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## Dukes of Mödling: Cadet Branch of the Babenbergs<sup>1</sup>

Tomáš Ekrt<sup>2</sup>

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The author in this paper presents the history of the cadet branch of the House of Babenberg, the so-called dukes of Mödling. Within this study are introduced their lives, especially the life of Henry I, who is represented in contemporary sources most, and that of his son Henry II. Also, the author tried to fill in some gaps in their lives through the method of comparison – mostly with the contemporary member of the Přemyslids called Theobald I. Attention is also paid to estates owned by the cadet branch and to its court. As an appendix of the study, a list of known estates with a reference to the documents, in which they were mentioned, is presented.

[Middle Ages; Babenberg Dynasty; Austria; Cadet Branch; Mödling; Estates]

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The cadet branch of the Babenberg dynasty, which is more widely known as the dukes of Mödling (in German *Herzogen von Mödling*) is, in my opinion, a neglected topic by historians. Last study concerning this dynasty was written by Franz Gall in 1954.<sup>3</sup> Even though members of this cadet branch are mentioned in many books, historians did not pay a larger attention to them. Usually, they just referenced Gall's study.<sup>4</sup> Member

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<sup>1</sup> This paper is based on a part of my master's thesis: The second one, less important? – Comparison of the cadet branches of sovereign dynasties in Central Europe, which I completed at the Institute of Czech History at the Faculty of Arts Charles University, Prague in the year 2021.

<sup>2</sup> Institute of Czech history, Faculty of Arts, Charles University, Prague; ekrtomas@seznam.cz.

<sup>3</sup> F. GALL, 'Die Herzoge' von Mödling, in: *Archiv für österreichische Geschichte*, 120, 1954, pp. 3–44.

<sup>4</sup> Short excurses occurred in publications about the Babenberg dynasty such as: K. LECHNER, *Die Babenberger. Markgrafen und Herzoge von Österreich 976–1246*, Wien, Köln, Weimar 1976 or G. SCHEIBELREILER, *Die Babenberger. Reichsfürsten und Landesherren*, Wien, Köln, Weimar 2010. A short study dedicated to relations between Henry I and his brother Leopold occurred in: J. R. LYON, *Princely Brothers and Sisters: The Sibling Bond in German Politics, 1100–1250*, Ithaca, London 2013, pp. 124–125. Also, a short

of this cadet branch, Henry I, played a significant role in the history of central Europe in the second half of the 12<sup>th</sup> century. While his wife was daughter of the second king of Bohemia, Vladislaus II, Henry and his son were also great patrons of the arts in the first half of the 13<sup>th</sup> century. That bids a question, why almost nobody paid attention to them? Among possible explanations might be the lack of historical sources, the fact that only two generations of this cadet branch existed or the aforementioned study by Franz Gall, which by its extent made another research pointless.

However, the problem with Gall's study is that it was written before the collection of Babenberg documents was completed.<sup>5</sup> This makes referencing certain documents complicated for historians. Because of that, and of the fact that this topic has not been a focus of any serious research in a long time, I have decided to write this paper. I would like to present the lives of Henry I and his son Henry II using a method of comparison to fill in the blanks in their lives. Then I would like to focus on estates owned by this cadet branch and its court while providing a list of those estates accompanied by references to new collections of documents. I would also like to show, what the relations between this cadet branch and their ruling relatives looked like. In this study, I would like to answer a question, if Henry I and his son Henry II were capable of being the second ones or if their relations with their ruling relatives were more complicated.

## Henry I

*"Heinricus frater Luipoldi nascitur, filius Heinrici ducis Austriae."*<sup>6</sup> This short sentence, written by an anonymous monk from Klosterneuburg Abbey and inserted among other events of the year 1158, is informing about the birth

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chapter about Henry I and Henry II could be found in: H. SCHARSCHING, *Burg und Herrschaft Mödling. Die Zeit der Babenberger 976–1246*, Weitra 2020, pp. 35–41.

- <sup>5</sup> In the time, when study was published, only two volumes of edition of Babenberg's documents were completed. Rest of them were completed later. That edition is *Urkundenbuch zur Geschichte der Babenberger in Österreich* (therefore BUB). H. FICHTENAU – O. von MITIS – L. SANTIFALLER – E. ZÖLLNER (eds.), BUB, Bd. 1, *Die Siegelurkunden der Babenberger bis 1215*, Wien 1950; H. FICHTENAU – O. von MITIS – E. ZÖLLNER (eds.), BUB, Bd. 2, *Die Siegelurkunden der Babenberger und ihrer Nachkommen von 1216 bis 1279*, Wien 1955; F. GALL – O. von MITIS (eds.), BUB, Bd. 3, *Die Siegel der Babenberger*, Wien 1954; H. DIENST – O. von MITIS – E. ZÖLLNER (eds.), BUB, Bd. 4, *Halbband 1*, Wien 1968; H. DIENST – H. HAGENEDER – C. LACKNER – O. von MITIS (eds.), BUB, Bd. 4, *Halbband 2*, Wien 1997.
- <sup>6</sup> *Continuatio Claustro-neoburgensis secunda* (MGH Scriptores in Folio, Vol. 9), G. H. PERTZ (ed.), Hannover 1851, p. 615.

of Henry I, who is also called the Elder.<sup>7</sup> He was a second born son of duke of Austria Henry II Jasomirgott and his wife Theodora Komnena. His elder brother and heir to the duchy named Leopold, was born previous year.<sup>8</sup> This short age gap played an important role during the life of Henry I.

At the time of Henry's birth, his father Henry II Jasomirgott was at least forty years old and lived a turbulent life. Henry II Jasomirgott was the eldest son of the margrave of the Bavarian Eastern March and was not meant to become the ruler of his family domain. That privilege was meant for his younger brother Leopold. Instead, he received his mother's estates in the Rhineland and in the year 1140 was made the Count Palatine of the Rhine by the king Conrad III.<sup>9</sup> This favour by the ruler of the Holy Roman Empire was not a random act. Conrad III was a half-brother of Henry II and his siblings. This kinship was also useful for Henry's younger brother Leopold IV, who received from the king the Duchy of Bavaria.<sup>10</sup> It is not the point of this paper to discuss, why Henry II did not receive his family's domain. However, let's just mention that when Henry's father died, Henry probably received a part of the patrimony – most likely the region around Mödling.<sup>11</sup> However, he did not remain the count of Palatine for long. In 1141 suddenly his younger brother Leopold died without an heir and Henry II inherited the Duchy of Bavaria and the Bavarian Eastern March. However, he had to give up his position in the Palatinate. Even though, Henry was still one of the most powerful persons in the Holy Roman Empire. Yet, nothing last forever. Bavaria was formerly ruled by the House of Welf. Conrad III, to accommodate Leopold IV, took this duchy from them and gave it to the Babenbergs. Members of the house of Welf never reconciled with that loss. Also, position of Henry II in the duchy was not so strong. The conflict over the duchy which was also part of the conflict between the House of Welf and the Hohenstaufen Dynasty, is not the topic of this paper. Important for this study is that in 1156, Henry II had to give up the duchy of Bavaria. On the other hand, he received the so called *Privilegium minus* from emperor Frederick Barbarossa. This document elevated the Bavarian Eastern March sometimes called the

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<sup>7</sup> This is due to his son, whose name was also Henry and is usually called the second or the Younger.

<sup>8</sup> *Continuatio Claustroneoburgensis secunda*, p. 615.

<sup>9</sup> About this period of his life: H. HANKO, *Herzog Heinrich II. – Jasomirgott: Pfalzgraf bei Rhein – Herzog von Bayern – Herzog von Österreich*, Darmstadt 2012, pp. 48–51.

<sup>10</sup> LECHNER, pp. 145–146.

<sup>11</sup> HANKO, p. 40.

march of Austria, to a duchy, which was given as an inheritable fief to the Babenbergers. This elevation also meant that the duke of Bavaria was no longer an overlord of the Babenberg Dynasty.<sup>12</sup> For this paper is important that even at the time, when the document was issued, on 17<sup>th</sup> September 1156, Henry II was still without a male heir. His firstborn son, Leopold, was born the following year. However, as some historians presume, his wife, who was also mentioned in the document, was pregnant at the time.<sup>13</sup> Why it is important for this study? Because it could help to discover when Henry was born.

Henry first appears in a historical document in 1158, in the donation of his father for Schottenstift monastery. It is mentioned that this donation occurred with consent of duke's wife Theodora and their children Leopold, Henry and Agnes.<sup>14</sup> However, the document is not dated and could only be used as a confirmation of information from the annals. On the other hand, if Theodora was pregnant on the September 17, 1156, Leopold was most likely born in the first half of the year 1157. In that case, Henry would probably be born in the first half of the year 1158. This is only an assumption, however, biologically this scenario is possible. Also, it's important to mention, why was Henry, who was only a few months or days old, mentioned in this document. Certainly, the document was not created with his consent. The reference to Leopold and Henry could have been used to help in securing their smooth succession in case, should anything happen to their father, when they were still underage. This reference was most likely made due to age of Henry II Jasomirgott.<sup>15</sup>

It is impossible to say, what Henry's childhood looked like. Probably, it was not different from childhood of other members of sovereign

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<sup>12</sup> W. POHL – B. VACHA, *Die Welt der Babenberger: Schleier, Kreuz und Schwert*, Graz, Wien, Köln 1995, pp. 152–155. More about the document: H. APPELT, *Privilegium minus: das staufische Kaisertum und die Babenberger in Österreich*, Wien 1973.

<sup>13</sup> SCHEIBELREILER, p. 212. That's also why some historians believe she was mentioned in the document – to secure her position as a regent in the case that Henry would die, and his sons were still underage.

<sup>14</sup> BUB, Bd. 1, No. 27, pp. 36–40.

<sup>15</sup> However, this reference could also express support of whole family to the monastery, which was established by Henry II Jasomirgott in 1155 and which in future became place, where he was buried. It is also possible that all family members were mentioned upon request of the recipient of this document, who believed, that this could provide him with their future support.



dynasties at that time.<sup>16</sup> Henry was most likely raised with his older brother. Maybe their common childhood and short age gap made them very close. However, this is still only a speculation. At this time, Henry was twice mentioned in historical documents. First in 1161 in two documents of his father for Schottenstift,<sup>17</sup> then in 1168 in the document addressed to the citizens of Nymburch.<sup>18</sup> Again, both documents emphasized, that they were created with confirmation from Leopold and Henry. However, these mentions do not mean that Henry was at that time active in administration of the country. He was mentioned alongside his brother by their father, who wanted to secure their position.

