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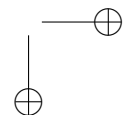
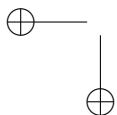
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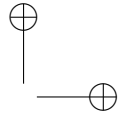
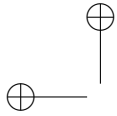
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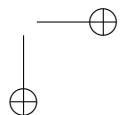
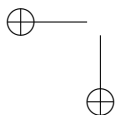
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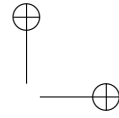
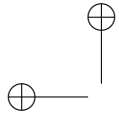
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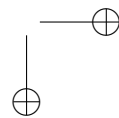
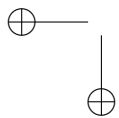
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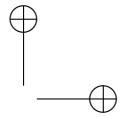
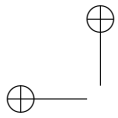
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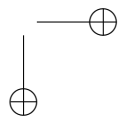
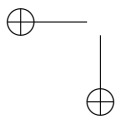
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The Tradition of Examining the Effect of the Natural Environment on Human Society, or Environmental Determinism in Pre-Modern History

*Martin Urban**

The issue of the effect of the natural environment on human society has been (and still is being) an important topic in geographical literature since ancient times. Scholars have queried to what degree natural conditions influence the human population, its character and history, for many years and have presented various theses, theories and concepts, which they have used to try and describe this mutual relationship. The aim of this article is to present this long-standing conceptual tradition in basic outlines, from its oldest manifestation in ancient Greece to the birth of modern science at the beginning of the 19th century. Different approaches from Hippocrates, through Strabo, Ibn Khaldūn to Montesquieu will be discussed. However, most geographers in pre-modern history have approached to the topic more or less deterministically.

[Human Geography; Environmental Determinism; History of Science; History of Geography; Antiquity; Pre-Modern History]

The issue of the effect of the environment on human society has been an important topic in geographical literature since ancient times. Scholars have queried to what degree natural conditions influence the human population, its character and history, for many years and have presented various theses, theories and concepts, which they have used to try and describe this mutual relationship. The purpose of these efforts was (particularly with the arrival of positivism and the origin of modern science) to establish and formulate the rules for development of humankind and its history depending on the geographical environment. In spite of the fact that this topic no longer determines the

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direction of geographic research in today's world, it still forms an important and traditional element of the history of geographical thinking. We can observe this tradition in history as a red thread emanating from ancient times and connecting scholars across the centuries, from Hippocrates to Carl Ritter and Friedrich Ratzel. The purely deterministic viewpoint of the relationship between nature and mankind has predominated over these long centuries.¹ Nature was considered the determining power, which is to blame for everything, from our physical and mental attributes, to our habits and the nature of the state establishment. It was simply up to each scholar how much influence he attributed to the natural environment.

The aim of this article is to present this long-standing conceptual tradition in basic outlines, from its oldest manifestation in ancient Greece to the birth of modern science at the beginning of the 19th century.

Ancient and Medieval Tradition

People in ancient Greece were already aware of the link between man, or human society, and the surrounding environment. The oldest document demonstrating this belief is the volume titled *On Airs, Waters and Places*,² which was most probably written by Hippocrates of Kos (approx. 460–375 BC).³ Even though this volume is more of a medical nature, it also discusses geographical and climatological factors, which have (from the author's viewpoint) an impact on the health of man and occurrence of disease. It is Hippocrates' opinion that the location of human settlements, the local climate, the type and quality of the available water, all has a fundamental impact on mankind and his health. And not only on health. The aforementioned factors not only affect man's susceptibility to suffer from various types of dis-

¹ Miroslav MARŠÍK attempted to clarify the actual theoretical core of geographical determinism and its key development trends in history in his *K otázce determinismu ve vztahu přírodního prostředí a společnosti* (The Question of Determinism in Relations between Natural Environment and Society), in: *Sborník československé společnosti zeměpisné*, 68, 2, 1963, pp. 139–148.

² HIPPOCRATES, *Aforismy. Prognostikon. O vzduchu, vodách a místech*, Praha 1993.

³ Hippocrates' authorship is not certain. Some researchers are of the opinion that one of his students was more likely the author of the volume or that there could have been two authors. H. BRUUN, *De morbo sacro and De aëre aquis locis*, in: *Classica et mediaevalia. Revue danoise de philologie et d'histoire*, 48, 1997, p. 133.

ease, but also man's physical strength, mental and moral traits and overall lifestyle. For example, Hippocrates endeavoured to use Asia⁴ as an example to show us that where the land is "the most fertile, abundantly forested, has the clearest sky and the best rain and spring water [and where] it is not too scorched by the heat, desiccated by drought and lack of rains or made to miserable by the cold [...] then the land naturally produces abundant fruits [...]. People are well-nourished here and have beautiful and lithe figures differing very little from each other in figure and size [here] [this is a reference to the seeming similarity of the physical traits⁵ of people inhabiting the Near or Central East, compared to the diversity and variability of the population of Europe⁶ – author's note]. It is natural that such a region is very similar to spring, also due to the mildness of its seasons. Masculinity, patience, diligence and courage cannot develop under such conditions [...], but hedonism rules here from necessity"⁷. According to Hippocrates the people populating Asia, are less aggressive and less courageous than Europeans as a result of the favourable, stable climate, which does not change much: "the manners [of Asians] are more moderate, which is mostly caused by the seasons, which do not change greatly and are neither too hot or too cold, but remain constant. As a result, the population is not subject to excessive excitement or excessive physical transformations, which cause the nature to become wild and increase in tenacity and quick-temperedness, than when a person lives constantly in the same state. Because constant changes are what encourages the spirit of man, not permitting him to be inactive"⁸. But he immediately adds that "lack of courage" and the general character of the Asian population is not only caused by the climatic conditions and the natural environment, but also by the political system and form of government: "those who would be endowed with masculinity and braveness by nature, change their

⁴ However, in Hippocrates' time the total area and diversity of Asia was not yet known. It is known that for example in Herodotus' time the geographical knowledge of the ancient Greeks reached to the east from the Caspian Sea to approximately 47 degrees latitude and 67 degrees longitude, which encompasses the area of northern Iran, Afghanistan, Pakistan and the north-east of India with the basin of the Indus River, at most.

⁵ E. g., skin and hair colour, etc.

⁶ He explains the variability of European inhabitants at the end of his volume, see HIPPOCRATES, p. 108.

⁷ Ibidem, p. 104.

⁸ Ibidem, p. 105.

nature as a result of the effect of the laws".⁹ We can unfortunately only guess whether Hippocrates identified climatic and natural influences to be the cause of origin of despotic state formations in Asia. In any case "a situation [climatic] that is constantly the same results in indifference, whereas constant changes are a condition for physical and mental stress; peace and indifference also cause increased cowardice, whereas hard work causes greater courage. This is why the inhabitants of Europe are more aggressive than Asians, and this is also due to their laws, because they are not ruled by their kings like the inhabitants of Asia".¹⁰ At the end of his volume Hippocrates repeats: "Where the seasons change very frequently and where the differences are very marked, that is where you will also find very diverse forms, manners and natures. These are therefore the main reasons for changes in personality, followed by the soil on which mankind lives and finally water; you will certainly find that the forms and behaviour of people usually adapt to the landscape."¹¹ As well as the climate, which Hippocrates emphasises along with the flow of air and the changing of the seasons throughout his volume, he also considers the soil and water in general to be very important. With regard to the morphological diversity of the human population, its character, physical and mental competence, it seems that he even attributed decisive importance to the aforementioned factors. Even though Hippocrates' authorship is speculative, this is a very remarkable elaboration of a theory about the influence of natural conditions on mankind.

The volume titled *On Airs, Waters and Places* gave rise to an interesting philosophical tradition, which scholars and writers of the ancient world, who followed Hippocrates, continued to develop. It is impossible to list and analyse all the articles on the topic of the relationship between the natural environment and human society that appeared during ancient times,¹² however, at least those that are either very distinctive or that continued to develop this philosophical tradition will be briefly introduced as an example.

We also encounter evaluation of the influence of the geographic environment in works by the Ancient Greek historian Ephorus of Cyme

⁹ Ibidem.

¹⁰ Ibidem, p. 108.

¹¹ Ibidem.

¹² An article on this topic was presented for example by R. PÖHLMANN, *Hellenische Anschauungen über den Zusammenhang zwischen Natur und Geschichte*, Leipzig 1897.

(approx. 405–330 BC). In his *History*, written in approximately 357 BC, Ephorus evaluated the geographical location of Boeotia¹³ in comparison to neighbouring regions. He therefore derived specific prerequisites for a Boeotic hegemony in a specific area from the advantages of its location. However, due to the lack of education and training of the local elite, this advantageous geographic location was allegedly not utilised.¹⁴ It can therefore be assumed that Ephorus did not consider the natural environment to be the decisive factor in regard to human history, but mankind itself. It is interesting that while Hippocrates was interested in the influence of natural conditions on the health, personality and character of a person alone, Ephorus was interested in another topic. Can geographic factors affect development of human history? In spite of the fact that, with a little exaggeration, we could call Ephorus a geographic indeterminist today, the discussion that followed his works produced many writers who thought exactly the opposite. For example, in 1828 the French philosopher Victor Cousin stated, in his published course of philosophy: “give me a map of the country, its configuration, its climate, its waters, its winds and its complete physical geography; give me its natural products, its flora, its fauna, etc. and I will a priori describe the humans of this country and what role this country will play in history; not randomly, but necessarily; not at a specific time, but always”.¹⁵ Cousin was not the first or the last follower of similar opinions. Natural or geographical determinism predominated in geographical literature until practically the middle of the 20th century.

Historian, diplomat and traveller Megasthenes (approx. 350–290 BC) also contributed to this topic during the Hellenistic period. Even though it was lost and we only have fragments available today, his volume *Indica* was the main source of information about India in its time (or more specifically about the Hindustan region, which he personally visited).¹⁶ In spite of the fact that he also noticed the specific geographic and climatic conditions of a country (particularly monsoons)

¹³ This is a historic Greek territory located to the north of the eastern part of the Gulf of Corinth, it neighbours Attica on the mainland, which is to the South-East.

¹⁴ B. HORÁK, *Dějiny zeměpisu I. Starověk a středověk*, Praha 1954, p. 30.

¹⁵ V. COUSIN, *Cours de philosophie. Introduction à l'histoire de la philosophie*, Paris 1828, chap. 8, pp. 17–18; also quote G. HEYDEN, *Teorie životního prostoru*, Praha 1960, p. 39.

¹⁶ G. SARTON, *Hellenistic Science and Culture in the Last Three Centuries B. C.*, New York 1993, p. 7.

and accurately described the system of watercourses in the northern area of India, he devoted most of his attention to the population, its personality, lifestyle, political establishment, social order and particularly its religion. He considered mankind to be a product of the country and the soil. He derived man's physical traits from the fertility of the land and he reasoned that the Indians' great talent for art and craft came from the pure air and from drinking very good water.¹⁷ Hippocrates' influence on Megasthenes is evident and was very strongly apparent in the works of the best-known historian of the Hellenistic period, Polybius (approx. 200–118 BC), who, in his *Histories*, explained the causes of the hard moral life of the population of Arcadia, who "are all dependant on their own work and basically lead an arduous and hard life [...] their rough behaviour [is] caused by the cold and harsh climate, which usually reigns over this region and to which all people have to adapt. This is the real reason why ethnic groups living in various places differ from each other from the aspect of their behaviour, appearance and colour of their skin and also their general lifestyle".¹⁸

The work by Greek philosopher, historian and geographer Strabo (64 BC – 21 AD) is the culmination of the ancient concept of the influence of natural conditions on society. In his *Geography* (*Geographica*), the most extensive geographic work of ancient times,¹⁹ he provided a description of individual countries,²⁰ where he discussed the structure of the surface and also the economic and cultural conditions, with frequent inserts from the field of history or fauna and flora. He himself considered geography more a philosophical branch, the role of which

¹⁷ HORÁK, p. 41; J. W. McCRINDLE (ed.), *Ancient India as described by Megasthenes and Arrian*, London 1877, p. 31.

¹⁸ POLYBIOS, *Dějiny II (kniha III–V)*, volume IV, Praha 2009, p. 124.

¹⁹ However, the importance of Strabo's *Geographica* is not just in its respectable size (17 volumes), which has surprisingly survived practically whole (only a very small part is missing), but also in the fact that most of the knowledge about ancient geography is provided to us by Strabo himself. Many older works have either irrevocably disappeared or only fragments have survived. Fortunately, the first part of Strabo's monumental work is a sort of critique of all previous geographic works, beginning with Homer. G. J. MARTIN, *All Possible Worlds. A History of Geographical Ideas*, New York – London 2005, p. 34.

²⁰ The first two volume contain critiques of previous scholars and a summary of their geographical knowledge. These are followed by eight volumes devoted to Europe, another six to Asia and the last volume devoted to the region of Africa known at the time, but mainly to Egypt and the region of Ethiopia.

is to determine the relationship between the natural conditions of individual landscape areas and the cultural condition of the population. As a result, he asked what impact does the geographic environment have on development of history. On the contrary to his predecessors, he assumed a more cautious standpoint. He considered the climate and the character of the natural environment on one hand, and unrestricted activities and the creative power of the “nations” on the other hand more or less equal factors: *“In comparison to other continents, Europe has various advantages given by nature, which have made it the most suitable region for perfecting the human generation. Only a small area is uninhabitable due to the cold. The cold and mountainous landscapes are sparsely populated, but if they receive industrious educators, their population becomes milder. So the Hellenes, even though they lived on mountainous and rocky soil, lived a happy life, devoting energy to state administration, art and everything that is the purpose of life. The Romans were credited with civilising numerous regions, which had previously been sparsely populated, harsh and enclosed, which they conquered and made accessible.”*²¹ Strabo, like his predecessors, also placed great importance on the geographic environment and the climate when he wrote that *“fertile plains with a mild climate have mild populations, poor areas have aggressive and rough populations and both these groups complement each other”*.²² He also puts forth a completely new opinion: *“If they do not help each other, the armed group has the advantage, unless its aggression is balanced by the number of its opponents. But Europe also has beneficial conditions in this aspect. It is entirely permeated by plains and mountains, so the settled agricultural element is evident next to the aggressive element. However, the friends of peace are more numerous and therefore have the advantage with the support of ruling nations, initially the Hellenes, subsequently the Macedonians and Romans.”*²³ Strabo therefore believed that a sort of battle historically took place between the peaceful population of the fertile lowlands and the aggressive residents of poor mountainous regions. In the sixth volume of his work Strabo discusses the causes of the rise of the Roman Empire. He believes that the geographic location of Italy, which he considers

²¹ Strabo is paraphrased by HORÁK, pp. 56–57; cf. B. FARRINGTON, *Věda ve starém Řecku a její význam pro nás II. Od Theofrasta po Galena*, Praha 1951, pp. 133–134.

²² HORÁK, pp. 56–57.

²³ Ibidem.

exceptionally advantageous, is a key factor in this issue.²⁴ The Apennine peninsula forms the natural centre of the Mediterranean region, it has numerous harbours and the sea itself, the importance of which he emphasises the most, it affords extensive opportunity for fishing, trade and transport by sea. This was a very important observation by Strabo. Modern political geography continues to rate the importance of seas and oceans, in relation to the wealth and power of nations, very highly. As a result of his assessment of the geographical location of Italy and his perception of the importance of the Mediterranean Sea in relation to the expansion of the Roman Empire, we could call Strabo the forefather of political geography with a little exaggeration. Geoffrey J. Martin also comments that "*Strabo wrote for a specific group of readers: the educated statesman and military commanders. His purpose was to provide a text for the information of Roman administrators and military commanders*".²⁵ This also meant that his sphere of interest was close to that of political geographers and geo-politicians of the era of European imperialism at the end of the 19th century.

In the middle ages scholars of the Latin cultural circle had no interest at all in the influence of the natural environment on human society (as far as we know). The church was the provider of medieval learning, and although it facilitated some results of ancient learning with which church's religious dogma was forced to come to terms with, medieval thinking was generally based on the religious perception of the world. The earth, all fauna and flora and also man (including his morphological variations) were the work of God. The act of creation gave the world unchanging natural laws and each natural phenomenon was subject to the will of God. Speculation about the degree of natural determinism was absolutely inconsequential.

Latin geographic literature of the early Middle Ages was itself fairly inconsequential. It is limited to compilation work, which is partially based on the findings of Christian missionaries and traveller, and mostly on the knowledge of ancient authors. It was only at the beginning of the high middle ages, when universities flourished in the 11th and 12th centuries, that the foundations of unrestricted learning and science²⁶ were laid and interest in geography was rekindled. Re-

²⁴ FARRINGTON, p. 135.

²⁵ MARTIN, p. 35.

²⁶ However, scholastics always insisted on the correctness of the Christian teachings.

ports from travellers into the interior of Asia from the 13th and 14th centuries began to expand geographic knowledge and also incite interest in new geographic discoveries and overseas expeditions. In spite of increasing geographic knowledge, the nature of medieval geography remained strictly toponymic, topographic and ethnographic. Geographic works (with some exceptions)²⁷ retained this nature until the scientific revolution commenced at the turn of the 15th and 16th centuries. But even then, geographers did not devote their energy to the relationship between the natural environment and human society. This topic, which was unlocked in ancient times, was chiefly developed by philosophers within the terms of the philosophy of history.

A completely different level of geographic science was characteristic of the Arabic civilizational group in the middle ages. Ancient volumes, not only in the field of mathematics, astronomy and medicine and also geography, were protected, translated and reproduced in the Arabic world. Arabic historian and philosopher of history Ibn Khaldūn (1332–1406) was one Muslim scholar, whose works and whose discussion of the influence of the natural environment on the human population contributed to geography. In 1377 he completed an extensive introduction into his world history, known under the title of *Muqaddimah*.²⁸ In this work he examines the causes of the rise and fall of civilisations and presents his philosophy of history. According to Ibn Khaldūn, the historic process is governed by specific laws of the development of society, which, in spite of not having absolute validity as natural laws, are still fairly constant and mean that the same conditions result in the same consequences. These laws are primarily valid for the whole of society and essentially cannot be influenced by

They simply endeavoured to present all learning in compliance with the “only truth” as it was understood by the church. They never tried to rationally understand the whole of human knowledge and experience without freeing themselves of the bindings of church dogmas. As clergymen they wrote for clergymen and to the benefit of the church and the Christian faith. Their only motive for writing was to support the church’s truth and redemptive knowledge of God. G. H. T. KIMBLE, *Geography in the Middle Ages*, London 1938, pp. 91–92.

²⁷ For example Albertus Magnus, see HORÁK, pp. 111–112.

²⁸ The entire work bears the rhymed title *Kitābu l-‘ibari wa Dīwāni l-Mubtada’ wal-Habar fī ayāmi l-‘arab wal-‘ajam wal-barbar, waman ‘Āsarahum min Dhawī sh-Shalṭāni l-Ākbār* [Book of Lessons, Record of Beginnings and Events in the History of the Arabs and the Berbers and Their Powerful Contemporaries].

the actions of an individual. However, they can be exposed on the basis of historic study of a significant number of facts, observation of a number of parallels and causes and consequences. In spite of the fact that Ibn Khaldūn considers social factors such as cohesiveness, wealth, method of subsistence, employment, etc. to be of much greater importance from the aspect of the formation of history,²⁹ he attributed a different meaning to the natural environment. Like most Greek philosophers he was convinced that the earth is shaped like a ball, whereas he divided its populated northern hemisphere into seven earth zones according to climate: *“populated area [...] has its centre in the direction of the north as a result of excessive heat to the south and excessive cold to the north. The north and south represent the opposite limits of cold and heat. [...] The fourth earth zone is the mildest populated area. The neighbouring third and fifth earth zones are close to it in mildness. The sixth and second earth zones, which adjoin them, are far from mild and the first and seventh earth zones are even less mild”*.³⁰ Ibn Khaldūn stated that the closer to the centre (of the fourth mild earth zone) the human population is located, the better the conditions for an advanced culture and “balance” and vice versa. *“With regard to the residents of the various earth zones, which are far from balance, such as the first, second, sixth and seventh zones, these are also far from balance in all aspects. Their houses are made from mud or reeds, their food is millet and grasses, their clothes are made from the leaves of trees, which they sew together to cover themselves, or the skins of animals. However, they mostly go naked. The fruits and vegetables in their countries are unusual. They do not use either rare metal for trade, but copper, iron or furs, for which they determine an exchange value. Their personality traits are close to the traits of animals. It is even said that many blacks from the first earth zone live in caves and thickets, eat wild plants, live in wild solitude and do not associate with each other, but on the contrary eat each other. The Slavs are in a similar situation. The cause of this is that the distance from the mild zones creates an inclination and nature similar to the nature of animals, which makes them distant from humanity. The same applies to their religious situation. They do not know the prophet’s or have any religious law, with the exception of an inconsequential minority, which lives near the mild zone. [...] [With some exceptions] the population of the harsher zones to the south and*

²⁹ I. HRBEK, Ibn Chaldūn: osudy politika a myslitele, in: IBN CHALDŮN, *Čas království a říší Mukaddima. Úvod do historie*, Praha 1972, p. 24.

³⁰ IBN CHALDŮN, *Čas království a říší Mukaddima. Úvod do historie*, Praha 1972, p. 111.

north knows no religion and science is unfamiliar to them. Their entire situation is remote from the conditions of humankind and close to the conditions of wild animals."³¹ On the contrary, "the population of the middle zones is balanced in its physical and personality traits and in its lifestyle; it has all the natural conditions essential for a civilised life, such as methods of subsistence, accommodation, crafts, science, political guidance and royal authority. And this is also why they have prophets, religious sects, dynasties, religious laws, science, provinces, towns, buildings, gardening, arts and everything that is restrained. The populations of these earth zones, if we have historic reports of them, include for instance the Arabs, Byzantines, Persians, Israelites, Greeks, Indians and Chinese".³² In spite of the fact that Ibn Khaldūn considers the classification of populations in specific earth zones crucial for cultural conditions, he admits that the fertility of the populated region and the resulting structure of the food also has a great influence on the character of the population. In regions that are distinguished by their fertility: "large amounts of food and its moistness create harmful excess substances in the body, which cause uneven enlargement of the body and also cause excessive spoiled and rotten matter. This results in pale skin and an ugly body, because such people have too much meat. When the moisture with its negative vapours reaches the brain, the mind and the ability to think are clouded. This results in stupidity, indifference and general immoderation".³³ Ibn Khaldūn believes that healthiest and most beautiful human bodies and the best spiritual nature can be found in people inhabiting desert regions in the central earth zone. A moderate life allegedly develops the best virtues such as moderation, an open mind to knowledge and understanding, and also a greater degree of devoutness.³⁴ With regard to development of history, Ibn Khaldūn perceives it dialectically. He identified two basic groups across the human population: desert or steppe nomads³⁵ and settled cultural inhabitants of cities and the surrounding areas. He places both these groups in opposition, whereas he considers one of the driving forces of history to be their mutual encounters and influence on each other. He also understands specific

³¹ Ibidem, pp. 112–113.

³² Ibidem, p. 115.

³³ Ibidem, pp. 118–119.

³⁴ Ibidem, pp. 119–120.

³⁵ However, he also includes semi-nomads and settled rural farming populations in remote areas in this category, see HRBEK, p. 29.

phases in the development of history. He describes the phases of the rise of centres of power accompanied by the flourishing of culture and power, which alternate with phases of stagnation or decline accompanied by corruption, which subsequently leads to decline and the fall of civilisation.³⁶ As soon as this occurs the original civilisation succumbs to the invasion of “barbarian” nomads, who establish their own civilisation on the ruins of the former civilisation, which is enriched by the learning and art of the conquered culture. However, the conquerors gradually also become settled and more “peaceful” until they are themselves conquered by a new wave of arriving nomads.³⁷ Ibn Khaldūn thereby expressed a number of important ideas and provided a very interesting concept of the development of history and a theoretical framework, which will appear in various versions in many volumes by modern historians.³⁸

Modern Tradition (16th–18th Centuries)

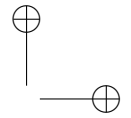
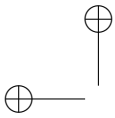
As mentioned previously, until the first half of the 19th century only philosophers were interested in the relationship between the geographical environment and human society, chiefly within the terms of the philosophy of history, or thinkers whose interests overlapped into the humanities and social sciences. At the beginning of the new age, disputations were re-opened by French philosopher, humanist and political theoretician Jean Bodin (1530–1596), who queried the causes of constant historic changes, whereas he was chiefly interested in the different fates of state formations. He endeavoured to explain the causes of historic processes chiefly in his two pivotal works: *Method for the easy knowledge of history* (*Méthode pour faciliter la connaissance de l'histoire / Methodus ad facilem historiarum cognitionem*, 1566) and *The Six Books of the Republic* (*Les Six Livres de la République / De republica libri sex*, 1576). According to Bodin historic changes and the fates of states depend on:

1. a metaphysic (godly) being,

³⁶ MARTIN, pp. 50–51; R. E. DICKINSON – O. J. R. HOWARTH, *The Making of Geography*, Oxford 1933, pp. 53–54.

³⁷ T. CRESSWELL, *Geographic Thought. A Critical Introduction*, Chichester 2013, p. 27.

³⁸ W. E. GATES, The Spread of Ibn Khaldūn's Ideas on Climate and Culture, in: *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 28, 3, 1967, pp. 415ff.



2. human will and
3. natural influences.

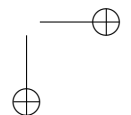
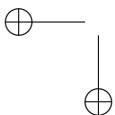
However, he came to the conclusion that revealing the influences of metaphysic (godly) will is outside the realm of human understanding. Even human will is so variable and incalculable that it cannot be the subject of research. This is why he focused on revealing innate or natural influences at least. It is clear that he drew inspiration from ancient thinkers. Of all the geographical factors, he attributed the greatest importance to climate.³⁹ In order to demonstrate that climate affects humans he divided the globe from the equator on both sides into three zones up to the poles. By doing this he defined the equatorial zone, which is scorched by the sun, then the polar zone, which is rigid with cold and finally the moderate zone. He then classified nations into these zones and explained their differences as a result of the various climatic conditions in which these nations live. In his opinion, people in cold countries are physically strong and aggressive, whereas those in warmer countries are more spiritually and intellectually talented: “the greatest military commanders come from the north, but art, philosophy and mathematics originated in the south”.⁴⁰ He believed that this indicates that people who live between these zones, in a favourable climate, are gifted with an average of both spiritual and physical abilities.⁴¹ Bodin’s opinion reveals that he drew inspiration from much older traditions and that he was undoubtedly very familiar with Hippocrates and other ancient authors.⁴² However, Bodin does not restrict himself to simply describing the influence of the climate. In compliance with the assumption at the time that the constellation of the planets and stars could have an actual influence on the fates of people and nations, he also took astronomic influences into account. In his opinion people who live in southern regions of the world are influenced by the planet Saturn, in the sense that their lives are permeated by religious contemplation. On the contrary, people who live in northern regions

³⁹ M. J. TOOLEY, Bodin and the Mediaeval Theory of Climate, in: *Speculum*, 28, 1, 1953, pp. 64–83.

⁴⁰ HEYDEN, p. 25.

⁴¹ *Ibidem*, pp. 24–25.

⁴² D. N. LIVINGSTONE, *The Geographical Tradition. Episodes in the History of a Contested Enterprise*, Malden – Oxford – Merlbourne – Berlin 2008, p. 97.



are influenced by Mars, they are aggressive and are excellent at using mechanical devices. And finally, people from the central zone are influenced by Jupiter and are capable of achieving a civilised lifestyle within the terms of a legal state.⁴³

Of course we could mention a number of philosophers and writers who expressed an opinion or somehow touched on the topic of the influence of the natural environment on human society from the 17th to the middle of the 18th century.⁴⁴ It was only French enlightened philosopher Charles Louis Montesquieu (1689–1755) who endeavoured to elaborate on the topic more complexly in his work *The Spirit of the Laws* (*L'esprit des lois*, 1748). On the contrary to his predecessors, he endeavoured to substantiate his statements by observation or by studying literature of an ethnographic nature or reports from travels. The primary goal of his volume was to reveal and examine all relations that collectively form the so-called spirit of law. This spirit “consists of the various relations that laws can have to various things”.⁴⁵ He was interested in revealing the structure of law and relations, customs and traditions, which determine such law or legal relations. Montesquieu states that laws “must be intrinsic to the humans for which they were created [...]”.⁴⁶ Because laws must apply to the nature and principles of government. Laws must apply to the natural conditions of the country; to the cold, hot or mild climate; to the quality of the soil, to the location of the region and its size; to the lifestyle of the people, who may be farmers, hunters or shepherds; the laws must be in relation to the level of freedom [...]; to the religion of the population and to its affections, wealth, number, trade, to its morals and customs”.⁴⁷ It is important to realise that his concept of the law was firmly anchored in a deistic understanding of the world. For him “the very idea of the law, whether natural or social, only made sense in

⁴³ MARTIN, p. 96.

⁴⁴ For example, Jean Chardin (1643–1713) in his work *Voyages de monsieur le chevalier Chardin en Perse et autres lieux de l'Orient* (1711); Giambattista Vico (1668–1744) in his work *Principi di scienza nuova. D'intorno alla comune natura delle nazioni* (1725); Voltaire (1694–1778) in his work *Essay sur l'histoire générale, et sur les mœurs et l'esprit des Nations, depuis Charlemagne jusqu'à nos jours* (1761–1763), subsequently in *Essai sur les mœurs et l'esprit des nations* (1771); Georges Louis Leclerc de Buffon (1707–1788) in his work *Histoire naturelle de l'homme* (1749), are mentioned in literature.

⁴⁵ Ch. L. MONTESQUIEU, *O duchu zákonů I*, I/3, Praha 2010, p. 20.

⁴⁶ “[T]he laws of one nation can only very occasionally suit another nation.” Ibidem, p. 20.

⁴⁷ Ibidem, pp. 20–21.

the context of the belief in a supremely intelligent being. Just as every artefact has a craftsman and every machine an artisan, so each law has a legislator, whether human or divine".⁴⁸ The volume originated at a time when the opinion that nature functions as a complicated machine predominated in western society.⁴⁹ Mechanical and mathematical understanding of the world also applied to human beings. Even the human body can be considered a machine.⁵⁰ Scholars believed that the human body was made up of solid substances and fluids, whereas the basic building block of the entire body is the "fibre". This conviction enabled Montesquieu to establish a basic premise: "Cold air shrinks the edges of the outer fibres of our body, which increases the flexibility of these fibres and promotes the flow of blood back to the heart. Cold air also reduces the length of these fibres,⁵¹ whereby it continues to increase their strength. On the contrary, warm air loosens the edges of the fibres and extends them, thereby reducing their strength and flexibility."⁵² From this assumption he logically derives that "people from colder climates are therefore more capable. The activity of the heart and the reactions at the ends of the fibres are better here, the bodily fluids are in better balance, the blood moves more easily back to the heart, so the heart is stronger. [...] People living in warmer climates are timid like old people, while people living in cold climates are bold like young people".⁵³ On the other hand, "in a colder climate people will not be very sensitive to pleasures; this sensitivity will be greater in a mild climate and extreme in a hot climate. Just as we differentiate the climate depending on the latitude, we can also essentially differentiate climate by the level of sensitivity. [...] People who have few vices, sufficient virtues, are very sincere and direct live in northern climates. If you draw nearer to southern lands, you will feel that you are moving away from morals themselves. In countries with a mild climate you will find inconstant people with regard to their behaviour, vices and virtues. The climate here is not so decisive that it fixes their personality. The climate may be so hot that it leaves a body without strength. In this case

⁴⁸ LIVINGSTONE, p. 122.

⁴⁹ According to French philosopher René Descartes and his followers, God put this mechanical universe into motion by giving it the initial push. Isaac Newton also believed that the universe is more like some sort of divine clock, in which God, as the creator, does not interfere any further.

⁵⁰ U. IM HOF, *Evropa a osvícenství*, Praha 2001, p. 168.

⁵¹ Iron rails similarly shrink in sub-zero temperatures for example.

⁵² MONTESQUIEU, XIV/2, pp. 261–262.

⁵³ *Ibidem*, p. 262.

the spirit is suffused with dejection: no curiosity, noble behaviour or generous emotion. All affection will be passive and idleness will be an advantage here".⁵⁴ It is clear from the excerpts above that Montesquieu considers the climate a decisive factor for the physical and mental nature of the human population. In his opinion a hot and constant climate makes nations idle and timid, on the contrary, a cold climate produces courage and aggression. However, it is also clear from this volume that the climate also has a specific effect on the "spirit of law", i. e. the nature of the government and the legal arrangement of the state, or even the customs and standards of a specific society. He gives the existence of slavery as an example, as it is more natural and better justified in hot southern countries, where *"the heat exhausts the body [so] that only the fear of being punished can make people carry out hard work"*.⁵⁵ The climate may also influence history itself. Montesquieu writes that in geographical areas where hot regions frequently neighbour cold regions, or where strong nations often stand against weak nations, such as in Asia for instance, the frequent occurrence of conflict is inevitable and leads to the subjugation of one nation by another. On the contrary, in Europe where climatic transitions and differences between nations are smaller, the conflict is not as dramatic.⁵⁶ However, even when a nation was conquered by another and *"the nation lost its laws, the climate [ensured] that these were not lost irrevocably"*.⁵⁷ The spirit of the law is therefore a specific reflection of the geographic environment. But it is not just the climate that reflects the spirit of the law. Montesquieu also attributes great influence to the soil and the surface of the populated land: *"Fertile land in a specific country naturally introduces subordination. [...] The government of one is therefore more frequent in countries with fertile soil and the government of many in countries where the soil is not as productive."*⁵⁸ He demonstrates this on the example of different government systems in the states of ancient Greece: *"The poor soil of Attica gave rise to a government of the people, while the fertile soil in Sparta gave rise to an aristocratic government."*⁵⁹ He gives the following explanation:

⁵⁴ Ibidem, p. 263.

⁵⁵ Ibidem, XIV/7, p. 282.

⁵⁶ Ibidem, XVII/3–4, pp. 314–315.

⁵⁷ Ibidem, XVII/3, p. 314.

⁵⁸ Ibidem, XVIII/1, p. 319.

⁵⁹ Ibidem.

*"Fertile lands represents a plain on which it is absolutely impossible to fight someone who is stronger over something. The weaker therefore submits and if he is conquered, the spirit of freedom cannot return, because rural properties are a guarantee of loyalty. However, in the mountains it is possible to defend the little a person has. Freedom, i. e. a government from which a man takes pleasure, is the only good that is worth everyone defending. Freedom is therefore more likely to occur in mountainous and difficult to access countries than in those in which it seems that nature gave more freely."*⁶⁰

These are very important reflections and statements by Montesquieu, which he used to unify, elaborate on and culminate the surviving ancient tradition. However, many younger authors, who expressed their opinion of the relationship between man and the geographic environment, unfortunately saw Montesquieu as a strict natural determinist and objected to him. He was similarly perceived and condemned by most literature⁶¹ concerned with the history of geography and geographic concepts. Although Montesquieu stated that people in cold climates acquire different characteristics to those in hot climates, more thorough examination of his volumes can reveal that application of suitable laws can minimise the effects of the climate.⁶² As a result, some describe Montesquieu more as a possibilist, rather than a natural determinist.⁶³ Others state that the nature of human populations was "formed"⁶⁴ by environmental factors according to Montesquieu and not predetermined.

Johann Gottfried Herder (1744–1803) was one of the sharpest critics of Montesquieu's concept of natural, or climatic "determinism". The basis of his reasoning was simply the fact that (if we admit that human beings are influenced by the natural environment) it is incorrect to assume that the impact of natural influences was and would be always the same, or universal. In his opinion scholars should cease their constant generalisation and also their summarisation of natural influences into one or two decisive factors.⁶⁵ In his pivotal work titled *Outlines of*

⁶⁰ Ibidem, XVIII/2, p. 320.

⁶¹ E. g., HEYDEN, pp. 25–28.

⁶² MARTIN, p. 97.

⁶³ K. M. KRIESEL, Montesquieu: Possibilistic Political Geographer, in: *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 58, 3, 1968, pp. 557–574.

⁶⁴ LIVINGSTONE, p. 122.

⁶⁵ Ibidem.

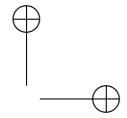
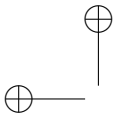
a Philosophy of the History of Man (Ideen zur Philosophie der Geschichte der Menschheit, 1784–1791), he defined his own concept of the relationship between nature and culture or natural environment and society. However, Herder's approach is theological. He considers the world a stage on which a divine drama takes place and where all events have their specific purpose. Herder believed that we can partially reveal God's plans if we follow the traces that he left previously, for instance at the sites of origin of the human species, in the pattern of settlement of the earth by mankind or in the distribution of landmasses on the planet.⁶⁶ With regard to his assessment of the influence of the natural environment on human society and history, he refused Montesquieu's "overestimation" of the influence of climate. According to Herder the climate "does not force, but simply predisposes".⁶⁷ Herder evidently suspected that it is unsustainable to consider practically unchanging climatic conditions to be the cause of constantly changing social relations.⁶⁸ This is why he considered a number of other factors, such as the quality of the soil, vegetation, geographic location, the structure of the coast, etc.⁶⁹ Geographical conditions were one of Herder's most important historic factors. All "historic movement" allegedly depends on these. Herder considers the point of origin of all historic movement and the dispersal of man to be the mountainous region of Central Asia, where the cradle of humanity must apparently be sought in one of the valleys. This is the point from which humans and culture spread along rivers down to the lowlands. According to Herder most historic movement was descendant i. e. from mountainous areas to the lowlands. Mountainous areas are the epicentres of historic activity. This is where nations that are virtuous, aggressive and bold arise, which then "flood" the lowlands and renew the energy of the exhausted tribes there. On the basis of this theory Herder examined the correlation between various historic processes and the location, shape, height and physiognomy of various landscapes and areas of the earth. It is interesting that it was Herder who first appreciated the

⁶⁶ Ibidem, pp. 122–123.

