through the forty-year era of totalitarianism?'

American historian Timothy Snyder's published his considerations in a book *On Tyranny, twenty lessons from the 20th century*. His status warned against increasing populism and provided guidelines about the features and tenets of democratic behaviour, times that have the potential to become a totalitarianism. Some of his ideas are consistent with the opinions of the students who participated in our workshop.

'History does not repeat, but it does instruct,' Snyder writes. The book is a handle, a manual for defending democracy against tyranny primarily embodied by Donald Trump. As Snyder reminds, the history of Western democracies is not only a history of triumph, but also of decline and decay, which resembles the current situation. Authoritarianism, demagoguery and mass organization were the answers to the degree of globalization, which eventually led to the rise of fascism and communism. But what can be done about it? Timothy Snyder offers defiance – the courage not to submit, to defend institutions, to accept responsibility and to oppose both militias and the one-party government. A significant feature of his defence is ethics, a strong desire for truth, charity and the building of civil society. In short, freedom stands against tyranny. Wherever freedom is threatened, non-democratic regimes abound.

Conclusion

In 2019, the former Eastern Bloc countries celebrated the 30th anniversary of the fall of Communist regimes in Central Europe. Democracy emerged victorious! Has it really? Democracy cannot function without public space, without the support and interest of citizens.

The 20th century began and ended with the same exclamation: *We want to join Europe* – in other words, the West. The first Czechoslovak president Tomáš Garrigue Masaryk spoke about the fact that our historical place lies right there. The last Czechoslovak president Václav Havel had the same intention as his predecessor. Several decades of a journey in the opposite direction went by between the first (1918) and the last (1989) exclamation about democratic Europe passed– to the East. Is it in the power of a small state to change direction so often without losing itself?

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Reviews

Atlas Wyszehradzki–Visegrad Atlas. Ed. Przemysław Śleszyński, Konrad Czapiewski

Instytut Współpracy Polsko-Węgierskiej im. Waława Felczaka–Polskie Towarzystwo Geograficzne, Warszawa 2021. 299 pages.

Doi: 10.51918/ceh.2021.2.5

The Visegrad Atlas (Atlas Wyszehradzki) is a book of maps presenting the geographical diversity of the Visegrad Group (V4) countries - Czechia, Poland, Hungary and Slovakia – from social and economic point of view. While it was written and edited by the *Polish Geographical Society* (Polskie Towarzystwo Geograficzne), the publication of the Atlas was financed by the *Wacław Felczak Institute of Polish-Hungarian Cooperation* (Instytut Współpracy Polsko-Węgierskiej im. Waława Felczaka). The Wacław Felczak Institute is a Polish centre based in Warsaw, most important of all, it is not to be confused with its Hungarian partner organization the *Wacław Felczak Foundation* (Wacław Felczak Alapítvány) in Budapest. Namesake Felczak was a Polish historian, an avid researcher of Polish-Hungarian relations and a frequent visitor of Hungary, who is (or shall be) famous for organizing a secret courier service between the Polish Home Army and the Polish government-in-exile in London through the Hungarian capital during World War II. The Institution bearing his name was established by an act of the Sejm on 8 February 2018. Since then it has been functioning as the organizing body of summer universities, project financier and news portal operator – this Atlas, which was published in February 2021, perfectly fits the Institution’s framework. Prof. Maciej Szymanowski, the Institute’s director, wrote the preface, which, by a conscious choice, is available in 5 languages (Polish, Hungarian, Slovak, Czech and English). That triggers a wider interest within the Visegrad Group countries, which are – according to Szymanowski – *geographical-*

ly embedded in Central Europe and politically in the architecture of the European Union; thus, this Atlas is an invitation to everyone to get objective knowledge about the region, the *free and democratic Central Europe*. The director's rhetorical or rather theatrical question is simple: is this region to play the role of Sisyphus or Hercules in the near future?