Sources did not inform us, what happened with Henry in following years. He is mentioned only once, in a document, which was sealed on March 31, 1171, in Klosterneuburg Abbey. In this document is Henry for the first time stated as a witness of the act.<sup>19</sup> This is important, because it is a prove of Henry's entrance into the political life of the duchy. On the other hand, it does not mean that he was acting freely. He was most likely only witnessing his father's political actions and his rule over the country. From this, he was learning and preparing for a future duty.

The following three years spent Henry probably with his father and older brother by practical education. However, there are no sources, which would inform us how precisely or where he spent these years. Next information about his life is connected to events of 1174. Sources informed us, that in this year, more precisely on the Pentecost of that year, was Henry, together with his older brother, knighted.<sup>20</sup> The question is why both deserved to be knighted. In the 12<sup>th</sup> century it was still usual that knighting occurred before the battle, to boost the morale of the army, or after the battle.<sup>21</sup> As an example of such knighting could be used the situation of the Bohemian crusaders on the Third Crusade. After the battle against Seljuks in Anatolia, emperor Frederick Barbarossa knighted many Bohemian crusaders, who showed great courage. It is worth mentioning, that most of those men were formally criminals, released by the

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<sup>16</sup> To the problematics of childhood in the Middle Ages generally, demonstrated on the case of England: N. ORME, *Medieval Children*, Yale 2003.

<sup>17</sup> BUB, Bd. 1, No. 29, pp. 42–44; No. 31, pp. 45–46.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 36, pp. 50–51.

<sup>19</sup> BUB, Bd. 4, *Halband 1*, No. 840, pp. 175–177.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 845, pp. 179–180.

<sup>21</sup> J. FLORI, *Rytíři a rytířství ve středověku*, Praha 2008, p. 73.

Bohemian duke only to be sent on the Crusade.<sup>22</sup> Is it then possible that in 1174 Henry received his first combat experience? Most likely not. Henry's and Leopold's knighting was only a part of celebrations connected to the marriage of Leopold with daughter of Géza II Helena. Why could it relate to this event? Because it occurred on the same day. In the High Middle Ages old tradition of battlefield knighting partly receded into the background to ceremonial knighting connected with a significant event, such as marriage.<sup>23</sup> However, important for this paper is not why was Henry knighted, but that he was knighted together with his brother. This showed us, that both brothers were educated together and their position within the family was very similar.

What happened with Henry after the knighting is uncertain. Historians are not sure, if he was present at the turn of June and July at the court of Frederick Barbarossa, where his brother paid homage to the emperor and received the duchy of Austria as a fief.<sup>24</sup> However, that does not matter, because Henry played an important role in the events of the next year. Austrian source informed that in 1175 Bohemian Duke Soběslav II conspired with vassals of an underage margrave of Styria against Henry II Jasomirgott.<sup>25</sup> The reason for this "conspiracy" was Weitraer Gebiet, area on the border of the duchies of Bohemia and Austria. The problem was the border itself. In the Middle Ages there were no strict borders like today. Borderline ran in the case of Bohemia in the middle of border forests. When on Austrian side began the colonization and the forest was from their side cut down, borderline moved into the middle of the new forest.<sup>26</sup> Bohemian duke was not happy with that situation. He was losing his land and decided to act. This dispute did not immediately escalate into a war. Gerlach in his chronicle even mentions some sort

<sup>22</sup> K. WETZKY, *Bůh tomu chce: Češi a Moravané na 3. křížové výpravě do svaté země*, Brno 1998, p. 113.

<sup>23</sup> FLORI, p. 73.

<sup>24</sup> BUB, Bd. 4, *Halband* 1, No. 846, p. 179–180.

<sup>25</sup> *Continuatio Zwetlensis Altera*, (MGH Scriptorum in Folio, Vol. 9), G. H. PERTZ (ed.), Hannover 1851, p. 541. On the other hand, *Continuatio Claustro-neoburgensis* emphasized, that the reason of conflict were borders: *Continuatio Claustro-neoburgensis tertia*, (MGH Scriptorum in Folio, Vol. 9), G. H. PERTZ (ed.), Hannover 1851, pp. 630–631.

<sup>26</sup> This is how the reason of conflict is described by Josef Žemlička. J. ŽEMLIČKA, *Čechy v době knížecí (1034–1198)*, Praha 1997, p. 314. Similarly, however with reflection of Austrian sources and explanation of the conspiracy: HANKO, pp. 107–108.

of negotiations. However, they failed, and the only solution was war.<sup>27</sup>

During the harvest time of 1176 Bohemian Duke Soběslav II, accompanied by his relative Conrad II, ruler of Znojmo and Brno, invaded Austria and pillaged the countryside.<sup>28</sup> The effect of the invasion was heavy, because it came in the most important part of agricultural season. However, the description of vast “coalition”, as it is described in the annals is most likely only a fiction by the author.<sup>29</sup> When Bohemian army left Austria, forces of the Babenbergs attacked Moravia, with Leopold and Henry in command. Brothers pillaged the countryside of southern Moravia and even besieged Znojmo, the ancestral seat of Conrad II. Even though, this siege was unsuccessful and lasted only for one day, brothers inflicted serious damage.<sup>30</sup> Realizing that for Henry and Leopold this was most likely their first combat experience, it seems unlikely, that Henry II Jasomirgott let his inexperienced sons lead armies unsupervised. Henry II probably charged some Austrian noble with military experience with supervision over his sons. This was not unusual. For example, when son of Bohemian Duke and King Vladislaus II (I) Frederick led for the first time Bohemian contingent to help emperor Frederick Barbarossa into Italy, he was accompanied by his uncle Theobald I. Inexperienced Frederick was in charge of the contingent, however his uncle stood with him as a supervisor, who could help him not only on the battlefield but also with orientation in the emperor’s court milieu.<sup>31</sup>

Devastation of southern Moravia caused another Bohemian invasion. Bohemian Duke Soběslav II once again pillaged the countryside. According to the Austrian chronicle, this time Bohemian soldiers inflicted absolute devastation.<sup>32</sup> However, Babenbergs did not strike back. On January 13, 1177, duke Henry II Jasomirgott died after he fell from his horse and broke his leg. The title of the duke of Austria was passed on to his son

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<sup>27</sup> *Letopis Jarlocha, opata kláštera milevského*, (Fontes rerum Bohemicarum, Vol. 2), J. EMLER (ed.), Praha 1875, pp. 470–471.

<sup>28</sup> *Continuatio Claustro-neoburgensis tertia*, p. 631. See also: *Letopis Jarlocha*, pp. 470–471.

<sup>29</sup> Sources mentioned Hungarians, Poles, Bavarians and others. *Continuatio Claustro-neoburgensis tertia*, p. 631.

<sup>30</sup> *Continuatio Claustro-neoburgensis secunda*, p. 616. See also: V. NOVOTNÝ, *České dějiny I./II., Od Břetislava I. do Přemysla I.*, Praha 1913, p. 1036. M. WIHODA, *Vladislaus Henry: The Formation of Moravian Identity*, Leiden 2015, p. 30.

<sup>31</sup> NOVOTNÝ, p. 922. See also: *Letopis Vincencia, kanovníka kostela pražského*, (Fontes rerum Bohemicarum, Vol. 2), J. EMLER (ed.), Praha 1875, p. 452.

<sup>32</sup> *Continuatio Claustro-neoburgensis tertia*, p. 631. See also: HANKO, p. 109.

Leopold.<sup>33</sup> Henry, most likely due to some sort of last will of his father, received Mödling and some other estates in the duchy – for example Jedlese, Wolfpassing, Reisenberg and others.<sup>34</sup> This inheritance should have undoubtedly quelled Henry's ambitions and secure his loyalty to the dynasty. And it served its purpose. Henry and his son remained for all their lives loyal to their ruling relatives.

Shortly after his father's death, Leopold with Henry's consent dedicated a forest to Heiligenkreuz Abbey to honour the memory of their father.<sup>35</sup> However, sources did not inform, what happened with Henry after that. His brother Leopold left the duchy to pay homage to the emperor. Also, as Václav Novotný stated, the duke of Austria wanted to sue Soběslav II.<sup>36</sup> Henry, at the same time, most likely remained in the duchy to defend it. There is no evidence about Bohemian invasion into Austria that year. However, border skirmishes could be expected. On the other hand, for Henry's life was more important his brother's mission. It might seem that Leopold's journey was unsuccessful. The emperor was not happy with the actions of Bohemian duke, whom he helped to the ducal throne, but for the time being, he did not intervene.<sup>37</sup> Yet, there was one thing Leopold achieved at the emperor's court. The duke of Austria met there his relative Frederick, son of second king of Bohemia Vladislaus II/I. He was forced to leave Bohemia when his uncle Soběslav acceded to the throne. Since then, Frederick was a sworn enemy of Soběslav II and was biding his time at the imperial court waiting to get a revenge.<sup>38</sup> Because of that, he must have seemed like a natural ally for the young duke. Alliance between them was soon sealed. Such an alliance was usually confirmed by marriage. Leopold was already married, but his brother was not.

In 1177 Henry married Richeza, daughter of Vladislaus II and sister

<sup>33</sup> *Annales Mellicenses*, (MGH Scriptorum in Folio, Vol. 9), G. H. PERTZ (ed.), Hannover 1851, p. 508. Before he died, old duke donated Heiligenkreuz Abbey with consent of his family. BUB, Bd. 1, No. 45, pp. 61–63.

<sup>34</sup> SCHEIBELREILER, p. 230. Complete list of known estates will be presented in the part about estates and court of Henry I and his son.

<sup>35</sup> BUB, Bd. 1, No. 51, pp. 67–68.

<sup>36</sup> NOVOTNÝ, p. 1042.