⁶⁷ J. G. HERDER, *Ideje k filosofii dějin lidstva*, in: A. PRAŽÁK – J. PATOČKA (eds.), *Vývoj lidskosti*, Praha 1941, p. 137.

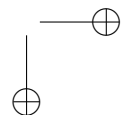
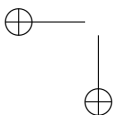
⁶⁸ HEYDEN, pp. 30–31.

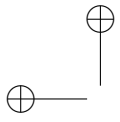
⁶⁹ B. HORÁK – D. TRÁVNÍČEK – I. HONZL, *Dějiny zeměpisu III. Novověk od 17. století*, Praha 1968, p. 77.



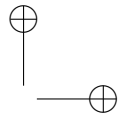
importance of flora. However, it is clear from the aforementioned that his method, particularly his description of “historic movement”, does not correspond very closely with his own theological understanding of the world. In spite of this Herder’s work is a masterpiece of synthesis. He took an extensive range of existing geographic and travel literature into consideration. He also took a large spectrum of perceptions into consideration. From information and reports about various nations, through ethnographic descriptions and sketches of Eskimos, Laps or Berbers, to speculation regarding the development and historic forms of the human species. Herder used this method to greatly reinforce long-standing relations between geographic and anthropological traditions.

The number of publications, taking the existing tradition of examining the influence of the geographic environment on human society, its character and history into account, has continued to increase since the beginning of the 19th century. This topic ceased to be developed exclusively by philosophers and historians also started to express an opinion. However, in relation to the increasing volume of geographic, ethnological and anthropological findings, this topic was assumed mainly by academic geographers. It was essentially no longer possible for philosophers to objectively and complexly assess such as wide-ranging issue. As a result, the initiative was assumed by modern geographic science, the beginnings of which are related to the establishment of the first department of geography at the university of Berlin in 1825. The first professor of geography here was Carl Ritter (1779–1859). And it is in his works that the concept of geographic determinism was given a true scientific basis for the first time.



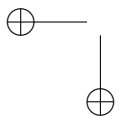


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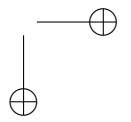


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Gender and Infanticide in Early Modern Bohemia: The Case of Elisabeth Symandlin, 1707–1710

Pavel Stůj*

The interrogation reports documenting a case of Elisabeth Symandlin, a young maidservant from south Bohemia who was investigated for suspicion of infanticide between the years 1707–1710, offer a unique opportunity for a research on the history of everyday life in the town of Jindřichův Hradec in early modern period. Following the recent foreign research in legal history (David Myers, 2011), the author of this paper argues that Elisabeth's process indicates general problems related to criminal investigations which have been discussed repeatedly by contemporary lawyers and doctors. The present study is a contribution to the research in the history of everyday life following modern historiographical trends (historical anthropology, microhistory, gender history). Based on the sources from the estate of Jindřichův Hradec, it emphasizes the manifestation of woman's involvement in crime investigation and examines the opportunities that unmarried women could get in the early modern society.

[Infanticide; Child; Crime; Everyday Life; Torture]

“After¹ the Holy mass, I was waiting for my father in the anteroom of ‘Cantor’s house’ and I wanted to confess to him [about my pregnancy] and beg him to pay a fine for me to the richter [a city officer]. Yet, we missed each other, because he went to one side and I did to another, even so, I still visited my sister’s [house] near the Saint Wenceslas [church]. I wanted to ask her to tell everything about me to our father, [...] but when I was going there, my godmother, Papírníková, met me and she changed my mind. She was teasing

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me, saying: 'My dear goddaughter, do you really want to visit your father, or do you want to go dancing and have some fun instead? You had better come with me.' So, I followed her and when we were nearby St Wenceslas, she suddenly asked me if I am with a child or not, and I admitted that I am, but I hadn't felt quickening yet."²

This is a part of a supplication for pardon presumably written or rather dictated by Elisabeth Symandlin, maidservant, who was imprisoned because she was suspect of murdering her newborn child in January 1707. Even in such a short part of her letter it is obvious that kinship relations and gender played an important role in this case. Elisabeth wanted to confess to her father, the head of the household, but when she missed him she was looking for her sister, and finally confessed to her godmother. This case from eighteenth century Bohemia can be used to examine early modern family relations in broader context including Elizabeth's father, stepmother, brothers, sisters, godmother, and servants, as well as other people equally important during investigation, e. g., her employer Lukš and his wife.³

The case of Elisabeth Symandlin was one of many infanticide investigations in early modern Bohemia; still, it represents complex historical evidence which can be used for a more detailed micro-historical case-study of relationships between an individual and a society in the region near city Jindřichův Hradec (nowadays, the southern part of the Czech Republic). In this regard, it is a perfect material for textual analysis, a method which is often described by historians as a metaphor "against the grain reading".⁴ This methodology is based on analysis of a single piece of historical evidence (interrogation protocol) that can show the circumstances of a crime and defendants' individual motives. As we focus on the Elisabeth's case in this broader context of early modern kinship and sexuality, the following research questions arise:

² State District Archive of Třeboň: branch office Jindřichův Hradec, in the Collection of Estate of J. Hradec (fond Velkostatek J. Hradec), Crimes (Zločiny), sign. VBC, Cardboard 416, the Case of Alžběta/Elisabeth Symandlin, 1707–1710, ff. 267–430. Further referred to as "Elisabeth". All quotations have been translated by the author.

³ She spun the wool in their house the night when she gave birth to the child and supposedly killed it. She lived by them as a servant, so she was part of their family as well.

⁴ C. GINZBURG, *Threads and Traces, True False Fictive*, Berkeley 2012.

How was motherhood and mothering understood in early modern society? Did she kill the child or was it just an accident? If she did, what persuaded her that the murder was the best solution? Was she so weak and helpless, or can infanticide be also understood as a manifestation of woman's agency in male-dominated society? What opportunities did an unmarried woman have in a situation like this? And most importantly, was she alone in her unwanted pregnancy or can we find any traces of her family and friends' support in her case?

The aim of this paper is to analyse a particular early modern Bohemia infanticide case in a more general historical perspective. The theoretical part gives an overview of the recent historical scholarship on early modern infanticide, and discusses gender, sexuality and kinship as the problems of historical research. This frame is used to discuss the extent to which gender, class, religion or ethnicity could influence the interpretation of the particular case of Elisabeth Symandlin, a young maidservant accused of killing her newborn child.

Historiography – Gender, Kinship and Microhistory

The research on early modern infanticide has been quite fruitful, especially over the last two decades,⁵ and the West-European historiographical writing on this issue is dominated by the three main research territories, American, British and German. These three, however, show certain distinctions regarding the scope of the topic. British and American historians focus more on the broader analysis of a history of women's criminality and many of them provide thorough historical charts and graphs to compare early modern criminality in England, Scotland or Wales in macro historical perspective.⁶ On the other hand, most of the German research takes the form of case studies or close regional studies, especially focused on the age of Enlightenment and development of criminality in small regions.⁷

⁵ One of the most recent monographs (published in 2016) describes the trends in current historiography very clearly. Cf. M. LEWIS, Introduction, in: *Infanticide and Abortion in Early Modern Germany*, New York 2016, pp. 12–26.

⁶ On infanticide in early modern England see P. HOFFER – N. HULL, *Murdering Mothers: Infanticide in England and New England 1558–1803*, New York 1981; M. JACKSON (ed.), *Newborn Child Murder: Women, Illegitimacy and the Courts in Eighteenth-Century England*, New York 1996; A. KILDAY, *A History of Infanticide in Britain, c. 1600 to the Present*, Basingstoke 2013; S. STAUB, *Nature's Cruel Step-dames: Murderous Women in the Street Literature of Seventeenth Century England*, Pittsburgh 2005.

It is important to note that complicated stories involving infanticide investigations are relatively popular with historians who examine microhistory. Microcosm of early modern towns or villages can be described through interrogation protocols, where many colourful details of everyday life are captured. As David Myers pointed out, such record can also be used in a form of a case study about early modern justice, performance of interrogation and torture, and also about women's independent choices in early modern judicial (and social) system.⁸

Nevertheless, beyond the British and German historiography, there were other West and Central European scholars who produced numerous articles and case studies on the topic of infanticide,⁹ and Czech historians were not the exception. The first more consistent research on infanticide was formed in former Czechoslovakia during the socialist era because historians were focusing more on the working-class and the role of women in it.¹⁰ After 1989, further research has been made by historical demography and by historians focusing on power and

⁷ Germany: R. van DÜLMEN, *Frauen vor Gericht: Kindsmord in der Frühen Neuzeit*, Frankfurt 1991; A. FELBER, *Unzucht und Kindsmord in der Rechtsprechung der freien Reichsstadt Nördlingen vom 15. bis 19. Jahrhundert*, Dissertation Thesis, Bonn, 1961; K. MICHALIK, *Kindsmord, Sozial- und Rechtsgeschichte der Kindstötung im 18. und beginnenden 19. Jahrhundert am Beispiel Preußen*, Pfaffenweiler 1997; K. SCHRADER – G. MAYER – H. FREDEBOLD – I. FRÜNDELT, *Vorehelich, Ausserehelich, Unehelich – wegen der großen Schande: Kindstötung im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert in den Hildesheimer Ämtern Marienberg, Ruthe, Steinbrück und Steuerwald*, Hildesheim 2006; O. ULBRICHT, *Kindsmord und Aufklärung in Deutschland*, Munich 1990.

⁸ D. MYERS, *Death and a Maiden. Infanticide and the Tragical History of Grethe Schmidt*, DeKalb 2011. More about microhistory as a historical method in: G. MAGNUSSON – I. SZIJARTO, *What is microhistory? Theory and Practice*, Routledge 2013.

⁹ J. FERRARO, *Nefarious Crimes, Contested Justice: Illicit Sex and Infanticide in the Republic of Venice, 1557–1789*, Baltimore 2008; W. RUBERG, Travelling Knowledge and Forensic Medicine: Infanticide, Body and Mind in the Netherlands, 1811–1911, in: *Medical History*, 57, 3, 2013, pp. 359–376; W. RUBERG, The Tactics of Menstruation in Dutch Cases of Sexual Assault and Infanticide, 1750–1920, in: *Journal of Women's History*, 25, 3, 2013, pp. 14–37; R. LEBOUTTE, Offense Against Family Order: Infanticide in Belgium from the Fifteenth through the Early Twentieth Centuries, in: *Journal of the History of Sexuality*, 2, 2, 1991, pp. 159–185.

¹⁰ J. PÁNEK, Městské hrdelní soudnictví v pozdně feudálních Čechách, in: *Český časopis historický*, 82, 1984, pp. 693–728; J. PÁNEK, Zločin „zahubení plodu“ v Maršovicích roku 1682, in: *Český lid*, 66, 1979, pp. 45–46; E. PROCHÁZKOVÁ, Žena a smrt dítěte v soudní praxi raného novověku. Edice a rozbor Čechtického útrpného vyznání z roku 1729, in: *Sborník vlastivědných prací Podblanicka*, 34, 1994, pp. 115–128.

body relations in Foucauldian sense.¹¹ Finally, a younger generation of historians (trained in 1990s) applied the ideas of historical anthropology and cultural history into this field; likewise, many other Czech papers using gender as an analytical category has been published in recent years.¹²

The voices of women as historical subjects who came from marginal groups of society (as its specific subculture) have been continuously studied by historical anthropology, cultural history and by modern global gender history.¹³ Gender as a concept has been applied more consistently in this research especially since 1990, acknowledged by German, British and American historians.¹⁴ Gender constituted social relationships on different levels of social organisation (symbolic, normative, political or social) in the early modern period.¹⁵ The

¹¹ A. ŠUBRTOVÁ, Kontracepce, aborty a infanticidia v pramenech k předstatistickému období, in: *Historická demografie*, 15, 1991, pp. 9–45; D. TINKOVÁ, *Hřích, zločin, šlenství v čase odkouzlování světa*, Praha 2004; D. TINKOVÁ, *Tělo, věda, stát. Zrození porodnice v osvícenské Evropě*, Praha 2010.

¹² J. DIBELKA, *Obranné strategie mužů a žen obviněných ze smilstva a cizoložství: Panství Třeboň na přelomu 17. a 18. století*, České Budějovice 2012; P. MATLAS, Rychlá cesta na popraviště: trestní řízení a popravní rituál v Čechách na sklonku 17. století, in: *Dějiny a současnost: Kulturně historická revue*, 29, 2007, č. 9, pp. 40–43; J. ČECHURA, *Kriminalita a každodennost v raném novověku: jižní Čechy 1650–1770*, Praha 2008; P. STŮJ, Neřádné matky a krutí otcové. Infanticida jako nástroj propagandy v raněnovověké letákové literatuře, in: *Historica Olomouciensia*, 52, 2017, pp. 87–112.

¹³ M. WIESNER-HANKS, Crossing borders in transnational Gender history, in: *Journal of Global History*, 6, 2001, pp. 357–379; M. WIESNER-HANKS, Early Modern Women and the Transnational Turn, in: *Early Modern Women*, 7, 2012, pp. 191–202.

¹⁴ For gender as a concept in history of infanticide see L. GOWING, Secret Births and Infanticide in Seventeenth-Century England, in: *Past and Present*, 156, 1997, pp. 87 to 115; L. GOWING, *Domestic Dangers: Women, Words, and Sex in Early Modern London*, Oxford 1996; U. RUBLACK, *The Crimes of Women in Early Modern Germany*, Oxford 1999. For general introduction into gender history: S. KENT, *Gender and history*, Basingstoke 2012. The usage of gender as a concept in 17th century is further analysed in *Gender and Power in Britain, 1640–1990*, London 1999, pp. 1–23. Finally, for the relationship between criminality and gender in historical context see M. ARNOT – C. USBORNE, Why gender and crime? Aspects of an international debate, in: *Gender and Crime in Modern Europe*, London 1999, pp. 1–43.

¹⁵ Firstly, Joan Scott defined gender as a concept: “a constitutive element of social relationships based on perceived differences between the sexes (with symbolic representations, normative concepts and with politics, social institutions and organization, that structure these normative concepts) and [...] gender as a primary way of signifying relationship of power (the way how was gender related to politics and politics to gender)”, see J. SCOTT,

criminal records issued by the male-dominated institutions represent an intersection between the public (patriarchal) and the private (intimate) spheres that defined the relationships established during woman's lifetime: there were, on the one hand, male–female ties between Elisabeth and her father and her husband, journeymen or judges), and on the other the relations of power to the female side of relatives, witnesses or female investigators (her stepmother, sister, midwives, friends). Early modern criminality was gendered and experienced by both women and men, and their interrelationships were a crucial part of investigation.¹⁶

Elisabeth's life was entrenched in patriarchal society,¹⁷ where a male head of a household held the property and a woman was supposed to be hardworking and obedient companion of her husband who performed mothering duties and sacrificed herself for her family. The early modern system based on transmission of possession (inheritance) from one generation of male members of family to another emphasised the role of marriage, women's reproductive abilities and interfamily relationships.¹⁸ Using the contemporary symbolism, Elisabeth was perceived as a *maiden* (Virgin Mary), but later when her reputation was damaged as a *fallen woman* (Eve, Mary Magdalene), and finally as a bad *murdering mother* (Medea, Witch, Beast) – with all associations attributed to these roles in Christian society.

Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis, in: *The American Historical Review*, 91, 5, 1986, pp. 1067 and 1069. This concept is criticised by J. BOYDSTON, Gender as a Question of Historical Analysis, in: *Gender & History*, 20, 3, 2008, pp. 561–564.

¹⁶ "Gender differences could have been found at many levels, including the existence of strongly gendered crimes (infanticide), prosecution, trial procedures, conviction, punishment." ARNOT – USBORNE, p. 6.

¹⁷ Patriarchal rules prevailed in early modern society, not just between women and men, but also between master and servant, king and vassal. Elisabeth was subordinated to her prince Černín, her employers, her father, but also to her stepmother or her spouse.

¹⁸ As Lucia Ferrante showed on the case of early modern Bologna: L. FERRANTE, Marriage and Women's subjectivity in a Patrilineal system: The case of Early Modern Bologna, in: M. MAYES et al. (eds.), *Gender, Kinship and Power: A Comparative and Interdisciplinary History*, New York – London 1996, pp. 115–129. About marriage in protestant world see works by Stephen Ozment: S. OZMENT, *When Father Ruled, Family Life in Reformation Europe*, Harvard 1983; S. OZMENT, *The Burghermeister's Daughter. Scandal in a Sixteenth Century German town*, New York 1996 (in Czech translation: *Purkmistrova dcera*, Praha 2016).

Jana Ratajová a Lucie Storchová observed significant roles attributed to the women which were considered to be honourable: woman as a virgin, a wife or a widow.¹⁹ In this context, young servant Elisabeth was subordinated to her father and her employer (in terms of domesticity and patriarchy), but in a similar way also to her stepmother and older sisters (as a stepdaughter and younger sister). In spite of certain equality between people of the same class (journeymen, her friends/co-workers), her ability to act on her own will was in this sense limited. In general, pre-modern European model of kinship was supported by church and based on paternal, legitimate bloodline.²⁰

Moreover, women in early modern period were seen as superstitious, weak, and capricious creatures, indeed as a weaker sex, seeking for lust and pleasure, who were able to easily abjure the faith and who were in this sense much closer to the sin and the devil than men.²¹ Contemporary authors of pamphlets or ballads described murderous women as selfish mothers, worse than any beast, often seduced by the devil.²² Unmarried women who murdered their children were clearly on this list of evil women. They were described as poor and disobedient girls, who secretly committed sexual crimes and wanted to hide their shame. The crime of infanticide was understood in the same way by the early modern law. According to law codes, infanticide perpetrators were seen to be wicked women (*leichtfertige weib*) who try to selfishly hide their immoral a malicious (*bosshafftig*) crimes.²³ Thus,

¹⁹ L. STORCHOVÁ, *Gender a „přirozený řád“*, in: J. RATAJOVÁ – L. STORCHOVÁ (eds.): *Nádoby mlé, hlavy nemající?*, Praha 2008, pp. 510–530.

²⁰ Kinship as another important concept besides gender was described by J. COLLIER – S. YANAGISAKO, *Gender and Kinship: Essays Toward a Unified Analysis*, Stanford 1987, and later criticised by H. SCHEFFER, *Sexism and Naturalism in the Study of Kinship*, in: M. di LEONARDO (ed.), *Gender at the Crossroads of Knowledge. Feminist Anthropology in the Postmodern Era*, Berkley 1991, pp. 295–308.

²¹ As Richard Kieckhefer argues in many treatises about witchcraft, infanticide and witchcraft were in many cases intertwined: R. KIECKHEFER, *Avenging the blood of Children: Anxiety over Child Victims and the Origins of the European Witch Trials*, in: A. FRERREIRO (ed.), *The Devil, Heresy and Witchcraft in the Middle Ages*, Leiden, Boston, Köln 1998, pp. 91–109.

²² *The pittillesse mother*, an English pamphlet from early 17th century, can represent one of these printed sources which associated women with the devil: *A pittillesse mother: That most vnnaturally at one time, murdered two of her owne children at Acton within sixe miles from London vppon holy thursday last 1616*, London 1616. Analysis in STŮJ, pp. 100–105.

²³ *Constitutiones Criminales Caroli V*, Magdeburg 1716, Saxon State Library, State and

infanticide, threatened the stability of patriarchal society, but it put in jeopardy at the same time the Christian morality and disturbed the economic stability of state.²⁴

However, especially in 1990s the scholars showed that it was not just the gender and the kinship what shaped the early modern identity, but other ideologies like ethnicity, religion, class, biology, proto-capitalism or race²⁵ were included, too.

Ethnicity and religion (Roman Catholicism) were closely linked in early modern period. Elisabeth Symandlin²⁶ classified herself as a subject of Czech noble estate of *Černín* household. She lived in the city near the borders between Austria and Bohemia, thus spoke both German and Czech, but she identified herself rather as Czech. When she gave one of her several explanations why she supposedly killed her child, she clearly distinguished between “us” and “them”, between her people and strangers living abroad (in Germany). Her ethnicity was related here more to the religion: “I was afraid of my people, they

University Library Dresden, Sign. 36.8.5559, f. 48 and ff. 171–176. For further reading about Czech legal and criminal history: K. MALÝ (ed.), *Collectanea opusculorum ad iuris historiam spectantium Venceslao Vaněček septuagenario ob amicis discipulisque oblata*, Praha 1975; K. MALÝ – J. ŠOUŠA (eds.), *Městské právo ve střední Evropě: sborník příspěvků z mezinárodní právníkové konference „Práva městská Království českého“ z 19.–21. září 2011*, Praha 2013; K. MALÝ, *Tři studie o trestním právu v českých zemích v 17. a v první polovině 18. století*, Praha 2016.

²⁴ Early modern judges thought that the mass murdering of bastard children was happening in whole society and the strict law should have helped them to fight against this epidemic.

²⁵ Obviously, the opinions about criminality of other ethnic groups in eighteenth century Bohemia took different forms in early modern Bohemia. Besides a belief that Jews practised ritual murder of Christian boys, another prejudice existed about Roma minorities (Gypsy people), and scientific racialism was also inculcated in the discourse of infanticide. For example, Native-American women *Patience Boston* and *Maria* were accused of murdering their children in nearly the same period of time (1705–1710), however, they were not executed because they did not kill a white child, but native. In early modern viewpoint, infanticide was understood as an act of barbarism, committed by savages (witches, or in American context by slaves), and was seen as an act of evil. S. HARRIS, *Feminist Theories and Early American Studies*, in: *Early American Literature*, 34, 1, 1999, p. 89. About ethnics in early modern Bohemia: P. HÍML, *Zrození vagabunda. Neusedlí lidé v Čechách 17. a 18. století*, Praha 2007.

²⁶ In the sources in German her name is written down as *Elisabeth Symandlin*, whereas in the Czech sources we can notice other forms, from more formal *Alžběta Zimandlová* to *Běta* as a shorten form and, finally, *Bětuška* as a diminutive used by her relatives (her sister).

would be doing harm to me, as I told you before, because that journeyman was a Lutheran and we would have had a Lutheran child."²⁷ She shared the same culture as her judges, lived in the same territory and felt certain solidarity to "her people", but wanted to protect her family from "them" (protestants).²⁸

In the pre-modern world, a class had been associated with infanticide as well. This crime was attributed to poor women, from lower strata of society. This is evident also in our case. Elisabeth participated in public life as a spinster, working for wage, and with very low income, where to have a child was economically unacceptable. Practically all European kingdoms during the 16th or 17th century passed the laws against murder of bastard children, which focused especially on working women.²⁹ Early modern states (in particular the state ideology – in our case Roman Catholicism) controlled women's bodies through social discipline and criminalisation of this delict. Illegitimacy was seen as a very serious threat to social order, and according to legislation the single women, often servants, who had more sexual relationships out of wedlock could be sentenced to death when the corpse of the child was found.³⁰ In this respect, we know hardly anything about women from upper classes (noblewomen, burgheresses). Presumably, these women practiced infanticide, too, but they had more money, opportunities and support to conceal it.

Considering proto-capitalism, it is obvious that women, especially second (or other) daughters like Elisabeth, were seen as an economic burden in many households. They could not expect appropriate marriage, and therefore they either had to contribute to the running of a

²⁷ Elisabeth, ff. 326v–327r.

²⁸ Elisabeth highlighted her "baroque" devotion and piety several times. Roman Catholicism had been an official state religion of Bohemia since 1627, soon after protestant nobles were defeated at the battle near Bílá Hora [White Mountain] in 1621. More about ethnicity and religion in A. SMITH, *Chosen Peoples: Sacred Sources of National Identity*, Oxford 2003.

²⁹ In 1532, the law code of Emperor Charles V was issued in the Holy Roman Empire, followed by the royal edict in France in 1556 and by Kings James' law in England in 1623. According to these law codes every unmarried woman had to report their pregnancy immediately, see M. OBLADEN, *From Crime to Disease: Laws on Infanticide in Early Modern Era*, in: *Neonatology*, 109, 2016, pp. 170–176.

³⁰ "Infanticide prosecutions were a most useful disciplinary tool- Women were punished not only for murder, but also for their original immorality and warned others of the consequences of rebelliousness." MYERS, p. 43.

house by their work, or move and live on their own as workers in newly established manufactures or on the local level.³¹ This situation postponed their motherhood for a long time, often indefinitely.

Biology was another important aspect in infanticide cases. Prevailing scientific explanations described women as the weaker vessel, the lesser men with only a passive role in reproduction.³² This knowledge influenced opinions of the court about female body as well as their ideas about intimate details of women's life like sexual intercourse, menstruation or child-delivery. Contemporary scientific theories would define Elisabeth as a weak and unstable woman, however, her experience was quite different: she went through more than one sexual intercourse, she experienced child delivery twice in quite young age and she certainly knew a lot about biological maternity, and since she was surrounded by other mothers, younger and older siblings and many other women, she also understood a social role of mother in society. Yet, when she was imprisoned, it was not her experience, but the knowledge of two midwives and one city doctor that were taken into consideration. Thus, when she insisted that "*she miscarried, she did not know about pregnancy*,"³³ her testimony was understood as another form of usual defensive strategies.³⁴

³¹ Elisabeth was a younger daughter and she had other siblings: "*I cannot undergo this sentence so innocently and helplessly and then dishonest my old father and my brothers and my sisters as well.*" Elisabeth, f. 351. For her father who was an average clothier it was probably difficult to pay dowry even for his first daughter. Elisabeth was an economic burden and she had to contribute with her wages to the household budget.

³² A womb was described as an incubator for male seed and mothering was primal concern of women: KENT, *Gender and Power*, p. 6. About the concept of the early modern "one sex" model see the classical work: T. LAQUEUR, *Making Sex: The Body and Gender from the Greeks to Freud*, Cambridge 1990.

³³ Elisabeth, f. 269r.

³⁴ "*Claiming not to have known of their pregnancy because of continuing menses, asserting having miscalculated their due dates, and avowing they were simply severely menstruating while actually giving birth, all served to exonerate them. In speaking about menses, these women employed tactics appropriate to their situation.*" RUBERG, *The tactics of menstruation*, p. 38.

Sources and Methodology – Using Interrogation Protocols as Historical Evidence

My analysis is based on a primary source from the collection of criminal records stored in the State district archive in Jindřichův Hradec.³⁵ These sources are a part of an official collection which was set up by the bureaucratic apparatus of Černín's estate in the eighteenth century and later sorted by the first professional (male) archivists at the end of the nineteenth century. There, in several cardboards, besides the sexual crimes, other criminal delicts were disposed (property crimes, crimes against human life, crimes against early modern state) and sorted in files. Then, a new wave of sorting was on the order of the day during the 1960s when sources were revised and registered in a catalogue.³⁶

The accusations of fornication and adultery together with infanticide are deposited in five cardboards (no. 413–417). They contain over one hundred and twenty cases³⁷ of sexual delicts from the years 1672 to 1846, where the largest number of cases (97) refers to the period 1697–1710.³⁸ However, only five of these cases are at the same time associated with the investigation of infanticide, and one such a case is the story of Elisabeth. Elisabeth's case is contained at approximately 163 folios storing the correspondence between courts (in Jindřichův Hradec and Prague), administrative mapping of the process and, most importantly, the documents discussing several stages of interrogation.

However, these sources have their obvious weaknesses, because in most cases (with some exceptions) they cannot be compared with other evidence or clarified by other texts. As for other sources, there is only one more reference to Elisabeth documented in the testimony of another female defendant who mentioned her harsh torturing.³⁹

³⁵ See footnote 2 on page 146.

³⁶ L. TISCHER – L. ZEMAN, *Velkostatek Jindřichův Hradec 1380–1947, Inventory*, Jindřichův Hradec 1968, pp. 10–32.

³⁷ The number is only approximate because some cases are evidently incomplete and many of those recorded after 1710 now exist only in fragments. The sources for the preceding or following period of time have not been preserved, probably because of fire or moving of the archives.

³⁸ As was described previously by J. DIBELKA, Obranné strategie „zmrhaných“ žen na jindřichohradeckém panství v 17. a na počátku 18. století, in: *Historická demografie*, 31, 2007, pp. 5–20.

³⁹ Eva Mikšín was in prison at the same time as Elisabeth, so it is possible they heard

To sum up, these interrogation proceedings must be examined mainly as a specific literary genre created by the judicial scribe rather than objective (unbiased) texts. The scribe was present during the investigation; however, he was not interested in Elisabeth's life story, more probably he just wanted to fulfil his duties. He had his own style of writing, used several languages (early modern Czech, late Latin or early New High German), but we know hardly anything about his personal background. He certainly modified the text (these proceedings are at least the second version of the Elisabeth's testimony). Thus, it is possible to observe primarily defensive strategies of accused persons, examine their arguments and their persuasive methods during the investigation. These protocols cannot fully represent defendants' own opinion, feelings or true beliefs, but they are as close to them as possible in this context.⁴⁰

First, I focus on the description and limits of these sources. Elisabeth Symandlin was imprisoned on Tuesday February 21, 1707, just one day after she gave a birth to her child. Then, four days later, she was interrogated in prison in Jindřichův Hradec and the first protocol was compiled soon after that. Some other witnesses were questioned that day, too (including two midwives, her former employer and her stepmother). As the next step, she was confronted with the corpse of her baby a day later (February 26). Interrogations continued with confrontations with witnesses again on March, April and October.

Next year, in 1708, Elisabeth was questioned at the beginning of May, for the last time without torturing, and on May 11 she was tortured and questioned again. Finally, the court had enough evidence and in July 1708 Elisabeth received the sentence of death.

Yet, she did not accept this destiny and continued with her struggle. She wrote the supplication for pardon at beginning of the year 1709 and tried to postpone the sentence. Finally, the period after summer 1709 is kept only in medical records: Elisabeth became very sick (as the result of torturing) and died probably during 1710 in prison.⁴¹

each other or even talked to each other. "I would rather confess than be tortured and hurt so badly as another one was (I mean Elisabeth Symandlin)." Estate of J. Hradec, card. 417, case of *Eva Mikšín*, October 17, 1709, f. 187.

⁴⁰ J. DIBELKA, K novým možnostem studia trestněprávní problematiky. Obranné strategie mužů a žen obviněných ze smilstva na třeboňském panství (1650–1750), in: *Český časopis historický*, 106, 1, 2008, pp. 19–53.

Thus, the materials available for the analysis comprise several chronologically ordered interrogation proceedings of sufficient length and the detailed correspondence; the absence of context, however, is the most obvious deficiency in these sources. The method used by historians for interpretation of the historical evidence of this type is often described metaphorically as “*against the grain reading*”.⁴²

Scholars define this method as an interpretation of few official documents and a search for subtexts, gaps and silences in them. Voices of women were described by male-dominated official institution – a court of three judges. These investigators were usually burghers who had previous experience with criminality as members of the city council or as city officials (city fathers, richters) and who also fathered their own children. Although they had a certain idea about women’s criminality, every crime must have been very specific (e. g., women could have miscarriage easily, something could have happened during the delivery, a child could be simply hurt), and Elisabeth’s case was even more complex than others.

The judges were biased, they saw Elisabeth as a guilty, fallen woman and they were interested in getting her full confession, looking for the proof of her evil intentions. A historian, in contrast, must be looking for the traces of her social activities based on gender differences and listening to Elisabeth’s voice in the broader context, because the different truth can exist besides the official one.

The Story

From these interrogation records and correspondence between years 1707 and 1710 we know that Elisabeth Symandlin was twenty-one-year-old daughter of the city’s weaver or clothier Hans. We do not know much about Elisabeth’s family because her surname Symandl or Zimandl is not mentioned in any relevant parish register or in any list of subjects of estate from the early eighteenth century.⁴³ Then, the only

⁴¹ There is no record available in archive following this year, the sources were presumably destroyed.

⁴² GINZBURG, pp. 3–6. About different methods used in gender history see also R. R. PIERSON, Introduction, in: R. PIERSON – N. CHAUDHURI (eds.), *Nation, Empire, Colony: Historicizing Gender and Race*, Bloomington, Indiana 1998, pp. 1–19.

⁴³ Besides parish registers, we can find some additional information in the lists of subjects of estate: <http://digi.ceskearchivy.cz/cs/50024> [2017–11–01] or in Slavata’s and

further sources are the interrogation records where her sister Lidmila, her Stepmother Mandelína and unnamed siblings are mentioned. Yet, we are able to identify other historical actors from her story mostly from parish registers and from the list of citizens. Many of them participated in the crucial everyday life situations of the city: besides the city governor (“hejtman”/“hauptmann”) Kölsch these were the city fathers (members of the city council), richter, various witnesses or the scribe Elias Okenfus.⁴⁴

Elisabeth also gave us some important information about her personal background in her first testimony. She had experienced illegitimate relationship and pregnancy before because she had already given birth to a child once. As unmarried mothers were seen as the most usual perpetrators of infanticide, it is not big surprise that city magistrates got interested about circumstances of the child’s death. Elisabeth gave birth to a child during 1702, but as she added: *“The child died, it was only 9 weeks alive. Afterwards I had to pay a fine of 3 Rz. to the richter Mr. Pergamen (who recently deceased), then I spent one day in a prison cell.”*⁴⁵

This is a good illustration of a relatively loose connection between early modern norms, which could often impose harsh punishments for crimes like fornication, and the praxis which was often milder, because the richter was satisfied with monetary compensation only. It was not uncommon that many minor offences like this, if committed under suspicious circumstances (e. g., a sudden infant’s death), were dealt with at the local level, just between the richter and the suspect.⁴⁶

Černín’s princely instructions, in: State District Archive of Třeboň: branch office Jindřichův Hradec, Estate of J. Hradec, card. 307 (regulations and instructions) and card. 381 (administration of subjects). Unfortunately, the name Symandl or Zimandl is not mentioned in these sources.

⁴⁴ The Names of the city fathers who were present during the process (1708–1709) are Thomas Schmuttermeyer, Mathes Andryss and Jiří (Georg) Runde, and as city richter served burgher Pavel Svoboda. Because of certain reputation of these public figures, they are called “godfathers” in the city parish register repeatedly (1705–1724): <http://digi.ceskearchivy.cz/cs/4338> [2017–11–01]; see also the inventory of urban land (Neuhausser Einteilungs from September 1705). Later there were two new investigators appointed in 1709, richter Jiří Červenka and burgher Kašpar Kohle. More about these people can be found in: State District Archive of Třeboň: branch office Jindřichův Hradec, Estate of J. Hradec, card. 302 (list of subjects), Hütter und Inlete Beschreibung 1705.

⁴⁵ *Elisabeth*, f. 247v.

Later, when she tried to defend herself, Elizabeth used this story as an argument which undoubtedly supported her innocence: “For the first time, I had an affair with a shoemaker’s journeyman. It is well known that the child was born alive and it was baptized immediately. Yet, the child did not live very long and I buried it properly. Inasmuch I did, I argue, if I had ever wanted to murder a child, I would have definitely killed this first one, because my virginity and honour were contested. Yet, I thought I’d rather lose my honour than kill an innocent child.”⁴⁷

Thus, the Elisabeth’s testimony shows more than one important aspects. First of all, she had doubtless experienced pregnancy before and she had given birth to a healthy and fully developed child. She argued that everything had been fine, child had been baptized, and although the child had posed a problem to her, she had never wanted to kill it. Secondly, the suspicions of Elizabeth’s relatives claiming that her honour was questionable can be seen as quite justified.

Elisabeth worked as a handmaid since she was only eleven and probably changed several households during that time. She worked for a wage as a spinster for local city weavers and hosiers like many other city dwellers. In the spring of 1706, when she met a journeyman Hans, Elisabeth was whitening canvas in Georg Hedlein’s house and at the end of September, when maids usually got a wage, she was employed as a servant by Thomas Fiedler, a hosier.⁴⁸

She became pregnant again after having an intercourse with this journeyman during the harvest celebrations in August 1706. Their relationship can be described as one-night love affair characterized by sexual intercourse and its physiological consequences of pregnancy. There is no evidence of this man’s involvement in the child murder,

⁴⁶ As many authors point out, there were constant conflicts between the interests of the prince (and his office) and a contemporary normative framework. J. ČECHURA, *Sex v době temna*, Praha 2015, pp. 348–405; J. SCHLUMBOHM, *Gesetze, Die Nicht Durchgesetzten Werden: Ein Strukturmerkmal Des Frühneuzeitlichen Staates?*, in: *Geschichte Und Gesellschaft*, 23, 1997, pp. 647–663; M. DINGELS, *Normsetzung als Praxis? Oder: Warum werden die Normen zur Sachkultur und zum Verhalten so häufig wiederholt und was bedeutet dies für den Prozeß der „Sozialdisziplinierung“?*, in: G. JARITZ (ed.), *Norm und Praxis im Alltag des Mittelalters und der frühen Neuzeit*, Wien 1997, pp. 39–53.