The Atlas does not reflect this question directly, but it contributes to place the Visegrad Group countries in the global competition, according to their respective social and economic development. In order to do so, the publication sums up the four countries' geography, history, human resources, economy, ecology, urbanism, healthcare, religion, tourism and transportation – the main topics that are divided into 50 chapters, described on 267 pages, including issues from historical borders through sports and migration all the way to cryptocurrencies. The chapters are edited to be shorter than usual or expected, which is the result of deliberate decision in order to reach a wider audience and provide brief, easily understandable explanations of the selected topics chapter by chapter. The Atlas is rich in figures and tables, and many colourful maps help the reader – figuratively speaking - dive into this pool of information. The editorial preface by Przemysław Śleszyński and Konrad Czapiewski from the *Polish Geographical Society* also lists the primarily addressed audience: *administration and offices, experts, scientists and students*. I suppose the main target audience may be Polish readers, especially the younger generations – the entire Atlas or most of the chapters could be applied as teaching material at Polish universities. Being the Atlas bilingual, via the translated text (Polish-English), it could elevate the desired foreign interest, even beyond the horizon of the Visegrad Group.

Does the Atlas provide factual knowledge about the V4 and Central Europe? I will try to respond this question by detailing some of the key chapters of the book, but first, I have to react on some more general issues, such as what were the sources of the atlas and where the authors gained their information. When looking at the main data sources listed at the end of each chapter, as well as the literature and the supplementary sources printed at the end of the publication, one can see a high number of English language sources, mainly from Polish authors – the usage of international and Polish sources reaches a staggering 85 percent (pages 292–297), while Czech, Slovak and Hungarian publications are only represented by a mere 34

percent even in the list of main data sources (pages 288–291). Therefore, the Atlas provides objective knowledge about the region, but it is heavily oriented towards Poland considering the use of predominantly Polish language literature.

The first chapter, titled as *Geographical location*, gives a comprehensive list of first-level administrative regions in the four countries, providing a quite useful introduction to the area and its contemporary status. It was compiled by Tomasz Nowacki and one of the editors, Przemysław Śleszyński. In my opinion, the most detailed and useful parts of the Atlas made up by 3 other chapters, which were written by the latter. These chapters – *Density of population*, *Size structure and administrative hierarchy of cities*, *Gravitation of cities* – outline urban centres and urban relations in Central Europe by their population in their core and in agglomeration. The writer unfolds the attraction and power of the urban areas – as these are one of the most important development bases. The section *Density of population* (co-author: Marcin Mazur) involves three maps, one figure and a table, by which the authors tend to provide a detailed description on the current situation of the V4's urbanization and spatial structure on the basis of population density. The first map applies 46600 spatial units, where the average size of a unit is 11,4 km². The data reflects clearly that on the contrary to Poland's population structure, in Czechia, Slovakia and Hungary, the majority of the population lives in areas less than 1000 inhabitants per 1km². At the same time, comparatively speaking, the level of urbanization is higher in Czechia, Hungary and Western Poland, thanks to historical conditions, which are still measurable by today's social-economic structure. The authors came to the conclusion that only Poland has a favourable layout in the density of population, the other countries are monocentric – they mention Budapest as an example - the city with the least favourable setting, because the Hungarian capital clearly dominates over the whole country. Śleszyński at the beginning of the next chapter, *Size structure and administrative hierarchy of cities*, states that the region is not homogenous regarding the number and distribution of cities: rapid industrialization and the internal mass migration during the second half of the 20th century hardly delayed urbanization.

When looking at the first table of this chapter on page 97, one can see that only seven cities exceed to 500.000 inhabitants – out of which 3 are national capitals (Prague, Budapest, Warsaw) and the other 4 are found in Poland (Kraków, Wrocław, Łódź, Poznań). According to the data introduced, Poland has the most polycentric system of cit-