<sup>37</sup> The emperor had many reasons to be unsatisfied with actions of Soběslav II – for example, incompetence and pillaging of Bohemian auxiliary force and duke's action in Hungarian efforts. The situation of Soběslav II became worse with papal excommunication. Pope excommunicated him because Bohemian soldiers during their Austrian campaign attacked churches. WIHODA, pp. 30–31.

<sup>38</sup> To circumstances of his banishment, see: ŽEMLIČKA, pp. 263–264.

of Frederick.<sup>39</sup> It was a usual political marriage. On the other hand, it could be presumed, that it was a happy marriage. Why am I so bold to say such a thing? Richeza died in 1182, after five years of marriage. Henry was twenty-four at that time and for the rest of his life, he did not marry. This was unusual. Henry was still young, and his other marriage could be used by his brother Leopold to secure new alliances. This could mean that Henry refused to marry again after Richeza's death because of his undying love. However, it could be said, that sources only did not inform about another wife of Henry. It would be possible considering how often they mention members of this cadet branch. But this is not possible. All members of this Babenberg cadet branch were buried in Heiligenkreuz Abbey.<sup>40</sup> If there would be another wife, her body would be there. Also, Henry would remember another wife in one of his donations<sup>41</sup> and that did not happen.

Sources did not inform, what was Henry doing in the following years. It is also difficult to say, how the war between Soběslav II and Babenberg brothers continued. It might have turned into border skirmishes; however, it is not certain. Turning point came in 1178, when Frederick Barbarossa gave Bohemia as a fief to Frederick.<sup>42</sup> In the same year, Frederick's ally Leopold attacked Moravia. Ruler of southern Moravia Conrad II have already switched sides and combined Babenberg's and Conrad's armies besieged Olomouc, which was defended by Soběslav's brother Wenceslaus.<sup>43</sup> It is uncertain, if Henry participated in this campaign or if he remained in Austria to take care of the country during his brother absence. Siege of Olomouc failed, and the combined army only pillaged the countryside. Yet, this campaign helped Babenberg cause because, at the same time, Frederick and his followers invaded Bohemia, defeated Soběslav II and seized control over Prague. Even though he still had to fight to maintain his position, the war for Babenbergs ended.<sup>44</sup> The hostility was officially

<sup>39</sup> *Continuatio Zwetlensis Altera*, p. 541.

<sup>40</sup> To Heiligenkreuz Abbey see: W. RICHTER, *Beiträge zur Geschichte von Heiligenkreuz im Wienerwald 1133–2008*, Heiligenkreuz 2011.

<sup>41</sup> Some donations Henry made for salvation of his wife's soul. For example: BUB, Bd. 1, No. 60, p. 80–81 or BUB, Bd. 4, *Halband 1*, No. 870, p. 193.

<sup>42</sup> *Letopis Jarlocha*, p. 472.

<sup>43</sup> *Continuatio Zwetlensis Altera*, p. 541 or *Letopis Jarlocha*, p. 472.

<sup>44</sup> Frederick was defeated by Soběslav II near Loděnice in 1179, however Frederick maintained his position in Bohemia and key Prague Castle. Soběslav was finally defeated and in 1179 he left the duchy. See: ŽEMLIČKA, pp. 314–315.

ended by Emperor Frederick Barbarossa, who arbitrated Bohemian and Austrian duke in Magdeburg on the 1st of July 1179.<sup>45</sup>

Henry's life in the following years cannot be reconstructed easily. In the year 1179 he arbitrated dispute between Henry of Hainsbach and Saint Emmeram's Abbey.<sup>46</sup> Then, in 1180, Henry appeared on the donation for Heiligenkreuz Abbey alongside his brother.<sup>47</sup> However, this is all, that is possible to say about Henry's life between 1179 and 1182. It could only be presumed, due to the arbitration, that he was charged by Leopold with certain tasks connected with government of the duchy. Remaining time spent Henry most likely at the court of his brother and in Mödling.

On 19<sup>th</sup> April 1182 Henry's wife Richeza passed away.<sup>48</sup> The reason of her death is uncertain. It is tempting to connect her death with complications connected with childbirth. However, this is only a hypothesis. Let's just emphasize, that Richeza's death must have affected Henry significantly, as was indicated above. Despite Richeza's death, sources informed us in 1182 one more time about Henry's life. Note from *Liber dativus* of Schottenstift monastery informed, that in the year 1182 Henry of Mödling donated ivory desk, which he brought from Greece to the Abbey.<sup>49</sup> Does it mean that Henry visited in 1182 Greece, probably on the pilgrimage to the Holy Land? Most likely not. As Austrian historians demonstrated, this information is not true. Such a gift was brought by Leopold, who, in the same year, made pilgrimage into the Holy Land.<sup>50</sup> So why *Liber dativus* mentioned Henry? That's impossible to say. Perhaps he was planning to visit the Holy land, perhaps the author just made a mistake. Nevertheless, there is still a question, what happened with Henry that year? He most likely remained in the duchy and took care of administration, while his brother was on the pilgrimage.<sup>51</sup>

Reconstruction of Henry's life between 1182 and 1189 is a very difficult task for historians. There are only three documents, which mentioned

<sup>45</sup> BUB, Bd. 4, *Halband 1*, No. 862, pp. 188–190.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 859, p. 187.

<sup>47</sup> BUB, Bd. 2, No. 480, pp. 346–347.

<sup>48</sup> BUB, Bd. 4, *Halband 1*, No. 870, p. 193.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 869, pp. 192–193.

<sup>50</sup> LECHNER, pp. 181–182.

<sup>51</sup> The same thing occurred on Bohemia, when Vladislaus II left for the second crusade, he entrusted administration of the duchy to his younger brother Theobald I. J. DEJMEK, *Děpoltici: K mocenskému postavení a osudům jedné veldejší větve Přemyslovců*, in: *Mediaevalia historica Bohemica*, 1, 1991, p. 95.

him. Two of them are donations of duke Leopold to Heiligenkreuz Abbey from years 1187 and 1188. In both is stated that they were made with consent of Henry.<sup>52</sup> Then he is mentioned in the document, in which duke of Styria Ottokar IV gives him village Gumpoldskirche.<sup>53</sup> That's all the information. It could only be presumed that Henry was still helping his brother, doing some tasks Leopold entrusted him and staying at the duke's court or in Mödling. However, in the year 1190 Henry once again played significant role in the history of medieval Europe.

In 1189 Frederick Barbarossa, accompanied by nobles of the Holy Roman Empire, set out for the Third Crusade. However, Babenbergs and some other nobles, such as Bohemian Duke Conrad II, were not in his retinue. It could be mentioned that their decision was criticized by so-called Ansbert, official chronicler of the emperor's crusade.<sup>54</sup> However, in 1190 Leopold changed his mind and took the cross. It is not important, why he did it. More interesting is the list of nobles, who accompanied him. "*Erant autem in comitatu illustris ducis Austrie Leupoldi comes Sifridus de Morl et Dietmarus liber et pauci ministras sui, Ortlebus videlicet de Winchil, Huge de Pucperch, Heinricus de Medlik, [...]* Quorum nullus secum reversus est, sed omnes predicta fatali necessitate dies suos clausurunt preter comitem Sifridum [...]"<sup>55</sup> There are two reasons why is this note interesting for this paper. Firstly, in the view of the chronicler Henry was just other noblemen of Austrian duke. This could mean that the status of duke of Mödling was at least for foreigners like the status of Austrian nobility. Secondly, chronicler informs about Henry's death. However, this is not truth. Henry I did not die in the Holy Land, he neither die in the 12<sup>th</sup> century. Duke of Mödling passed away in 1223. Also, while his brother Leopold was in the Holy Land, Henry was in Italy with Henry VI, son of Frederick Barbarossa.<sup>56</sup> That bids a question, how could chronicler, who was relatively well informed, make such a mistake. The easiest explanation would be to presume that Henry left the duchy in 1190 and in his brother's retinue arrived into the Holy Land. Then upon hearing about the death of Fredrick Barbarossa, he was sent by his brother home to represent Babenbergs on the Henry's VI

<sup>52</sup> BUB, Bd. 1, No. 68, pp. 92–94; No. 73, pp. 98–100.

<sup>53</sup> BUB, Bd. 4, *Halband 1*, No. 879, pp. 197–198.

<sup>54</sup> *Historia de expeditione Friderici imperatoris (Der sogenannte Ansbert)*, (MGH Scriptores rerum Germanicarum Nova series, Vol 5), A. CHROUST (ed.), Berlin 1928, pp. 22–24.

<sup>55</sup> *Historia de expeditione*, pp. 97–98.

<sup>56</sup> He is mentioned as a witness of Henry's VI documents. BUB, Bd. 4, *Halband 1*, No. 900, p. 210; No. 902, p. 211.

imperial campaign to Rome. In that case, it would be possible that the chronicler knew about Henry's participation on the crusade and simply did not notice his departure.

However, that explanation is not possible. Leopold left his duchy in 1190,<sup>57</sup> however because of weather he had to spend the winter in Zadar. He arrived at the Holy Land in spring of 1191.<sup>58</sup> Henry was at the same time, more precisely before March 1, in northern Italy, by the side of Henry VI.<sup>59</sup> So, perhaps it could be presumed that there were two people with same name and title. That does not seem possible. Let's assume that Henry left Austria in 1190 alongside his brother or was preparing for the Crusade. At the same time, news about death of Frederick Barbarossa reached Europe.<sup>60</sup> The Austrian duke realized that Barbarossa's son Henry would soon set out to Italy for imperial coronation. So, Leopold decided that it would be appropriate if someone from the dynasty represented Babenbergs on this journey and would oversee the auxiliary contingent, send for this trip. His choice was his younger brother Henry. However, chronicler was already informed about the nobles accompanying Austrian duke and that's how this mistake could have occurred.<sup>61</sup> It is not point of this paper to describe Henry's role in Henry's VI Italian campaign. Let's just mention that Henry did not only attend the imperial coronation, but he also accompanied the emperor in his campaign in southern Italy, where Henry VI was conquering the Kingdom of Sicily.<sup>62</sup>

It is not certain, what happened with Henry after his return to the duchy. Sources remains silent. It is impossible to say, if he helped his brother with governing of the duchy, if he stayed at his brother's court in Vienna or if he participated on the imprisonment of Richard the Lionheart. The only thing which could be certain is that he was really affected by the death of his brother in 1194.<sup>63</sup> However, even after his

<sup>57</sup> He left after August 25, 1190, because that from this day is his donation for Schottenstift, which was sealed in Vienna. In this document is among witness mentioned Henry I. BUB, Bd. 1, No. 77, pp. 106–107.