⁴⁷ *Elisabeth*, f. 360v.

⁴⁸ Mentioned as a moderately wealthy local craftsman in: *Hütter und Inlete Beschreibung* (1705).

but it is not unlikely that he mistreated Elisabeth (maybe raped her). Elisabeth left the dancing feast in his company and then they “sinned” in an empty wooden cottage. It is very likely that he promised to marry her, therefore she agreed to have sex with him, and he left afterwards.⁴⁹

Later during the process, she blamed Hans on attacking her against her will: “He chased me through the garden and when he caught me there, he grabbed my skirt and I fell back and he committed the ghastly deed.”⁵⁰ This situation can be, on the one hand, interpreted as a common defensive strategy of defendants;⁵¹ on the other hand, many men actually raped women and when the situation escalated, they left the city in order to get rid of suspicion.

Hans disappeared and so planned Elisabeth as well. In January 1707, just a few weeks before the delivery, she took quite an interesting journey to Moravia. She demonstrated her independence and the lack of trust in her family members. Her journey was unsuccessful, but why it was so remains unclear in the sources available.

Finally, the key part of the whole case is situated in the village Buk where she worked at hosier Lukš’s house as a spinster at the beginning of 1707 (she planned to visit her relatives in Třeboň, but did not make it, so she asked Lukš for help). Elisabeth delivered a child without assistance in the middle of the night on February 20, 1707: “The baby dropped out of me without any pain, outside of the house near the pigsty. I took my apron off and wrapped my baby up and put it above the pigsty. Then, I went back to the room. I did not tell them anything, I stood in the kitchen, then I went to my room where I spun yarn on my spinning wheel like if nothing had happened.”⁵²

Elisabeth described here a common strategy of infanticidal women who said that they delivered painlessly, like if a delivery was nothing. But unlike other cases, her murderous intentions were not so obvious: she did not throw baby into a river, bury it in the ground, or throw it

⁴⁹ These secret marriages are described among others in Ferrante’s article: “They had simply said to each other that they wanted to be husband and wife and they had sealed the pact with a kiss.” FERRANTE, p. 125.

⁵⁰ Elisabeth, f. 247r.

⁵¹ Many women described the intercourse from a perspective of passive and weak victims. Elisabeth could have been more active in this situation and played the victim’s role in order to get a milder treatment in prison.

⁵² Elisabeth, f. 269r.

to pigs as many other defendants did.⁵³ She only covered the corpse (delivered, as she insisted, presumably stillborn) and pretended that nothing had happened.

Symandlin claims she wanted to tell everyone about it, and she just did not have a chance because Lukš and people from village Buk suspected her and arrested her very soon. She insisted that the particular night even the village richter Hans Printz visited Lukš's house and she was afraid to confess in front of him.⁵⁴ Coincidentally, nobody noticed she was with the child: "Thereafter, the richter from Buk came, it was around two o'clock at night. He sat for a while in the room and at that moment I suddenly felt the labour pains. I was not allowed to tell him about it, I came out and when I came to the pigsty, the water squirted out of me and the child after the water. There, I looked down and I grabbed the baby at once and hold it in my arms, I took baby closer in front of my mouth just to find out if it still breathes, but it did not, in the end."⁵⁵

She was lucky that night, but everything was discovered in the morning. Consequently, the circumstances of her second birth and the corpse of the death newborn child hidden in the barn were a more serious problem which brought her to the prison again.

During 1707, she was interrogated several times; witnesses and medical experts expressed their opinion about her crime and at the beginning of 1708, she was questioned "sharply". In May, when she suffered painful torturing, she made up a new story about her spouse Hans and his Lutheranism (see below).⁵⁶ She spent the rest of the life in a prison cell in Hradec where she fell ill after torturing, and the last written evidence we have describes her health condition which did not get any better. There are no further sources dated after 1710.

In the following paragraphs, I focus in detail on several important aspects of the case outlined above: family relations, Elisabeth's travels, a role of medical experts in her case, the inquisitional process itself and her confession forced by the torture.

⁵³ In the typical infanticide cases a corpse of child that had been evidently hurt intentionally was discovered, and soon after that the women confessed without torturing. LEWIS, *Infanticide and abortion*, p. 77.

⁵⁴ The name of the richter is not mentioned in her confession, however, we are able to identify him in another evidentiary source: Estate of J. Hradec, card. 381 (administration of subjects), *Consignation der Richter und geschwornen*, 29. 2. 1704.

⁵⁵ *Elisabeth*, f. 362r.

⁵⁶ *Ibidem*, f. 326v.

Autumn 1706 – Getting away of Trouble

Many women accused of infanticide obviously did not want to kill their children and they were actively seeking for other solutions. One of the options that pregnant single women had, especially in bigger cities, was a possibility of child abandonment. Many women, as Laura Gowing describes, simply left their newborn in front of the door of city fathers or rich burghers.⁵⁷ This could also be the reason why Elisabeth never left Jindřichův Hradec for good. She probably stayed in touch with her family and other neighbours just in case they could have helped her, or to have an opportunity to leave a child somewhere in front of the door of some rich and honourable family.

Presumably, Elisabeth found herself pregnant during September or October 1707, but she did not tell anyone about it because she might have been afraid of parent's reactions and other social consequences in general. As David Myers argues: *"For a single woman of poor means, the signs of pregnancy announced the social and legal troubles she would face as a sinner and an outcast."*⁵⁸

It is difficult to say how important the family was for her in that moment, but from the phrases like *"I was afraid of my people"*,⁵⁹ *"I thought I would go home to show them my baby"*,⁶⁰ *"I was afraid my parents would treat me badly"*,⁶¹ it is apparent that she feared her parents' authority and was aware of her social situation, as well as the economic consequences of her illegitimate motherhood.⁶²

As the records indicate, her very strict sister accused Elizabeth of being *"a god dammed whore"*.⁶³ Her stepmother beat and humiliated her, maybe more than once, because she did not behave properly: *"My stepmother took a twig and wiped my back heavily, she tore down my head-*

⁵⁷ L. GOWING: Giving Birth at Magistrate's Gate: Single Mother in Early Modern City, in: *Women, Identities and Communities in Early Modern England*, Michigan 2009, pp. 137–150.

⁵⁸ MYERS, p. 86.

⁵⁹ *Elisabeth*, f. 326r.

⁶⁰ *Ibidem*, f. 362v.

⁶¹ *Ibidem*, f. 328r.

⁶² One version of her explanation: *"I was afraid of a high fine and of my parents, who would have blamed me and that I would have to prove who the father of that child was. As I said before, I just hoped that if the child was stillborn, it would be better for me because I would not have had to care about it."* *Ibidem*, f. 327r.

⁶³ *"You goddammed whore, you did a very 'nice' thing to us once [dishonour Family], you will end up in the cage and then you will stand in the pillory!"* *Ibidem*, f. 361r.

scarf, she slapped me several times and then she griped my neck and throw me backwards.”⁶⁴ Elisabeth had more than few conflicts with her female relatives, which could reflect the fact that she was also a stepchild.⁶⁵ In one of her answers she blamed her stepmother Mandelína for neglecting the household maintenance and questioned the fulfilment of her mothering duties as well: “I quarrelled with her a lot, because she came home late and left her child with strangers.”⁶⁶ Mandelína, on the other hand, blamed Elisabeth for not showing any respect to her: “She did not care about me, she acted as if she were not obliged to obey her stepmother. So, I was often evicting her from the house to follow her own way.”⁶⁷

Family relations were probably the reason why later Elisabeth tried to change the inevitable course of events on her own. In January 1707, she travelled with some carman (“forman”) from village Políkno to south Moravian city Znojmo. As Jaroslav Čechura pointed out before, this trend was not unusual, because dozens of South Bohemia subjects migrate and sought work in more distant regions like Znojmo;⁶⁸ Elisabeth’s motivations, however, were quite different.

She claimed she wanted to find her journeyman and that was the reason why she wandered more than one hundred kilometres from Jindřichův Hradec and then back again. This was not unusual even in the context of the South Bohemia infanticide cases. There was another woman with similar experience who was imprisoned a year later (1708), Eva Mikšová. Both women left their village with some excuse,⁶⁹ but they returned later. This attracted the attention of the city court, obviously. Judges suspected both women that they were trying

⁶⁴ *Elisabeth*, ff. 360v–361r.

⁶⁵ Maltreatment of stepparents against their children was described by evolutionary biology as a Cinderella effect, however, this thesis is criticised as quite controversial. On defend of this effect see M. DALY – M. WILSON, Is the “Cinderella Effect” controversial?, in: C. CRAWFORD – D. KREBS (eds.), *Foundations of Evolutionary Psychology*, New York 2007, pp. 383–400.

⁶⁶ *Elisabeth*, f. 268r.

⁶⁷ *Ibidem*, f. 297v.

⁶⁸ J. ČECHURA, “Do Moravy utekl, však on tam ale nezůstane”: k živelné migraci z jižních Čech na Moravu (1700–1750), in: *Časopis Matice moravské*, 132, 1, 2013, pp. 43–81.

⁶⁹ In Eva Mikšová’s case, the maiden said to her mistress she was going to see her brother and help him during the harvest. Eva left Hradec highly pregnant, accompanied by a maidservant, to city Jemnice in Moravia, but after fourteen days she returned. *Eva Mikšín*, ff. 167–168.

to “get rid of the child and return home as virgins again”.⁷⁰ Based on the comparison to other sources, such escape from a city can be defined as one of the common strategies used by many women who left their homes, supposedly, to give birth in secret.⁷¹

Elisabeth’s journey was unsuccessful, and probably she was not welcomed in Moravia at all for various reasons.⁷² She failed to find her Hans from whom she expected a fulfilment of his promises or at least a financial compensation. Nevertheless, this story later served her as an excuse for a premature birth of her child: “*The cart quacked terribly and I trembled so much on the road that this shaking and trembling together with the way how my sister scared me could, in my opinion, be also the possible cause of the infant’s death.*”⁷³

Elisabeth certainly tried to find some help, but her options were limited. This contradiction caused psychological pressure, doubts and hesitation: “*I was afraid and ashamed, I thought I would rather go to the city, but at the same time I was frightened, because they could be mean to me as they had been before.*”⁷⁴ She was torn between the desire to entrust herself to her family and the effort to stay away from the community which could discover her pregnancy any time: “*Yes, I was afraid that all of them would treat me badly, then I decided I would rather be alone, and I went to the hosier Lukš in village Buk.*”⁷⁵

This second journey to Buk was another attempt to disappear. She explained that she left the city Hradec not long before the delivery to seek her uncle’s help in Třeboň (approximately fifty kilometres from Hradec).⁷⁶ Again, she did not succeed because she was warned by some wayfarer that gypsies blocked the road to Třeboň, so she stopped off near the village Buk to stay there. This was again quite suspicious, because Buk is only five kilometres from Hradec, so she did not make

⁷⁰ Ibidem, f. 154r. Obviously, in Elisabeth’s case maidenhood was not in question anymore, however her honour and good reputation were equally important.

⁷¹ Servant Grethe Schmitd in Myer’s study supposedly left the city Brunswick and her mother reserved a room for her in a city nearby: MYERS, pp. 52–54.

⁷² We can only guess what happened there. She was probably instructed by her friends or parents to visit someone’s home in order to give birth in secret, however, it did not end up well and she was supposedly forced to return.

⁷³ Elisabeth, 361v.

⁷⁴ Ibidem, f. 298.

⁷⁵ Ibidem, f. 297v.

⁷⁶ “*I thought I could go to Třeboň to see my friends and my uncle.*” Ibidem, f. 268v.

much progress in her journey. It is probable that she did not plan to visit Buk at all, but at the same time, this can be understood as a result of her constant hesitation (to stay or to leave?).

The question of honour and the relationships in family affected Elisabeth's further decisions when she decided to hide her pregnancy and solve her "little problem" on her own. The reason why she left was not just the family issues, but an effort to defend her personal honour and honour of her family as well. The concept of honour, as it has been pointed out above, could influence women's lives, and the shame at the same time could be transferred from an unmarried woman to her relatives, neighbours or employers.⁷⁷ She was stigmatized and, therefore, she decided to leave. It can be assumed from these indications that Elizabeth was very secretive, stubborn and independent person who acted with intentions to defend her honour, but at the same time was prepared to take the risk and defend her family members (especially her own father).⁷⁸

Winter 1707 – Mistress, Midwives, Medical Examiner and Corpus Delicti

Conception and gestation were quite puzzling processes in both scientific and popular discourses in early modern period. Neither the women themselves, nor male doctors and midwives knew for sure when and how exactly the pregnancy begin, what happens in the womb later or how to confirm the condition without any doubt. Some diagnoses when doctors and midwives agreed about obvious symptoms of pregnancy proved to be incorrect at the end and, on the other hand, some women did not seem to be pregnant at all and yet they had a baby.⁷⁹

After all, Elisabeth could take an advantage of this situation. She was aware of being an outlaw since she was carrying a child and could

⁷⁷ About Honour see LEWIS, pp. 28–33.

⁷⁸ Her father had clearly an important role in her life. She never mentioned him during interrogations where she blamed her sister or step-mother, but never her father. Later, it was also her father who tried to get her out of prison. On the other hand, her stepmother in this context only threatened her or blamed her for dishonouring the family.

⁷⁹ MYERS, p. 91.

possibly face criminal charges as soon as anything was discovered. Presumably this was the reason why she never told anyone.

From the very beginning she claimed that the child was stillborn because she had hurt herself and her foetus twice. For the first time due to shaking and trembling of a cart when she had been travelling back from Moravia, and then when she had slipped and fallen (probably on ice) at the beginning of February 1707.⁸⁰

The city magistrates obviously examined the circumstances of these potential injuries very carefully. Many other servant girls from Hradec knew Elisabeth well and they were present to the second accident mentioned by her. Subsequently, they were interrogated as the witnesses. Instead of supporting her testimony, the maidservants from neighbourhood (*Dorotha*, *Dorotha junior*, *Catherina* and *Lída* questioned her statements). They said that Elisabeth had been only slightly injured after the fall and had complained only about her sore foot.⁸¹ On the other hand, none of them provided information about her pregnancy, rather they denied noticing anything suspicious about her.

Although such an accident during pregnancy was taken very seriously, the city magistrates did not need any other medical testimony to conclude that her story about the accidental fall was not real, because the midwife Justina Stepanin (*Štěpánová*) also confirmed maidservants' statements, claiming that the "*child was born right on time and had hair and nails as any other*".⁸²

Yet, there are indications that people from the city were suspicious about Elisabeth's condition from the very beginning. "*People said she was pregnant,*" admitted her last employer Anders Lukš. Her reputation had already been questioned when she had had the first child, and as Ulinka Rublack points out, rumours and gossips were quite powerful in early modern period.⁸³

⁸⁰ "It was on the Feast of the Purification of the Blessed Virgin Mary also called Candlemas (February 2, 1707) when I suddenly fell down just before the so called 'Mädl-house' and I could not get back on my feet. Thereupon, I also blame this second fall of mine for hurting my foetus." Elisabeth, f. 361r.

⁸¹ Ibidem, ff. 270–272.

⁸² "Das Kind ist Rechtzeitig dann es hat die Nägel und Haar, ist ein Mägdlein." Ibidem, f. 273v. Justina Stepanin added: "After a serious fall, the fetus would come out within nine days." Ibidem.

⁸³ RUBLACK, pp. 16–43.

One way to find the truth about Elisabeth's condition was the possibility to examine her body by someone who could feel any movement of the child. Usually, the women suspected of infanticide who intended to hide their physical changes never let their relatives nor neighbours touch their belly. This could be attributed to their shyness or modesty, but also to their evil intentions.⁸⁴

It is not surprising, then, that her last employers heard the rumours and mistress Lukšová asked her directly. Notably, Elisabeth had no objections and she was willing to let mistress touch her. As Anders Lukš said, Elisabeth only laughed and let her mistress touch her belly. Lukšová did not notice anything. According to Lukš it happened because his wife was very young and she had not had any experience with children.⁸⁵ Elisabeth might have known that it was not dangerous, because the young Lukš's wife still was quite immature in this regard.

This, again, served later as an argument against her murderous intentions. As she wrote in her letter of pardon: *"Because until the end no one had never asked me [about my pregnancy], it was actually me who first revealed the truth to Hosier's wife that I was feeling very sick and I was thinking it is too soon [to give birth]. She told me she was sometimes feeling sick, too. After this, we went to bed in our rooms and I hoped they had understood what I'd just told them [that I was pregnant] and I called a maid to bring me some diapers or headkerchief."*⁸⁶

Elisabeth never denied anything, nobody had simply never asked her directly. And when they actually asked, like Lukšová did, she told them everything; unfortunately, they just did not understand. Lukšová probably had some other problems in mind like nausea or vomiting during the menstrual cycle, but Elisabeth was supposedly talking about her pregnancy. Nevertheless, she obviously twisted all events in her favour, everything what happened so far were just accidents,

⁸⁴ David Myers illustrates this point very clearly: maidservant Grethe Schmidt never let anyone touch her. In her case it was the crucial point because the body of her child had never been found and the city magistrates had only indirect evidence (gossips) and her confession, but forced by torture. MYERS, pp. 96–98.

⁸⁵ *"Ich hab ihr nichts gesagt, aber mein Weib hat zu ihr gesagt, dass die Leute sagen, sie seye Schwanger, sie aber hat gelaugent und hat mein Weib den Leib besuch wissen teilen, aber mein Weib noch kein Kind gehabt hat sies auch nicht verstanden."* Elisabeth, f. 274v.

⁸⁶ *Ibidem*, f. 362v.

misunderstandings and the chain of unlucky events, but her intentions were always only the best.

So far all of these indirect clues could prove her illegitimate pregnancy only, but not the infanticide itself; the real problem, at least for Elisabeth, was the child's body. When Elisabeth was arrested, the richter had not found anything yet. Unfortunately for her, she did not have enough time to pick the dead child up in the morning and hide it: *"Yet, just when I was putting my clothes on, the bailiff ('biřic') came and told me to go with him to Hradec. Of course, I wanted to take the child with me, but he did not let me, not even take one step back and I had to go with him to the prison."*⁸⁷

Immediately, when her father heard rumours about her imprisonment, he sent someone to find out what exactly happened in Buk. It was her stepmother Mandelína again who first visited Elisabeth in a prison cell. As she explained, they wanted to know if the child was still alive or not and if they should take care of it. Yet, Elisabeth was very prompt again and asked Mandelína to help her: *"She told me to go there and take it. I said I could not do it just like that and I had to confess to judge, so I did and I do not know anything else."*⁸⁸

Elisabeth, of course, later gave a totally different story, when she again presented herself as an innocent girl co-operating with the law: *"Immediately, when my stepmother visited me in the prison, I told her where the child was laying and I begged her to tell everything about my actions to the merciful and honourable law and tell them that she could show them where the baby was."*⁸⁹

On Tuesday morning, nobody found anything suspicious in the Lukš's house, no blood stains or dirty clothes, just one dirty rag⁹⁰ and some herbs in Elisabeth's skirt. Especially these herbs attracted attention of investigators, so they asked midwives about their opinion on

⁸⁷ Ibidem.

⁸⁸ Ibidem, f. 276v.

⁸⁹ Ibidem, f. 362v.

⁹⁰ A mistress had a suspicion that Elisabeth gave birth to a child earlier, not on Monday (February 20) as she said, because no one found any signs of blood anywhere and Elisabeth's hands were clean as well. Maria Elisabeth Lukšová had a feeling that Běta wanted deceive or dishonour them somehow: *"Es ist unmöglich, dass sie das Kind bei uns müssen haben, dann ist es geflohen gewesen, wan Höht ja ein Zeichen schon kaum. Sie hat die Hand sauber gehabt und ist unmöglich, dass sie in ein so kurzer Zeit hatte können, alles aufputzen oder aufwischen."* Ibidem, f. 276r.

them. Midwives as experts knew that many types of herbs can be used as purgatives. Both women, Dudová and Štěpánová, recognized only one – *Helianthemum* (“devaterník”). Elisabeth could have used it as purgative; however, she denied it again saying that it was just something that she had had in her skirt since summer.⁹¹ But finally, the newborn child was found soon after that, secretly hidden in the barn, covered by some waste and straw.

Then, the main problem Elisabeth faced was that the city doctor and two midwives claimed that the baby was fully developed and its neck broken. In their medical reports of February 25, 1707, an official city physician Johannes Jacob Fried, a country barber–surgeon Carl Joseph Malekh and two midwives Štěpánová and Dudová described the body as a victim of the crime: “*The neck is broken and crooked, navel-cord unbound and the head was pressed. Yes, the child is on time, because it has nails and hair, it is a baby-girl.*”⁹²

The next day (on February 26), Carl Joseph Malekh was summoned to present the child’s corpse again, this time also in front of Elisabeth Symandlin herself. This confrontation of a mother with the corpse was a traditional part of infanticide investigations, which was theoretically supposed to result in disturbance of the murderer’s self-confidence and cause panic. However, Elisabeth remained stubborn, denied intentional murder and did not change her testimony.⁹³

Even though the city council was quite sure about her guilt, they still needed Elisabeth’s confession which, however, proved to be very difficult to achieve because she had been denying everything for a very long time. Finally, it was decided to use a torture, which proved to be a crucial step in Elisabeth’s case.

Inquisitorial Procedure and Torture (1707–1708)

During her entire stay in a castle prison in Jindřichův Hradec Elisabeth never gave up attempts at liberation. She tried to get allies among her family members, persuade judges about her innocence, arouse

⁹¹ “*As long as I am in the world, I had never used any herbs, but I plucked this herb at the St John’s day (midsummer), to protect cattle from an evil spell.*” Ibidem, f. 283v.

⁹² Ibidem, f. 274r. Both doctors’ reports were very similar, i. e., the neck was broken and turned to the right arm, the upper part of the head was pressed, the navel-cord was unbound and both arms were damaged. Ibidem, f. 285v.

⁹³ Ibidem, f. 276r.

compassion as an innocent martyr, or later obtain mercy from the superior court as a victim of torturing.

Some remarkable points about life in a local prison can be found in a record of Mariana Dalšovká, another woman accused (of abortion) six years earlier. She declared that her mother came to see her to the window of her cell, during the night even her partner stopped by (she gave him several written notes), and a maidservant brought her some food occasionally. After these night visits, she “*was often lying on her belly at the windowsill all day long looking outside; she said she was bored*”.⁹⁴

Meanwhile, the events outside the prison took place as follows: After the initial interrogation in February, Elisabeth was confronted with four servant girls and with her stepmother on April 31, 1707. Then, on October 10 of the same year, there were stepmother Mandelína, her sister Lidmila, Anders Lukš and his wife Maria Elisabeth from village Buk again testified against her. Elisabeth presented there her story as mentioned above.

The inquisitorial procedure which started with information brought in by Elisabeth’s stepmother was secret and characterized by a superior power of the city council over the defendant.⁹⁵ Although the court undertook investigation and prosecution completely on its own initiative, it was supervised by the princely office and the consultations with the superior court of appeal in Prague were obligatory.

The city magistrates consulted the case continuously with an office of the estate governor, a “*hauptmann*” (i. e. a representative of the authority of the estate’s owner Černín) who seated in a local castle. After all his work was finished, *hauptmann* Franz Maximilian Kölsch sent

⁹⁴ State District Archive of Třeboň: branch office Jindřichův Hradec, in the collection of the estate of J. Hradec, cardboard 417, *the case of Mariána Dalšovská 1699–1701*, f. 441v.

⁹⁵ The legal system of prosecution for infanticide was for the first time described in *Constitutio Criminalis Carolina* (1532), available, e. g., in a later German/Latin edition: *Constitutiones Criminales Caroli V*, Magdeburg, 1716. However, this law code was only subsidiary for the Czech kingdom, and two other law books were in use (in a Czech edition): H. JIREČEK (ed.), *Obnovené právo a zřízení zemské dědičného království Českého*, Praha 1888; K. MALÝ et al., *Práva městská Království českého: edice s komentářem*, Praha 2013. More about this legal system in broader context MYERS, pp. 33–43; LEWIS, pp. 16–49; in Czech and Moravia L. NOVOTNÝ, *Kauza „Abeles“*. Příklad řízení v trestní věci před apelačním soudem na sklonku 17. století, in: *Problematika historických a vzácných knižních fondů Čech, Moravy a Slezska: sborník ze 17. odborné konference Olomouc, 5.–6. listopadu 2008*, Olomouc 2009, pp. 204–205.

all agenda further to the members of the law office of the Černín estate (Hofkanzlei), namely to Johann Georg Meyer and Georg Adalbert Liechner. These officials had a seat in Prague, and therefore they cooperated also with the superior Court of Appeal in Prague (*Appellationskammer*), represented by the president of Appeal Jan Josef of Vrtby and the secretary Kašpar Jan Kupec of Bílenberk.

Elisabeth had had so far (as the law recommended) many opportunities to confess without torture, however, there was a corpse with the broken neck and testimonies of witnesses that strengthened court's opinion that Elisabeth was lying. As the legal instruction (die rechtleche Belehrung) determined, there was a reasonable doubt about Elisabeth's innocence: she stubbornly lied about the consequences of her fall (only her knee was hurt) and, moreover, said that there was no blood during the delivery, although a bloodstain was found in the snow and a bloody rag soon after that (thus the delivery was completely normal), which she denied. Moreover, the *corpus delicti* was in evidence and according experts the newborn was put to death. Physicians and midwives were in agreement about this. Therefore, the office concluded that painful sharp questioning should follow.⁹⁶

In the legal framework of the Czech lands the torture was an integral part of investigation; still, the city magistrates had to have a serious reason for using it.⁹⁷ Consulting lawyers was a necessary step in the legal procedure, too, since it could protect a suspect from possible legal misconduct and from unauthorized application of torture.

It is true that in many cases across Europe people were often exempt from torture and the practice was not as widespread as we can think;⁹⁸

⁹⁶ Die rechtleche Belehrung sent from Prague on 20th January 1708, said: "Dass mann [...] muss befestiget sein, wurde sie Inquisitin hiereine Falls weiter vernommen ob selbe die leibes Frucht darmit abgetreiben? Oder abzutrieben ins Sinn geführet nich anderen sagenden Gestellen wollen, als das Kind Todter gebahren un zur Welt gebracht zu haben [...], die peinliche Frage inmediate nach sich ziehen." Elisabeth, f. 305r. In this context, the office also quoted a third part from the German lawyer Benedict Carpzov's famous work *Practica nova imperialis Saxonica rerum criminalium*, where he discusses certainty of crime indications (available online at <http://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/drwcarpzov3/0201> [2017–10–24]) and also the important part from die *Verneuerte Landesordnung / Obnovené zřízení zemské* from 1627 (OZZ, R 8), where it was declared that consultation with the court of Appeal is necessary if the torture is going to be applied: JIREČEK, p. 502.

⁹⁷ More about the process also see NOVOTNÝ, p. 204.

⁹⁸ Less than 10 % of cases is reported to be connected with torturing in many

yet the torture was seen as a common method in the early modern law system and as an integral part of infanticide investigation. The passive resistance expressed by Elisabeth was understood as a strategy used by other defendants who were accused of infanticide. This passivity was interpreted as a part of female nature and judges had in mind the image of woman who was not an active criminal, but more the victim of her unpredictable temper, the weaker sex. Consequently, the judges expected a different progress of investigation. Women who recently gave birth were thought to be physically weakened and mentally more vulnerable, thus it could not have been so difficult to gain a confession. However, Elisabeth resisted and the prosecutors were not satisfied with her answers.⁹⁹

After consultation with Černín's *Hofkanzlei* in Prague, a new set of questions was prepared and sent to the court in Jindřichův Hradec. Then, the city intended to interrogate Elisabeth again with the new list, first normally without torturing. If she denied confessing again (which Elisabeth did), the torturer ("*der Scharfrichter*") would be introduced. This time on May 7, 1708, the hauptmann Maximillian Kölsch was attending the investigation as well.

Elisabeth clearly faced the power of terror alone and the fear of pain played a crucial part in her confession. Indeed, from the beginning she was arguing again that she was innocent, had not killed her child, wanted to confess to her parents and that the child had already been stillborn.¹⁰⁰ Then the torturer Kuželka, who arrived from city Pelhřimov,¹⁰¹ introduced himself and displayed the tools of his trade: "*The torturer showed thumbscrew to her and also the candles, then he looked at her saying, 'My dear maid, this is the stuff I will use on you, this and the much*

Germany regions in early modern period. For more details see MYERS, p. 129 (and footnote 21). Only one out of the five infanticide cases in Jindřichův Hradec between 1700–1710 was resolved by this practice and the conclusions of this method were not convincing. For contemporary discussion about torture see B. CARPZOV, *Peinlicher Sächsischer inquisition- und Achtsproceß*, Leipzig 1693, <http://www.mdz-nbn-resolving.de/urn/resolver.pl?urn=urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb10520531-0> [2017-11-01].

⁹⁹ The contrast between expected passivity and resistance during torture was well described by M. LEWIS, *Infanticide and abortion*, pp. 76–80.

¹⁰⁰ *Elisabeth*, f. 321–324.

¹⁰¹ Hangman's name is not mentioned in this particular case, but from the previous cases we know that members of magistrate of J. Hradec often used the service of Torturer from Pelhřimov.

worse things I have prepared. If you don't tell the truth, I will torture and burn you with these."¹⁰²

Even face to face with her torturer Elisabeth showed certain resistance to court's power again. She denied the effectivity of torture and revealed her own opinion about what she heard about it: "Well, do whatever you want with me then, my lords, because I am innocent and I did not kill the child. I commend myself to you, because I know what people in the cities of Brno and Telč told: that if you don't believe me, I cannot change it."¹⁰³

Despite the fact that her last sentence is quite extraordinary and this testimony depicts her, now even more clearly, as a very courageous woman with quite considerable insight, it was not helpful in this case obviously. For fifteen minutes, she was questioned with thumbscrews on, but she did not confess anything, even when the executioner screwed the tool up strongly. After that, the torturer was ordered to tight her up and lay her down on the ladder where she would be racked. She begged and cried, but only after Kuželka showed her the further (third) step of torture – burning with candles – she finally confessed herself:

"Certain people told me that the journeyman is a Lutheran. Thus, my sister suspected me that I had something with him; if it had been true, it would have been very bad for me and our family, if I had had a Lutheran child. Therefore, I started to lift very heavy objects and push my belly hard because I wanted to hurt myself. I thought that it would be fine if I hurt myself because it could be a Lutheran child, but if I did not hurt myself, it would be fine, too, because I did not know what to do while they were treating me so badly."¹⁰⁴

Under the physical pain she presented a totally new story about a wrong religious identity of her copulator Hans. His (probably) imaginary Lutheranism was the reason why she mechanically hurt herself several times. And on the most important question, that is "why", she continued: "Because I would have to pay the fine and I was afraid of my people, too, that they would treat me badly."¹⁰⁵

This is what can be interpreted as a fictional plot she made very likely up under physical pain. The stories about quarrels between

¹⁰² *Elisabeth*, f. 324v. This process was described in a similar way by MYERS, pp. 124–125.

¹⁰³ *Elisabeth*, f. 324v.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibidem*, f. 326v.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibidem*.

members of different religious camps had been published regularly since the second half of the 16th century. Possibly, Elisabeth heard some ballads or crime stories at the city market, where the sellers and actors performed or read aloud these bloody narratives.¹⁰⁶

There certainly were quite strong Lutheran and Utraquist communities before the Battle of White Mountain (1620) in Jindřichův Hradec. And even after recatholisation of Bohemia these protestants still lived in South Bohemia at the turn of the 18th century. They were meeting in secrecy and were always in connection with foreign German regions on the south-west; Elisabeth as a good catholic tried to convince her catholic neighbours that she was seduced by strangers and her intentions were therefore justified.

Maybe this was something she believed they wanted to hear. Journeyman Hans from Saxony was not only a stranger, but now also a protestant; and she was warned by her sister that it brings shame to have a protestant child in a catholic family. Elisabeth tried to persuade prosecutors that they all could unite against a common enemy, a stranger of different religion. This story could have made the judges believe that she belonged to the same community as them, because they knew her well from everyday life in city, while Hans was an intruder who misused her.

After all, her argumentation was inconsistent, and she did not confirm her statement later again (without the torture).¹⁰⁷ Immediately after she was removed from the ladder she repeated and admitted everything, but when she was questioned again on April 1709, she said she had been confused and had not knew what she had said. She only thought that it could have been beneficial not having a child and, moreover, the child had been indeed stillborn.¹⁰⁸ However, the magistrates now had a confession and with this, Elisabeth was sent back to cell.

¹⁰⁶ For further reading about pamphlets and broadsheet see STŮJ.

¹⁰⁷ This part was crucial, because Elisabeth should repeat her confession again without torturing. This was reminded to magistrates several times by court of Appeal during the year. This was also reason why a new list of questions was sent in spring 1709.

Elisabeth nevertheless confessed, that she did not intend to care about the child. For inquisitional process see NOVOTNÝ.

¹⁰⁸ *Elisabeth*, f. 372v.

More Dead than Alive, in Prison (1708–1710)

When Elisabeth's confession was recorded, magistrates sent the documentation to Prague where the sentence was to be given. After the case was consulted in Prague, the court of Appel finally decided on July 20, 1708 that "*she should be, for her serious offence and as a warning to others, beheaded, then put in the grave, impaled through the hearth and her body placed in the earth*".¹⁰⁹

This sentence, which was read to Elisabeth at the beginning of August, obviously induced her immediate reaction. She did not surrender even after she withstood the torture: "*For almost two years, I have been staying in chains, chained day and night. I went through lot of suffering. I was tortured by thumb-screws. I was racked three times and then put down again. Thereupon I have been more dead than alive.*"¹¹⁰

Even now in very bad health condition, she tried to postpone the verdict and with some help prepared several supplications for pardon to the superior court in Prague.¹¹¹ The whole trial and all interrogation stages were secret, and only magistrates, princely officers and the court of Appeal were supposed to know about that; however, there were many locals working for the city council and it seems very likely that someone brought the information about the sentence to Elisabeth's father who started helping her.

In her first German supplication, written on August 26, as well as in other two written in Czech on October 16 and again on November 29, she "*asked for mercy and humbly prayed to The Five Wounds of Christ for the court gave her a pardon and stopped the execution,*"¹¹² because "*she could not accept her death so easily because of her young age of twenty-three and the disgrace and sorrow of her father, brothers and sisters*".¹¹³

Lawyers in the princely office in Prague did not agree with her; instead, they understood her letters of supplication as an malicious attempt to postpone the execution and misinterpret the trial which had

¹⁰⁹ National archive in Prague (NA Praha), *Collection of the Court of Appeal, The Czech Sentences (Ortelní manuály české)*, No. 147, *Sentences 1706–1708*, ff. 199–200. The copy sent to city magistrates, see *Elisabeth*, f. 336r.

¹¹⁰ *Ibidem*, f. 362v.

¹¹¹ Chronologically, there were five letters sent (signed by Elisabeth) on August 26, October 16, November 29 and December 11, 1708, and the following year on June 19.

¹¹² *Elisabeth*, f. 340.

¹¹³ *Ibidem*, f. 351.

been conducted properly and in the name of God.¹¹⁴ This opinion was further supported by the official statement of the prosecutor and chancellor of the Old town of Prague, Carl Franz Granitzer, that Symandlin wanted to delay the verdict (*welche auf kenne weiss zur retardiert*) and it is not possible, under these circumstances, to set her free.¹¹⁵

But meanwhile, Elisabeth was waiting for the final verdict (now, at the end of the year 1708, almost for two years), her life in prison was probably, except for the moments of interrogations and torture, quite uneventful.

As the case of Mariána Dalšovská indicates, the communication between a prisoner and locals was possible, not only in writing, but also orally through a small barred window, or with the help of a bailiff or his wife who cared about prisoners. Moreover, there was doctor Fried and a priest who visited her occasionally.

Later, on December 9, another attempt for liberation was made by Hans Symandl who probably paid to the scribe, another city hosier called Elias Okenfuns,¹¹⁶ to write at least the final pardon letter for Elisabeth. It must have been the father who was also responsible for composing several supplications mentioned above which were sent to Prague, and apparently, he was more involved in her case than it is obvious at the first sight.

The supplication for pardon, actually, is very similar to those described by Natalie Zemon Davis.¹¹⁷ Yet it is, in my opinion, quite unusual in the context of early modern Bohemia if its length and clearly structured arguments are taken into consideration.¹¹⁸

¹¹⁴ "Sie maleficientem diestes Rechtes Beneficii sich nicht gebrache möchte, noch Verfliessung der oben gereckten 17. tåginen priests an die publicate Sententice, den dritten Tag darauf jedoch mit vor hergehende reinigung Ihres gewiessens und einer Wahrhaften bereiung der Sünde (die Execution über sie cum omnibus requisitis te observatis observandis, alles bekketh sami in Gottes nahmen vollzuziehen und desen erfolg andere zu bewickten." Ibidem, f. 348.

¹¹⁵ Ibidem, f. 345r.

¹¹⁶ Elias is mentioned by František Teplý in his history of the city as a member of the city council in 1720 and as the city richter in 1722. Twenty years before he could have been a young rebel, ready to help the prisoner against the law. F. TEPLÝ, *Dějiny Jindřichova Hradce*, Part 1, Vol. 4, Jindřichův Hradec 1936, p. 57.