ies in the region and by no surprise, Hungary has the least balanced. According to Śleszyński, changing the distribution of the cities and finding the optimal relationship between the size and the range of influence is the most difficult challenge of development policy and regional planning. *Gravitation of cities*, the following chapter, deals with the difference between healthy gravitation and harmful absorption. The first figure of the chapter (page 101) is one of the maps that opens up the borders of the Visegrad Group countries and presents a minimal outlook on the external connections of the region's cities. The figure shows the polycentric system of connections in Central Europe: the strong ties with the fully inter-connected north-western part of the continent, the loose ends to Southern Europe and the four countries on the receiving end of Eastern Europe's ever westward, but weak connections. The geographical and high demographic potential of Katowice, Kraków and Ostrava are clearly visible. The only shortcoming of the map is the missing links of Gdańsk and Gdynia – the two cities stand alone on the northern end, surprisingly untouched areas by either Warsaw or Berlin. The second figure of the chapter closes the previous map's borders and focuses only on the gravitation between the cities of the Visegrad Group by indicating the 3 most significant links of each city to another in the region. I have an interesting observation on this map: one can instantly notice that there are only few cities in Slovakia (Žilina, Sobrance etc.) without a direct link to Budapest - Hungary, not even one can be found without that. We can compare the Polish Gubin and the Hungarian Barcs, both relatively far from their respective capitals; while Gubin is connected to regional Zielona Góra and Lubsko, the city has no link to Warsaw, but to a foreign, much closer capital city: Prague. Barcs, on the contrary, has a striking direct link to Budapest, while holding two regional connections to Pécs and Kaposvár. These well-written chapters – *Density of population, Size structure and administrative hierarchy of cities* and *Gravitation of cities* – show where our current urban opportunities are found in the region, but one shall notice the striking mistakes of the pattern as well.

The chapter titled as *Stability of political borders* provides a modern and rather unhistorical understanding of the V4 countries and their borders presented by 8 maps on pages 28–29 and one on page 30. While the authors state at the beginning that modern, very precise linear borders only appeared in the 19th century, their protection dates back into the 1st century BC and onwards. In my opinion, showcasing

the territorial changes of the historical predecessors of the V4 countries would have been more exciting, beginning with the creation of the Hungarian, Czech and Polish kingdoms, starting somewhat around the 10th century.

Endonyms and exonyms of larger cities is one of the most exciting chapters of the Atlas. It was written by Tomasz Panecki, and it takes a linguistic approach in order to establish a deeper understanding of the intercultural urban connections in Central Europe. The focus is on urban settlements and their nomenclature with a population higher than 50000 inhabitants, which are all featured on a detailed map (1:500000) on page 41. The aim of the chapter, facilitated by the map and an extra figure, is to exhibit a certain conceptual and spatial proximity of exonyms in the social consciousness of the V4 countries. Panecki made the endonym-exonym distinction in a modern way, where the endonym is in the official (national) language and the exonym can be read in other official languages of the V4 countries. As I examined the Atlas, I realized that history was put aside by the author. The first proof of the decision is the exclusion of Latin and German geographical names from the analysis. These rather faded remnants of a multi-ethnic history are culturally significant, and in several cases, they are still used not only by religious groups – the weight of Latin in the Catholic Church is unquestionable, – or the German ethnic minority, but also they do so well beyond that. Latin and German geographical names in the region are known and frequently used, moreover researched by scientists of many academic disciplines. The second proof, however, is more subtle. By the endonym-exonym definitions declared by UNGEGN (United Nation Group of Experts on Geographical Names), an endonym is a name of a geographical feature either in an official or in a well-established language occurring in the area where that feature is located.¹ This definition could raise a rather rhetorical question. If the local people were – even to this day – multicultural or multi-ethnic, as well as their settlements on greater geographical areas had more denominations than one – mirroring the linguistic variegation, do we indeed have to decide between an endonym and exonym based on the cultural-ethnic division, where the name used by the majority will automatically get the endonym label? [See the debate on the Triaon Monument in Budapest – translator's note.] Providing the well-established toponym and creating a more