<sup>58</sup> *Historia de expeditione*, pp. 96–97.

<sup>59</sup> BUB, Bd. 4, *Halband 1*, No. 900, p. 210.

<sup>60</sup> He died on June 10, 1190, when he drowned in river Salef. *Historia de expeditione*, pp. 91–92.

<sup>61</sup> It is also possible that Henry VI ordered Austrian duke to send him auxiliary contingent for the trip and Leopold entrusted leadership of this force to his brother Henry.

<sup>62</sup> To his role: LYON, p. 125. He was with Henry VI. in Pisa and near Naples. BUB, Bd. 4, *Halband 1*, No. 900, p. 210; No. 902, p. 211.

<sup>63</sup> *Annales Mellicenses*, p. 506.



nephew Frederick I ascended to the throne, it is still impossible to say, how Henry's life looked like. Because of the following events, it could be presumed, that Henry had close relationship with his nephew. It is also possible that he was helping the young duke. Henry was at that time an experienced man, who was a veteran of several wars and was orientated himself at the court of the emperor. Those skills could be very useful to Frederick. Yet, this is all only a theory, because duke of Mödling did not appear in the sources until 1197.

Once emperor Henry VI consolidated his rule over the Kingdom of Sicily, he began to prepare expedition into the Holy Land. This expedition was different from all previous crusades. It had strictly national character, because only nobles from the Holy Roman Empire could take the cross. The emperor also did not underestimate the logistic problems and hired many mercenaries.<sup>64</sup> Among the nobles, who took the cross, was the duke of Austria Frederick and his uncle Henry I of Mödling.<sup>65</sup> This fact could serve as a prove of good relations between young duke and his uncle, as was indicated above. According to the sources, the whole expedition was monumental. The emperor should have gathered on the Sicily nearly sixty thousand men, who were ready to embark. However, contemporary historians are stating that it was more likely one fifth of that number. Yet, it was still imposing and well-equipped force, which could change the tides in the Holy Land. The first portion of the army, with both Babenbergs and other nobles, left Messina on autumn of 1197.<sup>66</sup> But, before the rest of the army could embarked, Emperor Henry VI died. His death caused disintegration of the army on the Sicily.<sup>67</sup>

The crusaders, who left before emperor's death, managed to arrive at the Holy Land. However, their forces also disintegrated after the news from Sicily reached them. Yet, their expedition was partly successful. Upon their arrival, peace concluded by Richard the Lionheart and Saladin ended and smaller German contingent was more than welcomed. With its support local forces managed to recapture Tyre, Sidon, and Beirut.<sup>68</sup> In those campaigns participated the young duke Frederick alongside his

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<sup>64</sup> C. TYERMAN, *God's war: A new history of the Crusades*, London 2007, pp. 488–492. Circumstances were also described by Ansbert: *Historia de expeditione*, pp. 110–113.

<sup>65</sup> GALL, pp. 23–24.

<sup>66</sup> Before they left, Babenbergs helped the emperor with suppression of rebellion on Sicily. E. ZÖLLNER (ed.), *Das babenbergische Österreich (976–1246)*, Wien 1978, p. 55.

<sup>67</sup> ANSBERT, *Historia de expeditione*, p. 114.

<sup>68</sup> TYERMAN, pp. 492–494.

uncle Henry. However, in 1198 Frederick fell ill and on April 16, 1198, died in Acre.<sup>69</sup> After his death, the rest of the Babenberg forces with the body of their duke returned home, most likely under the leadership of Henry I of Mödling. It could be presumed, that his nephew's death affected Henry significantly. He was most likely one of duke's closest companions and person, who might have been helping Frederick in the beginnings of his rule.

It seems like Henry I retired from the higher politics, after his return from the Holy Land. Duke of Mödling did not help his nephew, duke Leopold VI, during the dramatic events at the turn of 12<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> centuries, in which Babenbergs played a significant role. Historical documents mention him sporadically. After Frederick's death, Henry was only once named among witnesses of duke's Leopold documents. That could mean that the duke of Mödling was only rarely present at duke's Leopold court. The question is why? Why Henry retired and did not visit court of his nephew often, when in 1197 and 1198 he was still very active in the politics of the duchy. That's impossible to say. Maybe there was some kind of misunderstanding between main and cadet branch of the dynasty. Perhaps Henry wanted to help his nephew, who was still in his eyes inexperienced, however new duke did not want that. Maybe Henry's health got worse, and he had to retire. Yet, all of this remains only a theory.

Duke of Mödling spent most likely the rest of his life mostly on his estates, where he became renowned as a patron of arts and churches. There was several donations by Henry I at that time. However, it is impossible to date them.<sup>70</sup> Also, Henry started to use the title of duke of Mödling.<sup>71</sup> This title appeared even in the document of duke Leopold VI, where among witnesses is mentioned Henry with that title.<sup>72</sup> From this document it could be presumed that Leopold agreed with the usage of the new title by his uncle. Until his death, Henry only once played an important role in the administration of the duchy. In 1217 he acted as a judge of dispute

<sup>69</sup> ZÖLLNER, p. 55.

<sup>70</sup> It's a donation to Heiligenkreuz Abbey, which is dated into period 1194–1223. BUB, Bd. 1, No. 89, pp. 122–123. Note from book of privileges mentioning donation to Heiligenkreuz Abbey dated into period 1187–1223. BUB, Bd. 4, *Halband 1*, No. 883, p. 201. Donation to Klosterneuburg Abbey dated into period 1195–1216. BUB, Bd. 4, *Halbnad 2*, No. 952, pp. 6–7.

<sup>71</sup> For the first time he used this title in donation for Melk Abbey in 1220. BUB, Bd. 2, No. 228, pp. 31–32.

<sup>72</sup> It's the document for Vienna from October 18, 1221. BUB, Bd. 2, No. 237, pp. 56–65.

about chapel in Inzersdorf.<sup>73</sup> That's all, what could be said about the rest of his life.

Henry I died in 1223 and his only son Henry inherited his estates.<sup>74</sup> Let's just mention here, that despite Henry not playing a significant role in the duchy since his return from the Holy Land, the relationship between main and cadet branch of the dynasty remained proper. As a sign of that could serve Henry's new title and also a donation of Leopold VI, where he mentioned, that the donation was made for the salvation of his family members. Among them, he did not forget to mention his uncle Henry.<sup>75</sup>

## Henry II

Henry II also called the younger was the eldest and most likely the only descendent of Henry I and his wife Richeza. The biggest problem with reconstructing his life is the lack of sources. Henry II is only mentioned in historical documents. Also, sources register him only after the death of his father. Because of that, his life could be reconstructed only from 1223, from the time, when Henry II was at least forty-one years old.

It's not certain, when Henry II was born. However, the period, in which he was born, could be defined easily. His parents married in 1177 and his mother died in 1182. Therefore, his birth could be placed between 1178 and 1182. It is tempting to connect his birth with his mother's death, as it was indicated above, however, it would be only a theory. Let's rather settle on this five-year period. After his birth there is a period of more than forty years, which are impossible to describe. The question is why Henry II was not mentioned in that time by sources. The easiest explanation would be the same name of father and son. Because of it, when in some historical document from the period before 1223 is mentioned Henry of Mödling, it could Henry II. Yet, this is not possible. When Henry I was mentioned in the historical documents, it was always with emphasis such as brother or uncle of the duke of Austria. Perhaps Henry II was not mentioned by the sources during the life of his father because of some disability. That would also explain, why he never married<sup>76</sup> and why he did not participate on governing of the duchy like his father. However, this is only a theory.

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<sup>73</sup> BUB, Bd. 4, *Halband 2*, No. 1041, pp. 91–92.

<sup>74</sup> LYON, p. 126; G. M. WIDHALM (ed.), *Lexikon des Mittelalters. Band 9*, München 2003, family tree Babenberger jüngere.

<sup>75</sup> BUB, Bd. 1, No. 136, pp. 175–176.

<sup>76</sup> If he would marry, his wife would be buried in Heiligenkreuz Abbey.

Another question is when for the first time was Henry II mentioned in the sources. Even this is impossible to say. There are two documents mentioning Henry II, which are not dated. Austrian historians assume that they were created in the period 1223 and 1232/36.<sup>77</sup> In that case they could contain the eldest note about Henry II or one of the last. Except those, Henry II was first mentioned in two papal documents. First was created in 1230, second in 1232. Why was the duke of Mödling mentioned by two papal documents? The first document, which was made on the 19<sup>th</sup> of April 1230,<sup>78</sup> provides an answer to this question. In this document, Pope Gregory IX authorized the abbot of Zwettl Abbey to investigate the situation at the parish in Mödling. According to the document, after the death of a parish priest in Mödling abbot of Melk Abbey installed a new one. However, the duke of Mödling disagreed with this procedure and installed his own priest. This problem was not solved easily. Another papal document informed that the dispute continued in 1232.<sup>79</sup> This time, pope Gregory IX charged provost of Klosterneuburg Abbey with investigation of situation regarding the usurpation of the parish prebend in Mödling.

This conflict between the duke of Mödling and the abbot of Melk Abbey cannot be considered as something unique. Conflicts connected with usurpation of church right were usual at that time due to the emancipation of the Church.<sup>80</sup> Henry II as a patron of the church in Mödling believed, that he had the right to install a new priest. However, abbot of Melk disagreed with this and believed that he had this right. Sources did not inform how the whole dispute ended. Yet, because no other papal document exists, it could be presumed, that the whole conflict ended to the satisfaction of both the Church and Melk Abbey. On the other hand, when it ended is uncertain. Dispute could have continued until Henry II died in 1236.

The conflict of Henry II and the abbot of Melk might have had one interesting outcome. A document, which is not dated, informed, that Henry II duke Frederick II, son of Leopold VI, should inherit all Henry's

<sup>77</sup> BUB, Bd. 2, No. 245, p. 74; BUB, Bd. 4, *Halband 2*, No. 1074, p. 118.