¹¹⁷ Natalie Davis argues that women did not have many occasions to make supplications for pardon; moreover, the cases of infanticide and witchcraft were not pardonable. N. ZEMON-DAVIS, *Fiction in the Archives: Pardon Tales and Their Tellers in Sixteenth-Century France*, Stanford 1987, pp. 84–87.

¹¹⁸ Elisabeth presented six arguments to support her innocence:

Moreover, the supplication was quite an expensive product and Elisabeth's father spent an unknown sum of money with uncertain outcome, all just because the honour of the family was at stake. Nevertheless, not all women could rely on such a help. The class (and father's influence, although he was just an ordinary cloth maker) was an important factor in this case.

Yet, this act was not helpful; soon after that, on December 20, 1708, another answer from Prague was delivered in which the members of the court of Appeal inquired who wrote this letter and why, and why Elisabeth had accused her interrogators of maltreatment. Logically, this resulted in the next round of questioning and Elisabeth had to provide an explanation. This testimony dated on April 5, 1709 reveals that Hans Symandl came with the scribe Okenfus to the prison where Elias asked Elisabeth about her case. He drafted the supplication in the cell and rewrote it later. Finally, Father Hans brought the text to the castle and paid for sending it to Prague. Pardon letters were quite a common practice often recommended even by the lawyers, because a defendant had a right to beg for mercy during the trial.¹¹⁹ However, the fact that Elizabeth twisted the facts and questioned the procedure, was the main problem.

But when the council started to re-examine the case, Elisabeth denied most of the charges and the members of city council were forced to go through all points of accusation again. Her explanations were slightly different to those recorded a year earlier. Elisabeth claimed that everything she had said had been enforced by torture, she had been confused and she could not remember exactly what had happened. Some answers were confirmed, others denied; some facts had not been, in Elisabeth's words, recorded properly or she could not

1. This was her second child and she did not kill her first one, although she could;
2. Her stepmother was beating her;
3. She fell down on the street and was hurt in the cart;
4. She was afraid of the reaction of people;
5. She had never kept her pregnancy in secret;
6. The child was stillborn.

Elisabeth, ff. 360–374.

¹¹⁹ Defendants had a right for a lawyer, too; however, it was often impossible to get one and defendants had to face the accusation of their own. Some contemporary lawyers' opinions on this topic in CARPZOV, *Peinlicher Sächsischer*, Title 8, Art. 3; see also MYERS, pp. 144–146.

remember them. This obstinacy brought another reaction from the court of Appel, and because Bilenberk and Vrtby wanted to be clear about this case, they sent another legal instruction on July 17, 1709 where a brand-new list of questions was prepared to finally confirm her innocence of guilt.

However, as a result of torturing her health condition suddenly got much worse in summer 1709. Further news about her case is available only via the medical reports of the city physician Johannes Jacob Fried (or Frid), who visited prisoner several times at the end of 1709 and in the first half of 1710. This documentation was regularly sent to Hofkanzlei in Prague, attached to hauptmann Kölch reports.

The physician, who was a prominent public figure of the town,¹²⁰ carefully examined her body, and very likely they discussed together the pain and weakness Elisabeth was still feeling after torture. She gave him her subjective verbal account of her state where she complained about pain in the chest and in the arms, which was the result of stretching by the torturer. She also described her general weakness, the body fatigue and tiredness when she “*helplessly laid in sickness for weeks in bed*”, and this did not improve during the autumn.¹²¹

On January 5, 1710 Fried diagnosed a recovery from chronic pain in arms and legs. However, after examination of urine, which was quite a common method of early modern physicians,¹²² he found urinary

¹²⁰ He is listed in parish registers as a father and godfather of many children between 1700–1710 (see further), with a close relationships to city postman’s family and to the family of count František Bernard de la Saga Paradis, noble man who had a seat in the town Nová Včelnice and who was a godfather of his first son, in: <http://digi.ceskearchivy.cz/cs/4338/33> [2017–11–01].

¹²¹ Medical reports, July 27 and September 12, 1709: “*Dass sie an der linken Seiten weg vorher ausgestandener Tortur ganz schwach, auch bieshero gar nicht auf besagter Seiten liegen kann, und Ihr öfters große Schwachheit und Mattigkeit und Mattigkeiten ankommen, wie dann auch dem Biedel wissenden und ob gedachte Person mir selbstem referrat, dass sie die vorige Wochen ganz Kraftlos und Krank dar nieder gelegen.*” Elisabeth, ff. 395r and 404r. More about results of torturing: “*The techniques of torture used chiefly in early modern Europe history principally assaulted the musculoskeletal system, heat sensory receptors, and highly innervated tissue. The strappado- suspension by ropes and the rack greatly distended and often dislocated muscles and joints. In the case of strappado, by traumatically extending muscles of the arms and the brachial plexus and by depriving the muscles of an adequate blood supply (muscle ischaemia) through constriction of arteries, and by dislocating joints at hand and shoulder, intense pain was generated.*” R. EVANS, *Rituals of Retribution, Capital Punishment in Germany 1600–1987*, Oxford 1996, p. 111.

¹²² See examples of medical practice in M. DINGES (ed.), *Medical Practice 1600–1900*.

stones (Sand und Stein), which she had suffered for the last few days. Physician also examined her belly and he observed her skin. There on her head and belly he found some skin rash which he described as chickenpox.¹²³

In May the physician found “no improvement in health condition”¹²⁴ and another problem was diagnosed in July and August when Elisabeth admitted irregular menstrual cycle; Fried classified this according to a humorous model as a very dangerous situation that can influence the balance of the fluids in the body. The physician prescribed Elisabeth some medication which could help to restore the cycle, but there was only very slow progress in her recovery.¹²⁵ In the last report which was preserved, in August 1710, it is recorded again that she “was very weakened and she was slowly losing her strength”.¹²⁶ This is also the last historical evidence we have about weaver’s daughter Elisabeth Symandlin. The last round of interrogation, which was recommended a year earlier, was probably never effectuated in 1710.

It is difficult to say what kind of relationship the doctor and his sick patient had, but since he was paid by city magistrates, he probably did not give his full attention to ill persons in prison. Moreover, Fried is mentioned several times (in 1706, 1708 and 1709)¹²⁷ as a happy father of three children (two sons and one daughter) and his attitude as a city doctor and also as a parent towards a child-murderess was therefore no different in comparison with his contemporaries; he just performed his duties without any special or strong emotional bond with his patient to whom he probably did not feel much sympathy.

Physicians and Their Patients, Leiden – Boston 2016, pp. 151–169. About different methods of examination M. STOLBERG, *Homo patiens: Krankheits- und Körpererfahrung in der Frühen Neuzeit*, Köln 2003.

¹²³ Medical report, February 5, 1710: “Zwar nach schlechter als damals befindet, in deine sie auch Jüngster Tages nicht allein s.v. an Sand und Stein gelitten, wie solches der frohe diener und andere auch selbst wahrgenommen, sondern auch bies dato, die Glieder Schmerzen anhalten, wie dann Ihr leib, Hirn und wieder mit Feüchtblatter ausgeschlagen ist.” Elisabeth, f. 407.

¹²⁴ Medical report, May 11, 1710: “ohne einige Besserung sich befündten thuet”. Ibidem, f. 419r.

¹²⁵ Medical reports, July 9, 1710, ibidem, f. 423, and August 12, 1710, ibidem, f. 430v.

¹²⁶ “[S]o viel mehr geschwächt und entkräfts wird.” Ibidem.

¹²⁷ See <http://digi.ceskearchivy.cz/cs/4338/33>, two younger children on pp. 54 and 74 [2017–11–01].

Her last year in prison described in Johannes Fried's medical reports can show another aspect of the struggle of a female prisoner in everyday life. Living in the dark, wet and boring place, only on the bread and the water, obviously was not very suitable for a body recovering after sharp questioning. Moreover, health issues like kidney stones or stopping of menstruation cycle were clearly the result of malnutrition, bad hygiene or dehydration. Probably even if she had been released at the end, her life would have never been the same after this physical and psychological distress. Regardless of whether she was guilty of murder or an innocent martyr, she became indeed a victim of this interrogation method.

Discussion: Elisabeth Symandlin, the Innocent Martyr?

In conclusion, it might be assumed that there was not only a father and *copulator* who was important in this case, but the whole community network: "*I wanted to go back to my people, they would have understood me,*" said Elisabeth.¹²⁸ She was afraid of her family, but at the same time hoped they would help her. The ethnicity linked to religion and kinship were very important factors in her case, but, most likely, both judges and neighbours saw her as a fallen woman who had to be excluded from the community of honourable people.

The network of kinship relations (her relatives, parents, godparents) should have been an option to avoid troubles. In other cases, there were often mostly mothers involved who tried to hide their daughter's sin,¹²⁹ nevertheless, Elisabeth did not find any support from this side. Except for her father and few relatives, she did not have any supporters in her community, maybe because of her previous bad reputation.

Besides these family members (or Lukšová as a mistress) other people played an important part in this drama, too. As it was pointed out in the Introduction, Elisabeth (supposedly) revealed her pregnancy for the first time to her Godmother. This relationship, often described as *spiritual kinship*,¹³⁰ was important for a pre-modern society so it is pos-

¹²⁸ "*I did not hurt that child and nobody advised me either, I was terrified when it fell down from me and was dead.*" Elisabeth, f. 283r.

¹²⁹ Mother's involvement in Grethe Schmidt's case. See MYERS, pp. 82–85.

¹³⁰ B. JUSSEN, *Spiritual Kinship as Social Practice: Godparenthood and Adoption in Early Middle Ages*, Newark 2000.

sible that Elisabeth had much closer to her Godmother than to her father's second wife. Papírníková offered Elisabeth her help and was ready to give her some diapers, too. She as a godmother was supposed to be her guardian and protector in situations when parents could not. Although we do not know for sure what she advised her in this situation, she obviously did not support her in criminal activity.

Finally, two men with the name Hans played a crucial part in Elisabeth's case. First, the journeyman Hans who was presumed to rape her and then disappeared. It would not be unlikely if the reality was quite different from Elisabeth's description. There could be mutual attraction between these two: even one of the servants, Lída, admitted she had danced with this boy, too, and she liked him. He was apparently a very pleasant companion, but clever enough to keep himself out of trouble.

Secondly, her father Hans Symandl might have been involved in her case more than it is obvious from the sources; it was presumably him who paid the scribe to write the supplications of pardon for Elisabeth's defence after she received sentence to death. Influence of male members of the family who had better opportunities, economical position and higher social status was important as well, however, we must not overestimate male agency in this case, because in many situations Elisabeth acted independently and clearly made her own decisions.

It is worth to mention that when Elisabeth told the wife of her employer, Lukšová, about giving birth to the child few days before the incident,¹³¹ she did not speak as a murderer. She said: *"It is always better to bring a child into the world than despatch it. I also add that it is known that many women slut-shame themselves, and still God is merciful to them, so he will be merciful to me as well."*¹³² Although Lukšová confirmed this statement, such testimony can be seen again as an intentional strategy on Elisabeth's part. She presented herself as a "normal" girl (prepared for being a mother), but she was probably not, at least regarding her economic and social position. We distinguish here between social

¹³¹ As a mistress, Lukšová had a similar status as Elisabeth's stepmother, i. e., she had to care about servants as their mother. Lukšová as a young mistress could have been the first person reporting her servant to court, but since she was young and unexperienced (as her husband said), she did not notice Elisabeth's pregnancy.

¹³² *Elisabeth*, f. 362r.

motherhood, that was not an option for her and she refused it, and biological maternity that she clearly described in a very positive way.

We don't know for sure if Elisabeth really killed her baby or not, even though we have testimonies of the two midwives and the city doctor who examined the corpse. At least the magistrates were quite sure about it (child was new-born, delivered after nine months, but only regarding its appearance, because it had hair and nails). On the other hand, she could have really miscarried or hurt the baby during delivery accidentally; however, some damage on the corpse was evident.

Her agency was very clear in the case. She was seeking for help on her own very actively, she improvised if it was necessary, and almost succeeded to sweep away the evidence.¹³³ The court of appeal, the princely office and the members of magistrate (all men and probably fathers in their middle age) saw her as malicious, fallen woman who not only committed the crime, but moreover tried distorting the investigation. Without any doubts, there were not only single women obediently waiting for proper marriages in early modern Bohemia, but also the active and stubborn ones who could run into trouble easily, and the manners like this were not acceptable with respect to the common good of the town nor the estate.

To sum up, it is possible to find many different images of a young woman and her crime in the social network of an early modern town. Elisabeth was a disobedient child of her stepmother but protected by her father and godmother; she was a spirited woman who acted independently and made several risky decisions. She was also a mature woman who experienced maternity, and yet was not prepared to become mother in the society that did not understand her. Several reasons were behind that: She did not have support of her spouse and for a long time did not tell anybody about her pregnancy; moreover, neither religion, nor state supported illegitimate offspring. Elisabeth was a working woman; therefore, a child was not an option for her as she did not have enough material or financial resources for her

¹³³ When we compare her actions to the maidservant Grethe Smidt it is clear that the corpse was the biggest problem and Elisabeth failed to get rid of it. However, even if the body had never been found as in Grethe's case, gossips and accusations would have been enough to start the investigation anyway. MYERS, pp. 86–97.

upbringing. In consequence, she decided that the murder was the only solution.

Finally, one last image needs to be presented in this case study. Elisabeth did not behave like a wicked and selfish woman as defined in the law code; instead, she continuously presented herself as an innocent martyr of torturing (as many other women did). She often added to her testimonies very devoted exclamations: *"I am an innocent martyr, I did not do that, I did not kill the child, I am suffering innocently and I will die in the same way. [...] My innocent soul, my innocent soul, my innocent soul!"*¹³⁴

The question why she let herself torture if she was so innocent was answered by her with baroque piety again: *"She responded with these words, her eyes focused on the image of Our Lady of Sorrows on the wall opposite her, she turned and said with her tears dropping down: Because I wanted to suffer for my previous sins and for this new one too, that's why I did not want to confess my crime at the first time and that's why I have let myself torture now. To the crucified God and Our Blessed Lady of Sorrows I command my soul now, it is all true, and I want to gladly die, because I killed the baby of my own free will, now do with me whatever you like."*¹³⁵

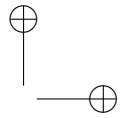
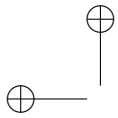
Her devotion might have been a result of conversations with the priest or with the physician during many months of suffering in the cell. Even the idea about writing the pardon letters was miraculous night revelation: *"It was the God himself who came to me and put the thought into my mind when I was sleeping; and Our Lady of Sorrows who had always advised me in good intentions."*¹³⁶

This strategy of the innocent victim was indeed nothing new, but the way she was accentuating the image of the martyr with visions and suffering almost evokes the devotion of baroque saints or self-sacrifice of Jesuit's missionaries. She learned this vocabulary probably at the church and, after all, she still was a member of catholic community. Yet, she was not a weak nor helpless gentle sex, but rather quite a clever woman who simply tried staying alive as long as possible. But from the moment when the child's corpse had been found she could not do anything else than deny everything.

¹³⁴ *Elisabeth*, f. 325v.

¹³⁵ *Ibidem*, ff. 328v–329r.

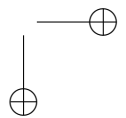
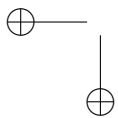
¹³⁶ *Ibidem*, f. 374r.



The body (*corpus delicti*) was indeed the difference between an unjustly accused woman, a martyr, and a liar. With no *corpus delicti*, only undirect evidence about her pregnancy could have been presented and her case would have taken a similar direction as the case of a few generations younger Grethe Schmidt.¹³⁷ However, Elisabeth was not fast enough and the torture as well as subsequent physical hardship was an inevitable result of her failure.



¹³⁷ For Schmidt's lawyer Justus Oldekop her case served as a critique of torturing and terror of justice, and the missing *corpus delicti* was the most important argument of her defence. Yet, this was just lucky coincidence that such important and skilful lawyer was interested in this case. MYERS, pp. 150–152.



“Female Issue”. Polemics about Working Women in the Kingdom of Poland in the Period after the Suppression of the January Uprising (1864) and the Outbreak of the Great War (1914)

*Joanna Dobkowska-Kubacka**

Women’s right to work or, more widely, challenging the established social role of women was not a brand-new topic in the Kingdom of Poland during the 1860s. It had been discussed before on the public forum. However, after the fiasco of the January Uprising (1864), those issues were vigorously discussed in press polemics. It mostly emerged due to altered social and economic conditions. On the one hand, the Polish community learned about the development of the women emancipation movement in Western Europe and the United States, on the other hand, much of the gentry went bankrupt being unable to bear the post-Uprising repressions. Many women from that milieu had to face the necessity of earning their living. That issue was addressed in the press at the time and, considering the frequency of such publications and their tenor, it must have sparked many emotions. This article discusses solutions proposed by both those who supported progress and attempted to add new occupations to the women’s labour market and to help women with reformed education, and by defenders of traditional values. The latter protested the very idea of women working out of home as an affront to that gender’s calling – being a wife and a mother. They were not only concerned that work might prejudice women’s ability to take care of home or children, but the fact of eroding the traditional social order in which men were destined to the public sphere while women should reduce their ambitions to the private, domestic sphere. Accordingly, in the second half of the 19th century, we can perceive that the Polish press of that time tended to add more value to work done by women at home. Attempts were made to present it as a mission, not only on the home but also the social front. They tried to turn it into a science by proposing a new branch of science called the “national economy of women”. Another argument raised by those against the emancipation of women was the inherent “nature” of women who were allegedly predisposed to those tasks that are related to the role of wife, mother, housekeeper, to the exclusion of everything else.

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There was also a “compromise” option that if some women are forced to work because of unhappy wheels of fortune, they should choose jobs that would benefit from female characteristics such as compassion and taking care of details. However, the emotional nature, so typical of women, allegedly affected their view of the world and prevented them from working in such fields where objectivity was essential (medicine, law).

[Women; Poland; 19th Century; Right to Work; Emancipation]

Women’s right to work or, more widely, challenging the established social role of women was not a brand-new topic in the Kingdom of Poland during the 1860s; nor it was addressed for the first time by the public opinion or had never been discussed before on the public forum.¹ However, after the suppression of the January Uprising, those issues became the subject of vigorous publicist polemics. It was mostly caused by the changed social and economic conditions. On the one hand, the Polish society learned about the development of the women emancipation movement in Western Europe and United States; on the other hand, many gentlewomen had to face the necessity of earning their living. That latter circumstance was largely affected by the fact that much of the gentry went bankrupt being unable to bear the post-Uprising repressions (contributions, seizures of property) or to convert serfdom into another economic model that was necessary after the enfranchisement of peasants during that very period. In that difficult situation for Poles, not only in economic but also political and mental terms, after suppression of the Uprising, the ideological movement called positivism attracted more and more followers; positivism advocated that Poland should be restored from ruins, however not by fighting for freedom with occupying powers (Russia, Prussia, Austro-Hungarian Empire) what had proved to be useless but by working on the society to improve its “quality”. The promoters of positivism advocated work, education and technical progress. They believed it to be the way to solve almost all problems suffered by the Polish society of that time.²

¹ In order to narrow down the scope, this analysis is limited to the issue of work by women from the intelligentsia and gentry. In order to emphasize changes in the society’s attitude towards that issue, this text compares the situation in the second half of the 19th century with the prior period, namely the first half of the 19th century.

² P. WANDYCZ, *The Lands of Partition Poland 1795–1918*, Seattle 1974.

The positivism advertised work as the only right and moral way of living and combated all forms of idleness. Their criticism also extended over the women's style of living. Positivists believed that most high society ladies have never done anything productive or useful.³ That polemic was easily won by the positivism as nobody defended the women's right to be lazy. Maria Ilnicka, longstanding editor-in-chief of *Bluszcz* – the most important magazine for women in the Kingdom of Poland (1865–1918), who considered her own views as moderately conservative and never supported any radical changes in the women's role in the society, believed that living without work was immoral and represented a pointless vegetation both in case of men and women.⁴ Positivist literature contrasted the characters of hard working heroines who attempted to protect family estate from falling into stranger's (or rather foreigner's) hands thanks to their reasonable management, with the "old type" of women who were empty, hysterical, read worthless romance stories and spent hours idly sitting in their boudoirs.

Pen and paper were the main weapons used by the positivism as the battle for a new and better society was fought in the press and books. The issue of working women held an important place in journalist writings on social and society matters that were remarkably ample during the second half of the 19th century. Considering the frequency of such publications and their tenor, that topic must have sparked many emotions. The majority of (both male and female) press and literary writers who presented their views in the Polish press during the second half of the 19th century and at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries, believed that they lived in times of great changes when the old order was being replaced with new values. The advocates of progress mostly rejoiced such developments. The defenders of traditional values protested the very idea of women working outside home as an affront to that gender's calling – being a wife and mother. However, they were not only concerned about how work might hinder women's ability to take care of home, children or husband – after all, high society

³ A. SZWARC, Krytyka kobiecości czy próżniaczego stylu życia? Stare i nowe wzorce życia codziennego kobiet w publicystyce i literaturze pięknej epoki pozytywizmu, in: A. ŻARNOWSKA – A. SZWARC (eds.), *Kobieta i kultura życia codziennego. Wiek XIX i XX, Zbiór studiów*, Warszawa 1997, pp. 295–307.

⁴ M. ILNICKA, Praca kobiety, in: *Bluszcz*, 17, 1894, p. 48.

women had servants, nursemaids and governesses. Any productive work by women eroded the traditional order of the universe in which men were destined for the public sphere while women should reduce their ambitions to the private, domestic sphere. In the traditional social order, women could feel appreciated as beings of supreme morality and more spiritual than men. Naturally, those qualities were only attributed to those with spotless reputation. Their task was to improve the other sex⁵ but they were only able to do it when their activities were limited to the family circle thus protecting them from the vulgarities of life. Being out of home unsupervised by her family or chaperon was seen by conservatives as a grave threat to female morality. *“Once married, she does not belong to herself – she is the queen and slave of the home hearth. The sanctity of women cannot be reconciled with duties and liberties of this world. To emancipate women, means ruining them.”*⁶ That viewpoint was quite attractive for many women who remained unrelenting opponents of emancipating women. The latter were suspected of a desire to introduce equality that would strip women of their moral supremacy and, consequently, the respect of men and their chivalrous behaviour. Moreover, a considerable population of Polish women declared their belief in traditional roles.⁷

Still, many Poles desired to go beyond the narrow circle of household and family obligations. Writing books offered such an opportunity that was eagerly taken already in the first half of the 19th century by Jadwiga Łuszczewska, Klementyna nee Tańska Hoffmanowa, Paulina Wilkońska, and others. Still, they hastened to assure everybody that, in spite of having a successful career in literature, the women’s duties and tasks remained their priority – the writing of books, articles etc. was an addition only.

In the first half of the 19th century, sewing and other needlework were the ideal occupation for high society women as they allegedly developed patience and sweetness of character. In the second half of the 19th century, positivists mercilessly derided that evidence of women’s hard work as being of no practical use for anyone other than a profes-

⁵ GENIUSZ RODZINY, Podarunek Luizy Otto dla dziewic i niewiast, in: *Kłosy*, 264, 1870, p. 42.

⁶ H. DE BALZAC, *Kobieta trzydziestoletnia*, Września 1998, p. 99.

⁷ M. GLÜCKSBURG, Słódko o emancypacji kobiety w kraju naszym, in: *Kłosy*, 1868, p. 11.

sional seamstress (they called it "busy idleness")⁸ and led women to the kitchen and accounts. The model of new woman promoted by positivists was not an emancipating woman boldly crossing over to areas that used to be reserved for men, but a practical, sensible and thrifty mistress of the house who is not ashamed to step out of the parlour into the kitchen. In the second half of the 19th century, the Polish press suddenly started to add more value to work done by women at home. It was partially caused by the desire, so often manifested by positivist, to prove that doing household chores was also a job for a lady. The defence and glorification of "home hearth" seemed equally important for the supporters of traditional values faced with the growing force of emancipation that proposed alternative and attractive social functions for women. They emphasized that the role of a mistress of the house, wife and mother was the proper vocation for women. Attempts were made to increase the importance of that role by turning it into a mission – not only in a family but also as a social mission.⁹ Good – or frugal – assiduous and prudent household management was the basis of family welfare and allegedly was to be of great importance for the whole society, the national cause (it was impossible to say it directly because of censorship) and even the global economy. The role of a mistress of the house also had a moral dimension: mistress of the house should watch over the purity of morals in her subordinates (servants) and impart the values embodied by the "enlightened class" to lower classes, including patriotism.¹⁰ They further tried to add more value to household duties by turning it into a science, so typical in the second half of the 19th century, by proposing a new branch of science called the "national economy of women".¹¹ Therefore, the obligations that women had to their "home hearth" seemed uncontested. Even in *Bluszcz* that consistently supported the work of women, its female readers were warned not to neglect their priority, namely running their households.¹² Even emancipating women did not fight the

⁸ D. RZEPNIEWSKA, Ziemiańki w mieście. Królestwo Polskie w końcu XIX wieku, in: A. ŻARNOWSKA – A. SZWARC (eds.), *Kobieta i kultura życia codziennego. Wiek XIX i XX, Zbiór studiów*, Warszawa 1997, pp. 51–52.

⁹ E. G., Listy o urządzeniu domu, in: *Przegląd Tygodniowy*, 1, 1891, p. 11.

¹⁰ *Bluszcz*, 6, 1871, 27 stycznia (8 lutego).

¹¹ Kobieta na polu ekonomii politycznej, in: *Bluszcz*, 1875, p. 270.

¹² Kronika naukowego, artystycznego i społecznego ruchu kobiet, in: *Bluszcz*, 3, 1875,

dogma that household chores were the women's sole domain as they believed that the problem (reconciling work outside home with household duties) would be resolved thanks to mechanisation and modern technical inventions, and the use of services of specialist businesses that would certainly emerge in the future and take over certain chores done by housewives.¹³

The positivist ideology paired with economic factors played a large role, not only in glorifying of housewifely virtues of hard work and practical sense in women but also in changing the society's attitude towards gainful employment of women outside home. Positivists supported the preparations (by means of relevant education) to do a specified job in case a given female failed to get married and/or had to earn her living alone. They were opposed by defenders of traditional values who feared the competition that could emerge because of women's working to both family obligations and the position of men in the society. Their another argument was the inherent "nature" of women who were allegedly predisposed to certain specific tasks and excluded from others. In the conservative view, the existing role of female sex was rooted in their very nature and, for that reason, any change would be damaging to both the society and to those concerned.¹⁴ The argument of it being "natural" or "unnatural" surfaces very often in discussions or polemics during those times. It was eagerly used, alongside references to the order set up by God, by supporters of the traditional status quo.¹⁵ "She is instinctive – he is powerful; she has feelings and a heart – a man relies on reason, thought"¹⁶ – that viewpoint was widely spread in the 19th century. It was not only believed by publicists – men but also by women.¹⁷ The domination of emotions over mental qualities allegedly determined both strengths and weaknesses of the female sex, both female virtues and defects. Eleonora Ziemięcka argued that

p. 23.

¹³ P. KUCZALSKA-REINSCHMIT, E pur si muove, in: *Przegląd Tygodniowy*, 31, 1893, p. 342.

¹⁴ L. NATANSON, Urywki w kwestii wychowania, in: *Gazeta Polska*, 119, 1861, p. 3.

¹⁵ A. NOWOSIELSKI, O przeznaczeniu i zawodzie kobiety, in: *Tygodnik Ilustrowany*, 166, 1862, p. 217.

¹⁶ Z. SUDOLSKI (ed.), *Świadek epoki. Listy Elizy z Branickich Krasińskiej*, T. 2, Warszawa 1996, p. 104.

¹⁷ F. M., Z notatek pesymistki, in: *Kłosy*, 1046, 1885, p. 37; E. ZIEMIĘCKA, *Mysli o wychowaniu kobiet*, Warszawa 1843, p. 15.

women would grasp the meaning of metaphysical truths more easily than men but, unlike men, it was more difficult for them to be creative as governed by reason.¹⁸ In the second half of the 19th century, the Polish public opinion continued to attribute intellect and the exclusive ability to create abstract notions to men only. Women were left with sensitivity and romantic "genius of the heart" which, however, undermined their position in the times when science and reason were revered. From that point of view, women were unable to work with their mind. Emancipating women refuse to accept that and *Bluszcz*, headed by Maria Ilnicka, attempted a reconciliation of both. It has postulated that the tradition-sanctioned mission of a woman is to fulfil the duties of wife and mother, however, if a woman is forced to work because of unhappy turn of events, she has the right to work but should choose jobs that would benefit from female attributes.¹⁹ The emotional nature, so typical of women, allegedly affected their grasp of the world and prevented them from working in such fields where exact cold objectivity was essential.²⁰ It mainly referred to medicine and law since professional aspiration of women in those areas raised the strongest objections among the conservatives.²¹ The natural attributes of the female sex were allegedly given to women because of their key mission in life – motherhood. For that very reason, a woman is caring and easily handles children.²² As women were attributed certain teaching abilities, their working as teachers was a longstanding tradition enjoying the widest social acceptance. However, it should be primary teaching or teaching in schools for girls only.²³ Another longstanding tradition was the literary activity of women. In the second half of the 19th century, female writers were generally recognised in the Kingdom of Poland thanks to such pioneers as Klementyna nee Tańska Hoffmanowa or Narcyza Żmichowska. It is notable that both writers were interested in teaching. The social opinion was mostly well-disposed towards female writers of books for children and teenagers as such writers happily combined their literary talents with the

¹⁸ ZIEMIĘCKA, p. 15.

¹⁹ Kobieta na polu ekonomii politycznej, in: *Bluszcz*, 1875, p. 270.

²⁰ Korespondencya zagraniczna, in: *Bluszcz*, 1, 1878, pp. 4–5.

²¹ NOWOSIELSKI, p. 217.

²² Korespondencya zagraniczna, in: *Bluszcz*, 1, 1878, p. 5.

²³ *Ibidem*, p. 4.

“natural” educational inclinations of women. That so-called small literature was not seen as an artistic activity but as a continuation of teaching efforts.

Artistic talents were not denied to women, however, as far as fine arts are concerned, their talents were allegedly “small talents” used to kill time and to beautify the surroundings, building on the inborn manual predispositions given to the female sex by nature to take better care of home. Those “small talents” translated into “little pieces”. Those pieces could be quite pretty since the experts in female nature attributed the sense of beauty to women – but insufficient to aspire to creating pure, high art being the product of spirit and intellect, filtering reality and distilling it up to the sphere of human ideals – still, they could serve “to beautify living”. Women were reserved the right to beautify themselves (fashion), their surroundings (interior design) and things (handicrafts such as embroidery). That tradition of women doing arts – not fine art but beautifying one – combined with their manual skills contributed to ideas how to take up salaried work. Women with artistic talents offered to paint fans, china, coloured postcards and photos. Naturally, there were some exceptions; in the first half of the 19th century, Henryka Beyer earned her living by easel painting and Emilia Dukszyńska-Dukszta was a popular portrait painter in 1870s. In the last decades of the 19th century, the number of female Poles being professional painters and graduates of artistic schools, grew steadily.

Traditionally, women were also able to use their musical talents and practice such artistic professions as actress, singer or dancer. The scene was a proper place for women in the eyes of public opinion for a long time, however, only for a specific type of women. In their case, the issue of career did not give rise to strong emotions. Female artists were presumed to be immoral and unfit to be wives or mothers; the conflict between their vocation to keep vigil of home hearth and working did not apply to them. First, the acceptance of the aforesaid artistic jobs as capable of being done by women was based on their derivative instead of creative nature. Singers, piano players, actresses etc. performed works of composers and playwrights. Their art was to convey the author’s ideas as best as possible, or of interpretation which did not threaten the position of a man being the creator. Still, certain outstanding artists (like Helena Modrzejewska) enjoyed social recog-

dition and respect thanks to their artistic achievements. But even they sometimes were snubbed socially.

To sum up: the experts in "nature" claimed that women had teaching talents as well as purely manual or artistic talents, but they were denied any intellectual predispositions or scientific talents as the intellect fell into the domain reserved for men.²⁴ Even when the necessity of women's working was acceptable, there were voices, heard often in the press during the second half of the 19th century, that women were unable to practice all professions. People who considered their views as moderate wanted to convince radicals of that truth accusing them of being unpractical and fanatic.²⁵ Nobody questioned the reasonability of paid manual work done by lower-class women as it was the long-established and "normal" element of the reality. The fiercest opposition was against the women's fight to intellectual work as being impossible to be done at home and necessitated higher education; at the same time, it increased the social prestige and position. Such professions were traditionally practiced by men. The conservatives made frantic attempts to uphold the status quo. Any women who aspired to such professions, were accused of being ambitious and adventurous. Typical arguments of those against working women were quoted by Eliza Orzeszkowa in her book entitled *Marta*. In that novel, those viewpoints were uttered by a professional publicist thus reflecting the spirit of hot press polemics during those times, often fuelled by the fear of competition. That publicist-writer believes that, in fact, women do not seek work but want to shine and reach a high rank in the society which, and the same time, might allow them to loosen up the tightly laced corset of morality.²⁶

Apart from raising the appreciation for household chores, those opposing working women also proposed an alternative to emancipation, namely the option to be active in wider social field which allowed stepping outside the family circle for a while but without prejudice to

²⁴ NOWOSIELSKI, p. 217.

²⁵ F. M., p. 37.

²⁶ Reverend Karol Niedziałkowski believed that the main motivation behind the emancipation of women was their ambition and desire for fame. Even at the end of the 19th century he claimed that "the emancipating women are all about being seen and honoured". K. NIEDZIAŁKOWSKI, *Nie tędy droga Szanowne Panie!*, Warszawa 1897, p. 166.

the traditional model of femininity. Proposals for women with cultural or intellectual ambitions who enjoyed the social life, was the so-called “salon” where they were able to show off both looks and intelligence. On the other hand, women sensitive to social problems could take up charity work – it was quite fashionable among high society ladies in the second half of the 19th century to take part in charitable events.²⁷ Nevertheless, both philanthropic efforts or having a “salon” should be a side activity without prejudice to the fundamental role of woman – being wife, mother, mistress of the house. The traditional philanthropy of upper-class ladies generally consisted in participation in money collections, parties, concerts or raffles; any income from such events was designated for charity and to giving alms on particular occasions.²⁸ Positivists thoroughly scorned that type of charitable activity – being a kind of social meetings. They promoted involved charity by facing the problem of poverty directly, or, preferably, preventing poverty.²⁹ In the second half of the 19th century, Polish women were very eager to participate in educational associations which – because of secret teaching of the Polish language and the history of Poland – were additionally patriotic. For many of them, such charitable or social activities actually taught them how to become independent and organised, thus producing the emancipating effect – as was noted by the leader of Polish emancipation of women, Paulina Kuczalska-Reinschmit.³⁰

Another established model for women’s social activity, the “salon” as a form of both social and intellectual event, was highly respected and popular in the first half of the 19th century. It was a place where women could shine, and the hostess played the first fiddle being a kind of moderator and promoter advertising “geniuses” and

²⁷ The 19th century fashion for charity was addressed by M. PIOTROWSKA-MARCHEWA, *Nędzarze i filantropi. Problem ubóstwa w polskiej opinii publicznej w latach 1815–1863*, Toruń 2004, p. 32; M. PIOTROWSKA, *Działalność filantropijna kobiet polskich w XIX wieku. Kierunki aktywności, motywacje, przykłady*, in: S. KALEMBKA – N. KASPAREK (eds.), *Między irredentą a kolaboracją. Polacy w czas zaborów wobec obcych władz i systemów politycznych*, Olsztyn 2001, pp. 11–20.

²⁸ E. MAZUR, *Działalność dobroczynna kobiet z warszawskich elit społecznych w drugiej połowie XIX wieku. Wariant tradycyjny i nowoczesny*, in: A. ŻARNOWSKA – A. SZWARC (eds.), *Kobieta i kultura życia codziennego. Wiek XIX i XX, Zbiór studiów*, Warszawa 1997, pp. 309–316.

²⁹ *Kronika działalności kobiecej*, in: *Bluszcz*, 1, 1877/1878, p. 7.

³⁰ P. KUCZALSKA-REINSCHMIT, *E pur si muove*, in: *Przegląd Tygodniowy*, 261, 1893, p. 294.

"talents".³¹ The creation of own salon, for example a literary one, both exclusive and popular at the same time, was the greatest ambition of many society ladies. In the second half of the 19th century, apart from criticising the mock charity, positivists also clashed with the salon arguing that it failed to fulfil any important cultural function.³² For positivists, the "salon-based education" became the synonym of all evil present in the education and bringing up of girls as it allegedly contributed to moulding the type of a shallow woman who only cared for fun, a coquette, promoter of foreign culture (in the case, a French one as the French language dominated in the Polish salons of that time).³³ Despite their derision, they were unable to overthrow the institution of salon entirely and it remain a valid option in the second half of the 19th century for those ladies that had ambition crossing the family threshold.