1 <http://ungegn.zrc-sazu.si/>

detailed approach, according to the UNGEGN definitions, could have been useful in this matter. Nonetheless, we shall appreciate that divided cities as Cieszyn/Těšín and Komárno/Komárom were under the radar of the author, because the cities, if reunited at present, would have a population of over 50000 inhabitants, and the author would have challenged to make a distinction between an endonym or an exonym. However, the problematic issues in this chapter are yet to end here. The Hungarian exonyms in Poland and Czechia are only used sporadically, meaning it is hard to keep track of their applications, but they still exist. For instance, while its contemporary use is very limited, *Boroszló* – the historical Hungarian geographical name for Wrocław, derived from the German Breslau – was taken into account by the author very precisely. Brno was labelled in Hungarian as *Berén* – a historical, nearly forgotten version again, – yet most Hungarians know the Moravian capital by its German name, *Brünn*. Panecki failed to mention *Dancka* as a historical Hungarian exonym for Gdańsk, *Csensztohova* or *Csensztokó* for Częstochowa, *Gnézna* for Gniezno, *Ladiszló* for Włocławek, *Palacka* for Płock, *Petrikó* for Piotrków Trybunalski, *Opoly* for Opole, *Toronya* for Toruń, and in Czechia, *Alamóc* for Olomouc. Following up with the list of errors, in the Slovak language, Tarnowskie Góry is *Tarnovica*, Pécs is *Pät'kostolie*, Győr is *Ráb*, Székesfehérvár is *Stoličný Belehrad*, and Miskolc could be *Miškolc*, too. In addition, two versions exist for Székesfehérvár in Polish: *Białogród Stołeczny* and *Białogród Królewski*.

As honourable mentions, I shall praise two further chapters, *Natura 2000 ecological network* from Yuliia Semeniuk and Anna Kowalska and *Railway transport* written by Jakub Taczanowski. The initial lists and describes the 28 sites of the Natura 2000 programme in the four countries, which are to establish protection zones for birds and natural habitats of flora and fauna alike. Taczanowski on the other hand, shortly introduces the well-developed, but unevenly distributed railroad network of the Visegrad Group – as it indeed is: strictly objective information about how the four countries are managing their railroads and what could lie ahead in the future.

In summary, the publication of the Atlas is a great improvement for Central Europe and Central European relations. In just one work, the Atlas provides varied, interdisciplinary knowledge to form a deeper understanding of the four countries' unique backgrounds, differences and similarities. As I have stated before, the Atlas will certainly be used by scholars and students, entrepreneurs and politicians and the list may be extended. Numerous professions will find a piece of information in this book, which will

prove to be useful for them. Hopefully, the Atlas will find them – however, this scenario is most likely to happen in Poland, since the Atlas itself is Polish, and therefore deeply centred around Polish perspectives and opinions. For instance, a Hungarian reader, who would like to learn more about Czechia, will hardly find useful information about that country, however, they will clearly discover how Poland sees the rest of the Visegrad Group countries; and that has key advantages. Thus, I would urge the wide audience who have the smallest flick of interest in these four countries about who have formed the political Central Europe, just after exiting the Soviet sphere of influence, to take a seat and get through this huge amount of facts and figures, presented by the *Polish Geographical Society*. It is worth reading.

Bence Biró

Stipe Kljaić, *Nikada više Jugoslavija. Intelektualci i hrvatsko nacionalno pitanje, 1929–1945.*

[Never more Yugoslavia: Croatian Intellectuals and the National Question, 1929–1945] Hrvatski institut za povijest, Zagreb 2017. 436 pages

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Stipe Kljaić, a member of the younger generation of Croatian historians, published his first book in 2017 titled as, *Nikada više Jugoslavija: Intelektualci i hrvatsko nacionalno pitanje (1929. – 1945.)* [Never more Yugoslavia: Croatian Intellectuals and the National Question, 1929-1945]. The publisher was his home institution, the Croatian Institute of History (HIP) in Zagreb, where he is employed as a research associate. The book is based on Kljaić's doctoral dissertation that he defended at the Faculty of Philosophy of the University of Zagreb in 2015. The dissertation was notably improved and expanded before the researcher decided to publish his book, which is the result of eight years of research.

Kljaić's book is a remarkable work on the intellectual history of the Croatian intelligentsia in the first half of the 20th century. The author considers *intellectual history* as the main social and political ideas of the era and their appropriation in the Croatian intellectual public, the different interpretations of Croatian identity, as well

as the various views on the Croatian language, culture and race.

The work with an extensive bibliography was the first attempt in Croatian historiography to deeply analyze the ideas of Croat intellectuals on the national question from the late 1920s until the collapse of the Nazi-allied Independent State of Croatia (NDH) in 1945. The author offers an interpretation of the changes in the Croatian national ideology caused by the 6th January Dictatorship established by King Alexander I, trying to end the chaotic era, which evolved after the assassination of the Croatian Peasant Party (HSS) leader Stjepan Radić in the Parliament of Yugoslavia and with the intention to create a Yugoslav nation.