<sup>78</sup> BUB, Bd. 4, *Halband 2*, No. 1131, p. 169.

<sup>79</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 1172, pp. 200–201.

<sup>80</sup> To the problematic of *ius patronale* on example of western and southwestern Bohemia, and relations between patron and clerics: Z. HLEDÍKOVÁ, Ke studiu a možnostem využití patronátních práv v předhusitských Čechách, in: *Folia historica Bohemica*, 6, 1984, pp. 43–99.

estates, if he would die without the heir.<sup>81</sup> The question is why Henry did this. The answer might relate to the year of document's creation. Some Austrian historians suggested that it was sealed in 1231.<sup>82</sup> If they are right, it would be possible to relate this document to the above-mentioned conflict. Henry II was trying to find help in his conflict with the abbot of Melk, who was supported by the pope. The closest relative, who would be able to help him, was the duke of Austria. For that help, Henry would "pay" by this document. Frederick would, for offering his support, receive the prospect of inheriting rich estates of his relative. And that prospect was presumable. Henry II was probably fifty or more years old. He remained unmarried and had no children. However, this construct is only a theory, which could not be supported by any other sources.

The rest of Henry's II life is uncertain. He was only twice mentioned in the historical documents. Both are donations to the Heiligenkreuz Abbey. The first was published on August 20, 1232,<sup>83</sup> the second on December 14 of the same year.<sup>84</sup> When the duke of Mödling appears again in the sources, he was already dead. In 1236 Frederick II donated a village from the heritage of his relative Henry II.<sup>85</sup> Because of that, historians presume, that the duke of Mödling died in 1236.<sup>86</sup>

### **Estates and Court in Mödling**

How the domain of Henry I and Henry II looked like? An apt description was provided by Franz Gall. He described the domain as a conglomerate of rights, fiefs and allodial land,<sup>87</sup> which centre and most important settlement was Mödling with its castle.<sup>88</sup> Henry I did not receive this domain accidentally as his heritage. As I have indicated above, Henry's father most likely held Mödling during the rule of his brother margrave Leopold. Mödling situated southwest of Vienna was not the only castle held by Henry I. He also owned the castle Schwarzenburg, which was

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<sup>81</sup> BUB, Bd. 4, *Halband 2*, No. 1165, p. 195.

<sup>82</sup> SCHEIBELREILER, p. 313.

<sup>83</sup> BUB, Bd. 2, No. 303, pp. 140–141.

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 307, pp. 144–145.

<sup>85</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 329, pp. 167–168.

<sup>86</sup> WIDHALM, family tree Babenberger jüngere.

<sup>87</sup> GALL, p. 17.

<sup>88</sup> The connection of this cadet branch with Mödling is represented on the city sign. Lower part of the sign is made up from the seal and maybe the sign used by this cadet branch. The picture of the seal: BUB, Bd. 3, No. 51, p. 47.

situated in Bavaria near the Upper Palatine Forrest. Castle is mentioned by document created between 1174 and 1190, in which Henry I. sold it along with all affiliated servants to Frederick Barbarossa.<sup>89</sup> Yet, it is uncertain, how the duke of Mödling gained it. It is possible that Henry II Jasomirgott as the duke of Bavaria acquired the castle once the house of Schwarzenburg died out and later gave it to his son Henry. On the other hand, it is certain, that Henry I. sold the castle due to the distance from his domain, in the duchy of Austria.

It is impossible to fully reconstruct the domain of the dukes of Mödling because estates were usually mentioned in the donations. In that case, it is possible to reconstruct only a small portion of the domain. Nevertheless, let's present localities connected with the dominion of Henry I and Henry II. Historical documents informed, that this cadet branch was holding villages, farmsteads, vineyards, bailiwick, and forests in those locations: Wartberg, Wolfpassing, Sollenau, Suring, Chogelprunn, Sulz, Münchendorf, Rittenhof, Rorenwisen, Gumpoldskirchen, Sooss, Großjedlersdorf, Unterwaltersdorf, Reisenberg, Wisen, Traiskirchen. Regensburg and Peilstein.<sup>90</sup> Those localities are situated mostly near Vienna and Mödling, and on Marchfeld.<sup>91</sup> However, this so-called Mödling domain most likely was not some kind of region fully under the control of the dukes of Mödling. If it would be so, even from those remains of historical documents would emerge that Vienna would be part of such domain. So, the so-called Mödling domain was most likely a conglomerate of separated estates.

The seat of Henry I and Henry II and also the most important location in the domain was castle in Mödling. This castle was first mentioned by historical sources in 1002, however the settlement beneath existed longer. It was first mentioned as a bishop's estate in 903, so perhaps the castle is older. Yet, to this day Henry I is considered the founder of the castle. Why? Because in the second half of the 12<sup>th</sup> century, mostly during the rule of Henry I, the castle was rebuilt into one of the greatest fortresses in Austria. However, the whole reconstruction of the old castle did not begin because of Henry I. The whole reconstruction started by order of Henry II Jasomirgott, who meant to give the castle to his wife as a widow's estate. On the other hand, the work was finished in the time, when Mödling was the seat of Henry I. Because of that, the construction of the castle is

<sup>89</sup> BUB, Bd. 4, *Halband 1*, No. 843, p. 178.

<sup>90</sup> GALL, pp. 14–17. Complete list with the references in Appendix 1.

<sup>91</sup> LECHNER, p. 169.

usually connected with him. There is only a few information about the settlement under the castle. Most likely, it was not very significant at that time, because it received the right of a market only in the 14<sup>th</sup> century. Yet, it must have had some economical potential. The settlement contained church with Byzantine elements built at the time of Henry I. It might be interesting for this paper, that inside could be found fresco a of Richeza.<sup>92</sup>

Thanks to the historical material, it is possible to partially reconstruct the court, which formed around this cadet branch in Mödling. This court was not so different from the court in Vienna, which means, that this cadet branch tried to imitate the main branch in lifestyle and representation.<sup>93</sup> At the court in Mödling acted marshal, waiter, steward, and chaplains. As a marshal is in the historical documents mentioned a man called Sigfried.<sup>94</sup> He was most likely a nobleman, however it is impossible to say something more about him. He most likely remained the marshal for the whole life of Henry I. At the court of Henry I acted waiters Wolfger and Leopold.<sup>95</sup> Steward is mentioned only once, however that does not mean, he was not acting at the court for longer period. It was man called Rudiger.<sup>96</sup> Sources also informed about two chaplains, whose names were Herbord and Walthar.<sup>97</sup> All these officials were mentioned in the documents of Henry I. Yet, it does not mean that there were no court officials in Mödling after Henry II succeeded his father. However, due to the lack of sources, historians do not know about them.

The dukes of Mödling were also surrounded by many companions and members of Austrian nobility. They were usually mentioned as witnesses of Henry's I and Henry's II documents. Some of them have the same name

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<sup>92</sup> More about history of Mödling: H. KUCERA – G. WALDNER – I. WALDNER, *1100 Jahre Mödling – Die Geschichte einer Stadt*, Mödling 2003 or SCHARSCHING, *Burg und Herrschaft Mödling*.

<sup>93</sup> Martin Wihoda reached similar results, when he studied the court of younger brother of Bohemian king Přemysl Otakar I. Vladislaus Henry (margrave 1197–1222), who established a court in Moravia. WIHODA, pp. 145–157.

<sup>94</sup> He is mentioned in these documents: BUB, Bd. 1, No. 89, pp. 122–123; BUB, Bd. 2, No. 228, pp. 31–32; BUB, Bd. 4, *Halband 2*, No. 952, pp. 6–7.

<sup>95</sup> Wolfger is mentioned in this document: BUB, Bd. 1, No. 89, pp. 122–123. Leopold is mentioned in these documents: BUB, Bd. 4, *Halband 1*, No. 854, p. 185; No. 870, p. 193.

<sup>96</sup> He is mentioned only once: BUB, Bd 1, No. 89, pp. 122–123.

<sup>97</sup> Herbord is mentioned in these documents: BUB, Bd, 1, No. 60, pp. 80–81; No. 89, pp. 122–123. Walthar is mentioned in these documents: BUB, Bd. 1, No. 89, pp. 122–123; BUB, Bd. 4, *Halband 2*, No. 952, pp. 6–7.

as the court officials mentioned above.<sup>98</sup> It would be tempting to connect them with them; however, it would remain only a theory. Among many nobles, who appeared in Mödling, it is important to mention only lords of Manswerde. Three members of this house stayed at the court, and it is most likely that they were bannermen of this cadet branch – namely Rudiger, Henry and Sigfried.<sup>99</sup> So, it is possible to say, that court in Mödling imitated a court of sovereign dynasty, only in smaller scale. Yet, in some cases it became equal. For example, during the rule of Henry I and his son, the court in Mödling was the centre of arts. The rulers of Mödling were glorified for their generosity.<sup>100</sup> Also, dukes hosted famous minnesinger of that time. However, the thesis about the stay of Walther von der Vogelweide is untruthful. When this minnesinger thanked in one of his works for audience at the court, he thanked to Leopold VI not to duke of Mödling.<sup>101</sup> On the other hand, certain is the stay of minnesinger Neidhart von Reutal, who was welcomed in Mödling by Henry II in 1230, when he lost his Bavarian estates.<sup>102</sup>

From all what was described, it could be stated, that this cadet branch of Babenberg fully imitated the lifestyle of the main branch. Even though the court in Mödling was smaller, it had similar structure and in the case of arts it was equal. Henry I and Henry II must have held a large domain with many estates. Only because of them were they capable of generous donation policy and the support of famous minnesingers. So, it is possible to agree with Georg Scheibelreiler, who stated, that the conclusion of inheritance agreement between Frederick II and Henry II was a great success of the young duke.<sup>103</sup>

<sup>98</sup> In different document is mentioned Rudiger of Guntramsdorf, who could theoretically be the same person as the steward Rudiger. Rudiger of Guntramsdorf is mentioned in this document: BUB, Bd. 2, No. 228, pp. 31–32. Also, in one document is mentioned Leopold of Mödling, who could be the same person as waiter Leopold. Leopold of Mödling is mentioned in this document: BUB, Bd. 1, No. 89, pp. 122–123.