Also, for female (and male) supporters of emancipation, the argument of the other side concerning the female nature was difficult to overcome as no one could argue with biology and the "God's order"; the supporters of traditional role of women hardly said anything about the "sad economic necessity". Ruined gentry families who had to leave their manors, usually settled in larger cities, mainly in Warsaw. Many women from that social group had to face independence and the problem of getting work and being able to support themselves not for ideas but for purely practical reasons, as stressed the publicists of that time.³⁴ The first trenches of those opposing working women were overcome by the pressure of reasons "coming straight from life". Only extreme hardliner conservatives detached from reality were able to censure poor women who were forced to earn their living. Another step towards the acceptance of women's work was the argument that if they have to work, it should be made possible for them, or even facilitated (among others through education). The

³¹ In the 1840s and 1850s, the very popular literary salon in Warsaw was that of Magdalena Łuszczewska, the mother of Deotyma (Jadwiga Łuszczewska). Mr. Łuszczewski "has always claimed and reiterated that since the home is the sole kingdom of women and the salon is a perfect area for her influence, the Monday meetings were arranged by the mistress of the house". J. ŁUSZCZEWSKA, *Pamiętnik 1834–1897*, Warszawa 1968, p. 49.

³² B. PRUS, *Kroniki*, T. VI, Warszawa 1957, pp. 105–108.

³³ SZWARC, p. 299.

³⁴ Kobieta na polu ekonomii politycznej, in: *Bluszcz*, 1875, p. 270; F.M., p. 37; Kronika naukowego, artystycznego i społecznego ruchu kobiet, in: *Bluszcz*, 3, 1875, p. 23.

voice of Eliza Orzeszkowa in the matter of women's working was released in 1873 and was widely read and commented upon. *Marta* was an involved novel with author's commentaries bringing it closer to publicism. In modern terms, it could be classified as a "book that accuses the society" of denying changes to survive to the main heroine. On the other hand, the heroine herself was completely unprepared to a situation that called for a sudden and complete independence. She was uneducated (despite receiving the standard education provided to high society girls) and had no skills to ensure her ability to survive. "Is it my fault that I cannot do it?" asks Marta. "Why do you expect from me something that I have never been taught?" When she finally has a chance to do work that she can do, she cannot get it solely because she is a woman. *Marta* was a fierce criticism of both the existing model of education for girls and the society's attitude to women who were arbitrarily deprived of the right to work. Orzeszkowa ends her novel dramatically – the young widow, after a long strife for staying afloat, after many fruitless (because of her sex or because she is not skilled – and she is not skilled because of not being taught as a woman) attempts to find a source of honest living, starts to steal and then kills herself. What could be the response of opponents of women's work to such drama? Orzeszkowa claimed that their arguments would begin with negation of the reality. "This is not poverty, Sir; its ambition! Ambition!"³⁵ They refer to old times "our grand-grandmothers" and the obsolete model.³⁶

During the years following the January Uprising, the acceptance of working women by the Polish society was achieved quite rapidly. Still, it mostly concerned single women who were unsupported by husbands and had no family duties. In the public opinion, women who were forced to earn their living although they had no desire to do so, sacrificing themselves for their family (old parents, small children) should not be criticised but sympathized with and even respected. Positivists believed that work was the only right way of living and praised those who, instead of vegetating and being parasites of others, tried to take action. Still, they did not believe that the independence of women was an irreversible process, just the opposite. In 1879,

³⁵ E. ORZESZKOWA, *Marta*, Warszawa 1954, pp. 219–221.

³⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 221.

Bolesław Prus wrote in *Kurier Warszawski* that if husband's work was sufficient to provide for wife and daughters, ladies would shake off the emancipation fast as "they prefer to dress up and listen to nightingale's song".³⁷ Still, the fears of conservatives were greater, and they were right. Working by women, even if caused by economic factors only, was ultimately conducive to emancipation. As it led to financial independence and self-sufficiency, it became the centre of interest of the emancipists, who considered it as the very core of the emancipation.³⁸

Another argument raised by conservatives, as well as noted by those with "moderate" stance, was the growing competition between women and men on the labour market, thus taking livelihood from "feeders of families".³⁹ Although women's work was seen as inferior to men's work in terms of quality and productivity, it was much cheaper and amounted to real competition in certain areas (for example trade) at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries.⁴⁰ Thus, not only conservatives but also those "moderate" did not approve of women who "want although they do not have to" and work "as a whim" although they are not forced to do it for financial reasons; such work was perceived as socially damaging and emancipation whim. Individuals with intellectual ambitions and/or professional aspirations who worked to become independent, were emancipating women who desired to go beyond the traditional restraints placed on women.

The actions of a few but conspicuous emancipating women caused a slow change in mental attitudes of the Polish society. A big role in those transformations was played by a more and more available and popular press. Press polemics addressed actual problems, stances clashed, and new ideas came into life in the newspaper columns. They can serve as a basis for tracking the process of gradual acceptance of new models by the social opinion. And, at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries, working by young ladies from averagely affluent families was no longer a peculiarity or shame, was no longer criticised

³⁷ PRUS, p. 189.

³⁸ P. KUCZALSKA-REINSCHMIT, E pur si muove, in: *Przegląd Tygodniowy*, 38, 1893, p. 405.

³⁹ Kronika naukowego, artystycznego i społecznego ruchu kobiet, in: *Bluszcz*, 3, 1875, p. 23.

⁴⁰ A. JANIĄK-JASIŃSKA, Pracownice i pracownicy handlu na rynku pracy w Królestwie Polskim przełomu XIX i XX wieku, in: A. ŻARNOWSKA – A. SZWARC (eds.), *Kobieta i praca. Wiek XIX i XX. Zbiór studiów*, Warszawa 2000, pp. 77–102.

– but only until marriage. Even in the first half of the 20th century, the public opinion bristled at the notion of working by married women who were sufficiently supported by husbands; attempts were made to counteract that trend. According to those against, it was harmful to home, husband and children and, what is more, jobs were taken away from men. For that reason, in the 1930s, during the times of economic crisis in Poland, married women were sacked from offices.⁴¹

⁴¹ J. ŻARNOWSKI, *Praca zawodowa kobiet w Polsce międzywojennej*, A. ŻARNOWSKA – A. SZWARC (eds.), *Kobieta i praca. Wiek XIX i XX. Zbiór studiów*, Warszawa 2000, p. 121.

The British Expedition to Sikkim of 1888: The Bhutanese Role

Matteo Miele*

In 1888, a British expedition in the southern Himalayas represented the first direct confrontation between Tibet and a Western power. The expedition followed the encroachment and occupation, by Tibetan troops, of a portion of Sikkim territory, a country led by a Tibetan Buddhist monarchy that was however linked to Britain with the Treaty of Tumlong. This paper analyses the role of the Bhutanese during the 1888 Expedition. Although the mediation put in place by Ugyen Wangchuck and his allies would not succeed because of the Tibetan refusal, the attempt remains important to understand the political and geopolitical space of Bhutan in the aftermath of the Battle of Changlimithang of 1885 and in the decades preceding the ascent to the throne of Ugyen Wangchuck.

[Bhutan; Tibet; Sikkim; British Raj; United Kingdom; Ugyen Wangchuck; Thirteenth Dalai Lama]

In¹ 1907, Ugyen Wangchuck² was crowned king of Bhutan, first Druk Gyalpo.³ During the Younghusband Expedition of 1903–1904, the future sovereign had played the delicate role of mediator between

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² *O rgyan dbang phyug*. In this paper it was preferred to adopt a phonetic transcription of Tibetan, Bhutanese and Sikkimese names. The names of the Bhutanese and Sikkimese royal families are transcribed respectively as 'Wangchuck' (*dbang phyug*) and 'Namgyal' (*rnam rgyal*), following the traditional transcriptions in the two Himalayan countries. Scientific transliteration is provided in footnotes and is however used for bibliographic references, according to the system defined by Prof. Turrell V. Wylie (see T. V. WYLIE, A Standard System of Tibetan Transcription, in: *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, 22, 1959, pp. 261–267). In the scientific transliteration, long vowels are indicated by a macron. It should be noted that the transcriptions of

English and Tibetans⁴ and in 1905, he received the Order of the Indian Empire.⁵ His destiny had nevertheless been ratified about twenty years earlier, when in 1885 the then young Trongsa⁶ Penlop⁷ had defeated – along with Paro⁸ Penlop and Wangdi Phodrang⁹ Dzungpon¹⁰ – his main rivals, Thimphu¹¹ and Punakha¹² dzongpons, in the Changlimithang battle.¹³ The State of Bhutan, in fact, was founded at the beginning of the seventeenth century by a Tibetan lama of the Drukpa¹⁴ school, the Zhabdrung,¹⁵ Ngawang Namgyel¹⁶ (1594–1651). After his death, however, the country – formally a Buddhist ‘theocracy’ based on the traditional Tibetan dual system of government – became the scenario of a long period of conflicts between the various local lords until precisely the victory of Ugyen Wangchuck in 1885 and his consequent coronation in the 1907.¹⁷ Later, in 1910, Bhutan would sign with the British the Treaty of Punakha with which the Kingdom accepted the English guide in foreign policy, while maintaining its sec-

Tibetan, Bhutanese and Sikkimese names differ considerably in the British documents of the nineteenth century from the phonetic transcriptions commonly used today, making the reference doubtful in some cases. The Wade-Giles phonetic transcription system was adopted for the Chinese language.

³ *’Brug rgyal po.*

⁴ DGE ’DUN RIN CHEN, *Lho ’brug chos ’byung*, Thimphu 1972, p. 375.

⁵ J. C. WHITE, *Sikkim & Bhutan: Twenty-One Years on the North-East Frontier. 1887–1908*, London 1909, pp. 140–144.

⁶ *Krong gsar.*

⁷ *Dpon slob*, translatable as ‘lord-master’.

⁸ *Spa ro*, in Western Bhutan.

⁹ *Dbang ’dus pho brang.*

¹⁰ *Rdzong dpon*, translatable as ‘lord of the fortress (*rdzong*)’.

¹¹ *Thim phu.*

¹² *Spu na kha.*

¹³ *Lcang gling mi thang gi dmag ’dzing*. On this period see K. PHUNTSHO, *The History of Bhutan*, Noida 2013, pp. 485–492; WHITE, pp. 131–134 and 281. On the birth of the Bhutanese monarchy see M. ARIS, *The Raven Crown: The Origins of Buddhist Monarchy in Bhutan*, Chicago 2005.

¹⁴ *’Brug pa.*

¹⁵ *Zhabs drung.*

¹⁶ *Ngag dbang rnam rgyal.*

¹⁷ On the theocratic period of Bhutan see Y. IMAEDA, *Histoire médiévale du Bhoutan: établissement et évolution de la théocratie des ’Brug pa*, Tokyo 2011. On the Bhutanese Buddhism see, inter alia, S. KUMAGAI (ed.), *Bhutanese Buddhism and Its Culture*, Kathmandu 2014.

ular and uninterrupted independence.¹⁸ The treaty was signed almost half a century after the Sinchula Treaty of 1865, which had marked the end of the Anglo-Bhutanese war (known as the 'Duar War') fought between 1864 and 1865.¹⁹ This paper will analyse the role of Bhutan between the British and the Tibetans during the British Expedition to Sikkim in 1888.

The Tibetan Occupation of Lingtu²⁰ and the Three British Victories

On 7 February 1888, Viceroy of India Frederick Hamilton-Temple-Blackwood wrote to the Thirteenth Dalai Lama, Thupten Gyatsho,²¹ a letter concerning the trespassing of Tibetan troops in Sikkimese territory: *"I write this friendly letter to your Holiness regarding the presence of Tibetan troops at Lingtu in the territory of the Raja of Sikkim in the hope that relations of amity which have hitherto existed between the Government of India and the Government of Tibet may remain undisturbed. It is doubtless known to your Holiness that some time ago my Government, with the knowledge and concurrence of the Government of Peking, proposed to send a mission to Lhasa with a view to placing on satisfactory footing the trade relations between India and Tibet. [...] Unfortunately the object of the mission was misunderstood at Lhasa, and, in defence to the representations made to us on this subject through the Government of Peking, the project was abandoned. The consideration thus shown to the wishes of the Tibetan Government ought to have removed any suspicions regarding the perfect friendliness of our intentions, and ought to have resulted at least in the re-establishment of the status quo ante. I regret to say that this result has not yet become apparent. A small body of Tibetan troops which had been sent forward into Sikkim territory for the purpose of stopping the mission on its way to the Tibetan frontier still remains encamped on the road which, in virtue of our treaty of Sikkim, we have the right to maintain and use, and I am informed that this force, instead of preparing to withdraw to Tibetan territory, have lately strengthened the position which they had taken up in defiance of our treaty rights. Being most anxious that our amicable relations should not be unnecessarily disturbed,*

¹⁸ *East India (Tibet). Further papers relating to Tibet*, cd. 5240, London 1910, Treaty with Bhutan, signed 8th January 1910, No. 346, p. 214.

¹⁹ Full text of the Treaty of Sinchula in *East India (Bootan). Further papers relating to Bootan, House of Commons Papers*, 13, Vol. LII, London 1866, pp. 94–95.

²⁰ *Lung thur*.

²¹ *Thub bstan rgya mtsho*.

I have hitherto refrained from taking measures for the expulsion of the intruders, and have confined myself to friendly requests that the troops should retire, but this forbearance cannot be indefinitely prolonged, and I now write to your Holiness to inform you that if the troops in question do not evacuate their position and retire within Tibetan territory before the 15th of March, I shall be constrained to make good by force our treaty rights in Sikkim. At the same time I wish to assure your Holiness that if the employment of force for the purpose above indicated should unfortunately become necessary, I have no intention, unless further provoked, of sending troops into Tibet, or of forcing on the Tibetan Government any trade convention which they do not wish to accept. All I desire is to ensure the withdrawal of the Tibetan troops within their own frontier, and to obtain a satisfactory guarantee that for the future our treaty rights and legitimate influence in Sikkim shall be duly respected. I trust your Holiness will perceive that in the attainment of this object is to be found the only firm, durable basis for those long-established amicable relations between the Government of India and the Government of Tibet which it is my earnest desire maintain and strengthen.”²²

Today, Sikkim is a small state of India bordering the north and east with Tibet, west with Nepal, south-east with the Kingdom of Bhutan and south with the Indian state of West Bengal. Until the annexation of 1975, the country was an independent kingdom, known in Tibetan under the name of *'Bras ljongs*, the 'fruitful valley'. It was founded in 1642 with the coronation of Phuntshok Namgyal,²³ first Chogyal,²⁴ in the same year in which the fifth Dalai Lama, thanks to the help of the Mongols of Güši qan, subjected Tibet to the Geluk school.²⁵ On 28th March 1861, the British and the Sikkimese signed the Treaty of

²² The National Archives, London, Kew (further only TNA), Foreign Office (further only FO) 17/1108, The Viceroy of India to the Thirteenth Dalai Lama, 7th February 1888, Enclosure of a letter to Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India, No. 24, f. 21.

²³ *Phun tshogs rnam rgyal*.

²⁴ *Chos rgyal* ('Dharma king'). Between 1642 and 1975, twelve chogyals ascended the throne of Sikkim. The first monarch was Phuntsok Namgyal (1604–1670), while the last one was Palden Thondup Namgyal (*Dpal ldan don grub rnam rgyal*, 1923–1982) who reigned until 1975, when Sikkim was annexed to India. CHOS DBANG (*Mkhan po*), *Sbas yul 'bras mo ljongs kyi chos srid dang 'brel ba'i rgyal rabs lo rgyus bden don kun gsal me long*, Gangtok 2003, pp. 112–392. On the history of early Sikkim see S. MULLARD, *Opening the Hidden Land: State Formation and the Construction of Sikkimese History*, Leiden, Boston 2011.

²⁵ *Dge lugs*.

Tumlong,²⁶ at the end of the short Anglo-Sikkimese war.²⁷ The document provided, inter alia, that “[i]f any disputes or questions arise between the people of Sikkim and those of neighboring States, such disputes or questions shall be referred to the arbitration of the British Government, and the Sikkim Government agrees to abide by the decision of the British Government” (article 17). Furthermore “[t]he Government of Sikkim will not cede or lease any portion of its territory to any other State, without the permission of the British Government” (article 19) and “[t]he Government of Sikkim engages that no armed force belonging to any other country shall pass through Sikkim without the sanction of the British Government” (article 20). Article 13 guaranteed the British the possibility of building “a road through Sikkim, with the view of encouraging trade”. The penultimate article of the treaty finally established that “[w]ith a view to the establishment of an efficient Government in Sikkim, and to the better maintenance of friendly relations with the British Government, the Rajah of Sikkim agrees to remove the seat of his Government from Thibet to Sikkim, and reside there for nine months in the year. It is further agreed that a vakeel²⁸ shall be accredited by the Sikkim Government, who shall reside permanently at Darjeeling”²⁹ (article 22). In the years that followed, the road was therefore built along a route that from Darjeeling reached the Jelap Pass, on the border with Tibet,³⁰ a few miles east of Gangtok.³¹ In 1886, three hundred Tibetan soldiers crossed the frontier for about thirteen miles and occupied Lingtu.³² In addition, the then Sikkimese Chogyal, Thutob

²⁶ Full text of the treaty in *Copy or extracts of despatches relating to the Sikkim expedition*, House of Commons Parliamentary Papers, Vol. XL, 1862, pp. 44–46.

²⁷ On this, see A. MCKAY, “A Difficult Country, a Hostile Chief, and a still more Hostile Minister”: the Anglo-Sikkim War of 1861, in: *Bulletin of Tibetology*, 45, 2, 2009 and 46, 1, 2010, pp. 31–48.

²⁸ An ambassador or an agent. W. HAMILTON, *The East-India Gazetteer*, Vol. II, London 1828, p. 733.

²⁹ Sikkim ceded the Hill of Darjeeling to the British in 1835. See E. C. DOZEY, *Concise History of Darjeeling District since 1835*, Calcutta 1922, p. 3.

³⁰ S. C. BAYLEY, The Sikkim Expedition of 1888, in: *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts*, 58, 3005, June 24, 1910, pp. 734–736.

³¹ *Sgang thog*.

³² British Library, London (further only BL), IOR/L/MIL/17/12/60, Report on the Sikkim Expedition: From January 1888 to January 1890, prepared (under the orders of the Quarter Master General in India) by Lieutenant C. J. Markham, in the Intelligence Branch, Calcutta 1890, pp. 1–2; *Frontier and overseas expeditions from India, compiled in the Intelligence Branch Division of the Chief of the Staff Army Head Quarters, India*,

Namgyal,³³ who had ascended the throne in 1874,³⁴ continued to reside for several months in Tibet, in the Chumbi³⁵ Valley, in violation of Article XXII of the Treaty of Tumlong.³⁶ Officially, the Chogyal had gone to Tibet following the arrival in Phari³⁷ of a Sino-Tibetan delegation that was supposed to settle a crisis between Bhutan and Tibet.³⁸ In a conciliatory response to the Tibetan encroachment, the British decided to stop the preparations for the Macaulay Mission to Tibet³⁹ – a possibility provided by a “*separate article*” of the Chefoo Convention of 1876⁴⁰ –, obtaining, however, the construction by the Tibetans of a

Vol. IV, North and North-Eastern Frontier Tribes, Simla 1907, p. 50.

³³ *Mthu stobs rnam rgyal*.

³⁴ CHOS DBANG (*Mkhan po*), p. 223.

³⁵ *Chu 'bi*.

³⁶ *Frontier and overseas expeditions from India*, p. 50.

³⁷ *Phag ri*.

³⁸ TNA, FO 17/1108, J. Ware Edgar to the Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, 10th February 1888, No. 28, Enclosure No. 1, ff. 27–28, p. 2.

³⁹ BL, IOR/L/MIL/17/12/60, Report on the Sikhim Expedition, p. 2; *Frontier and overseas expeditions from India*, p. 50. “*Inasmuch as inquiry into the circumstances by the Chinese Government has shown the existence of many obstacles to the Mission to Thibet provided for in the Separate Article of the Chefoo Agreement, England consents to countermand the Mission forthwith. With regard to the desire of the British Government to consider arrangements for frontier trade between India and Thibet, it will be the duty of the Chinese Government, after careful inquiry into the circumstances, to adopt measures to exhort and encourage the people with a view to the promotion and development of trade. Should it be practicable, the Chinese Government shall then proceed carefully to consider Trade Regulations; but if insuperable obstacles should be found to exist, the British Government will not press the matter unduly.*” Article IV of the Convention between Great Britain and China, relative to Burmah and Thibet. – Signed at Peking, July 24, 1886. Full text of the Convention in: *British and Foreign State Papers* (further only *BSP*), Vol. 77, pp. 80–81. The expedition had obtained the passports to Tibet from the Chinese authorities in November 1885. TNA, FO 17/987, Mr. O’Conor to the Marquess of Salisbury, 14th November 1885, f. 337.

⁴⁰ “*Her Majesty’s Government having it in contemplation to send a mission of exploration next year by way of Peking through Kan-Su and Koko-Nor, or by way of Ssu-Ch’uen to Thibet, and thence to India, the Tsung-li Yamên having due regard to the circumstances will, when the time arrives, issue the necessary passports, and will address letters to the high provincial authorities and the Resident in Thibet. If the Mission should not be sent by these routes, but should be proceeding across the Indian frontier to Thibet, the Tsung-li Yamên, on receipt of a communication to the above effect from the British Minister, will write to the Chinese Resident in Thibet, and the Resident, with due regard to the circumstances, will send officers to take due care of the Mission; and passports for the Mission will be issued by the Tsung-li Yamên, that its passage be not obstructed.*” English text of the Agreement in: *BSP*, 71, pp. 753–759.

fortification on the road and blocking the trade route.⁴¹ In November 1887, the British sent Alfred Wallis Paul to Sikkim, together with John Claude White, to convince the Chogyal to return to his kingdom and leave the Chumbi Valley in Tibet.⁴² At the time, Paul was the Deputy Commissioner in Darjeeling.⁴³ In Sikkim, the British official met the Phodong Lama⁴⁴ – who ruled the small country, together with his brother, during the absence of the Chogyal –, but not the king who returned a few weeks later, around the end of the year, together with some Tibetans.⁴⁵ The British realized that the Sikkimese political elite was substantially opposed to the closeness between the Chogyal and Tibet, with a couple of exceptions among the laymen and probably among the monks of Pemionchi.⁴⁶ The need to stop the Tibetan occupation was necessary for the British, as well as for the matter itself and the defence of Sikkim, also to avoid “*bad effect both in Bhutan and in Nepal*”,⁴⁷ the other two main Himalayan countries allied with London. The occupation of Lingtu was, however, on the Tibetan side, also a challenge to the Ch’ing authority, to the authority of Peking: in fact, in Lhasa – according to information that the British obtained – the rift in the guide of the question passed between a religious faction hostile to China, and contrary to the withdrawal from Lingtu, and a faction with a lay guide that “*wish to obey China, to withdraw the force at Lingtu, and to abstain from further interference in the affairs of Sikkim*”.⁴⁸ It should be underlined that the occupation of Lingtu was taking place under the reign of a young Dalai Lama, born in 1876,⁴⁹ and in particular in

⁴¹ BL, IOR/L/MIL/17/12/60, Report on the Sikkim Expedition, p. 2; *Frontier and overseas expeditions from India*, p. 50.

⁴² WHITE, p. 19.

⁴³ *The India List: Civil and Military*, July, 1888, London 1888, p. 67; *The India List and India Office List for 1905*, London 1905, p. 584.

⁴⁴ *Pho gdong bla ma*.

⁴⁵ TNA, FO 17/1108, J. Ware Edgar to the Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, 10th February 1888, No. 28, Enclosure No. 1, p. 27; TNA, FO 17/1108, J. Ware Edgar to the Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, 17th January 1888, No. 22, Enclosure No. 1, f. 17, p. 1.

⁴⁶ TNA, FO 17/1108, J. Ware Edgar to the Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, 10th February 1888, No. 28, Enclosure No. 1, f. 27, p. 1. Pemionchi monastery (Pemayangtse, *pad ma yang rtse*) is in South-Western Sikkim.

⁴⁷ *Ibidem*.

⁴⁸ *Ibidem*, f. 28, p. 4.

⁴⁹ THUB BSTAN BYAMS PA TSHUL KHRIMS BSTAN 'DZIN, *Rgyal dbang sku phreng*

the passage of power between regent Ngawang Pelden Chokyi Gyeltsen,⁵⁰ who had passed away in the spring of 1886,⁵¹ and the new regent, Ngawang Lobzang Thrinle Rabgye,⁵² appointed in the same year.⁵³

Alfred Wallis Paul managed to meet the Chogyal in mid-February 1888. On 20th March 1888,⁵⁴ the British conquered the fort that had been built in Lingtu,⁵⁵ forcing the Tibetans to flee over the Jelap Pass and into the Chumbi Valley, where they expected substantial reinforcements.⁵⁶ Thomas Graham was the head of the British forces in Sikkim.⁵⁷ Alfred Wallis Paul was the Political Officer of the Sikkim Field Force.⁵⁸ Two months later, on 22 May 1888, a Tibetan attack was launched against the British in Gnatong and it also ended with a British victory.⁵⁹ A few weeks earlier, the British had obtained information

bcu gsum pa thub bstan rgya mtsho'i rnam thar, Vol. 1, Pe cin n.d., p. 50.

⁵⁰ *Ngag dbang dpal ldan chos kyi rgyal mtshan*.

⁵¹ BLO BZANG YE SHES BSTAN PA' I RGYAL MTSHAN, *Rta tshag rje drung ngag dbang dpal ldan chos kyi rgyal mtshan gyi rnam thar*, s.l. n.d., ff. 54b–55a.

⁵² *Ngag dbang blo bzang 'phrin las rab rgyas*.

⁵³ L. PETECH, *The Dalai-Lamas and Regents of Tibet: A Chronological Study*, in: *T'oung Pao*, 47, 1959, p. 393.

⁵⁴ TNA, FO 17/1108, A. W. Paul to the Chief Secretary to the Government of Bengal, Political Department, 25th February 1888, enclosed to J. Ware Edgar to the Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, 10th April 1888, No. 128, Enclosure No. 1, f. 119, p. 1.

⁵⁵ *East India (progress and condition). Statement exhibiting the moral and material progress and condition of India during the year 1888–89. Twenty-fifth number*, House of Commons Parliamentary Papers, 384, Vol. LIII, 1890, p. 204; TNA, FO 17/1108, Sir J. Walsham to Marquis of Salisbury, 24th March 1888, Telegram No. 13, f. 63. Paul indicates 21st March as the day of the conquest of Lingtu, but he writes: “next day, the 21st, Lingtu was taken without opposition”, referring with “next day” to the battle of 19th March: an error is therefore possible. Ibidem, A. W. Paul to J. Ware Edgar, 2nd May 1888, enclosed to J. Ware Edgar to H. M. Durand, 8th May 1888, No. 128, Enclosure No. 2, f. 121, p. 6.

⁵⁶ *East India (progress and condition). Statement exhibiting the moral and material progress and condition of India during the year 1888–89. Twenty-fifth number*, House of Commons Parliamentary Papers, 384, Vol. LIII, 1890, p. 204.

⁵⁷ TNA, FO 17/1108, Sir J. Walsham to Foreign (copy to India Office), No. 60, f. 67.

⁵⁸ Ibidem, f. 185.

⁵⁹ Ibidem, A. W. Paul to J. Ware Edgar, 25th May 1888, attached to J. Ware Edgar to H. M. Durand, 29th May 1888, No. 128, Enclosure No. 3, ff. 122–123, pp. 8–9; *East India (progress and condition). Statement exhibiting the moral and material progress and condition of India during the year 1888–89. Twenty-fifth number*, House of Commons Parliamentary Papers, 384, Vol. LIII, 1890, p. 204.

about the imminence of a Tibetan attack by the Nepalese prime minister.⁶⁰ However, the Viceroy of India prevented Graham from overcoming the Jelap pass.⁶¹ In September, finally, the hostilities ceased with the final expulsion of the Tibetans beyond the Tuko-la pass⁶² and the entry of the British troops into Tibetan territory, in the Chumbi Valley on 26th September 1888.⁶³

The British Expedition and the Bhutanese

The British had received from both the Kingdom of Nepal and the State of Bhutan the proposal to act as mediators in the Anglo-Tibetan crisis.⁶⁴ In April, Alfred Wallis Paul received a letter from the Deb Raja “asking to be allowed to mediate between Tibet and ourselves”.⁶⁵ The then Deb Raja – as the English called the Druk Desi,⁶⁶ i. e. the secular head of Bhutan – was Sangay Dorji,⁶⁷ appointed by Ugyen Wangchuck after the victory of Changlimithang.⁶⁸ The Deb Raja proposed “to send a Grand Lama and high officials” to Paul as mediators between the British and the Tibetans.⁶⁹ Paul proposed to his superiors to “reply thanking him and saying we always wish to be at peace and are ready to listen to Tibet, if she will send deputation to meet me, and that he may send his officials here”.⁷⁰ Furthermore, the letter of the Deb Raja “appeals to our treaty with Bhutan as making us and Bhutan one”.⁷¹ Despite the lack of

⁶⁰ TNA, FO 17/1108, From Viceroy (to India Office), 2nd May 1888, f. 76A.

⁶¹ Ibidem. From Viceroy (to India Office), 28th May 1888, f. 84.

⁶² *East India (progress and condition). Statement exhibiting the moral and material progress and condition of India during the year 1888–89. Twenty-fifth number*, House of Commons Parliamentary Papers, 384, Vol. LIII, 1890, p. 204.

⁶³ TNA, FO 17/1108, Telegram of the 26th September 1888, from Paul, repeated from the Secretary, Bengal Government, Darjiling, to Foreign Secretary, Simla, 27th September 1888, No. 166, Enclosure No. 8, f. 291, p. 4; P. R. RAO, *India and Sikkim: 1814–1970*, New Delhi, Jullundur 1972, pp. 94–95.

⁶⁴ TNA, FO 17/1108, The Government of India, Foreign Department to Viscount Cross, No. 128, f. 116, p. 1.

⁶⁵ Ibidem, A. W. Paul to J. Ware Edgar, 2nd May 1888, enclosed to J. Ware Edgar to H. M. Durand, 8th May 1888, No. 128, Enclosure No. 2, f. 122, p. 7.

⁶⁶ *Brug sde srid*.

⁶⁷ *Sangs rgyas rdo rje*.

⁶⁸ PHUNTSHO, p. 492.

⁶⁹ TNA, FO 17/1108, Chief Secretary, Bengal, Calcutta to Foreign Department, Simla (Telegram), 14th April 1888, No. 128, Enclosure No. 8, f. 125, p. 14.

⁷⁰ Ibidem.

⁷¹ Ibidem.

optimism with respect to some result, the Lieutenant-Governor, Steuart Colvin Bayley, nevertheless proposed to endorse Paul's response to the Deb Raja.⁷²

The Viceroy of India, Dufferin, however, while approving, did not feel the need for a real negotiation with the Tibetans, defeated in the first confrontation, and feared instead that the Bhutanese representatives could hinder Paul's action.⁷³ The Bhutanese delegates had to refer only to the will of the British to live in peace with the Tibetans, but without any possibility to "*permit any foreign power to interfere in the affairs of Sikkim, which is a State dependent upon the British Government*".⁷⁴ In case of further encroachments in the Sikkimese territory by the Tibetan troops, then "*it will be necessary for us to go farther than we have done now, and to take from them some material guarantee for the maintenance of quiet on the frontier*".⁷⁵ The representatives of the Deb Raja could propose to the Tibetans also the possibility of a direct meeting between Paul and a Tibetan delegation: "*[t]hey should clearly understand that we regard their mediation as wholly in the interests of Tibet, from whom the first advance should come*".⁷⁶ Lord Dufferin also asked Sir Steuart Colvin Bayley about the possibility of sending a message without the Bhutanese mediation.⁷⁷

After the May defeat, the need of involving Bhutanese reinforces was more urgent for the Tibetans, while the British required a more decisive and clearer stance of the Manchu Empire, just to weaken the Tibetan influence on Sikkim and Bhutan.⁷⁸ Already in the attack of May

⁷² Ibidem.

⁷³ "*Viceroy will not refuse to give Paul authority which Lieutenant-Governor recommends. But he should reserve entire freedom of action and not permit himself to be hampered by the presence of the Bhutanese delegates. His position should be that we have very little to gain by entering by any negotiations with the Tibetans.*" Ibidem, Foreign Department, Simla to Chief Secretary, Bengal, Calcutta (Telegram), 15th April 1888, No. 128, Enclosure No. 9, f. 125, p. 14.

⁷⁴ Ibidem, f. 126, p. 15.

⁷⁵ Ibidem.

⁷⁶ Ibidem.

⁷⁷ "*Viceroy wishes to know whether under circumstances Lieutenant-Governor thinks we might preferably send message direct, and avoid any inconveniences consequent on Bhutanese mediation.*" Ibidem.

⁷⁸ "*One thing is certain, – the people of Sikkim and the Tibetan lower classes are firmly convinced that China is not friendly disposed to the English, but will help the Tibetans. If China can be induced to make some overt declaration in our favour, it will, in my humble*

some Bhutanese were lined up in the ranks of the Tibetans.⁷⁹ These 200 Bhutanese men, however, came with the old enemy of Ugyen Wangchuck, the Thimphu Dzongpon,⁸⁰ Alu Dorji,⁸¹ who had taken refuge in Tibet after the defeat at the battle of Changlimithang.⁸² Paul himself saw some Bhutanese during the battle: “*I myself noticed some Bhutanese in the fight and one of the prisoners corroborates this.*”⁸³ According to further information that reached Paul, after the second defeat, other Bhutanese were also going to join the Tibetans, in particular two officials subjected to Paro Penlop and the Dzongpon of Haa,⁸⁴ in Western Bhutan.⁸⁵ At the beginning of July the Thimphu Dzongpon was near Rinchengong⁸⁶ – one of the Tibetan villages near the Sikkimese border and where a large part of Lhasa’s troops were stationed⁸⁷ – together with “*140 Bhutanese soldiers, armed in part, so it is alleged, with 50 rifles, supplied by Kuzoo Lhase from the Sikkim Durbar*”.⁸⁸

The position of Ugyen Wangchuck, the real ruler of the country, was very different: “*Chuchipa – the Tongso Penlow – had recently offered the Tibetans to come and mediate, but the latter had rejected his offer, saying*

opinion, considerably clear our present difficult position of inactivity by confirming the loyalty of Sikkim and Bhutan people towards us.” Ibidem, A. W. Paul to J. Ware Edgar, 9th July 1888, f. 132, p. 2.

⁷⁹ Ibidem, A. W. Paul to J. Ware Edgar, 25th May 1888, attached to J. Ware Edgar to H. M. Durand, 29th May 1888, No. 128, Enclosure No. 3, f. 123, p. 9.

⁸⁰ Ibidem, f. 123, p. 10. According to Ugyen Kazi, the Bhutanese with the Thimphu Dzongpon were just 50 men (ibidem). Ugyen Kazi (Ugyen Dorji), later important figure in Bhutanese political and diplomatic history, had recently returned to Kalimpong. T. TASHI, *Gongzim Ugyen Dorji: The King’s Aide and Diplomat Par Excellence*, edited by D. Chophel, Thimphu 2013, p. 10.

⁸¹ *A lu rdo rje*.

⁸² WHITE, p. 133.

⁸³ TNA, FO 17/1108, A. W. Paul to J. Ware Edgar, 25th May 1888, attached to J. Ware Edgar to H. M. Durand, 29th May 1888, No. 128, Enclosure No. 3, f. 123, p. 10.

⁸⁴ *Hā*.

⁸⁵ “*Already, besides the Timpoo Jongpen, who has all along sided openly with the Tibetans, I hear the Zimpen and Nichen of Paro (two officers under the Penlow), as well as the Jongpen of Har-tamphiong, are collecting and arming men to help the enemy.*” TNA, FO 17/1108, A. W. Paul to J. Ware Edgar, 9th July 1888, f. 132, p. 2.

⁸⁶ *Rin chen sgang*; in the document “*at Dudhyakham within half a mile of Rinchagong*”, ibidem, f. 133, p. 3.

⁸⁷ BL, IOR/L/MIL/17/12/60, Report on the Sikkim Expedition, p. 44.

⁸⁸ TNA, FO 17/1108, A. W. Paul to J. Ware Edgar, 9th July 1888, p. 133. In August, the Bhutanese under the command of the Thimphu Dzongpon were 300. BL, IOR/L/MIL/17/12/60, Report on the Sikkim Expedition, p. 44.

they were strong enough to retake Lingtu: if they failed, they would let him know.”⁸⁹ In addition to the Deb Raja and the Trongsa Penlop, the Paro Penlop also offered Paul his own mediation.⁹⁰ After the battle in May, the three Bhutanese leaders sent the Dzungpon of Wangdi Phodrang and another envoy – a signer of the Sinchula Treaty and personal friend of Paul – to Phari, to meet the Tibetans.⁹¹ Later, they would have met Paul in Gnatong.⁹² Paul recognized the good faith and hopes of Ugyen Wangchuck and of his allies: “I believe, from motives of self-interest, the ruling Chiefs of Bhutan are really anxious for peace, as they are in an awkward position. Without positive assurances of aid from ourselves, they are not strong enough to break with Tibet; while if they offend us, they fear a stoppage of their subsidy, if not further loss of territory. Whether they will be able to do anything is a different matter, which time alone will show.”⁹³ In this regard, it is useful to underline that the British subsidy to Bhutan was the official motivation for Ugyen Wangchuck to reject the Tibetan requests to intervene in the conflict on the side of Lhasa: in fact, the Tibetans had tried to involve Ugyen Wangchuck, sending him different requests after the second defeat.⁹⁴ However, the future monarch made clear that he did not want to risk losing the annual payment of 50,000 rupees from the British Government.⁹⁵ The Sinchula treaty of 1865 guaranteed, in Article IV, an annual payment by the British to the Government of Bhutan in exchange for territorial transfers in the south of the country.⁹⁶ The same treaty, however, provided in the

⁸⁹ TNA, FO 17/1108, A. W. Paul to J. Ware Edgar, 25th May 1888, attached to J. Ware Edgar to H. M. Durand, 29th May 1888, No. 128, Enclosure No. 3, f. 123, p. 10.