The book is divided into seven chapters in chronological order from 1929 up to 1945, even though the author emphasizes that being a work of intellectual history, chronological limitations are relative.

In the introduction, Kljaić offers a brief survey of different understandings of the role of intellectuals throughout history. The author makes it clear that his focus is on the Croatian intellectuals who opposed the Yugoslav regime and advocated the idea of an independent Croatian state. Although the work provides a wider picture of the intelligentsia between 1929 and 1945, he managed to outline the key tendencies of intellectual currents. In addition to the writings published in books, newspapers and journals, the author's research extended to the speeches, recorded discussions and lecture texts of various meetings, which shed light on many details.

Kljaić presents the views of the key Croatian intellectual groups of the 1930s, emphasizing the heterogeneity of the Croatian nationalist movement. The author demonstrates the different views and analyzes the internal disagreements among the members of the Croatian Catholic movement, presenting how the Catholic intelligentsia received the Croatian state-building, despite the fact that the Catholic leadership mainly welcomed the Yugoslav state at the initial phase. He also explains the process how the Croatian nationalism found a place of resistance to Yugoslav unitary in Catholicism. Furthermore, the author points out the criticism of Catholic circles against the Independent State of Croatia (NDH), which was established with their support.

Kljaić analyzes the views of the agrarian movement, the intellectuals of the Croatian Peasant Party, their leaders, Stjepan Radić and Vladko Maček as well as their colleagues and followers. A valuable part of the book presents the ideological foundations of the main Croatian political force of the interwar period and the parallels with other similar European movements.

The book also offers a summary of the Marxist interpretation of the national question, the ambivalent views of the different fractions of communists in Yugoslavia. Kljaić introduces the concept of “left wing nationalism”, presenting how some notable Croatian communists became interested in national history, emphasizing that it was not only skilful tactics of the party but also a personal belief of some communists that did not refer to the significant weakening of the international component in their ideology.

Stipe Kljaić discusses how the part of Croatian intellectuals rejected the Yugoslav idea, their views on differences between Croatian and Serbian culture after the 6th January Dictatorship was established. The author of the book emphasizes the key role of the leader of the oldest Croatian national institution Matica hrvatska. It was Filip Lukas who claimed that culture and history are the key elements of a nation, not race and language, as the official Yugoslav ideology stated. Lukas referred, among others, to the French historian Ernest Renan, and the Austrian sociologist Othmar Spann. His life is truly symbolic, as the leaders of the royal Yugoslavia wanted to assassinate him and he was threatened with death by the ustaša regime as well, while the communists sentenced him to death in absentia.

Kljaić analyzes how the pro-Western intellectuals and the supporters of Croatian Catholicism opposed the Balkanization of the Croats and also describes various views on the “dinaric race”, which were for some superior, while for others barbarian. Kljaić highlights that the glorifiers and critics all believed that human nature was exclusively determined by history, geography and biology. The book deals with the different approaches to regionalism, ranging from the Marxist Miroslav Krleža who thought that the national integration of all Croatian lands was an impossible fantasy, to the ustaša Ante Pavelić who rejected every form of regionalism, which made differences among Croats on the basis of the regions of their habitat.

The book contains a subchapter about the case of Dalmatia, whose attachment was sought by every Croatian policy of the 19th century. However, in the interwar period and in the Second World War, the region (especially its urban population) showed the greatest restraint towards Croatian national integration. Kljaić analyzes Dalmatian elites, how their representatives became mostly the followers of integral Yugoslavism and the process of their joining the communist and the četnik movements, too.

In the interwar period, mostly Catholic-oriented intellectuals were looking for a “third way” between capitalism and communism. Many of them criticized the concept of a totalitarian state by advocating ideas such as Catholic corporatism with the argumentation that it suits the spirit of the Croatian people better than the National Socialism and fascism. The author points out that the Ustaša movement never developed a consistent ideology of social order, which caused their main problems, leading to a spontaneous way of governing. Kljaić quotes the criticism of Filip Lukas and Stjepan Zimmermann, who agreed that Pavelić’s personality was the biggest obstacle of establishing a stable state.