<sup>99</sup> Rudiger: BUB, Bd. 1, No. 60, pp. 80–81; No. 89, pp. 122–123. Henry: BUB, Bd. 4, *Halband 2*, No. 952, pp. 6–7. Sigfried: BUB, Bd. 2, No. 228, pp. 31–32; BUB, Bd. 4, *Halband 1*, No. 854, p. 185.

<sup>100</sup> LECHENER, p. 169.

<sup>101</sup> H. BRUNNER – G. HAHN – U. MÜLLER et al., *Walther von der Vogelweide: Epoche, Werk, Wirkung*, München 1996, pp. 22 and 24.

<sup>102</sup> SCHARSCHING, p. 38.

<sup>103</sup> SCHEIBELREILER, p. 313.



## Conclusion

In this paper I have tried to carry out a revision of a research on the so-called dukes of Mödling. I have studied lives of both members of this cadet branch, and I have tried to fill in some gaps in their lives through the method of comparison. Yet, it is important to say, that it is and most likely would be impossible to fully reconstruct them. I have also paid attention to the estates and the court of this cadet branch. From this research, it is now possible to answer the question stated in the beginning. Was Henry I and his son capable of being the second ones? I believe that they were. They never revolted or opposed their ruling relatives and at least for the part of Henry's I life, they were very helpful to Austrian dukes. It is possible that their relations changed a little bit after the ascension of Leopold VI, yet the members of the cadet branch still knew their place. They were the second one, however, not less important.

## Appendix 1: List of known estates

Location	Estate	Document	Reference
Shwarzenburg	Castle and all affiliation servants.	Henry I sold this castle with all servants to Frederic Barbarossa.	BUB, Bd. 4, <i>Halband 1</i> , No. 843, p. 178.
Wartberg	Vineyards	Henry I granted the Heiligenkreuz Abbey tax from vineyards in Wartberg.	BUB, Bd. 1, No. 60, pp. 80–81.
Wolfpassing	Three fiefs	Henry I granted the Heiligenkreuz Abbey three fiefs in location of Wolfpassing.	BUB, Bd. 1, No. 89, pp. 122–123.
Sollenau	Tithe from vineyards near Sollenau	Henry I granted Melk Abbey unjustly gained tithe from vineyards near Sollenau.	BUB, Bd. 2, No. 228, pp. 31–32.
Suring	Four fiefs	Henry II granted Virgin's Mary church in Voracheberg four fiefs in Suring.	BUB, Bd. 2, No. 245, p. 74.
Chogelprunn	Whole locality	Klosterneuburg Abbey bought this locality from Henry II.	BUB, Bd. 2, No. 289, pp. 125–127.

Sulz	Whole locality	Duke Frederick II granted the locality, which he has inherited from Henry II, to Heiligenkreuz Abbey.	BUB, Bd. 2, No. 329, pp. 167–168.
Münchendorf	Whole locality	Henry I and his brother Leopold V granted the Heligenkreuz Abbey entire locality.	BUB, Bd. 2, No. 480, pp. 346–347.
Rittenhof	Farmstead near Rittenhof	Henry I granted the Klosterneuburg Abbey farmstead near Rittenhof.	BUB, Bd. 4, <i>Halband 1</i> , No. 854, p. 185.
Rorenwisen	Farmstead	Henry I granted the Klosterneuburg Abbey farmstead in Rorenwisen.	BUB, Bd. 4, <i>Halband 1</i> , No. 870, p. 193.
Gumpoldskirchen	Whole locality	Duke of Styria granted Henry I entire locality.	BUB, Bd. 4, <i>Halband 1</i> , No. 879, pp. 197–198.
Sooss	Two vineyards	Note from book of privileges of Heiligenkreuz Abbey. Henry I granted two vineyards in Sooss.	BUB, Bd. 4, <i>Halband 1</i> , No. 883, p. 201.
Großjedlersdorf	Islands around settlement	Henry I granted Klosterneuburg Abbey islands around the settlement.	BUB, Bd. 4, <i>Halband 2</i> , No. 952, pp. 6–7.
Unterwaltersdorf, Reisenberg, Wisen	Whole localities	Countess Richardis left entire localities to Henry I.	BUB, Bd. 4, <i>Halband 2</i> , No. 960, pp. 13–14.
Traiskirchen	Farmstead	Henry II granted the Heligenkreuz Abbey farmstead in Traiskirchen.	BUB, Bd. 4, <i>Halband 2</i> , No. 1074, p. 118.
Pielstein	Forest	Henry II bought the forest from Markward von Robsbach.	BUB, Bd. 2, No. 307, pp. 144–145.

# Ilorin Emirate Military Force Structure in the Nineteenth Century

*Oladimeji Mohammed Alabi*<sup>1</sup>

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Warfare was a common concern among the people of precolonial Nigeria because most of their states thrived on military conquest. States paid adequate attention to the military to ensure internal and external security through offensive and defensive strategies. This study explores the force structure of the Ilorin emirate army in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The study employed a historical research method, which comprised oral interview as the primary source, and the use of textbooks, journal articles, and other written materials as the secondary sources. Due to cultural and historical connections, the old Oyo military tradition influenced Ilorin. However, the Ilorin military became more elaborate after the establishment of her emirate system in the 1820s. The Ilorin emirate military force comprised of infantry and cavalry, while the fighting troops included professional soldiers, elites, freeborn volunteers and slaves. In the military force structure, there were four military commanders, known as *Baloguns*. Each of the *Baloguns* was required to keep a contingent of soldiers under his watch including their logistics and a mild training to prepare them for campaigns. Such regiment comprised other distinguished warriors, usually made up of professional soldiers, elite volunteer soldiers, mercenaries, and soldier-slaves. Indeed, military service and loyalty were important considerations in the access to land and political positions in the Ilorin emirate in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The *Baloguns* were the major military commanders, while titles like *Maiyaki* (warriors) and *Ubandawaki* (cavalry commander) and *Ajia* were regimental warlords. There were ancillaries of the military in the Ilorin emirates such as smiths, singers, drummers, charms-makers, and Islamic spiritualists.

[Ilorin; Force-structure; Tactics; Military Ancillaries; Soldier-slaves]

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## Introduction

The military played prominent roles in precolonial Nigeria because most of the states relied heavily on the efficacy of their army to survive. Largely, there was a fusion of military and politics. In fact, the “cyclical theory of

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<sup>1</sup> Department of History and International Studies, Faculty of Arts, University of Ilorin, Ilorin, Nigeria; alabi.om@unilorin.edu.ng.

history” believes that military and politics cannot be separated. The adherents of this theory argue that during the pre-colonial period, military commanders shared political power with their kings.<sup>2</sup> In some cases, rulers or kings often served as the commander of their armies. Therefore, because of its role, the military was attached to the political authority of most pre-colonial societies. However, it must be emphasised that the military, which emerged victorious in a given war, most often, would set up the machinery of government in the conquered territories; and in this way, the frontier of the victor is extended. Therefore, whoever controlled the military also controlled political power. For this fundamental role, the leadership of most precolonial states paid square attention to the structure of their military force to ensure a formidable expansion and defence.

The Oyo system appears to have been highly developed and was replicated in the provincial towns of the empire. It thus became the pattern for Ibadan and other Yoruba states in the 19<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>3</sup> The Oyo Empire, like those of Bunyoro, Buganda and Zulu, was a conquest state from whose inception the military played a crucial role. The warrior ideal was thus, relentlessly cultivated in her society. The *Aláàfins* (Kings of Oyo), like the earlier *Abakamas* of Bunyoro, were required to be great warriors and exhibit military leadership as well. *Aláàfin* Ajaka, for example, was at one time, deposed by the Oyo *Mesi* (Council of state) for his lack of militarism and was replaced with Sango, *Oranmiyan’s* son, who was known to have demonstrated war like characteristics.<sup>4</sup> In addition, among the non-conquest states, the function of the military was, indeed paramount and assured, at least in preventing external invasion and protecting the territory of the state. Conceivably, *Ààrè* Afonja, (Commander of the old Oyo army) inherited this military charisma and this encouraged him in the mission to create a sovereign political entity in Ilorin.

Generally, in precolonial Nigeria, the defence and security of a kingdom, chiefdom, principality, or an emirate, was a common concern of all inhabitants. At the least of that responsibility, every citizen must raise an alarm regarding any threat to the shared security of the state at the marketplace, festival arenas or other public gatherings. This collective

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<sup>2</sup> G. N. UZOIGWE, *The Warrior and the State in Pre-colonial Africa*, in: A. MUZRUI, *Warrior Tradition in Modern Africa*, Leiden 1971, p. 23.

<sup>3</sup> R. SMITH, *Kingdom of the Yoruba*, London 1969, p. 99.

<sup>4</sup> UZOIGWE, p. 22.

security strategy was often reverberated among the peoples by the leadership for the safety and peace of all citizens. However, regardless of this common responsibility, military duty in each state was the official responsibility of certain individuals appointed by the leadership. In most Yoruba kingdoms and towns, chiefs whose titles and roles were specifically military exercised leadership in war.

Smith maintains that military service in all Yoruba states was theoretically obligatory on all able-bodied freemen. The households of the chiefs, with numerous slaves and bodyguards, formed the nucleus of the army but, apart from these, troops were raised on a short-term basis from those who responded to the call to arms for each campaign and enrolled with weapons in the ranks of the chief to whom each owed allegiance. Most of these recruits would already have had training of a sort as hunters in the bush. Soldiers from the capital formed the main army of the kingdom, but every town could raise some kind of force, and contingents from the towns were absorbed into the army of the kingdom where conditions allowed. In Ibadan in the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century, and probably in other states, quotas of troops, food, and ammunition were required from the provincial towns.

The aim of this study is to explore the main components of precolonial Ilorin Emirate military structure. The study attempts to traverse the specific units of the military force, and the people that contributed to the campaigns from preparation to the actual battles. This work examines the hierarchy of the roles played by specific groups including military commanders, regimental heads, elite freeborn soldiers, volunteers, mercenaries, soldier-slaves, and military ancillaries like blacksmiths, hunters, spiritualists, singers, and drummers, during Ilorin Emirate military encounters.