⁹⁰ Ibidem, A. W. Paul to J. Ware Edgar, 9th July 1888, ff. 133–134, pp. 3–4.

⁹¹ Ibidem.

⁹² Ibidem.

⁹³ Ibidem, f. 134, p. 3.

⁹⁴ Ibidem. Extract from a demi-official letter from Major H. Boileau, 11th August 1888, No. 152, Enclosure No. 1, f. 189.

⁹⁵ “I have just heard as follows from Sunder at Buxa: He says – ‘The old Vakil’s son has just returned from Bhutan: he tells me that his Deb Zimpen and Angdoforang Jungpen will shortly return from Paro. The Tibetans have informed them that they need not come to negotiate for peace. The Tibetans are collecting all their men and are determined to fight. They will attack our troops from two or three direction. The Vakil’s son is unable to say more than this about their plan of operations. He tells me that messengers are frequently being sent to Tongso Penlow for resistance. He is said to have informed the Tibetans that, if Bhutan gives any help, the subsidy of Rs. 50,000 will be stopped.’” Ibidem.

⁹⁶ “In consideration of the cession by the Bhootan Government of the territories specified in

article V the possibility for the British Government “to suspend the payment of this compensation money either whole or in part in the event of misconduct on the part of the Bhootan Government or its failure to check the aggression of its subjects or to comply with the provisions of the Treaty”. An important sum of money for Bhutan that Ugyen Wangchuck did not intend to lose without a powerful counterpart, identified by the future monarch in a territorial transfer as reported by [Donald?] Sunder⁹⁷ to Major Henry Boileau, Deputy Commissioner of Julpigoree: “I am told that Tongso Penlow has asked for the whole of the strip of Tibetan country as far as a place called Gyase.”⁹⁸ Furthermore, “[t]he agent for the Deb Raja and the Vakil’s son also say that the Tibetans will not attack till November next as they are not yet ready”.⁹⁹ This last news was particularly useful for Alfred Wallis Paul.¹⁰⁰ Boileau suggested in his letter that “the military authorities should post a wing in support at Julpai, the mere fact of doing so would instil fear into the minds of the Bhutanese; they have their spies about seeing what is going on. The Deb Raja’s agents who have come ostensibly about that strip of Jainti land hang on at Buxa, though they have

Article II. of this Treaty, and of the said Government having expressed its regret for past misconduct, and having hereby engaged for the future to restrain all evil-disposed persons from committing crimes within British territory or the territories of the Rajahs of Sikkim and Cooch Behar and to give prompt and full redress for all such crimes which may be committed in defiance of their commands, the British Government agree to make an annual allowance to the Government of Bhootan of a sum not exceeding fifty thousand rupees (Rs. 50,000), to be paid to officers not below the rank of Jungpen, who shall be deputed by the Government of Bhootan to receive the same. And it is further hereby agreed that the payments shall be made as specified below:— On the fulfillment by the Bhootan Government of the conditions of this Treaty, twenty-five thousand rupees (Rs. 25,000). On the 10th January following the first payment, thirty-five thousand rupees (Rs. 35,000). On the 10th January following, forty-five thousand rupees (Rs. 45,000). On every succeeding 10th January, fifty thousand rupees (Rs. 50,000).” Article IV of the Treaty of Sinochula.

⁹⁷ The text of the letter of Boileau indicates only a certain Sunder at Buxa Fort. “I have just heard from Sunder at Buxa”, TNA, FO 17/1108, Extract from a demi-official letter from Major H. Boileau, dated 11th August 1888, No. 152, Enclosure No. 1, f. 176. He is probably Donald Sunder, a magistrate in Julpigoree (Jalpaiguri) according to *The India List: Civil and Military*, London 1888, p. 70.

⁹⁸ *Ibidem*, Extract from a demi-official letter from Major H. Boileau, 11th August 1888, No. 152, Enclosure No. 1, f. 189. It is difficult to determine which place is referred to. It is unlikely to be Gyantse (*Rgyal rtse*), one of the main cities of Tibet. In this case, such a proposal by Ugyen Wangchuck should be read simply as a request aimed at total disengagement.

⁹⁹ *Ibidem*.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibidem*.

*been told the matter can't be settled till the cold weather. I have thought this suspicious".*¹⁰¹

The Encounter between Paul and a Bhutanese Delegation

Alfred Wallis Paul met a Bhutanese delegation only on 20th August.¹⁰² The Bhutanese had consigned to the Political Officer "three letters from Dharma Raja, Deb Raja, and the Bhutan Council, respectively, dated 27th June and 2nd July, informing that, out of friendship and in accordance with our treaty, they had despatched Angdoforong [Wangdi Phodrang], Jongpen, Som Doozi, Deb Zimpen and Lama Tenzing as envoys to mediate".¹⁰³ In addition, two other letters, written directly by the three Bhutanese delegates at the beginning of August, however informed the Political Officer of their failure in the face of the Tibetan refusal to arrive at a diplomatic solution and thus their departure without meeting Paul.¹⁰⁴ However, the delegation informed Paul about the state of the Tibetan forces as well as pointing out the neutrality of the Bhutanese nobles: "These Bhutanese state 10,000 Khamtaya troops arrived and 2,000 more Khamt troops are shortly expected – total already assembled at least 10,000. Tibetans have everything ready for an attack, but when did not hear. Provisions not plentiful; no assist has been given by Bhutanese Chiefs."¹⁰⁵

Concluding Considerations

On the geopolitical level, the Tibetan defeat represented a shift in the risks to the power of Ugyen Wangchuck, a weakening of the historical hegemonic role of Tibet in the southeastern region of the Himalayas and the consolidation of the British influence on the area. In 1890, the British would sign an agreement with the Chinese authorities in Calcutta that recognized the British role on Sikkim.¹⁰⁶ The attempted

¹⁰¹ Ibidem.

¹⁰² Ibidem, Telegram from Chief Secretary, Bengal, Dacca to Foreign Secretary, Simla, 21st August 1888, No. 152, Enclosure No. 5, f. 191. For accuracy, 20th August is the date on which the meeting was communicated to Dhaka.

¹⁰³ Ibidem, Telegram from Paul, repeated in a telegram from Chief Secretary, Bengal, Dacca to Foreign Secretary, Simla, 21st August 1888, No. 152, Enclosure No. 5, f. 191.

¹⁰⁴ "[T]wo other letters, dated 2nd August, written by envoy collectively, and also Angdoforong separately, in which they regret refusal of Tibetans to listen to offers of mediation, has compelled them to return without visiting me." Ibidem.

¹⁰⁵ Ibidem.

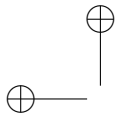
¹⁰⁶ *Convention between Great Britain and China relating to Sikkim and Tibet. Signed at*

mediation of the Bhutanese, although failed due to the Tibetan closure, also represented a further rapprochement between Bhutan and the British Raj. In 1909, John Claude White would write in this regard: “soon after the Sikkim Expedition of 1888–9 broke the power and influence of the Tibetans, and the cause of Aloo Dorji, who fought on their Side in the attack on Gnatong in May 1888 was lost. All subsequent attempts at interference by the Chinese and Tibetans were frustrated by the closer relationships with the Penlops which we maintained henceforth, and thus Ugyen Wangchuk’s influence in Bhutan was firmly established”.¹⁰⁷

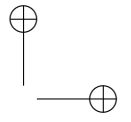
The factions of the battle of Changlimithang, re-proposing themselves in the Anglo-Tibetan conflict, with the defeated Thimphu Dzongpon on the side of the Tibetans and Ugyen Wangchuck and its main allies, the Paro Penlop and the Wangdi Phodrang Dzongpon, in a cautious and balanced position, began to clarify the role that Bhutan could play in Calcutta and London. Young Ugyen Wangchuck was ferrying his country – a cultural, religious and linguistic landmark of the Tibetan Buddhist world – towards a key-role in the geopolitical landscape of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In the final decades of the Great Game, Ugyen Wangchuck would be able to preserve the independence and identity of Bhutan, unify it under his leadership and make it a political hinge between the Himalayan universe and the Raj to the south. In addition to political and military leadership, Ugyen Wangchuck also inaugurated his diplomatic career. The Bhutanese attempt of 1888 can be read as a prelude to the subsequent mediation work put in place by the Bhutanese under the leadership of the future Druk Gyalpo, the most important of which remains obviously carried forward directly by Trongsa Penlop himself during the Younghusband Expedition of the 1904, three years before his coronation in Punakha and the definitive birth of the monarchy.

Calcutta, March 17, 1890. *With Regulations appended thereto, signed at Darjeeling, December 5, 1893, C. 7312*, London 1894, pp. 1–3.

¹⁰⁷ WHITE, pp. 133–134.

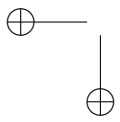


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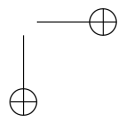


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Pax Britannica, Security and Akoko Resettlement, 1897–1960

*Olusegun Adeyeri**

British-inspired peace (Pax-Britannica) after 1897 terminated the spectre of widespread warfare, brigandage, insecurity and instability that pervaded Yorubaland, southwest Nigeria throughout the nineteenth century. The Akoko of northeast Yorubaland, like other Yoruba sub-groups, experienced their fair share of the impact of British colonial rule that followed the restoration of peace to the Yoruba territory. This paper seeks to explore the transformatory impact of British rule upon Akoko society, with respect to settlement pattern. Using Ikare, Okeagbe, Erusu, Oka, Ipe and Ajowa communities as case studies, data analysis revealed that the era of British administration considerably changed *Akoko* settlement pattern in terms of relocation and resettlement of old communities from hilltops, caves and other hideouts to open places in plains and lowlands, spatial arrangement, type and material make-up of Akoko buildings. The study concludes that peace, security and stability facilitated by Britain, colonial policies and Christian missionary initiatives were the principal factors responsible for fundamental changes in Akoko homesteads, architecture and general social organization. The work adopts the historical, descriptive analytical method.

[British Rule; Peace; Security; Akoko Resettlement; Social Organization]

Introduction

The disintegration of Old Oyo Empire mainly due to internal decay and pressures from Fulani Jihadists at Ilorin in early 19th century triggered protracted warfare among the Yoruba. The intra-Yoruba wars continued unabated until Britain intervened to make peace and impose herself as colonial ruler at the close of the century.¹ The British

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¹ J. ADE-AJAYI, 19th Century Wars and Yoruba Ethnicity, in: A. AKINJOGBIN (ed.), *War and Peace in Yorubaland 1793–1893*, Ibadan 1997, pp. 11–13; S. ARIFALO, The Educated Elite in Search for Peace, in: A. AKINJOGBIN (ed.), *War and Peace in Yorubaland 1793–1893*, Ibadan 1997, p. 43.

exploited the chaos in Yorubaland to intervene there under the pretext of establishing peace and order. In fact, Britain needed a favourable socio-political atmosphere to ensure the viability of the Crown Colony government established in Lagos earlier in 1861, and to promote her imports and exports trade, which was her principal motive for intervention. During the mediation process, the British hatched peace treaties with leaders of various Yoruba sub-groups between 1886 and 1893. Some of the clauses which the British tactfully put in the treaties undermined Yoruba sovereignty and gave Britain *de jure* authority over Yorubaland,² Akoko inclusive. Seemingly, the British had decided to impose colonial rule over the Akoko, like other Yoruba areas, even before 1900. Apart from the Royal Niger Company (RNC) headquarters already based in Lokoja, two out-stations were created at Ikaram-Akoko and Kabba in 1895 during the last days of Nupe imperialism in Akokoland. The 1884/1885 Berlin Conference proclamation that the RNC should claim on behalf of Britain the custodianship of free navigation of the Niger served as the international diplomatic and political basis upon which the RNC effected the conquest of Akokoland in 1897.³ Although British penetration and eventual occupation of Akokoland was not totally smooth, the entire Akoko territory had fallen under British rule by 1906.⁴ Against this background, this paper seeks to appraise the impact of British colonial administration on Akoko settlement pattern and social organization up to 1960. Based on field and documentary evidence, this study adopts six Akoko communities, namely, Ikare, Okeagbe, Erusu, Oka, Ipe and Ajowa, as case studies.

Pax Britannica and Akoko Resettlement

Settlement pattern in Akokoland underwent considerable change(s) under British rule. Evidence points to a trend whereby Akoko towns and villages relocated from their original abodes (mainly hilltops) to

² S. OYEWESO – O. OSHIN, *British Administration and Conquest of Yorubaland*, in: D. OGUNREMI – B. ADEDIRAN (eds.), *Culture and Society in Yorubaland*, Ibadan 1998, p. 43.

³ L. LUGARD, *The Dual Mandate in British Tropical Africa*, London 1965, p. 19.

⁴ A. AKINJOGBIN, *Milestones and Concepts in Yoruba History and Culture*, Ibadan 2002, p. 80; F. AMINU – W. KOLAWOLE, *Akokoland: History and Distinguished People*, Ibadan 1997, p. 26.

lowland areas to form new and permanent settlements, though under varying circumstances. To substantiate this claim, it would suffice to elucidate a few examples. Let us begin with Ikare.

Ikare

Prior to 1900, Ikare consisted of fifteen Quarters situated atop mountains. These were Okele, Odo, Ese, Ilepa, Okoja, Odoruwa, Okeruwa, Ode Iyare, Oyinmo, Iku, Okorun, Okegbe, Ishakumi/Eho, Igbade, and Ekan. The adoption of this location and pattern of settlement by ‘early’ Ikare communities, like most other Akoko communities of the time, must have been dictated largely by the dire need and quest for security amidst the atmosphere of pervasive insecurity generated by virulent expansionist wars waged by non-European imperial powers (particularly the Nupe and Ibadan) during the nineteenth century. However, following the restoration of peace in Akokoland by British imperialist agents, and Christian missionaries at the close of the century, the Ikare people were persuaded to relocate from the hills to their present location. In this regard, the legendary Archdeacon Lennon was instrumental in the unification of the separate quarters of Ikare during the 1920s.⁵

Okeagbe

Okeagbe’s case was similar to Ikare’s. Modern Okeagbe emerged between 1924 and 1927 following waves of immigration from the nearby mountain tops to its present location largely due to the efforts of Archdeacon Lennon. But unlike Ikare, Okeagbe emerged as an agglomeration of four distinct and independent villages, namely, Afa, Oge, Ido and Aje. Each of these had its own monarch (who was the Prescribed Authority for his village) and retained its own language and culture.⁶ Although the idea of relocating to a central settlement downhill due

⁵ M.O. OYEWOLE, *Significant Social Changes in Ikare since the Beginning of the Twentieth Century*, B.A. Long Essay, Ondo State University, Okitipupa 1986, p. 1; V. OKONEDO, *The History of Ikare up to 1990*, B.A. Long Essay, Lagos State University, Ojo 2003, pp. 11–13; J.L. AKEREDOLU, *Introduction of Christianity into Akoko*, Owo 1986, p. 36.

⁶ O. FABOYEDE, *History of Okeagbe 1924–1999*, Lagos 2011; C. OHIRI-ANICHE, Language Diversification in the Akoko Area of Western Nigeria, in: R. BLENCH – M. SPRIGGS (eds.), *Archaeology and Language IV: Language, Change and Cultural Transformation*, New York 2013.

to security and economic exigencies predated British rule, it was the latter factor that hastened the development. The British-inspired peace across Akokoland in the late 19th century encouraged the people to accept Archdeacon Lennon's advocacy for unification downhill for rapid socio-economic development. However, some other factors influenced Okeagbe indigenes' decision to merge and relocate to their present settlement. For instance, the topography of the new settlement located on a fairly extensive plain and valley surrounded by craggy hills was very attractive. In addition, historical links among the villages and their people such as intermarriages and military alliances against Nupe and Ibadan imperial assaults, also favoured the idea of merger. Nevertheless, greater portions of the population were initially reluctant to vacate their old homesteads for the new settlement. It was the intervention of the colonial administration, which introduced the use of force that eventually compelled this category of people to move to the new site.⁷

Erusu

Erusu's case was like that of Okeagbe. Prior to the colonial era, the early settlers consisting of eight communities – Iga, Igbede, Usan, Onongu, Odo-owa, Oowa or Oyi, Amo and Ahan, lived on hilltops, foot of hills and in caves. Onongu was later wiped out due to the incidence of slave raiding that was widespread at the time. The relocation process to the new settlement, Erusu, began around 1917 with a consensual arrangement under which the remaining seven communities agreed to move and settle at *Titi* (Main Road). The road in question is the road from Owo through Oba, Ikare, Erusu, Ikaram, Ajowa, Kabba, finally terminating at Lokoja. The decision to settle along this road must have been motivated by the considerations of improved communication and commerce, which proximity to such a road would offer. To buttress this point, we may note that Erusu's central market came to be known as *Aaja Titi*, that is, Main Road Market. Although details of the circumstances leading to this transformation remain frosty, we do know that by 1923, at the new settlement, the seven communities coalesced into a single kingdom of four quarters under Oba

⁷ J. OGUNDANA, Okeagbe, in: G. OGUNTOMISIN (ed.), *Yoruba Towns and Cities*, Ibadan 2003, pp. 68–69; P. OMOLoba, *Origin and Development of Okeagbe*, B. A. Long Essay, Lagos State University, Ojo 2009, p. 1.

Amuna who took the title of *Osunla* of Erusu.⁸ Like Okeagbe, the constituent units of modern Erusu, the Okega, Okesan, Amo, and Aga quarters each retained its peculiar cultural elements such as unique pottery design. While some specialised in *Agbagba* (bowl for frying cassava), others took specialty in *isaan obe* (a pot for soup-making), *Oru* (a pot for herbal preparation or placenta burial), or *agbaisu* (a pot for cooking yam). However, unlike Okeagbe, the constituent quarters of Erusu were neither autonomous nor had separate monarchs. In fact, the Quarter chiefs attended *Oba-in-* Council meetings in the *Osunla's* palace at Okega, headquarters of the new settlement.⁹

Oka

Oka's permanent settlement(s) under colonial rule did not emerge at once – it spanned phases overtime. Although the Nupe imperialist forces were unable to subjugate Oka, the old Oka settlements were compelled by security and strategic considerations to retain their abodes in the hill sites as a way of forestalling future attacks. The establishment of peace, law and order following the end of the 19th century Yoruba civil wars created the incentive to settle in selected locations outside the initial wartime settlements. Additional contributory factors to the relocation downhill were the dearth of space and mud for building, as well as the increasing population.¹⁰ Formation of a stable settlement on the high plains took shape under the reign of *Oba* Orimolade who ascended the throne in 1892. There is need to point out that the immigrations downhill were irregular. This was so mainly because people were inspired to move only after they had secured new space elsewhere, or when the farm soil in their existing settlements had been thoroughly depleted vis-vis the persistent rapid population growth. Moreover, because the effects of these conditions varied from place to place and occurred at different times, people in comparatively more fecund land areas stayed put, while others emigrated in search of greener pasture. To illustrate this point, whereas the inhabitants of Ikaram migrated to their present location in 1949, the Agba people did

⁸ B. ADEWUNMI, *The Awayeterugbe of Erusu, 75 years, Ex-Teacher/Soldier/Politician* (Personal Communication), Okega Quarter, Erusu-Akoko [2012–05–14].

⁹ Ibidem.

¹⁰ R. UDOH, Transformation of Rural Settlement in British Tropical Africa, in: *Nigerian Geographical Journal*, 9, 1996.

not move until 1960. Aside the extreme attachment of the Agba people to tradition and kinship, the relatively long delay in their resettlement can be explained in terms of the relative fertility of their earliest settlement, its accessibility to the new settlements, a school and a church under a Resident Catechist.¹¹

Emigrations from the high plains to the surrounding lowlands were equally irregular. This was so because, just like the earlier emigrations, these latter ones were inspired by diverse circumstances and thus did not take place simultaneously. The varied compelling factors included the advent of cash crop export-based economy, the rapidly increasing population (largely due to modern medical services), and the corresponding increase in the demand for land, both for agricultural and residential purposes. In addition, due to the constraints of road construction because of the rugged terrain, and the resultant poor communication, the less conservative inhabitants commenced migrations to the surrounding lowlands where land was cheap, water abundant and road construction relatively easier. The combination of the above conditions, and perhaps more, accounted for wholesale migrations downhill leading to the establishment of Iwaro in 1937, Aiyepe, 1952 and Oka Junction, 1959/1960.¹² This marked the foundation of protracted political cleavages within Oka kingdom between Oke-Oka (Upland) and Iwaro (Lowland).

Ipe

Ipe people, like other Akoko people earlier discussed, used to live in caves, hilltops and jungles due to insecurity, prior to British rule. This sense of insecurity had to do largely with the fear of being taken into slavery, particularly by the Nupe and Ibadan forces during the 19th century.¹³ According to evidence, the earliest Ipe community comprised of two groups, North and South, each consisting of several sub-quarters. The Northern group consisted of Uba, Ugbe, Ugbede, Itakpe and Ilegbe collectively known as Ogbabasa, while the south

¹¹ B. ADELADUN, *The Impact of Relief on Human Activities in Oka District of Western Nigeria*, B. A. Long Essay, University of Ibadan, Ibadan 1967, p. 41.

¹² *Ibidem*, pp. 43–44.

¹³ I. AJIBOYE, 96 years, Farmer (Personal Communication), Ipe-Akoko [2013–04–15]; Oba F. APATA, the *Olupe* of Ipe (Personal Communication), Olupe's Palace, Ipe-Akoko [2013–04–15].

had Okuan, Isinodo, Itolo, Ipasso, and Uwi, jointly called Arewa. It was this initial structure or grouping that metamorphosed into Ipe-Oke (Upland) and Ipe-Odo (Lowland). Each of the sub-quarters under Ipe-Oke and Ipe-Odo had head-chiefs who performed the primary role of providing security of lives and property within their separate jurisdictions. However, the advent of British rule, together with the peace and order it enthroned in Akokoland, soon changed this pattern of settlement. In particular, the new atmosphere of security coupled with the construction of modern roads prompted the people to accept the colonial administration's request for their relocation downhill to the plains and open places to form a permanent settlement. Significantly, this relocation and resettlement exercise gave impetus to the need to create a central political entity out of the separate Ipe groups or sub-groups earlier mentioned. Thus, following the movement of Ipe people to their present site in 1930, Ipe-Oke and Ipe-Odo were fused into a single kingdom under Omoran, former Balogun of Ipe-Oke, with a British warrant to rule as *Oba* and central authority.¹⁴ In their new site, Ipe's settlement and building pattern changed considerably. Unlike in the past, when the people built their huts far apart from one another in the hilltops and other hidden locations, at the new settlement they built their houses in the open, close to one another. In place of huts with thatched roofs, which were highly susceptible to fire outbreaks, the people started building more permanent structures roofed with corrugated iron sheets. Moreover, the modern roads that were constructed to link one Akoko town to the other helped to strengthen inter-community communication and relationship.¹⁵

Ajowa

Ajowa's resettlement process under British rule was in tandem with that of Okeagbe. Like Okeagbe, Ajowa emerged as an agglomeration of autonomous villages as part of the post-19th century Yoruba warfare reconstruction and resettlement of the Akoko area under colonial rule. In 1955, Hon. R. A. Olusa successfully brought together eight towns whose inhabitants used to live in various clusters in the hilltops to

¹⁴ *Ondo State of Nigeria*, Report of the Ondo State Judicial Commission of Enquiry on Chieftaincy Matters Comprising Chieftaincy Declaration, Paramountcy, Prescribed and Consenting Authorities, Part Two, 1999, pp. 15–17; APATA.

¹⁵ AJIBOYE; APATA.

form a single town, downhill called Ajowa.¹⁶ Although sixteen towns initially signified interest in the resettlement amalgamation project, the new settlement eventually comprised Daja, Ojo, Efifa, Ora, Esuku, Oso, Iludotun and Uro. The major factor behind this amalgamation was the strong desire by the colonial administration for easy access to the nooks and crannies of the land since it was more convenient and cheaper to reach one large site than eight scattered communities. However, it needs to be stated that the unification of these communities only materialised after elaborate and extensive negotiations. As a product of these negotiations, all the eight communities unanimously agreed that each town would retain its autonomy and would not be subsumed by the whole or any part of the Ajowa 'federation'. Thus, each town retained its monarchy and cultural identity. From this point onwards, Ajowa was administered by the Ajowa Supreme Council of *Obas* (ASCO), which consists of all the eight kings each of whom serve as chairman on an annual rotational basis. It is to be noted that the foundation of Ajowa that was rooted in mutual consensus gave rise to a culture of cooperation and enthusiasm, especially in terms of joint developmental projects such as the town hall, maternity centre, health centre, central market, and community schools executed during the colonial era.¹⁷ In all, the era of British rule considerably changed Akoko settlement pattern in terms of relocation and resettlement of old communities from hilltops, caves and other hideouts to open places in plains and lowlands, spatial arrangement, type and material make-up of Akoko buildings.

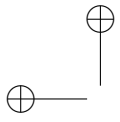
Conclusion

This paper explored the transformatory impact of British rule upon Akoko society between 1897 and 1960 with particular respect to changes in the settlement pattern, architecture and social organisation of the people during that period. The discourse further under-

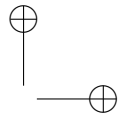
¹⁶ Memorandum Submitted by H.R.H. *Oba* M.A. OLANIPEKUN III, the Zaki of Arigidi to Committee for the Review of Chieftaincy Matters bordering on Paramountcy and Consenting Authority, 2004, p. 16; Memorandum submitted by H. R. H. *Oba* T. A. AFIWASAIYE I, the *Olojo* of Ojo Ajowa, to the Deputy Governor of Ondo State on Up-grading of *Obas*.

¹⁷ K. OLUSA, *Our History: The Ajowa Amalgam*, Washington 2007, p. 13; T. A. AGOYI, Language, Invasion and Insecurity: The History of Abesabesi, in: *American Journal of Social Issues*, 3, 2013, pp. 73–75.

scored the age-long nexus between peace, security and stability on the one hand, and societal organization and progress on the other. As the preceding analysis showed, Akoko settlement pattern changed considerably under British rule. Due to peace and order facilitated by the colonial authorities, coupled with other factors, Akoko towns and villages from the 1920s onwards relocated from their pre-colonial abodes, mainly hilltops, caves and other hidden locations, to lowland and open areas where they established new and permanent settlements. Some of the communities relocated downhill largely because of security, strategic and economic exigencies. Several communities moved due to considerations of improved communication, construction of modern roads and commerce. Some relocated because of the need for accessibility to new settlements and social infrastructure such as schools and churches, while some others were compelled to move by coercion from British colonial authorities. Other pull factors included the advent of cash crop export-based economy, rapidly increasing population (mainly because of modern medical services and facilities), and the concomitant surge in the demand for land, both for agricultural and residential purposes. In their new settlements, the spatial arrangement, type and material make-up of Akoko buildings took up a modern outlook. Finally, several towns owing to exigencies of the time, including the dire need for development, decided to amalgamate into a single political entity. Under some such new arrangements, the constituent quarters each retained its peculiar cultural elements, while the constituent units of other new settlements were autonomous under separate monarchs.

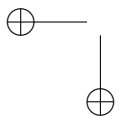


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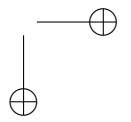


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From the North-East Felvidék to Podkarpatská Rus (Kárpátalja), with Special Regard to the Activity of Masaryk and Beneš

László Gulyás*

In 1918–1919 the purest region of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy joined to the Czechoslovak Republic from the Hungarian Kingdom. At the first sight this was a simple proceeding. But according to our opinion in fact, the 1918–1919 developments in the history of the North-Eastern Felvidék were influenced four factors: 1. The conflicting efforts of countries intending to keep (Hungary) and to acquire (Czechoslovakia, Romania, Poland and various Ukrainian state formations) the region. 2. The people's assemblies of the Ruthenian and Hungarian populations, with their diverging (ukranophile, hungarophile, czechophile) orientations and their searching for allies. 3. The activity of the Ruthenian emigration in the US, strongly favouring one possible scenario (i. e. the Czechoslovakian one). 4. The great powers' decision about the fate of the region at the Versailles peace talks. Our paper surveys a seemingly most important element of this complex process, the activity of the Czechoslovak state founders Masaryk and Beneš; we also intend to present how their work resulted in the North-East Felvidék becoming Kárpátalja.

[History of Czechoslovakia; History of Podkarpatská Rus; Masaryk; Beneš]

Introduction, or Defining the Subject

A paper's title usually provides the reader with an immediate direction about its contents and subject matter. In this case, however, the title deserves some supplementary explanation. One such addendum concerns the naming of the discussed area or region. Hungarian historiography about the modern period tends to extremely neglect the precise definition of its concepts, especially about geographical names. In

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addition, Hungarian historiography does not incorporate the terminological results of historical and political geography in its discussions of the Carpathian basin.¹ This is especially true about the so-called historical regions: Délvidék, Erdély (Transylvania), etc. The region of Kárpátalja would surely deserve a paper summarizing a debate and its lessons, to clarify which term should be used to the region in various periods. In the absence of such a study, I decided to use the terminology that seemed most correct to me from the several options, including Ruthenia and Carpathian-Ukraine.² According to this, the region which consisted of the Ung, Bereg, Ugocsa, and Máramaros provinces of the Dualist era was named Kárpátalja by the creators of the Versailles Peace Treaty in 1919. As to the times before 1918, the unified Carpathian-basin concept of Hungarian geography dictates that the region is referred to as (the) North-East Felvidék.³ In other words, we are on the opinion that using the term Kárpátalja regarding times before 1918 is incorrect.

The other addendum is the following: in our view, the 1918–1919 developments in the history of North-Eastern Felvidék were influenced four factors:

1. The conflicting efforts of countries intending to keep (Hungary) and to acquire (Czechoslovakia, Romania, Poland and various Ukrainian state formations) the region.
2. The people's assemblies of the Ruthenian and Hungarian populations, with their diverging (ukranophile, hungarophile, czechophile) orientations and their searching for allies.
3. The activity of the Ruthenian emigration in the US, strongly favouring one possible scenario (i. e. the Czechoslovak one).
4. The great powers' decision about the fate of the region at the Versailles peace talks.

¹ See L. T. VIZI, *Trianon 100 Years Later. From Border Revision to National Cooperation (1920–2010)*, Budapest 2018.

² Zselicky lists 13 possible terms in the introduction of his work B. ZSELICZKY, *Kárpátalja a cseh és a szovjet politika érdekerében 1920–1945*, Budapest 1998, p. 7.

³ G. CSÜLLÖG GÁBOR, A Felvidék Magyarország történeti térszerkezetében, in: S. FRISNYÁK – A. GÁL (eds.), *Dr. Peja Győző emlékkönyv*, Szerencsen 2007, pp. 201 to 225.

Within the confines of our paper, this study details a seemingly most important element of this complex process, the activity of the Czechoslovak state founders Tomáš Garrigue Masaryk and Edvard Beneš; we also intend to present how their work resulted in the North-East Felvidék becoming Kárpátalja.

Views of the Czechoslovak Emigration on the North-East Felvidék, 1915–1918

The program of the group of Czechoslovak émigrés headed by Masaryk and Beneš formed through the course of WWI.⁴ A focal point was the autumn of 1915, when Masaryk drafted a memorandum on the objectives of the Czechoslovak National Council.⁵ This manifesto was published on November 14, 1915 at the same time in Switzerland, France, Russia and in the US. Territorial goals were summarized as follows: “From the Allied victory we expect the complete independence of the Czech nation and the unification of actual Czechia with Moravia and Slovakia, under the same government.”⁶

Another important rendition of the émigrés’ goals was communicated by Beneš, publishing his book *Détruisez l’Autriche-Hongrie! Le martyre des Tchéco-Slovaques à travers l’histoire* in the autumn of 1917 in Paris.⁷ Entente Powers were urged to “crush Austria-Hungary” and he claimed that “the Czechoslovak state must emerge from their ruins, constituted by Czechia, Moravia, Silesia and Slovakia”.⁸

As to the Eastern borders of the Czechoslovak state, he wrote as follows: “the Czechoslovakian state shall be bordered by Russia in the Carpathians, the two forming an impenetrable barrier against Germany”.⁹

⁴ L. GULYÁS, Egy sikeres emigráció anatómiája. E. Benes 1914–1918, in: AETAS, 2–3, 1996, pp. 103–118. See more L. GULYÁS, “ZÚZZÁTOK SZÉT AUSZTRIA-MAGYARORSZÁGOT” Avagy a Masaryk-Benes-féle csehszlovák emigráció érvrendszerének első szintézise, in: *Limes*, 4, 2000, pp. 35–50.

⁵ F. HADLER (hrsg.), *Weg von Österreich! Das Weltkrieg von Masaryk und Benes im Spiegel ihrer Briefe und Aufzeichnungen aus des Jahren 1914–1918*, Berlin 1995, p. 22, Doc. No. 97.

⁶ G. G. KEMÉNY, *Iratok a nemzetiségi kérdés történetéhez Magyarországon a dualizmus korában. VII. kötet 1914–1916*, Budapest 1999, p. 77.

⁷ In Hungarian see: L. GULYÁS (ed.), *Zúzzátok szét Ausztria-Magyarországot!*, Documenta Historica 5, Szeged 1992.

⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 45.

⁹ *Ibidem*.

As obvious from the above excerpts, Masaryk and Beneš considered the Carpathians to be within Russian sphere of interest. Through secret diplomatic channels, the leaders of emigration were kept informed on Russian military goals. Thus they were aware that one war objective of Russia was to acquire the Ukrainian-populated¹⁰ regions of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy (Galicia, Bukovina and the North-Eastern Felvidék).¹¹ Masaryk based on his views on regionalism in accordance with this.¹² His memoirs relate the following: “While Russia was winning, it needed to be considered whether they were to claim Kárpátalja after invading Eastern Galicia.”¹³

The question arises: When and how the Czechoslovakian emigration leaders changed their mind about the North-Eastern Felvidék? Masaryk’s memoirs provide the following answer: “Russia being defeated made it possible for Kárpátalja to belong to our republic.”¹⁴ The citation clearly suggests that as Russia was weakened by the events of 1917 (the revolution in February, the failure of Kerensky’s offensive, etc.), Masaryk and Beneš began to consider the claiming of the North-Eastern Felvidék as a possibility.

In May 1917, Masaryk visited Russia and stayed until April 1918. During his time in Saint Petersburg, Moscow and Kiev, he met politicians of various ranks to move forward the Czechoslovak cause, he held public lectures, and wrote newspaper articles. The future of the North-East Felvidék also came up in some of these meetings: “In Russia and especially in Ukraine, I had to address the plan [of the region being annexed to the Czechoslovak state], as several Ukrainian leaders discussed with me the future of all little-Ruthenians (Ukrainians). They had no objections against Kárpátalja becoming ours.”¹⁵

During his stay in Russia and while travelling to the US from Vladivostok, Masaryk dedicated another book to his views on the reorganization of Europe after the war, including the formation of a Czechoslo-

¹⁰ Leaders of the Russian Empire clearly considered the Ruthenians to be Ukrainians.

¹¹ *Az Első Világháború*, Budapest 1980, p. 345.

¹² T. SEATON-WATSON, *Masaryk in England*, New York 1943, pp. 44–45.

¹³ T. G. MASARYK, *A világháború*, Budapest 1990, p. 286.

¹⁴ *Ibidem*.

¹⁵ *Ibidem*.

vak state.¹⁶ The volume was published in London in late 1918, titled *New Europa, the Slav Standpoint*.¹⁷

In this work, he wrote the Ruthenians of the North-Eastern Felvidék as follows: “*The Ruthenians in Hungary have recently proposed a new plan. Their representatives in the US favour the unification of their nation in the Czechoslovakian state, becoming an autonomous part of the country. Naturally, this proposal needs to be approved by the population in Hungary first. These Hungarian Ruthenians – as they are called in America – are cruelly oppressed by the Hungarians; their numbers are around a half million.*”¹⁸

It seems reasonable that Masaryk changed his views from 1915 to 1916, as he claimed in 1918 that the region could be annexed to the Czechoslovak state.

Masaryk and the Ruthenian Emigration in the US

Masaryk arrived at Vancouver, Canada, on April 29, 1918, from where he travelled to Chicago. During the next weeks, he contacted the main American organizations of the Czech, Slovak and Ruthenian emigrants and discussed with their leaders. Meanwhile, he also met influential personalities of the American political scene, most notably president Wilson.¹⁹

Let us examine how relations between Masaryk and the Ruthenians in America developed during these months. Prior to WWI, large numbers of Ruthenians had emigrated the US, mainly to the east coast. Their organizations became politically active during 1918, with the People’s Council of American Rusyns soon emerging as a new major entity, formed by the merging of two Greek Catholic organizations in Homestead on July 23, 1918. Nikolai Chohey was elected as president, while lawyer Gregory Zhatkovych drafted the program of the organization. His program involved three options as to the future of the North-East Felvidék:

¹⁶ Before the publication of his book during the autumn in London, Masaryk must have worked on the manuscript while still in the US, this is how the Ruthenians’ potential joining the Czechoslovak state could be included in the text. The “official” Ruthenian standpoint was communicated in early November 1918.

¹⁷ T. G. MASARYK, *New Europa: The Slav Standpoint*, London 1918.