Kljaić deals with Marxism in a separate chapter, emphasizing that the criticism against its representatives, Miroslav Krleža, August Cesarec and others, arose from the Catholic and conservative circles, much less from liberal positions, which he learned by analyzing the anti-communist discourse of the Matica hrvatska cultural organization. However, Marxist thoughts were also present in the organization until the establishment of the Independent State of Croatia.

The book provides a summary on the criticism of the Marxist “national nihilism” and deals in a distinguished sub-chapter with political converts who subsequently rejected communism.

The process of the weakening of the liberal idea in the interwar period is presented with an international outlook by showing the Yugoslav liberal nationalism of the Yugoslav-oriented Croatian liberals. The author describes the vision on the establishment of a united Yugoslav nation, emphasizing that many liberals accepted the Croatian national ideology turning to Croatian nationalism. Marxism took the place of the “primary enemy” of Christian morality for Catholic intellectuals and the Croatian nationalists from the 1930s. Kljaić points out that the mainstay of the philosophical approach to liberalism was Catholic anti-modernism and he underlines that the emerging Croatian Catholic movement challenged the earlier position of the Church, which at the time of Strossmayer was more biased towards liberalism and the French Revolution, believing that it could be reconciled with the Christian religion. The book touches on the influence of Masaryk’s realism, which was thanks to Croatian intellectuals studying in Prague. Kljaić also analyzes the position of the liberal idea in the Independent State of Croatia.

Kljaić wrote a new chapter about the Croatian Question in the war, analyzing how Croatian intellectuals saw the issue of the sovereignty of the ustaša-led Croatia.

Kljaić cites numerous intellectuals who criticized the way the Independent State of Croatia was run and he points out that it was more similar to the Nazi Germany than to the Fascist Italy, claiming that the idea of a “totalitarian state” was absent from the ustaša ideology. The author decided to deal with the status of Bosnia and Herzegovina, as well as with the questions of Muslims and the followers of the Orthodox Church in special subchapters. He explains how the ustaša-led Independent State of Croatia tried to fit the Muslim population into the Croatian nation, creating a hybrid of Western and Oriental influences, the way the entire territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina was claimed, and how it became the “heart” of the Croatian nationalist state. In this context, the author highlights the importance of the adoption of the “German geopolitical logic” by the Croatian intellectuals studying at German-speaking universities. Kljaić describes the circumstances of the establishment of the Croatian Orthodox Church and the disagreements of the Ustasha over the conversion of the Serbian population to Catholicism. More emphasis should have been given to the ideological background of the crimes committed against the Serbian Orthodox population during the Second World War. In this chapter, the case of Istria would have deserved perhaps a little more attention.

The final chapter of the book deals with the development of the partisan and četnik concepts of Yugoslavia and outlines the basic principles of their leaders. The author tries to explain the motivations of the Croatian intellectuals who joined these movements and presents their plans on how they intended to rebuilt the Yugoslav state after the war, the way the new Yugoslavia announced with its federalist drafts the death sentence for Croatian nationalism and its aspirations for the Croatian state.

Despite its somewhat tendentious title, Kljaić’s book is certainly a major contribution to Croatian historiography. The work illuminates the rich Croatian intellectual life in the discussed period with an interdisciplinary approach. Since the Croatian national question was one of the key issues of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, the book offers deep knowledge to understand some of the main reasons of its collapse. The work can be very useful not only for those who are interested in the topic, but also it can help understand the roots of the debates of our days.

György Lukács B.

Béla Tomka, *Austerities and Aspirations: A Comparative History of Growth, Consumption, and Quality of Life in East Central Europe Since 1945*

Central European University Press, New York 2020, 445 pages

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Béla Tomka's latest English-language book is not entirely new to the Hungarian readers, being it a revised version of his monograph entitled *Gazdasági növekedés, fogyasztás és életminőség: Magyarország nemzetközi összehasonlításban az első világháborútól napjainkig* [Economic Growth, Consumption and Quality of Life: Hungary in International Comparison from the First World War to the Present, published in 2011]. On the one hand, Tomka narrows the time frame, omitting - albeit not entirely - the pre-1945 period, and, on the other hand, he broadens the scope of his analysis, covering now the economic development of the East-Central European region, not exclusively Hungary.