### **Ilorin: A Brief Geographical and Historical Description**

Ilorin, the present-day capital of Kwara State, is situated in the transitional zone between the forest of the South and the savannah to the North of Nigeria. Thus, the town is fondly referred to as the gateway between Northern and Southern Nigeria. The town lies on latitude 8° 30' North and longitude 40° 38' East.<sup>5</sup> Its middle belt position and relative ease of

<sup>5</sup> I. F. MUSTAIN, *A political History of Ilorin in the Nineteenth Century*, University of Ibadan, 1978, p. 1; H. O. DANMOLE, *The Frontier Emirate: A History of Islam in Ilorin*, unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of Birmingham, 1980, pp. 1–2; S. A. BALÓGUN, Historical Significance of Ilorin: A Preliminary Survey, in: *Confluence, an Academic Journal of Kwara State Council for Arts and Culture*, 1, 1, 1978, p. 13; Kwara State L. G. A series "ILORIN"

access are its definite assets. It is about 300 km from Lagos, Nigeria, and the coastline, and only about 160 km from Ibadan.<sup>6</sup> The Ilorin Emirate consists of a strip of territory situated on the right bank of River Niger from Jebba to a point opposite Idah comprising about 24,000 kilometres.

Ilorin was a military outpost of the old Oyo Empire until the collapse of the powerful Yoruba state toward the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. The Jihad of 1804 in Hausa land, in the north of what later became Nigeria, extended to the south in the Nupe and Yoruba areas leading to the emergence of emirates in the states as the southern frontiers of the caliphate system. Ilorin's military became elaborate after the establishment of her emirate system in the early 1820s because of her ambition to extend the jihad influence on southern Yoruba groups such as the Igbomina, Ibolo and the Ijesha. This ignited attacks from the remnants of the Old Oyo, Ibadan, and other Yoruba groups. The defence of Ilorin against external attacks started in the days of *Aare Afonja*, when Ojo Agunbambaru, one of the surviving sons of Basorun Gaa, invaded the city with a contingent of soldiers recruited among the dreaded warriors of Borgu.<sup>7</sup> However, exigencies of the post-emirate assaults required a more robust mechanism for offensive and defensive operations against the state's aggressors, particularly, the Yoruba Oyo group.

Ilorin's establishment of an emirate and her posture as a frontier for the southward extension of the Jihad mission was considered a direct affront on the established traditions in Yorubaland for two reasons. First, politically, Ilorin's ascendancy would disturb the balance of power in the region, which, at the period, was largely under the authority of the old Oyo Empire. For emphasis, internal factors like dynastic struggle, political dominance of *Bashorun Gaa* (Oyo's most influential chief and head of the kingmakers), mistrust and rivalry among the chiefs, had weakened the empire. Nonetheless, old Oyo still survived as a power in the Yoruba nation, at least up until the opening of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, when Jihad commenced in Hausa land. Thus, Ilorin's emergence as an emirate faced a fervent resentment from other Yoruba groups.

Secondly, the Jihad (Islamic reform) was adjudged an attack on the age-long socio-cultural cum religious beliefs and practices of the Yoruba,

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produced by the Information Division, Ministry of Home Affairs, Information and Social Department, Kwara State, Ilorin, undated, p. 2.

<sup>6</sup> I. F. JIMOH, *Individual Rainfall Events and Sediment Generation on Different Surfaces in Ilorin*, unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of Ilorin, 1997, p. 17.

<sup>7</sup> SMITH, p. 100.

which must be resisted through a collective effort. This is not to say that Islam was absent in Yorubaland before Ilorin created her emirate, for Johnson,<sup>8</sup> mentions the Muslim-slaves in Oyo in his book, *History of the Yoruba*, and gave specific emphasis on the Muslims at *Oke-Suna* under Olufadi, Solagberu and Gambari quarters all in ancient Ilorin. However, as the number of Muslims in Ilorin increased, traditional practices became threatened. Added to this was the influx of several people of non-Yoruba origin into Ilorin, which speedily transformed the city to a heterogeneous community. The implication was the gradual occupation of lands and the cultural infiltration of the Yoruba inhabitants by these new groups.

Thus, by the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, Ilorin, according to Mabogunje,<sup>9</sup> had become one of the new centres of military power with a comparatively large population in Yorubaland. As early as the 1850s for instance, Bowen's estimated population for Abeokuta, Ibadan and Ilorin were 60,000, 70,000 and 70,000 respectively. For the record, diverse groups from different places with varying origins settled Ilorin. These included the Yoruba from Oyo via Ile-Ife, Hausa from the old seven Hausa states, Fulani from Sokoto via Futa Toro and other Fulani settlements, Kanuri from the old Borno Empire. Others were Nupe from the old Nupe Kingdom under Tsoede of Edigi, Niki (Baruba) from present day Republic of Benin, Kemberi from Kebbi, and Ibetu near Kontagora, and Mali or Malawi from Mali.<sup>10</sup>

Therefore, the above political and socio-cultural factors put Ilorin at the centre of Yoruba attacks at the period and it became imperative for the city to defend its territories by setting up a formidable military structure.

## Military Hierarchy in the Ilorin Emirate

### ***Baloguns (the Warlords)***

From the 1820s, the emir had become the head of the Ilorin emirate and Commander-in-Chief of the state's military. Only the emir had the authority to declare war or call for a cease-fire.<sup>11</sup> However, the onus of commanding and directing the course of warfare fell squarely on the military

<sup>8</sup> S. JOHNSON, *History of the Yoruba*, Lagos 1921, p. 15. S. JIMBA, *A Chronicle of Ilorin*, Ilorin 2009, p. 229.

<sup>9</sup> A. MABOGUNJE, *Yoruba Towns*, Ibadan 1962, p. 1.

<sup>10</sup> O. IBRAHIM, *Kwara: the Stream of Western and Northern Nigeria*, Ilorin 2012, p. 1.

<sup>11</sup> This fact was amply exemplified in I. ALIAGAN's literary work, a Drama titled *Oba Mama*, Ibadan 2013. The Drama depicted the intrigues surrounding the political and economic considerations behind Ilorin wars of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

commanders known as *Balogun*. There were four military commanders (*Baloguns*: Alanamu, Ajikobi, Fulani and Gambari), strategically located in the main entrances to the ancient city of Ilorin, and they were saddled with the duty of warding off external attacks from their specific domains and to also raise military contingents in periods of war. The *Baloguns* were also in charge of maintaining the city walls within their domains through periodic repairs. There were several warriors under each *Balogun*, who paid allegiance to him and were always ready to assemble their fighting arsenal once required by their principal. Indeed, each warrior stored both physical and spiritual weapons in his residence and was eager to update his stock once more potent armaments were available. There were also volunteer freeborn, elites and slaves in the Ilorin emirate military service.

Military role had increased the power and influence of Ilorin war chiefs so much that they drew income both from the Ilorin metropolis through control over trade and markets within their respective localities, as well as tributes coming from non-metropolitan communities under their watch. This economic power was further boosted by their membership of the Emirate Council and opportunity to partake in the selection of a new emir. For instance, by the time Emir Shitta died in 1861, the four *Baloguns* and the *Imams* (Islamic scholars and leaders) representing the three main linguistic groups, (Yoruba, Fulani, and Hausa), were automatically responsible for the selection of a successor to the emirship.<sup>12</sup>

Furthermore, by the time Emir Zubair (1861–1868) was appointed, a formal administrative structure had evolved whereby the *Emir* and the *Balogun* shared political responsibilities in the emirate, while *Imams* were left to handle religious affairs. With each of the *Baloguns* exercising full authority over administrative responsibilities in his unit of control referred to as wards within metropolitan Ilorin, and controlling areas he conquered or acquired outside the city as his fief, the powers and influence of the *Baloguns* became dominant in the general administration of the Emirate.<sup>13</sup> The *Balogun* also had better access to wealth through their control of the city gates, where they collected tolls in the form of money or goods from caravans moving in and out of the Ilorin metropolis. Their supervision of these gates was based on the security responsibilities, which they held as custodians of the Emir and the emirate.

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<sup>12</sup> A. L. OLUMOH, *Managing Ethno-Political Relations in Nigeria.: the Ilorin Example 1823–2003*, Lagos 2015, p. 191.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*



### The Soldier-slaves

Slaves occupied a significant position in the economic, social, and political life of precolonial Nigerian states. Primarily, slaves were important items of trade in the inter-regional and long-distance commerce among states. Slaves were acquired for several purposes including domestic and household chores, farm activities, prestige and affluence, protection, and military services. By the 1820s, Ilorin had taken over some of old Oyo's role as a slave supplier, both by capturing people and by re-exporting slaves from further north.<sup>14</sup> Their quarter, Gambari (the Yoruba name for Hausa), was the location of "*the lodging house keepers, the brokers, the dealers and the Mallams (Islamic scholars), who would see to their wants, direct them to buyers, provide finance as required, help find return cargoes and advise generally about the local environment*".<sup>15</sup> The Ilorin city rapidly became a major slave-trading center and by the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, Ilorin was reported to have the largest slave market in the Yoruba region.

In the military circle, slaves were recruited to increase the strength of the army in battles. The Ilorin authority also exchanged slaves for important logistics of war such as horses, shields, quilts, sword-blades, and other valuable weapons of war. For instance, Robin Law maintains that the connection between the horse and slave trade lay in their relation to war. Horses were valued primarily for their use in warfare and were perhaps especially useful in the pursuit and capture of fleeing enemies, that is, in securing slaves, who, conversely, were captured during war. The exchange of horses for slaves therefore, tended to become a "circular process": horses were purchased with slaves, and could then be used in military operations which yielded further slaves, and financed further purchases of horses.<sup>16</sup> Trade and war, therefore, fed upon each other in a self-sustaining process that reinforced the domination of the warrior aristocracies – producing what Smaldone has christened the "war complex" of the Western Sudan.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>14</sup> R. LAW, *The Slave Coast of West Africa 1550–1750*, Oxford 1991, pp. 190–191; R. LAW, *Oyo Empire, c. 1600–1860: a West African Imperialist in the Era of Atlantic Slave Trade*, London 1977, pp. 227–228, 281.