¹⁸ Translated from the Hungarian edition, see T. G. MASARYK, *Az Új Európa. A szláv álláspont*, Košice 1923, p. 100.

¹⁹ For details on his American activity, see MASARYK, *A világorradalom*, pp. 235–344.

1. Total independence for the Ruthenians in Hungary, a sovereign Ruthenian state.
2. Unification of Ruthenians in Hungary and the Galician and Bukovina Ukrainians, and annexation of this territory to one of the Slavic states, with granted autonomy (it remains unspecified which Slavic state could that be).
3. Keeping the status quo, meaning that the North-Eastern Felvidék remains within Hungary but with granted autonomy.²⁰

With the help of a Democrat politician, Zhatkovych met president Wilson in early October of 1918, then had meetings with Masaryk, where the latter suggested to Zhatkovych that the Ruthenians could side with the Czechoslovak state and gain full autonomy.

Meanwhile, Masaryk worked to form an organization encompassing all Central European emigrants except Hungarians and Germans. On November 3, 1918 he wrote the following to Beneš, who was in Paris at the time: *"This would be a constructive organization of small peoples. Such is my idea and plan."*²¹ He continued with founding the Central European Democratic Union, which was joined by the People's Council of American Rusyns. On November 7, Masaryk informed Beneš as follows: *"We have the favour of the Hungarian Rusyns."*²²

On October 23, 1918, members of the Central European Democratic Union signed a Charta of independent central European peoples. On November 12, 1918, the People's Council of the American Rusyns organized a "referendum" in Scranton, with the participation of members of the Ruthenian organizations in the US. To this day, the exact circumstances and process of this referendum are unknown to history.²³ However, the results are known and must suffice here: 67.2 %

²⁰ About the formation and program of the organization see P. R. MAGOCSI, *The Shaping of National Identity Subcarpathian Rus 1848–1948*, Cambridge, Massachusetts 1978, pp. 77–78.

²¹ Z. ŠOLLE, *Masaryk a Beneš ve svých dopisech z doby pařížských mírových jednání v roce 1919, II. Seria B. T. G. Masaryk Ed. Benešovi*, November 7, 1918, Praha 1994, pp. 124 to 125.

²² Ibidem, pp. 133–136.

²³ The Hungarian historiography of the interbellum period refers to a weightless and suspicious referendum, see for example: G. DARÁS, *A Ruténföld elszakításának előzményei*, Budapest 1936, pp. 107–108.

voted in favour of joining the Czechoslovak state and 28.5 % voted for being annexed to the Ukrainian state. 2.5 % favoured a separate Ruthenian state, while 0.8 % voted for remaining within the borders of Hungary.²⁴

One day after the referendum, Zhatkovych met Masaryk in Washington and handed him the minutes from Scranton, and on November 15 he informed Wilson about the results of the referendum. This latter information greatly shaped the standpoint of the American peace delegation at the Versailles Peace Conference.

The result of the Scranton referendum was a great success for Masaryk, providing a crucial argument in favour of annexing the North-Eastern Felvidék to the Czechoslovak state. As we will see, this argument was utilized by Beneš at every possible occasion during the Paris Peace Conference.

Beneš and the Issue of North-Eastern Felvidék at the Peace Conference

On October 28, 1918, the Czechoslovak state was proclaimed in Prague. The Slovaks joined on October 30 in Turócszentmárton, and the cease-fire agreements of November 1918 put an end to the First World War. These developments eliminated the relevance of the emigration led by Masaryk and Beneš. However, Beneš stayed in Paris to work as the foreign minister of the first Czechoslovak government, which was set up on October 28, 1918 in Prague. During the following months, he worked in this position to establish the borders of the Czechoslovak state.²⁵ His Czechoslovak delegation handed over 11 written memoranda at the Peace Conference when they convened in January 1919.²⁶

Memorandum No. 2 and No. 6 are most relevant to our subject matter. The seven chapters of memorandum No. 2 summarize the Czechoslovak territorial demands, with chapter 4 dedicated to the issue of

²⁴ I. VIDNYÁNSZKY, *Önrendelkezési elvek és Kárpátalja állami hovatartozásának kérdése (1918–1919)*, in: Cs. FEDINEC – M. VEHES, *Kárpátalja 1919–2009*, Budapest 2010, pp. 39–44.

²⁵ L. GULYÁS, *Edvard Beneš. Közép-Európa koncepciók és a valóság*, Máriabesnyő–Gödöllő 2008, pp. 144–177.

²⁶ The full text of the memorandums is published in R. H. RASCHHOFFER, *Die tschechoslowakischen Denkschriften für die Friedenskonferenz von Paris 1919–1920*, Berlin, 1938.

the Ruthenians.²⁷ Memorandum No. 6 was titled “The problem of the Ruthenians in Hungary”.²⁸ As chapter 4 consists of only three pages, we proceed with the analysis of the more extensive memorandum No. 6.

Beneš listed the statistics of Ruthenians in the first section of the memorandum and pointed out that while the Hungarian census of 1,900 had 429 thousand Ruthenians in register, data from the Greek Catholic church refer to 488,000. The 60,000 difference was proof, as Beneš explained, that the official Hungarian statistics distorted the number of Ruthenians, presenting them as less numerous than their actual numbers in the discussed region.

The second part of memorandum No. 6 presented the “ethnic, political and social situation” of the Ruthenians. First the geographical positions of the Ruthenian territories were discussed, where they lived and in which provinces, then he claimed the following: “*Emigration was especially high in Ruthenian territories. Reasons include the oppressive policies of the Hungarians and the complete abandonment on Budapest’s part, as the Hungarian ruling elite regarded the territory as dangerous.*”²⁹ Beneš also blamed the Hungarian state for the fact that illiteracy among Ruthenians was 85.5 %.

As it can be inferred, Beneš sketched up the darkest possible picture about the Hungarian rule, with the Hungarian state oppressing the Ruthenians, who are poor, illiterate, and emigrating to escape the oppression.

The third section of the memorandum was titled “The possible solution of the problem”; Beneš presented four options as to the future of the region:

1. The Ruthenians join the Russian state.
2. The Ruthenians join the Polish state.
3. The Ruthenians remain within Hungary.
4. The Ruthenian-inhabited areas are annexed to the Czechoslovak state.

²⁷ RASCHHOFFER, pp. 56–58.

²⁸ Ibidem, pp. 206–223.

²⁹ Ibidem, p. 210.

About the first option, Beneš claimed that the majority of the Ruthenians are unwilling to be annexed to Poland, which is not preferred by the Polish politicians either (while he remained silent about a portion of Polish leaders actually thinking otherwise).

He argued about the second scenario that the Ruthenians think “*the Russians should not descend on the far side of the Carpathians*”.³⁰ In our view, the fallacy here is obvious, as the few Ruthenian intellectuals were not considering global politics or geopolitical aspects. By mentioning the Russians possibly showing up within the Carpathian basin, Beneš in fact played upon the fears of the Entente leaders.

As to the third solution, Beneš claimed that the Ruthenians were unlikely to leave the Hungarian state or were at least unwilling to do so. However, the Hungarian state kept mercilessly oppressing them before and after the war, Beneš argued.

He claimed that the fourth option seemed to be acceptable. His argument was as follows: “*the Slovaks are neighbours of the Ruthenians, they share the same race, and the dialect [Slovak] is close to Ruthenian. In Ruthenian provinces the two populations are mixed and live in similar social and economic situations, their interests being completely the same. In geographical terms, both regions are similar and homogeneous*”.³¹

Some lines later Beneš even stated with certainty that “*Ruthenians in Hungary are a nation closely related to the Slovaks and living in very similar conditions, they have a very close connection and their joining the Czechoslovakian Republic would pose no difficulty*”.³² Being aware of Entente rhetorics, Beneš immediately added that “*annexing the territory to the Czechoslovak Republic will be possible in case the Ruthenians either accept it or they demand it themselves*”.³³

Right after the above sentences, he also concluded that the Ruthenians living in the US had already formed their standpoint: “*an autonomy status within the territory of the Czechoslovak state would be acceptable*”.³⁴ The memorandum ends with the following idea: “*We have identified the*

³⁰ Ibidem, p. 211.

³¹ Ibidem, p. 213.

³² Ibidem.

³³ Ibidem.

³⁴ Ibidem, p. 215.

essence of the matter and the possible solutions. These are worth considering and making the decision accordingly.”³⁵

Leaders of the peace conference decided that, beside the submission of written demands, minor allies (Romanians, South-Slavs, Czechoslovaks) can appeal in spoken form as well, and on the highest level. So, it came to pass that Beneš explained the Czechoslovak demands speaking before the Supreme Council on February 5.

The Czechoslovak Foreign Minister spoke for 3.5 hours about his country’s situation and their territorial demands.³⁶ During this long speech, he mentioned the issue of Kárpátalja as well. His views were introduced with the following: “Neighbouring the Slovaks, there is a region to the East, populated by Ruthenians. These Ruthenians originate from the same tribe as the Eastern Galicians, from whom the Carpathians separate them. They live near the Slovaks, in similar social and economic conditions – what’s more, an intermediate dialect has also emerged between the languages of the two peoples.”³⁷

Then he stated that Ruthenians did not intend to belong to the Hungarian state and have thus offered to join the Czechoslovak state. His explanation continued as follows: “It would be unjust to leave them at the Hungarians’ mercy, and though the issue was not among the Czechoslovak demands at first, [he] took up presenting their cause before the Conference.”³⁸

Two dishonesties can be detected here: on the one hand, the Károlyi Government gave the region autonomy in December 1918. On the other hand, the Czechoslovak memorandums submitted to the peace conference between December 1918 and January 1919 did include memorandum No. 2 and No. 6 that addressed the future of Ruthenian territories. In other words, the Czechoslovak state had expressed their claim for the region by drafting the mentioned written memorandums.

The Czechoslovak minister also highlighted in his speech the following: if Eastern Galicia were to belong to Russia, the possibility of Kárpátalja becoming part of Russia would also emerge, meaning that

³⁵ Ibidem.

³⁶ The full text of Beneš’s speech is published in *Paper Relating to the Relations of United States 1919 the Paris Peace Conference* (hereinafter only PCC), Vol. 1–12, Washington 1942–1947, Vol. 3, pp. 876–887.

³⁷ PCC, Vol. 3, p. 887.

³⁸ Ibidem.

the Russian state would spread to within the Carpathians. However, if Galicia were to be annexed to Poland, the Polish state would not hold any claim to Kárpátalja. Which left two options, he argued, the Ruthenians “*have to become either Hungarian or autonomous. If the latter happens, the Ruthenians intend to side with the Czechoslovak state*”.³⁹

Beneš basically repeated the arguments of memorandum No. 6 in his spoken petition, using the following panels: Hungarians are oppressing the Ruthenians, a Russian annexation would result in serious danger, the Ruthenians do not intend to remain within the Hungarian state, the only acceptable solution is to annex them to Czechoslovakia, which is supported by the Ruthenians themselves.

After hearing Beneš, the Supreme Council decided to set up a committee to examine the Czechoslovak demands. This is how the “Committee to Investigate the Czechoslovak Territorial Demands” came to be.⁴⁰

The first session of the Czechoslovak committee took place on February 27, 1919,⁴¹ involving two Hungary-related agenda points: one was the delineation of Slovakia’s borders, the other was the Ruthenian issue, the question of Kárpátalja. A lively debate emerged among the delegates regarding the Slovakian-Hungarian border, lasting for several weeks.

However, the other agenda point was discussed and resolved during this meeting. Seymour, one of the American delegates initiated the discussion of the Ruthenian issue with the following proposal. The American diplomat stated that he is in favour of the solution according to which Ruthenian-populated territories should be annexed to the Czechoslovak state and granted autonomy. However, he also listed the necessary conditions: first, Czechoslovak politicians were to guarantee to the peace conference that they would indeed grant the Ruthenians autonomy. Second, “[i]t must be confirmed that the Rusyns are in favour of this solution”.⁴²

Salvaggio-Raggi, an Italian delegate and vice-chair of the committee, was on the contrasting opinion that the Ruthenians should be

³⁹ Ibidem.

⁴⁰ Ibidem.

⁴¹ The minutes are published in M. ÁDÁM – M. ORMOS, *Francia diplomáciai iratok a Kárpát-medence történetéből 1918–1919*, Budapest 1999, pp. 154–158.

⁴² Ibidem, p. 156.

annexed to that neighbour to which they are connected through economic, strategic and political interests, i. e. the Hungarians. In reply to this, British committee member Sir Eyre Crowe pointed out to the less than well-informed vice-chair that the committee was intending to prevent the territory from belonging to Hungary, or else this would counter the connection between the Romanian and Czechoslovak states. General Le Rond, a French delegate argued as follows: *“another solution could be that the Rusyns are annexed to the Romanians”*. Then he continued with the self-countering argument that there was a religious contrast between the Greek Catholic Rusyns and Orthodox Romanians, which *“could be a source of conflicts. This leaves the solution suggested by the American delegates, namely the annexation of Rusyns to the Czechoslovaks. This is not perfect, but it is the most reasonable”*.⁴³

French delegate Laroche reminded the committee that the idea of annexing the territory to Poland had also emerged. However, he also concluded his talk supporting the Czechoslovak option.

In contrast to the forming American-English-French standpoint, Salvaggio-Raggi made a last attempt and argued that the Hungarian solution should not be ruled out without investigating first. He supported his idea with the following: *“By annexing the Rusyns to Czechoslovakia, all transport between Hungary and Poland would be disrupted. This could result in a huge upheaval in the country’s [Hungary’s] economy.”*⁴⁴

Sir Joseph Cook, the other British delegate replied stating that *“the truth of the matter is to decide whether we intended to push the Rusyns into friendly or hostile treatment. The answer must be obvious, as the Rusyns would rather side with the Czechoslovaks than with the Hungarians”*.⁴⁵

Cook’s declaration put an end to the debate, with French chair of committee Jules Gambon concluding that *“the majority of the committee is in favour of the unification of Rusyns and Czechoslovaks, thus the issue is in theory resolved”*. Then he asked Salvaggio-Raggi if he had any objections to this. The Italian delegate maintained that he *“was still on the opinion that this solution is a wrong one; but all in all, [he] did not wish to submit a formal objection to a solution that is unfavourable for a hostile state”*.⁴⁶

⁴³ Ibidem, p. 157.

⁴⁴ Ibidem.

⁴⁵ Ibidem.

⁴⁶ Ibidem.

Therefore, the fate of the North-Eastern Felvidék was decided and the territory was annexed to the Czechoslovak state. The decision was approved by higher entities of the Peace Conference during March and April of 1919.

Masaryk and the Kárpátalja Issue “on the Field”

While Foreign Minister Beneš was working successfully in Paris toward the annexation of Kárpátalja to Czechoslovakia, Masaryk returned to Prague on December 20, 1918, took the presidential office of the new state, and made efforts to the same end. He ordered the Czechoslovak Army to occupy the North-Eastern Felvidék.

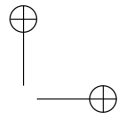
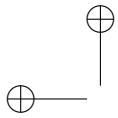
By his command, the Czechoslovak troops took the Western part of the region on January 12, 1919. Led by Italian general Ciaffi, the 31st regiment of the Czech legion invaded Ungvár. In early February, Masaryk’s personal political commissioner arrived and began talks with the Rusyn Council in Ungvár. As a result, politicians representing the various Ruthenian political entities (councils of Eperjes, Huszt, Ungvár) that gathered in Czechoslovak occupied Ungvár formed the Central Russian (Ruthenian) National Council on May 8, 1919. The same day the council declared joining Czechoslovakia.⁴⁷ The delegation of more than a hundred persons led by Avgustin Volosin, handed the resolution to president Masaryk on August 12, 1919 in Prague. The event marked the beginning of Ruthenian political powers’ activity within the Czechoslovak state.⁴⁸

Conclusion

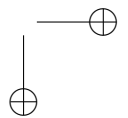
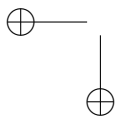
Masaryk and Beneš were fully successful with the Ruthenian problem; first as emigration leaders, then as the president and the foreign minister of the Czechoslovak Republic, both in Paris and Ungvár. Their triumph was acknowledged by Austria on September 10, 1919, in the Saint-Germain Peace Treaty. The treaty stated that the territory was part of the Czechoslovak state, under the name of Podkarpatská Rus.

⁴⁷ Cs. FEDINEC (ed.), *A Kárpátaljai magyarság történeti kronológiája 1918–1944*, Galánta – Dunaszerdahely 2002, pp. 53–54.

⁴⁸ A. TÓTH, The Position of Carpathian Ruthenia in the Political System of the First Czechoslovak Republic on the Background of the Issue of Parliamentary Elections and Preferences of Main Political Currents by Carpathian-Ruthenian Voters (1918–1938), in: *West Bohemian Historical Review*, 1, 2016, pp. 57–78.



In terms of international law, the process which transformed the former North-Eastern Felvidék into Podkarpatská Rus.



A Concise History of Women Originating from the City of Lodz Acting either as Flâneuses or Women Artists, at the Beginning of Modern Era until the End of World War II. An Attempt of Re-interpretation of the Literary and Art History Canon

Aneta Pawłowska*

The purpose of this paper is an attempt of re-interpretation of the literary and art history canon in the context of female writers and visual artists living in Lodz. The idea of the flâneur was developed by a German Walter Benjamin in the 1920s and 1930s during Modernism time, when the “surreal” potential of the industrial urban space was intensively explored. The concept has exerted considerable impact on the way how we now interpret 19th and 20th century depictions of the city. I will analyze the meanings of the texts written by Waleria Marrené-Morzowska (*Wśród kąkolu* 1890), the memoirs of Anna Clare and also the creative output of the female artists from Young Yiddish Group (1918–1921) as well as the sculptures and memoirs of Katarzyna Kobro (1898–1951) – the most intriguing female artist connected with Lodz. She was an accomplished sculptor who was under great influence of Constructivism, she strongly rejected individualism, subjectivism and expressionism, and she postulated instead an absolute objectivism of form. She was instrumental in the establishment of the Museum of Modern Art in Lodz. [Flâneur; Modernism; Art; Lodz; Katarzyna Kobro; Waleria Marrené-Morzowska]

In¹ 1971 an American Art Historian – Linda Nochlin, in her now classic essay, posed an important question: “*Why Have There Been No Great*

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*Women Artists?*² According to Linda Nochlin, art is a “social institution”. Thus, for women to become great artists, society must provide for them opportunities and greater support. Her explanation for this unfavorable situation of the female artists was the existence of clear discrimination of all women who wanted to gain any education in the field of art. If a woman managed somehow to obtain access to “higher art”, usually her representation on the market was quite limited. This situation was obviously maintained, especially within the cultural area and in the academic world – which was (and still is!) dominated by male supremacy and often unconscious, patriarchal attitudes, based on the male paradigm, functioning throughout most social institutions.

I believe that a similar situation is reflected in the phenomenon of women who can today be called by a French name – *flâneuse*.³ Although this trend of *flâneuse*, can be found universally, strictly for the purpose of this paper I have decided to limit my investigation mainly to the area of the city of Lodz and its surroundings.

First, we should define the meaning of the *flâneur*. The idea was developed by Walter Benjamin (1892–1940), in the 1920s and 1930s during modernism time, when the “surreal” potential of the industrial urban space was intensively explored.⁴ The concept has exerted considerable impact on the way in which we now interpret the 19th and 20th century depictions of the city. It has gained unquestionable cognitive status – a sum of insights to be taken for granted – in contemporary cultural theory. Benjamin’s idea of the *flâneur* is not only appreciated for its understanding of 19th and 20th century urban experience, but it can be regarded also as having a positive influence on it. The *flâneur* concept binds together different meanings from urban space, thereby adding meaning to the space itself, and it can be viewed as a symbolic representation of “modernity and personifica-

² L. NOCHLIN, *Women Art and Power and Other Essays*, New York 1988, pp. 147–158.

³ Subject of a woman as the *flâneuse*, was discussed by J. Wolff, E. Dreyer, E. McDowall and M. Malone. To see more J. WOLFF, Janet The Invisible Flâneuse: Women and the Literature of Modernity, in: *Theory, Culture and Society*, 2, 3, 1985, pp. 37–46; E. DREYER – E. MCDOWALL, Imagining the flâneur as a Woman, in: *Communicatio*, 38, 1, 2012, pp. 80–113.

⁴ W. BENJAMIN, *Illuminations: Essays and Reflections*, New York 1969, pp. 69–78.

tion of contemporary urbanity”, specifically in the sphere of social and literary analysis.⁵

An important figure in the discourse surrounding modernity and urbanization, the flâneur is and was represented by a “mythological or allegorical figure” on the streets of the 19th century European cities.⁶ The origin of the concept of the flâneur can be traced back to the writings of Charles Baudelaire (1821–1867) and more specifically to its additional interpretation by Walter Benjamin, who identified Baudelaire’s *Les Fleurs du Mal* [*The Flowers of Evil*] (1857) as the basis of the *flâneur* theory.⁷ But it was Walter Benjamin who made the *flâneur* figure an object of scholarly interest in the 20th century. Following Benjamin, the *flâneur* has become an important symbol for scholars, artists and writers. It should also be mentioned that Benjamin adopted the concept of the urban observer both as an analytical tool and as a lifestyle.⁸

Starting from the 1990’s some women scholars (e. g., Anke Gleber, Susan Buch-Morss, Janet Wolff, Lauren Rabinovitz) have aroused new debate – whether female flâneuse, in fact exists. Many of them have argued that because of their gender, women are excluded from the position of the wandering spectator, and by extension, this modern subjectivity, despite their presence on the street. Even though the expectation that all women must be escorted while outside had declined by the turn of the century, American feminist scholars like Mary Ryan and Sarah Deutsch have documented the ways in which women’s mere presence in the streets still drew social disapproval and even police surveillance due to the clear social association of single women in public with prostitution. Lauren Rabinovitz asserts that a prostitute could never “assume the cloak of anonymity associated with the flâneur” because “the flâneur maintained a purposeless gaze whereas the prostitute’s gaze needs always to be purposeful”.⁹ Janet Wolff, revisiting her foundational article “The Invisible Flâneuse: Women and the Literature of Modernity”, recently reiterated her claim that “the role of flâneuse

⁵ P. P. FERGUSON, *The Flâneur On and Off the Streets of Paris*, in: K. TESTER (ed.), *The Flâneur*, London – New York 1994, pp. 22–42.

⁶ E. WILSON, *The Invisible Flâneur*, in: *New Left Review*, 191, 1992, p. 93.

⁷ BENJAMIN, *Illuminations*, p. 158; W. BENJAMIN, *Charles Baudelaire: A Lyric Poet in the Era of High Capitalism*, London 1973.

⁸ BENJAMIN, *Illuminations*, p. 158.

⁹ L. RABINOVITZ, *For the Love of Pleasure: Women, Movies, and Culture in Turn-of-the-Century Chicago*, New Brunswick – New York 1998, pp. 15–46.

remained impossible despite the expansion of women's public activities, and despite the newer activities of shopping and cinema-going".¹⁰ Anke Gieber concurs that shopping is actually a "derivative", "bourgeois variant of domesticized flânerie" rather than the wide-ranging freedom and disinterest of true flânerie.¹¹

Likewise, Rabinovitz states that the new feminine consciousness created in cities "is less connected to flânerie and a radical subjectivity and more to the rituals of urban commodity consumption".¹² In other words, in American and West European countries the female flâneur might theoretically exist as a subject position, these critics argue, but it was irrelevant to women's actual experiences out in public.

In my article, I will try to concentrate on re-interpreting the literary and art history canon, taking into serious consideration female writers and artists in some way connected with the city of Lodz. Many of these women have been forgotten or marginalized until the contemporary times. The closing date of my investigation is the beginning of World War II, as the turning point of the early modern days of Lodz.

I would like to underline that, some of the more recent research on women and the public in the 19th and early 20th centuries in the Kingdom of Poland under Russian Tsarist rule confirms that all type of women occupied public spaces and especially the streets. However, scholars reconstructing historical womanhood construe women's publicity as qualified; women's public actions seem very often to be accompanied by the moralizations and reprimands of the conservative part of the society. Presumably such criticism would make the idea of a female Polish flâneur or flâneuse quite unlikely to be an anonymous bourgeois stranger as was described by Baudelaire and Benjamin and others as masculine. Yet, women clearly walked alone the streets and had done so since the beginning of the modern city era, circa 1789.¹³ Still, there is a suspicion that "the female bohemian who strolled and looked with freedom could not exist in the nineteenth century".¹⁴

¹⁰ WOLFF, pp. 37–46.

¹¹ A. GIEBER, *The Art of Taking a Walk: Flânerie, Literature, and Film in Weimar Culture*, Princeton – New York 1999, p. 174.

¹² RABINOVITZ, p. 181.

¹³ Ch. STANSELL, *City of Women: Sex and Class in New York, 1789–1860*, Chicago 1987, pp. 217–221.

¹⁴ P.G. MACKINTOSH – G. NORCLIFFE, *Flânerie on Bicycles: Acquiescence to*

Lodz as a Modern City

The city of Lodz which is located only 120 km southwest of Warsaw was promoted by Tsarist decree in 1820 from an obscure village with only 767 inhabitants to a “factory city”, the center of the capitalist textile industry of the Polish Kingdom, soon to serve the needs of the enormous Russian market. The development of Lodz was forced upon the city very late, in a programmatic and swift way that turned the city into an unquestionable symbol for hasty urbanization, extreme capitalism, and cosmopolitanism. German settlers were encouraged to settle in Lodz, followed closely by Polish villagers as well as Jewish artisans and petty merchants. Each of these groups was tempted into the “promised land” of Lodz, which could provide mass and cheap labor. The town attracted newcomers like a magnet, and grew like a mushroom on sand.¹⁵ The rapid growth resulted in the rise of a huge industrial city with an extremely diverse urban fabric, where industrialists such as the Jewish “magnate” Israel Kalmanowicz Poznanski (1833 to 1900) and the Germans Ludwik Ferdynand Geyer (1805–1869) as well as Karl Scheibler (1888–1934), built elaborate homes, factories, and housing for staff and thousands of workers on the same grounds.¹⁶ Construction was chaotic and a lack of city planning created a heteroclit disorder so that manufacturing and residential zones, palaces, middle class tenement houses, and slums were all within close range of each other.¹⁷ New districts grew overnight next to the old city’s market place and prestigious Piotrkowska Avenue with its upper-class dwellings. The new areas contained mansions and villas built in eclectic styles: neo-Renaissance often for educational institutions, neo-Gothic or neo-Roman for sacral buildings, and neo-Baroque or Art Nouveau (Secession) for housing. The mixture of styles often depended on the ethnic and cultural background of the proprietor or architect, a sizable number of whom were Jewish. In the end of the 19th century

Women in Public in the 1890s, in: *The Canadian Geographer*, 50, 1, 2006, pp. 17–18.

¹⁵ K. BADZIAK, *Gospodarka Łodzi w okresie kapitalistycznym (do 1918 r.)*, in: B. BARANOWSKI – J. FIJAŁEK (eds.), *Łódź. Dzieje miasta, t. 1. Do 1918 r.*, Warszawa – Łódź 1980, pp. 267–300.

¹⁶ K. BADZIAK, *Great Capitalist Fortunes in the Polish Lands before 1939 (The Case of the Poznański Family)*, in: *Polin. A Journal of Polish-Jewish Studies*, 6, 1991, pp. 57–88.

¹⁷ K. STEFAŃSKI, *Jak zbudowano przemysłową Łódź. Architektura i urbanistyka miasta w latach 1821–1914, Łódź 2001 and Idem, Ludzie, którzy zbudowali Łódź. Leksykon architektów i budowniczych miasta (do 1939 r.)*, Łódź 2009.

Lodz was thus both revolutionary and modern, as well as miserably backward.¹⁸

The Experience of Male Writers of Lodz

No wonder that Lodz as a model modern city and extreme urban phenomenon was attractive for many writers and essayists, particularly at the turn of the 19th century, a period simultaneously grasping with realism, naturalism, and decadence. Indeed, the city's essence raised many questions; foremost among issues was the presence of Jews in a multiethnic society, itself strongly linked to modern capitalism. In the 19th century and at the beginning of the 20th century Lodz was described in literature by several names (such as: "city of factories", "city of chimneys", "evil city", "promised land"), which even today still reflect the common attitudes towards the city. The most famous among the names is undoubtedly the biblical metaphor of *Promised Land* used by Władysław Reymont (1867–1925), as well as a contrary phrase – *The Evil City* coined by Zygmunt Bartkiewicz (1867–1944) – the author of reports entitled *The Evil City. Images from 1907* (1911). These phrases "promised land" and "evil city" are the two expressions that perfectly characterized Lodz at the turn of the 19th century.¹⁹ Another important point was presented by Joseph Roth (1894–1939) in *Hotel Savoy* (1924). Although the name of the city is never mentioned, but Roth acknowledged later that his model was Lodz, where the Hotel Savoy with its Jugendstil facade had been erected at the turn of the 19th century. At the time, the structure was hailed as one of the first high-rise (actually seven floors) buildings in the city, and it still stands, recently renovated, on narrow Traugutta Street. The unnamed city forms are the social background to the plot. The city is constantly gray and soaked under steady rain, there are occasional mentions of "decrepit and tumbledown" buildings that appear eerie and odd.²⁰ On the one hand, it describes beautifully lit and long Piotrkowska Avenue, where one can observe many incredibly elegant women walking the street, who are on the southern tea in Paris, have been imported by

¹⁸ STEFAŃSKI, *Jak zbudowano przemysłową Łódź*, p. 43.

¹⁹ K. KOŁODZIEJ, Między "ziemią obiecaną" a "złym miastem" – cała (?) prawda o Łodzi w publicystyce i prasie warszawskiej, [cz. 2], in: *Acta Universitatis Lodziesis. Folia Litteraria Polonica*, 13, 2010, pp. 177–188.

²⁰ J. ROTH, *Hotel Savoy*, New York 2003, p. 10.

air and scattered Lodz. At the beginning of the 20th century, the poet Julian Tuwim (1894–1953), described Lodz as a city characterized by all those simultaneously existing oppositions and contrasts, a city of nothing but chimneys and mud, palaces and wooden sheds, misery and big money, hunger and affluence, a city in which the silence was as deafening as the sound from the factories, a promised city for one hundred and a pure hell for hundreds of thousands.²¹ In other words, without any distinct cultural or national identity but wide open for a great variety of differences, contradictions, and paradoxes the city would become the melting-pot of the most radical forms of art during the first decades of the new century.

In the interwar period, we can easily find topics which describe the city of Lodz by many Jewish authors. The fascinating book *The Brothers Ashkenazi* was published by Israel Joshua Singer (1893–1944) in Poland in 1935. Another intriguing novel *Reise in Polen [Journey to Poland]* (1925) was published by Bruno Alfred Döblin (1878–1957), who noted “*Ich bin in Lodz: Fabriken, Wildwest, Provinz*” [“I’m in Lodz: factories, the Wild West, the sticks”].²² Many believe that Döblin caught in these powerful and clashing images the essence of that most exasperating and also intriguing of cities – a city where the Jewish poet Julian Tuwim (who wrote only in Polish) felt at home. “*Let others debate the merits / Of the Ganges Sorrento or the Crimea / Give me Lodz! Her dirt and smoke / Bring happiness and delight to me.*”²³

Women Writers and Visual Artists about Lodz

I would like to stress that the late 19th century was in the Polish Kingdom a time of social feminism, aimed at building the strengths of the Polish women as a part of society. Among the most prominent writers and activists were Maria Ilnicka (1821–1897), Maria Konopnicka (1842–1920), Eliza Orzeszkowa (1842–1910) and Gabriela Zapolska (1857–1921). Among the most important magazines that promoted this limited idea of women’s liberation were: *The Ivy [Bluszcz]*, and *The Dawn [Świt]*.²⁴

²¹ J. TUWIM, *Kwiaty polskie*, Warszawa 1973, pp. 51–52.

²² A. DÖBLIN, *Journey to Poland*, London – New York 1991, p. 247.

²³ Tuwim in: R. J. VAN PELT, *Lodz and Getto Litzmannstadt: Promised Land and Croaking Hole of Europe*, Ontario 2015, p. 6.

²⁴ U. CHOWANIEC – U. PHILLIPS, *Women’s Voices and Feminism in Polish Cultural*

It must be mentioned here that the public realm, controlled by a hostile Tsarist state, was perceived as alien, while the private sphere was a source of freedom and independence in need of defiance against state-imposed laws. When the female poet Maria Konopnicka wrote “our homes will be our fortresses” she expressed the widespread perception that a Polish household was a state unto itself, a bastion of resistance against political and cultural domination by partitioning powers. The late Positivist idea of women’s emancipation has to be seen as a form of juggling between the demands for economic and social liberation, and duty toward the nation. Patriotic duties were still guided by Romantic literature that idealized a woman and situated her within the domestic sphere. This idealization of the private sphere was accompanied by the idealization of the mother-figure or Mother-Patriot as depicted in the great Polish poet Adam Mickiewicz’s poems. In the Polish literature at the end of the 19th century there is no presentation from a feminist perspective that focuses on a woman’s “search for herself” (i. e. as a woman) but only conventional models of Polish patriotic activity such as organic work within the entire social body.²⁵ Issues surrounding female authorship from the mid-19th century to the early 20th century such as negative public perceptions of female writers of books and novels, prejudices against woman’s intellectual and artistic capabilities, associated difficulties in finding supportive publishers and reviewers often stemmed women creative output. The interwar period was without a doubt a time of greater women’s liberation: women gained the right to vote, obtained better access to education, and started to play leading roles in the nation’s vibrant artistic, academic and political life. Women’s writing underwent a time of real eruption and growth during this time and left a permanent mark in Polish literature, with key authors such as Zofia Nałkowska (1884–1954), Maria Dąbrowska (1889–1965), Maria Kuncewiczowa (1895–1989), Irena Krzywicka (1899–1994), and many others.²⁶

Memory, Newcastle 2012, pp. 32–35.

²⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 34.

²⁶ At the beginning of the 20th century many Polish women were involved in organizing public demonstrations, publishing feminist newspapers and engaging in open social and political debates on an unprecedented scale. They not only demanded the unlimited right to education, work, and political participation, they also became

The way that women authors have mapped the city of Lodz, its urban system and architecture, its population and diversity of cultures, is at the same time very personal and marked by the historical and aesthetical contexts in which they could develop their creativity. Their personal preferences, as well as history, equally shaped the way they imagined and negotiated modern urban identities. They wrote belletteristic works just at the time that sociologists and ideologists started to write about the city in analytic terms.

First, I would like to shed some light on a Waleria Marrené-Morzowska (1832–1903), a Polish novelist, feminist and translator of Ibsen and Balzac. She was the very first female writer who had taken under serious consideration the city of Lodz. Starting from the 1880s Marrené-Morzowska worked for the many Warsaw and Lodz newspapers (such as *Lodzer Zeitung*, *Gazeta Łódzka*, *Dziennik Łódzki*). Her novel about Lodz entitled *Among the Cockle* [*Wśród kąkolu*], was printed in *Biesiada Literacka* (1890). Unfortunately, it was never published as a book, therefore it passed away without an echo. Although the author concentrated on the mutually difficult and full of conflicts Polish German relations than on the presentation of the city, she managed somehow to show the first image of the industrial city of Lodz.

Marrené-Morzowska describes the medical doctor Jan Krzesławski – the main character of the novel just after his arrival to Lodz. He used to live in many big and fashionable European capitals and noted with dismay that the city, which raved most of his traveling companions, seemed to him rather ugly (the writer even used a few times the epithet “repulsive”) and scruffy.²⁷ In the words of Marrené-Morzowska Lodz marks its presence in the landscape with high chimneys, which: “dominated the surrounding forests. From a distance, the city sparkled many colors, from gray plaster houses bright spots stand out against the red factories, emerging from the green forest”.²⁸

involved in a critique of the unjustified, patriarchal construction of femininity, unfair conventions thrust on women’s sexuality, and the roles imposed on women’s bodies. In 1906, a very young Polish writer, Zofia Nałkowska presented in her novel *Women* a new model of a woman liberated from the limitations of the male world. CHOWANIEC – PHILLIPS, pp. 36–38.

²⁷ W. MARRENÉ-MORZKOWSKA, *Among the Cockle* [*Wśród kąkolu*], *Biesiada Literacka*, July 4, 1890, p. 27.

²⁸ *Ibidem*.

Another woman of Polish-Jewish descent Rosa Luxemburg (1871 to 1919) who was a Marxist theorist and revolutionary socialist wrote (similarly to Marrené-Morzkowska) under a false pen name of Maciej Rózga or “Matthew Rod”. Luxemburg wrote extensively about the Revolution of 1905 and often mentioned Lodz in this context. She wrote in her own words: “So far, Lodz is a city that is reminiscent of the settlements that were quickly built next to the gold mines in Australia and America”²⁹ and “Lodz was also the center of permanent demonstrations, strikes universal clashes with the soldiery – for five days Lodz boiled with uninterrupted fight.”³⁰ After First World War Poland regained independence and The Second Polish Republic, was established in 1918. At this stage, it can be said that Lodz slid economically into depression. Some information about this time we can find in Anna Clarke’s prose. She was a young Jewess and translator of the eminent Jewish writer – Yashaia Trunk (1887–1961). Anna Clark was a Lodz inhabitant in the interwar period. She recalls her life in this town in her foreword to Trunk’s book.³¹ She clearly describes the place and situation of women in her wealthy Jewish family in Lodz as limited solely to their house on Gdanska Street, the so-called “Palace with a glass roof”. Clarke mentioned also her mother who was devoted to breeding flowers in pots and having conversations with different peddlers of various goods. Thus, the space of the wealthy Jewish women was usually limited to domestic matters such as sewing garments, ordering dresses and school uniforms for children and shoes from the shoemaker. Most of the work was done by craftsmen who came directly to the house so there was no need for women to appear in the city. As Clarke wrote in her foreword: “It never occurred to me to enter the shop alone. Going to the store, not to even mention to the restaurant was not a part of my life.”³² In this world, “the mangle or the old-fashioned laundry was the agora, was the equivalent of an inn and fair, a place for meeting and exchanging gossip and jokes”.³³

²⁹ PELT, p. 13.