The author's main aim is to present the economic growth not only in terms of GDP growth, but also in terms of improvements in consumption and the quality of life, as opposed to previous research. His argument is convincing: GDP has a number of components that do not at all reflect the real living standards of a society. However, it is also clear, and the author makes no secret of the fact that numerous methodological problems rise in providing a credible representation of the real living conditions. Most importantly, there is a lack of reliable data on consumption and the quality of life, as well as the depth and quality of the case studies carried out by economic and social historians to date vary. The absence of equally reliable data series for different countries and regions, alongside with different periods make comparisons rather complicated.

However, Tomka overcomes the abovementioned methodological obstacles. In presenting economic growth, the writer uses Angus Maddison's GDP per capita data at purchasing power parity as a proxy. Tomka applies the Gini index, named after the Italian economist Corrado Gini, as a measure of consumption in order to rank countries, but here he focuses on the recent international social history research on

topics ranging from consumption structures to gender inequalities and generational consumption patterns. Nevertheless, the most comprehensive factor to measure is the quality of life, which the author considers key. Of the many surveys, the most important is the Human Development Index, which the writer compares among regions, supplemented by mortality data.

The question arises: what is the author comparing with what? Firstly, East-Central Europe, in the title of the book, refers to three countries: Czechoslovakia, Poland and Hungary. The analysis is ostensibly Hungary-centred, but not confusingly so, as Tomka, in his book, sights to draw on relevant English-language literature on the economic history of the other two countries. The author does not compare the three countries - although he sporadically refers to dissimilarities among them. Instead, Tomka compares data from the region with the 15 most developed countries of Western Europe (EU-15). Hence, each chapter is divided into two main sections. First, the developmental characteristics of Western Europe and then East-Central Europe is presented and compared with the EU-15. The title of the book is therefore inaccurate, since it is as much rather about the eastern half of Europe as it is about the western half.

Tomka's main purpose is to show, through growth, consumption and the quality of life, when convergence and divergence occurred between the EU-15 and East-Central Europe during the 20th century. Its main findings include that between 1913 and 1939 the East-Central European region converged, while between 1945 and 1989, it diverged after a period of temporary stagnation, and after the collapse of socialism, which was followed by a brief transitional period, it converged again with Western Europe in all three areas.

Overall, the book is an excellent synthesis that can be used as a handbook for anyone wishing to learn about Europe's chief economic indicators. However, it is also clear that in a synthesis, certain issues are only sketched out in a general way, or not at all. Thus, there is a complete lack of political history background, which is not a major problem in a work of economic and social history, yet, it would have been useful to at least trace the motivations behind the main policy decisions. One of the reasons behind is that without it, the reader is not aware when and why the political direction of the socialist system changed between 1945 and 1989, as well as why this change used to have economic policy implications. In the post-1953 reform era,

the purpose was the socialist emancipation of the society through the application of the scientific and technological revolution's achievements, then in the 1970s, in the face of the increasingly complicated international conditions, the political leaders were concerned with the maintenance of growth, but no longer with the pursuit of growth. A few examples to illustrate: during the 1970s' in Poland, not only did the leadership borrow or invest massively in the heavy industry with a view to growth, but also because population growth was so high that new jobs had to be created for the 2-300.000 young people annually entering the labour market. The target was to comply with the system's ideology of full employment, housing (should have been built) for the new generation, meanwhile providing food for the ever-expanding industrial districts, without the power to monopolize food production and distribution due to the lack of collectivisation. In Poland, growth and the construction of modern industry were propaganda slogans, but in reality, survival was at stake. In Hungary, during the 1970s, after the halt to the further liberalisation of the economic mechanisms and the half-hearted implementation of the COMECON integration reform, which Kádár had also supported, the primary objective was also not for the growth, but to maintain the living standards through the more or less advantageous trade agreements followed by the negotiations with the Soviet Union, as well as the Western loans, which were more or less achieved by the end of the decade, stabilising the position of power.

Nevertheless, a more serious shortcoming of the book is that Béla Tomka utterly ignores the positioning of the East-Central European region in the world economy. In my opinion, this would have been necessary. How does the author view the region? Does he consider it an integral part of Western Europe, or rather a semi-periphery / periphery? Unfortunately, Tomka does not devote a single paragraph to the vast literature on this issue, thus his position on the matter is absent, too.

This is deliberate on his part, though, since according to his narrative it is not the region's position in the world economy but the centralised socialist command's economy, which is responsible for the region's divergence from Western Europe in the post-1945 period. Recent research, however, has nuanced this narrative. It was not only the existing socialist system itself - which underwent numerous modifications - but also the constraints imposed by Soviet policy and the consequences of the integration of the ECE region into the world economy that contributed to the region's divergence from the West from the second half of the 1960s onwards.

More recently, a growing body of literature has appeared on the subject based on archival sources. Oscar Sanchez-Sibony's monograph *Red Globalization: The Political Economy of the Soviet Cold War from Stalin to Khrushchev* (2014), or the case studies in *Cold War Energy: A Transnational History of Soviet Oil and Gas* (2017), edited by Jeronim Perović, provides a very rich source material that sheds a different light on the economic history of the Cold War and the socialist bloc. Between 1953 and 1973 - the 'golden age' of the Western European capitalism - the East-Central European region somewhat kept up the pace of development, despite missing out on the Marshall Plan, the full benefits of the European integration, and even facing trade embargoes, protective tariffs, global trade barriers, including a lack of capital and technology. Meanwhile, under the banner of the scientific and technological revolution, they were trying, in vain, to reform their systems, to switch their industries from heavy industry to chemical industry, which would have boosted consumption and thus were to raise living standards, but they became fatally dependent on Soviet crude oil. It was only in the 1970s that the region indeed began to globalise and integrate into the international economic world system, at a time when the global economic crisis hit the most with a huge impact. Thus, as a semi-periphery of Western Europe, the only way to produce the export necessary goods in order to finance the growing volume of imports and obtain the resources needed to maintain living standards has been through indebtedness.

Overall, therefore, the narrative of this volume, namely that the divergence was only due to the socialist management mechanisms of East-Central Europe, cannot be justified. In fact, during its period of forced autarky, the system performed better than during its rather opened and more coherent relations with the world economy. Divergence thus occurs when contact is more intense, when the semi-peripheral economy is more strongly integrated into the international division of labour.

Tomka's hypothesis is that if it had not been for forty-five years of socialism, the differences between the two parts of Europe would have presumably levelled out. He supports his view with the pre-war divergence and the levelling-out of the Western European states against each other. Until 1989, Tomka argues relatively well that the socialist system had inhibited growth in almost all areas. However, 30 years after the regime change, the argument that growth is still inadequate because of inherited structures is difficult to accept.

An analysis of the semi-peripheral nature of the region (less developed nations, delayed urbanisation, poor infrastructure, sparser transport network, persistent capital-poor middle class, worst credit system, still distrustful Western banks, market vulnerability, lower quality human capital, etc.) would have brought the reader closer to comprehending the economic divergence and convergence of the last thirty years. Although Tomka, using GDP data, argues - in agreement with several economists - that a significant convergence was seen between 1995 and 2006 within East-Central Europe and the EU-15, the period cannot be regarded as the golden age in the history of the EU-15. If we go back to that two decades after 1953, discussed in chapter 2, when the EU-15 was growing at an annual average of almost 4% and the ECE countries were able to keep up with this growth rate in the face of much worse international conditions, the performance of the decade following 1995 does not seem to be such a great success. In particular, when one considers the significant reductions in social and welfare benefits, including the size of the foreign capital inflows. Indeed, as Tomka repeatedly points out, regarding welfare transfers, the level of public consumption in East-Central Europe was practically in line with the Western European average after the Second World War and especially from the 1960s, yet this was far from the case in the 1990s.

In conclusion, and the data in this book confirm this, the decades of state socialism have reinforced the East-Central European region as a semi-periphery of the Western Europe. And the three decades after the fall of communism also show that the 'reintegration' was also asymmetrical, i.e.: semi-peripheral (mainly as a market and a cheap labour base).

Despite all these shortcomings, Béla Tomka's book is indispensable for those looking for data on the history of the post-1945 era. One can argue with the narrative, but much less with the data. On the other hand, it is also clear that despite a bibliography of some half a hundred pages, there is still plenty of ground to cover.

Miklós Mitrovits