³⁰ Ibidem.

³¹ Y. Y. TRUNK – A. CLARKE, *Pojln – obrazy i wspomnienia z Lodzi*. Biblioteka “Tygla Kultury”, Łódź 1997, pp. 3–38.

³² Ibidem, p. 37.

³³ Ibidem.

Another important point in the *flâneurism* in Lodz was the creative output of the many female artists from Young Yiddish Group (1918 to 1921). The founding of the Young Yiddish, the first Jewish artistic avant-garde group in Poland, grew out of a meeting in 1918 between poet Moyshe Broderzon (1890–1956) and a group of visual artists gathered around Yitskhok Broynier (1887–1944), Jankiel Adler (1895–1949), and Marek Szwarc (1892–1958). Eventually, the group included about 20-odd members together with some women artists such as Ida Brauner (1892–1949), Zofia Gutentag (1899–1933), Pola Lindenfeld (1894 to 1942), Dina Matus (1899–c. 1941). The group emerged out of the Jewish community of Lodz during the time of the First World War and was associated with both the Bunt group in Poznan and the so-called Formists in Cracow. In my opinion it is very symptomatic that the socially radical Young Yiddish was established, in this incomprehensibly fast growing industrial city. Nevertheless, Jakub Appenzlak (1894 to 1950) – a publicist from Warsaw was astonished that “*Young Yiddish artists prefer to stay in chic cafes, away from the hustle and bustle, misery and naked truth of the ghetto*”.³⁴

Many of the Young Yiddish works dealt with the Jewish and early Christian themes and motifs, often in linocut and with certain similarities to the works of Ludwig Meidner in Berlin and Marc Chagall. Based on existing data concerning the Young Yiddish women artists, it may be said that they dealt mostly with the subjects of landscapes or flowers motives and portraits. Their pictures and paintings were very seldom concerned with the problems of the city of Lodz. Two uncommon examples are the artist Pola Lindenfeld’s linocuts depicting most probably the city of Lodz: *Corner of a Town*, and *The landscape* both reproduced in the “*Young Yiddish Almanac*” 4–6 from 1919. In my opinion the linocut *Corner of a Town* is particularly interesting. It juxtaposes or brings together a row of houses with sharply pitched roofs against a sky filled with curvilinear clouds presented in expressionist manner. By using a semicircular frame motif that mimics the shape of a Jewish tombstone – matzevah, Pola Lindenfeld created a strong sense of danger. The landscape in her work is miserable and abandoned, but it is charged with ghostly marks of human presence.

³⁴ J. MALINOWSKI, *Malarstwo i rzeźba Żydów Polskich w XIX i XX wieku*, Warszawa 2000, p. 169.

If we study closely the artistic output of the women from the Young Yiddish group, it can be observed that the artists often manipulated the Expressionist idiom of prismatic forms which were arranged in a figurative pattern, while at the same time exploring the theme of female presence in the world. In opinion Marek Bartelik: “*the prismatic pattern of Dina Matus’s work might be viewed as reflecting the ‘prismatic identity’ of Jews, which, according to Zygmunt Bauman, resulted in a distorted perception of them by others ethnic groups*”.³⁵

It is generally assumed that whilst the concept of the woman in the philosophy of the Young Yiddish art was rather abstract, still it was occasionally applied by them in their artistic and social practices to the portraits of authentic women. The Young Yiddish Group was unjustifiably neglected by many Polish scholars, who devoted more attention to the cities of Cracow and Warsaw. It only confirms the existence of multidirectional “*histoire croisée*” in Europe, an alternative to the stereotype of unidirectional cultural transfer from the center to the periphery.³⁶

As far as I am concerned the most intriguing woman artist connected with Lodz is Katarzyna Kobro (1898–1951).³⁷ She was one of the most distinguished female sculptors of the interwar period. For a long period of time she was marginalized by the shadow of her famous husband Władysław Strzemiński (1893–1952), who was an outstanding painter and was regarded by many as a prominent and leading figure of the Polish Constructivism movement.³⁸ Kobro’s artistic

³⁵ M. BARTELIK, “Models of Freedom. The Young Yiddish. Group from Lodz, 1919–1921”, in: R.-C. WASHINGTON – M. LONG (eds.), *Jewish Dimensions in Modern Visual Culture: Antisemitism, Assimilation, Affirmation*, Hannover – London 2009, p. 234.

³⁶ M. WERNE – B. ZIMMERMANN, *De la comparaison à l’histoire croisée*, Paris 2004, pp. 30–50.

³⁷ In 1931, K. Kobro published *Kompozycja przestrzeni. Obliczenia rytmu czasoprzestrzennego* [*Spatial Composition: Calculating the Spacetime Rhythm*], a book co-written with Strzemiński, as the second volume of the “a.r.” Library [Biblioteka a.r.]. In 1932, she joined the Abstraction Creation group and in 1933 became a member of the Forma editorial staff, the magazine of the Polish Artists Trade Union. J. ŁADNOWSKA et al., *Katarzyna Kobro 1898–1951*, Leeds – Łódź 1999.

³⁸ W. Strzemiński was a Polish avant-garde painter of international renown. In 1922 he moved to Wilno, and in the following year supported Vytautas Kairiūkštis in creating the first avant-garde art exhibition in Lithuania (then under Polish rule). In November 1923 he moved to Warsaw, where with Henryk Berlewi he founded the constructivist group *Blok*. During the 1920s he formulated his theory of *Unism*

career was interrupted by motherhood, forced immigration, a turbulent divorce and various political obstacles she had to face as a Polish citizen with Russian-German roots after World War II. During this time most of her work was destroyed or lost, and only posthumously partially reconstructed and reevaluated. The Museum of Art in Lodz (initiated in 1930's by a group of artists of the "a.r." group, among them Strzemiński and Kobra herself) possesses the largest collection of her remaining works. Kobra moved to Lodz with her husband in 1931. In the memoirs of her daughter Nika Strzemińska, we find some information about how Kobra perceived contemporary Lodz. In her opinion Lodz was a city: "With great wealth of factory owners and indescribable misery of the workers."³⁹ In 1931, Kobra taught "Aesthetics of Interiors" in the Economic College and Economic School for Girls in Lodz.⁴⁰ Her daughter Nika recalls: "Through lectures and practical activity, young girls gained familiarity with the art and knowledge of the respective home appliances [...] composing not only the color but the food on the plate. Thanks to these lectures the future housewives [...] changed their petty-bourgeois tastes."⁴¹ Thus, once again, it appears that the only space for a woman was in the close circle of home. A notebook-diary was kept for a certain period by Katarzyna Kobra. In this diary there were many descriptions about her deteriorating relationship with her famous husband and her deep concerns about the well-being of her daughter Nika.⁴² However, there are no references to the strolls and walks on the streets of Lodz and there are no descriptions of her impressions of the city.

To summarize this topic of a women flâneuses and artists in Lodz, we can say that at the turn of the 19th century and in the beginning of the 20th century, one could find all types of women occupying

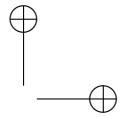
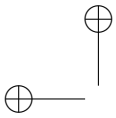
(Unizm in Polish). He is an author of a revolutionary book titled *The theory of vision*. He was co creator of unique avant-garde art collection in Lodz gathered thanks to the enthusiasm of members of the "a.r." group as Katarzyna Kobra, Henryk Stażewski (the artists) and the poets – Julian Przyboś and Jan Brzękowski. In postwar Łódź, Strzemiński was a lecturer at the Higher School of Plastic Arts and design *Noeoplastic Room* in Muzeum Sztuki in Łódź. To see more J. ŁADNOWSKA et al., p. XX.

³⁹ N. STRZEMIŃSKA, *Miłość, sztuka i nienawiść: o Katarzynie Kobra i Władysławie Strzemińskim*, Warszawa 2001, p. 13.

⁴⁰ Ibidem.

⁴¹ Ibidem, p. 14.

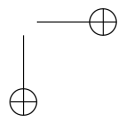
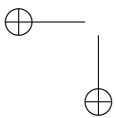
⁴² M. BOMANOWSKA, *7 rozmów o Katarzynie Kobra*, Łódź 2011, p. 50.



public spaces and walking or strolling on the streets of the city of Lodz. Although some of them like Waleria Marrené-Morzowska, Pola Lindenfeld, Dina Matus and Katarzyna Kobro – dared to become successful artists and in many ways, they were independent women. However, none of them we can truly call a Polish *flâneuse*, because none of them was regarded as a “mythological or allegorical figure” on the streets of the city of Lodz. These women were excluded from the position of the disinterested wandering spectator and they were marginalized in the domestic sphere. As Griselda Pollock, a feminist art historian, elaborates: “Women did not enjoy the freedom of incognito in the crowd. They were never positioned as the normal occupants of the public realm. They did not have the right to look, to stare, scrutinize or watch.”⁴³ Thus, women in turn-of-the-century Lodz did not look. They were positioned as the object of the *flâneurs* gaze!



⁴³ G. POLLOCK, *Modernity and the Spaces of Femininity*, in: N. MIRZOEFF (ed.), *The Visual Culture Reader*, London – New York 1998, p. 77.



Emidio DIODATO, Federico NIGLIA
Italy in International Relations. The Foreign Policy
Conundrum
London: Palgrave Macmillan 2017
ISBN 978-3-319-55062-6, 123 pages

Italien erlebte seit Beginn seines Bestehens verschiedene Stellungen auf dem internationalen Feld, deshalb kann seine Außenpolitik nicht nur von einem Blickwinkel aus beurteilt werden. Die Verfasser Diodato und Niglia gehen in ihrer Arbeit *Italy in International Relations* auch so an das Problem heran. Ihr Ziel war es, die adaptive Position Italiens in den internationalen Beziehungen zu bestätigen, jedoch mit bestimmten Besonderheiten im Vergleich zu den sonstigen Ländern des Westens. Als Hauptthese postulierten sie, dass die italienische Stellung ihre Spezifika hatte, jedoch keine divergenten Tendenzen besaß.

Da es im historischen Maßstab verhältnismäßig spät zur Vereinigung und zum Entstehen des italienischen Staats kam, wie wir ihn heute mehr oder weniger kennen, beeinflusste dies die Stellung des Landes auf der internationalen Szene Europas. Als 1861 das einheitliche Königreich Italien ausgerufen und neun Jahre darauf mit dem Anschluss des Kirchenstaates vollendet wurde, konnte es scheinen, dass das europäische Kon-

zert der Großmächte dadurch gestört wird. Da Italien sich in die internationale Gemeinschaft einzureihen und zugleich für seine eigene bürgerliche und politische Entwicklung zu sorgen hatte, musste es notwendigerweise zu bestimmten Veränderungen in Europa kommen. Natürlich war Italien zunächst bemüht, sich dem internationalen Allianzsystem anzupassen, das dem Land vor allem Sicherheit gewährleistet. Als Mittelmacht passte sich das Land vorwiegend der bestehenden Ordnung an, nicht umgekehrt. Das Konzert der Großmächte konnte weiter ungestört von einem italienischen Einfluss agieren.

Ziel der Verfasser war es also, die sich wandelnde italienische Außenpolitik von 1861 bis heute vollständig zu erfassen. Dies erscheint ein relativ anspruchsvolles Ziel, denn es handelt sich um einen langen Zeitraum. Doch Diodato und Niglia arbeiten mit dem Konzept der Wendepunkte oder Meilensteine, die grundsätzliche Bedeutung für das europäische internationale System hatten und bei denen es zu institutionellen

Veränderungen kam, und beobachten, in welchem Maß sich Italien an den Ereignissen beteiligte, zu denen es in diesen Momenten der Wende kam. Auf dieser Grundlage bemühen sie sich, eine Antwort auf die Frage zu finden, ob Italien im Verlauf seiner Geschichte ein voll adaptives Land im Rahmen des europäischen Systems ist, oder ob seine Außenpolitik nur mit eigenen Spezifika angefüllt ist.

Wir treffen so auf Meilensteine der europäischen Geschichte in Form der Jahre 1500, 1648, 1919, 1942 und 1945 oder 1989, die zu jenen Wendepunkten für das internationale System wurden, obwohl sie für das Geschehen außerhalb von Europa keinen Sinn ergeben. Selbstverständlich, auch bei diesen Wendepunkten kann eine Debatte über ihre Legitimität für das europäische internationale System geführt werden, denn hatten sie wirklich Einfluss auf jedes Land, das Teil dieses Systems ist? Es ist daher richtig, dass die Verfasser darüber nachdenken, ob die erwähnten Momente gerade auf die italienische Geschichte anwendbar sind. Und sie kommen zu dem Schluss, dass es für das Studium der italienischen Außenpolitik notwendig ist, außerdem noch Wendepunkte der nationalen Geschichte festzulegen, die im Kontext der europäischen Meilensteine ein abgerundetes Bild der italienischen Außenpolitik ergeben.

Die ersten beiden Jahreszahlen sind irrelevant aus dem logischen

Grund, dass damals noch kein einheitlicher italienischer Staat existierte, deshalb widmet sich ihnen die Studie nur am Rande. Das Jahr 1500 wird als symbolischer Beginn der Ära der europäischen Säkularisierung und der Anfänge des Kapitalismus bezeichnet. Die Autoren verweisen aber darauf, dass dies für die Apenninenhalbinsel in gewissem Maß einen Verfall bedeutet, da in Handel und Religion die Bedeutung der gesamten Mittelmeerregion auf Kosten des Osmanischen Reichs sinkt. Die Selbstidentifizierung Europas aufgrund christlicher Werte hat ihre Wurzeln bereits in der Renaissance und wird weiter im 16. Jahrhundert gefestigt, in dem außerdem eine immer stärkere Abgrenzung gegen die muslimische Welt des Osmanischen Reichs deutlich wird. Diese christliche Identifizierung wird auch zum Beispiel durch die Seeschlacht von Lepanto (1571) bestätigt, in der die osmanische Flotte zerstört wurde. Die Apenninenhalbinsel mit ihrem Heiligen Stuhl verfügte jedoch nicht mehr über einen Überfluss an mythischer Autorität für das europäische Christentum. Der Westfälische Friede von 1648 startete in Europa das System eines Großmächtekonzerts, das erst vom ersten Weltkrieg zerstört wurde. Obwohl das vereinigte Königreich Italien mehr als zwei Jahrhunderten später das Licht der Welt erblicken sollte, entwickelte sich die Apenninenhalbinsel nicht außerhalb dieses internationalen Systems, son-

dern war ein Grenzgebiet, in dem die Interessen der Großmächte aufeinanderstießen.

Die weiteren Wendepunkte der europäischen Geschichte, also die Jahre 1919, 1942, 1945 und 1989, bedeuteten große Veränderungen für das internationale System. Man könnte einwenden, warum die Studie nicht so wichtige Ereignisse der europäischen Geschichte in Betracht zieht, wie sie es in den Jahren 1789, 1815, 1848 oder auch 1870/1871 eintraten. Dafür gibt es jedoch eine einleuchtende Erklärung. Weder die Französische Revolution noch der Wiener Kongress, das Revolutionsjahr 1848 oder das Entstehen des Deutschen Kaiserreichs veränderten institutionell das eingeführte System des Konzerts der Großmächte. Außerdem gehen Diodato und Niglia davon aus, dass die Ereignisse des Jahres 1870 und dann des Jahres 1871 deterministisch in Hinblick auf den Ausbruch des ersten Weltkriegs interpretiert werden.

Wie bereits erwähnt, für dieses komplexe kleine Bild zum Studium der italienischen Außenpolitik wählten die Verfasser außerdem Ereignisse aus den Jahren 1861, 1943 und 1992. Also das Entstehen des Königreichs Italien, die alliierte Landung auf Sizilien und den Vertrag von Maastricht. Und nach diesen Ereignissen ist die Studie auch gegliedert. Das Entstehen des Königreichs Italien im Jahr 1861 charakterisieren die Verfasser als einen Prozess, in dem der nationale Mythos vom Erbe des römischen Imperiums eine schwere

Prüfung zu bestehen hatte, trotzdem überdauerte dieses Erbe weiterhin und spiegelte sich in der Außenpolitik des faschistischen Italiens wider. Als die Alliierten 1943 die Invasion auf Sizilien beschlossen, schildern die Autoren dies als den Beginn des Übergangs zur Demokratie und der Einbindung in die internationale Staatengemeinschaft. Und schließlich der letzte Meilenstein in der italienischen Geschichte, das Jahr 1992, der auch für den Rest Europas eine Wende bedeutet, als mit dem Vertrag von Maastricht der Weg zur Integration der Europäischen Union begann. Erneut können wir fragen, weshalb die Verfasser sich nicht auf den Zeitraum von 1989 bis 1991 konzentrierten, der vom Fall der Berliner Mauer, des Eisernen Vorhangs und schließlich vom Zerfall der Sowjetunion umrahmt wird. Hier kam es zu strukturellen Veränderungen des europäischen internationalen Systems, trotzdem behaupten die Verfasser, dass das Maß der Einbindung Italiens nicht so hoch war wie im Jahr 1992, denn damals war das Land nicht nur ein passives Glied der europäischen Politik.

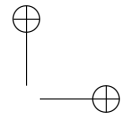
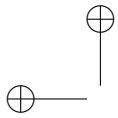
Diodato und Niglia stimmen darin überein, dass das Risorgimento, als Prozess der italienischen Vereinigung, 1861 nicht vollständig abgeschlossen war. Und sie bieten die These an, dass in den folgenden Perioden die Entwicklung der italienischen Demokratie vom ersten Weltkrieg und dann durch die Ära des Faschismus unterbrochen wurde. Dies

hatte Einfluss auf das Verhalten Italiens auf der internationalen Szene im Vergleich zu den westlichen Demokratien. Die typische Tendenz der italienischen Außenpolitik, in der Zeit des Systems des Großmächtekonzerts und dann auch des Systems von Versailles unsicher zwischen den Mächteblöcken zu oszillieren, bemühen sich die Autoren mit legitimen Forderungen Italiens zu rechtfertigen, die sich aus ihrer Innenpolitik ergeben. Die Gründe für diese besonderen Beziehungen der italienischen Außenpolitik zu den Allianzen sehen sie in dem Bedarf, die Sicherheit und Integrität ebenso wie die bürgerliche und politische Entwicklung des Landes zu gewährleisten.

Die Studie *Italy in International Relations* bemüht sich, mit den Vorurteilen zu kämpfen, die traditionell mit den Vorstellungen über die italienische Außenpolitik in Verbindung gebracht werden. Italien wird lange Jahrzehnte als instabile Demokratie angesehen, deren negative Züge der Innenpolitik sich in ihrer Außenpolitik niederschlagen, die dann den Charakter hat, sich rasch zu ändern. Bereits Otto von Bismarck kritisierte diese Charakteristik der Außenpolitik Italiens. Teilweise gelingt es den Verfassern, mit logischen Argumenten zu erklären, dass es in der Geschichte Italiens bestimmte Besonderheiten gibt, die die zukünftige Entwicklung dieses Landes beeinflussten. Zuvorderst handelt es sich um den Mythos, der sein Bestehen vom Römischen Reich ableitet und

als Brücke zwischen dem Risorgimento und dem modernen Italien gesehen wird. Mit diesem Mythos wird hier auch ein gewisser Drang des Landes erklärt, eine unabhängige Politik in der Mittelmeerregion zu betreiben, während es sich im Konzert der Großmächte als Mittelmacht immer angepasst hatte. Dann war es im bipolaren System während des Kalten Krieges Verbündeter der Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika und seine Aufnahme in das Verteidigungssystem des Westens verhinderte teilweise ein selbstständiges Auftreten Italiens im Mittelmeerraum.

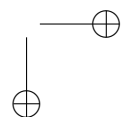
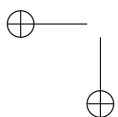
Den Verfassern gelang es, einen komplexen Blick auf das Verhalten Italiens in auswärtigen Angelegenheiten zu vermitteln, vom Beginn des Aufbaus eines einheitlichen Staates bis zur Gegenwart. Sie schildern Italien als ein Land, das sich nach seinem Entstehen dem internationalen System anpasste, obwohl ihm dabei einige Hindernisse im Weg standen, und das sich mehr oder weniger intensiv an den entscheidenden Augenblicken der europäischen Geschichte beteiligte. Es gelingt den Verfassern nur teilweise, die wechselnden Tendenzen in der Orientierung der italienischen Außenpolitik glaubwürdig zu erklären. Dennoch bestätigen sie den Status von Italien als einem Land, das nicht aus dem westlichen internationalen System ausschert, doch bestreiten sie nicht seine Besonderheiten. Die drei Hauptmeilensteine sind völlig rational ausgewählt, denn sie hatten entscheidenden Einfluss



auf die Entwicklung Italiens oder veränderten sie sogar. Mehr Raum hätte den Analysen dieser Ereignisse einschließlich ihrer Ursachen gewidmet werden können. Ebenso ist hier nur sehr wenig Platz den Persönlichkeiten vorbehalten, die die Außenpolitik gestalteten, womit sie die Position

Italiens im internationalen System bestimmten. Die Studie ist mehr oder weniger eine entpersonalisierte Analyse der Prozesse beim Entstehen der Außenpolitik Italiens über drei Jahrhunderte.

Pavína Cívínová



Dušan UHLÍŘ
Čas kongresů a tajných společností
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Die Große französische Revolution und die Kriege gegen Napoleon veränderten in vieler Hinsicht das Antlitz Europas. Im Jahr 1814 versammelten sich Vertreter der Großmächte auf dem Wiener Kongress, um über die Nachkriegsordnung des alten Kontinents zu entscheiden. Als dieser Folge Verhandlungen entstanden neue Staaten, neue Grenzen und es wurde über die Regierungsform in einzelnen Staaten einschließlich ihrer Repräsentanten entschieden. In den internationalen Beziehungen schuf man ein System, dessen Primärziel das Bemühen wurde, sämtliche revolutionären Bewegungen zu unterdrücken und weitere Revolutionen zu verhindern. Den europäischen Mächten ging es in erster Linie darum, so weit als möglich die Verhältnisse auf dem Kontinent vor den Ereignissen von 1789 wiederherzustellen. Jegliche Opposition gegen dieses System wurde hart verfolgt und in die Illegalität gezwungen. Zu einem der Mittel, seine politischen Ziele durchzusetzen, wurde die Gründung geheimer Gesellschaften, Vereine oder Sekten, deren Aufgabe es war, das bestehende Regime

zu untergraben und zu liquidieren. Von dieser Zeit voller dramatischer Ereignisse, die mit Napoleons Sturz begann und mit dem Ausbruch der Julirevolution im Jahr 1830 endete, handelt das Buch von Dušan Uhlíř.

Der Verfasser selbst ist ein anerkannter Historiker, der sich vor allem mit der Geschichte des 17.–20. Jahrhunderts beschäftigt. Unter seinen weiteren Büchern gehören z. B. *Bitva tří císařů* (2005), *Slezský šlechtic Felix Lichnovský. Poslední láska kněžny Zaháňské* (2009) oder *Drama Bílé hory. Česká válka 1618–1620* (2015). Ferner ist er Träger des Egon Erwin Kisch-Preises, des Miroslav Ivanov-Preises für sein Lebenswerk und zahlreicher weiterer Auszeichnungen. Seit 1993 arbeitet er an der Philosophischen und naturwissenschaftlichen Fakultät der Schlesischen Universität in Opava. Neben seiner akademischen Tätigkeit war er bis 1993 Direktor des Städtischen Museums Brünn und zuvor Direktor des Museums in Slavkov u Brna.

Das vorliegende Buch gliedert sich nach dem chronologisch-sachlichen Prinzip in eine Reihe von selbstständigen Kapiteln, besser gesagt Unter-

kapiteln. Uhlířs Ziel ist es, dem Leser einen umfassenden Einblick in die Jahre 1815–1830 zu geben, und zwar sowohl im internationalen Kontext als auch von der Position der einzelnen Akteure der historischen Ereignisse aus. Die Arbeit analysiert in den einzelnen Teilen Ursprung und Evolution der Schlüsselmomente der betrachteten Periode in der Breite, aber auch im Detail. In der Einleitung widmet sich der Verfasser der allgemeinen Atmosphäre im Nachkriegseuropa und ihrer Auswirkung auf die liberale Gesinnung in den einzelnen Ländern. Nach der kurzen Einführung geht das Buch zu den Ereignissen auf dem Wiener Kongress über. Uhlíř beschäftigt sich hier nicht nur mit der Tagung selbst, sondern verfolgt einen Querschnitt der Kriege gegen Napoleon und die Position jeder Großmacht zu Frankreich von den Kriegen der ersten Koalition bis zur Eroberung von Paris. Außer den einzelnen Verhandlungen schildert das Kapitel den Hintergrund dieses entscheidenden Kongresses in der europäischen Geschichte.

Der zweite Teil widmet sich der Person des französischen Diplomaten Charles Maurice de Talleyrand und zeichnet detailliert dessen Charakter und politische Karriere von seiner Jugend über den diplomatischen Aufstieg bis zum Ausscheiden aus der aktiven Politik. Es folgt eine Abhandlung über die Heilige Allianz mitsamt einer Beschreibung und Charakteristik dieses Bundes. Der Verfasser bemerkt hier richtig,

dass sie keine Allianz in wahren Sinn des Wortes war, sondern eher als zweischneidiges diplomatisches Werkzeug für den österreichischen Außenminister und späteren Kanzler Clemens Wenzel Lothar von Metternich zur Durchsetzung seiner politischen Ziele diente. Gerade mit ihm befasst sich der nächste Teil des Buchs, in dem Uhlíř ihn als „Kutscher Europas“ bezeichnet und die wichtigsten staatsmännischen Entscheidungen dieser kontroversen Figur der internationalen Geschichte skizziert. Unter der weißen Fahne der Bourbonen ist der Name eines Kapitels, das die Geschichte dieses französischen Adelshauses nach der Restauration im Jahr 1814 beziehungsweise 1815 schildert. Der Verfasser verweist auf den Wandel in der französischen Gesellschaft, zu dem es während einer verhältnismäßig kurzen Zeit kam und auf den die Ereignisse von 1789 entscheidenden Einfluss hatten. Frankreich war unter der Herrschaft von Ludwig XVIII. in mehrere politischen Lager gespalten, zwischen denen nur sehr schwierig eine politische Einigung erzielt werden konnte.

Ein schöner kleiner Kongress ist die Bezeichnung des nächsten Abschnitts, die auf die diplomatische Zusammenkunft der europäischen Großmächte im preußischen Aachen anspielt. Obwohl sich die politischen Verhandlungen hauptsächlich um Frankreich drehten, wurde hier eine Passage aufgenommen, die uns die Gestalt des russischen Diplomaten

Christoph von Lieven sowie seine Gattin näher bringt, die einen ungewöhnlichen starken Einfluss auf die russische Außenpolitik nahm. Das Buch wendet sich nun Mitteleuropa beziehungsweise dem Deutschen Bund zu, der auf dem Wiener Kongress entstanden war. Insgesamt wird der Charakter dieses Bundes in Uhlířs Werk positiv bewertet. Er ließ auch die prinzipiellen Gestalten der preußischen Geschichte nicht aus, wie Freiherr von Stein, Karl August Hardenberg oder Wilhelm von Humboldt. Erstmals taucht jedoch im Werk die Frage der Geheimgesellschaften auf, und zwar für den deutschen Raum das Entstehen der Turnbewegung oder der Burschenschaften. Auf sehr interessante Weise werden hier das Leben der Burschen (Studenten) selbst und der Einfluss der Universitäten auf die Formung des frühen deutschen Nationalismus gezeichnet. Die einzelnen Kapitel knüpfen in diesem Teil direkt aneinander an und die Aufmerksamkeit des Lesers wendet sich dem Kaisertum Österreich zu.

Die Benennung der Passage Des Rächers Dolch ist eine Anspielung auf das Attentat gegen den konservativen Schriftsteller und Dramatiker August von Kotzebue durch den deutschen Nationalisten Karl Ludwig Sand. Der Prozess gegen den Attentäter gehört zu den leuchtenden Momenten des Buchs und zeichnet hervorragend die Atmosphäre der damaligen überspitzten Zeit. Den Mord selbst

nutzte Metternich zur Durchsetzung der eigenen Politik im Deutschen Bund mit Hilfe der Karlsbader Dekrete. Die österreichischen Interessen beschränkten sich jedoch nicht nur auf den Bund, sondern sie richteten sich auch auf Norditalien, wo Österreich entscheidenden Machteinfluss besaß. Die Apenninenhalbinsel war nach 1815 in zahlreiche Kleinstaaten zerstückelt, die zumeist politisch zurückgeblieben waren. Ein Nationalbewusstsein begann sich hier nach der Besetzung durch das französische Heer zu zeigen, dessen Anwesenheit den Impuls zum Entstehen der Carbonari-Bewegung gab. Uhlířs Buch beschreibt Entstehen und Entwicklung dieser bekannten Nationalbewegung mitsamt ihren Einweihungsriten, Strukturen und führenden Vertretern. Das Werkzeug der Carbonari zur Erreichung ihrer politischen Ziele sollte die Revolution sein. Sie brach zuerst in Neapel, der Hauptstadt des Königreichs beider Sizilien aus, später auch im Piemont. Das Kapitel konzentriert sich vor allem auf die führende Persönlichkeit der Revolution, General Guglielmo Pepe. Die Ereignisse auf der Apenninenhalbinsel erweckten auch die Aufmerksamkeit der Großmächte, die die Einberufung eines Kongresses nach Troppau/Opava und anschließend nach Laibach/Ljubljana vereinbarten. Ziel dieser Kongresse war es, die einheitliche Zustimmung aller Großmächte zu einem militärischen Einsatz gegen die Revolution auf der Halbinsel zu erlangen. Dies

gelaug aufgrund der Haltung Großbritanniens nicht, jedoch konnte Metternich sein Ziel dennoch erreichen und die Intervention durchsetzen. Dem österreichischen Feldzug widmet sich der folgende Teil, der die Schlachten bei Rieti und Novara und die Unterdrückung der Revolution analysiert, einschließlich der Prozesse mit den Revolutionären.

Es folgt der meiner Meinung nach interessanteste Abschnitt des Buches mit dem Namen Im Schatten von Spielberg. Wie der Name andeutet, handelt es sich um das berühmte Festungsgefängnis, in dem ihre Strafe politische Gefangene verbüßten, zumeist Mitglieder von Geheimgesellschaften. Der Verfasser schildert hier die Prozesse mit den Angeklagten, die Bedingungen der Kerkerhaft und die Beziehung zwischen den einzelnen Gefangenen. Dies alles unterlegt er mit Zitaten aus Memoiren und bringt so dem Leser die Atmosphäre eines schweren Kerkers näher, in dem man auch für geringe Verstöße enden konnte. Dieser Teil wird von mehreren Kapiteln abgeschlossen, die dem italienischen Raum gewidmet sind, um dann zum Revolutionsgeschehen auf der Pyrenäenhalbinsel überzugehen.

Die Lage in Spanien und Portugal war ähnlich wie im benachbarten Italien. Im rückständigen Spanien fehlte eine bürgerliche Mittelschicht und dieser Raum wurde von der Armee ausgefüllt, die zugleich einer der Pfeiler der königlichen Macht war. Die Situation im spanischen Heer hatte

sich nach der Restauration von König Ferdinand VII. aus dem Haus Bourbon spürbar verschlechtert, bis sie schließlich 1820 zum Aufstand führte. An dessen Spitze stellte sich Oberst Rafael Riego mit der Forderung nach Erneuerung der Verfassung von 1812. In Zusammenhang mit dem Aufstand in Spanien hat sich der spanische Begriff *Pronunciamento*, also Manifest, eingebürgert. Die Lage in Portugal war ähnlich, mit dem Unterschied, dass sich hier Großbritannien politischen Einfluss bewahrt hatte. Uhlíř lässt die Ereignisse offen und widmet sich nun dem Geschehen auf dem Balkan sowie dem Befreiungskampf der Griechen. Hier entstanden nach dem Vorbild der italienischen Carbonari Geheimgesellschaften, von denen die bekannteste die *Filiki Eteria (Freundesgesellschaft)* mit der führenden Persönlichkeit Alexander Ypsilantis war. Das Buch schildert dieses langwierige und blutige Ringen um die griechische Unabhängigkeit mit allen wichtigen Schlachten und politischen Wenden, die schließlich zum Entstehen der selbstständigen griechischen Nation führten. Der Verfasser vergisst auch nicht den Wiederhall in der tschechischen Presse und beschreibt damit die zeitgenössischen Meinungen zum griechischen Aufstand.

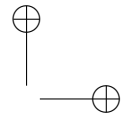
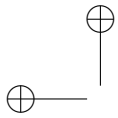
Die letzte der großen Tagungen der europäischen Pentarchie war der Kongress im norditalienischen Verona. Hinter dem Ende des Kongresssystems stand einerseits der tragische Tod des britischen Außenministers

Robert Stewart Castlereagh, vor allem jedoch das Nachrücken seines Rivalen George Canning an dessen Stelle. Auf dem Kongress wurde die Zustimmung zur französischen Intervention gegen die Revolution in Spanien zum Ausdruck gebracht, und wie der Verfasser bemerkt, konnte Frankreich so sein verlorenes militärisches Prestige zurückerlangen und seine Solidarität mit den spanischen Bourbonen zeigen. Verona schließt so einen weiteren Teil des Buchs ab, nämlich eine Periode, für die die Zusammenarbeit der Großmächte im nachnapoleonischen Europa war.

Sein Interesse wendet der Autor dann auch den Britischen Inseln zu, wo er die inneren Verhältnisse überwiegend in der irischen Frage sowie zur Wahlreform analysiert. Er übergeht auch nicht die Stellung der Arbeiter und die Bekundungen ihrer Unzufriedenheit mit der politischen Lage im Land, die jedoch hart unterdrückt wurden. Raum erhält hier die Gestalt des irischen Politikers Daniel O'Connell und dessen Kampf für die Gleichberechtigung der irischen Katholiken im Vereinigten Königreich. Als Gegensatz wirkt dann die Beschreibung der Verhältnisse in der Bastion der Romanows, in Russland. Die russische absolute Zarenherrschaft blieb, trotz liberaler Anzeichen bei Zar Alexander I., ein Fixpunkt des zaristischen Absolutismus. Paradoxe Weise konnten in Russland viele Geheimgesellschaften, im Unterschied zu anderen europäischen Ländern, bis 1822 legal bestehen.

Träger liberalen Gedankenguts waren jedoch zumeist Offiziere und in deren Vorstellungen sollte auch die Revolution vom Heer ausgehen. Infolge einer der liberalen „Verirrungen“ von Alexander I. erhielt Polen eine Sonderstellung innerhalb des Imperiums. Uhlíř verweist darauf, dass die Polen selbst Anteil am Dekabristenaufstand hatten, was das letzte Thema des vorliegenden Buches ist. Zum eigentlichen Zünder sollte die Treueverweigerung der Soldaten eines Garderegiments gegenüber Nikolaus I. nach dem unerwarteten Tod seines Bruders werden. Die Revolte war jedoch schlecht organisiert und zum Scheitern verurteilt. Der Dekabristenaufstand bereitete Zar Nikolaus sein Leben lang Alpträume und wirkte sich auf seine Herrschaftsweise aus.

Nach diesem Kapitel folgt der Schluss des Buchs mit einem Blick auf die revolutionären Ereignisse des Jahres 1830 in Frankreich und ihren Einfluss auf die sonstigen Revolutionen, die sich über ganz Europa ausbreiteten. Die Zeit der Kongresse und Geheimgesellschaften bildet ein Ganzes, dessen Teile aneinander anknüpfen und gemeinsam ein umfassendes Bild dieser dynamischen Periode bilden, angefangen mit dem Wiener Kongress und endend mit der Julirevolution. Als Nachteil des ganzen, ansonsten sehr gelungenen Werks von Dušan Uhlíř sehe ich das Fehlen eines Fußnotenapparats und eines Namensregisters, ebenso enthält das Buch kein Nachwort, in dem



der Verfasser seine Forscheransichten zusammenfassen würde. Jedoch ist das Buch mit einem Literaturverzeichnis versehen, in dem auch Primärquellen, Memoiren und fremdsprachliche Literatur nicht fehlen. Dennoch zielt das Buch vor allem auf Leser, denen es auf interessante Weise einen Überblick über einen Zeitabschnitt geben will, dem in der tschechischen Geschichtsschreibung nicht

viel Raum gewidmet wird. Ein Werk dieses Umfangs fehlte im Tschechischen bisher und Uhlíř füllte damit eine weiße Stelle und bietet wertvolles Material für Geschichtsstudenten, die akademische Fachwelt und für die breite Öffentlichkeit, der ich das Buch eindeutig als Lektüre empfehle.

Jiří Vyčichlo