<sup>15</sup> R. J. GAVIN, The Impact of Colonial Rule on the Ilorin Economy 1897–1930, in: *Centrepoint*, 1, 1977, pp. 17–18.

<sup>16</sup> C. C. LAW, *The Horse in West Africa History. The role of the Horse in the Societies of Pre-colonial West Africa*, London 1980, p. 105.

<sup>17</sup> J. P. SMALDONE, *Warfare in the Sokoto Caliphate. Historical and Sociological Perspectives*, Cambridge 1977, p. 56.

Soldiers-slaves were recruited from captives of war and partly from slaves sent as gifts by conquered states. The slaves were usually absorbed into the regiment of their master, who could either be a major military commander in the Ilorin main army, known as *Balogun*, or a sub-commander, known as *Ajia*, Maiyaki. Before the 19<sup>th</sup> century, states merely assembled their fighting force on ad-hoc basis in periods of warfare and disbanded them soon after the hostilities were over. However, from 19<sup>th</sup> century, when warfare became endemic in Yorubaland, the training of soldiers was taking with serious attention. Therefore, the onus of defending the state fell squarely on the warrior chiefs. Soldier-slaves generally proved effective in the execution of various wars which were largely provoked by the desire of the nascent and imperial states of *Ilorin*, *Ibadan*, *Ijaiye* and *Abeokuta* to fill the vacuum provided by the demise of Old Oyo.<sup>18</sup>

Indeed, aside from the soldiers, which *Ààrè Afonja* controlled as the Commander-in-Chief of Oyo army, a considerable proportion of his army during and after the rebellion against old Oyo came from the Hausa slaves. It is reported that before the crisis, Ilorin and her surrounding villages had attracted many Hausa and Hausa slaves, most of who were engaged in various vocations in the area.<sup>19</sup> Many of these slaves were employed as barbers, cattle-herders and rope makers. Some of them were enslaved by non-Muslims and used as domestic servants and workers on plantations. It is possible to suggest that the Muslim slaves were not satisfied with their position possibly because their masters did not treat them well. They could have possibly abhorred their position as slaves of non-Muslims. It could be stated therefore that the slaves were in a state of discontent and were eager to embrace a change in leadership to improve their condition. Thus, service in the military provided the slaves a sense of freedom and recognition in Yorubaland in general, and Ilorin in particular. Besides, military service offered the slaves the opportunity for better economic standing in Ilorin society as it was generally in Yorubaland in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Soldier-slaves, who distinguished themselves

<sup>18</sup> F. AFOLAYAN, *Warfare and Slavery in the nineteenth century Yorubaland*, a paper read at the National Conference on the Centenary of the Kiriji/Ekitiparapo Peace treaty, held at the University of Ife (now Obafemi Awolowo University, Ife), 1986.

<sup>19</sup> H. O. DANMOLE, *Slavery and Religion in the Nineteenth Century Ilorin*, a paper presented to the World Conference organised by Arewa House, Centre for Research and Historical Documentation, Ahmadu Bello University. Kaduna. At Lugard Hall March 26–30, 2012, pp. 3–4.

in battles, were rewarded from part of the booties of war. Booties of movable goods like slaves, cloths, household utensils and livestock were the byproducts of wars. These constituted a form of capital accumulation, which the professional soldiers needed to maintain and strengthen their military and political positions. The greater percentage of these booties belonged to the *Ologun* while the soldier-slaves had little. The *Ologun* on the other hand must give a quota of their booties to the *Baale* and the *Balogun*. Every *Ologun* also received from his subordinates.<sup>20</sup> In addition, the soldier-slave, who was successful in war and caught several slaves, released them to his master. In most cases, some of their masters would return one or two fifths to the soldier-slaves.

Furthermore, any of these soldier-slaves could buy his own freedom by giving his own share of the booties of war to his master in the presence of a witness. He was thus free to move around as a freeman and henceforth, he would serve as a free soldier under his former master. Like the freeborn soldiers, he was expected to give to his warrior-chief one or two captives, depending on the number of captives he got from a particular expedition. However, if he became idle and depended largely on his master for everything including his weapons of war and his debts, he was expected to give up more than a half or nearly all his booties of war.<sup>21</sup> These social and economic benefits from military service motivated the soldier-slaves to participate enthusiastically in campaigns and to bring as many gains of war as possible. The booties of war included war captives, cloth, weapons of defeated opponents, agricultural materials, and ornaments.

It is reported that as from the death of *Aláàfin* Aole c. 1796, powerful men collected individual armies, not with the intention to protect the citizens or maintain peace, rather for personal enterprise through on attacks on different towns. Opele, the *Baale* of Gbogun and Afonja, the *Ààre OnaKákánfò* in nearby Ilorin, played the most prominent roles in the destruction episodes.<sup>22</sup> There were probably countless other bullies, whose names have been lost in history, and who, then fearing no possibility of punishment by any lawful authority, roamed the countryside creating terror and panic. An example was the formation of *Ogo Were* (translated

<sup>20</sup> T. FALOLA, *The Political Economy of an African State: Ibadan, 1890–1900*, Ile Ife 1984, p. 32.

<sup>21</sup> S. JOHNSON, *The History of the Yorubas: From the earliest times to the beginning of the British Protectorate*, Ibadan 1921, p. 325.

<sup>22</sup> I. A. AKINJOGBIN, The Causes of the Nineteenth Century Yoruba Civil Wars, in: L. A. AKINJOGBIN (ed.), *War and Peace in Yorubaland 1793–1893*, Ibadan 1998, pp. 131–143.

as the Jackals or Young Glories) formed in the *Epo* (present Osun). To get their individual armies, they encouraged slaves to rebel and assert their freedom and enlisted free citizens, who were hardly better treated than the slaves were, and who were groaning under the tyranny of the ruling classes. Opele died early in this rebellious phase, leaving Afonja as the sole powerful man in the Yoruba nation, who then went ahead and cowed down the whole Igbomina and what is now the Osun area (then called *Epo*), into subjection.<sup>23</sup> Other groups in Ilorin military in the 19<sup>th</sup> century were hunters, blacksmiths, Muslim scholars, and traditional healers.

### Military Ancillaries

Warfare in precolonial Nigerian societies was facilitated by the efforts of certain groups, who, even though might not bear arms, were important factors in the success of the armies. These included the blacksmiths, woodcarvers, tanners and leather workers, entertainers or praise-singers, informants or spies and the spiritualists. Blacksmiths, for instance, were very crucial to the Ilorin army in the fabrication and supply of weapons. Smiting of iron was a popular practice in different locations in Ilorin and had a significant link with the name of the town. Indeed, Olaoye posits that blacksmithing was a 19<sup>th</sup> century Ilorin craft which facilitated activities in other sectors like farming, carving, weaving and ultimately, the production of weapons for the soldiers. Several locations within the old Ilorin metropolis were noted for blacksmithing. These include Idi-Ape, Oloje, Pakata, Ojuekun, Okelele, Baruba and Gambari.<sup>24</sup> There was a geographical spread in the practice of blacksmithing and this gave soldiers an unbridled access to weapons and other paraphernalia of warfare in Ilorin. The smiths supplied long-range (projectile) weapons such as throwing spear, arrows (*offa*), and *Masi*, a broad-bladed throwing spear. According to Babaelegeji, the blacksmiths also provided short-range weapons like knives, stabbing spears, swords (*ida*) of different sizes, lance, dagger, and bracelet.<sup>25</sup> Indeed, some respondents submit that the prevalence of warfare in the 19<sup>th</sup> century attracted some of the blacksmith to Ilorin.<sup>26</sup>

<sup>23</sup> JOHNSON, *History of the Yoruba*, p. 233.

<sup>24</sup> R. OLAOYE, *The Ilorin Textile Industries 1850–1960. A Case Study in the History of Technology*, unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of Ilorin 1993, p. 91.

<sup>25</sup> Babaelegeji Alagbede Jakota (85), a local blacksmith in Ijesa Compound, Oju-Ekun area, Ilorin, Kwara, Nigeria, interviewed April 14, 2015.

<sup>26</sup> Taiye Alagbede Pataki (60), a blacksmith Ile Oloyin, Isale Gambari Area, Ilorin, Kwara State, Nigeria, interviewed January 5, 2017.

Other important ancillaries to the military were the entertainers and praise-singers whose job was to encourage the soldiers through songs, chants, and elegy.<sup>27</sup> Drummers, flutists, trumpeters, praise-singers, and priests, sometimes accompanied a typical Yoruba army to the battled field. In fact, there is a general belief in Yorubaland that warrior should not attack a drummer. *Ogun ki i ja ko ko onilu* meaning “No drummer should be taken as prisoner of war”.<sup>28</sup> The progenitor of the Zarumi Ologbonko in Ilorin, named Janju, is reported to be an entertainer, who’s magical and spiritual gifts caught the attention to the Ilorin authority.<sup>29</sup>

There were also informants and spies who gave intelligent report about the opponents to the Ilorin warriors. Sometimes, the Ilorin soldiers made friends within the camp of their enemies to gain access to their war plans. Also related to this was the role of the *Alore*, a look-out watchman, stationed at a strategic location in the entrance of the city, usually on a hill-top, where he could have a clear view of the enemies from long distance away. Olowookere and Fagborun emphasise that the *Alore* was an important whistle-blower in case there was a spy who had come to prepare ground for invaders.<sup>30</sup> It was the *Alore*, who would inform the whole town and specifically the soldiers of the impending invasion. This was an important act of intelligence gathering like the practice in modern time.

Other important supports to the military in 19<sup>th</sup> century Ilorin were the spiritualists comprising the traditionalists and the Islamic scholars. The traditionalists supported soldiers with different spiritual and metaphysical elements to fortify them and their implements of war. Metaphysical elements like *Afeeri* (invisibility), *Petupetu* (charm to change form), *Egbe* (disappearance), *Ayeta* (bullet-prove) *Arina* (to detect danger) and *Afose* (command) are few of those common among Ilorin warriors.<sup>31</sup> With the establishment of the emirate system, Ilorin took advantage of the presence of Islamic scholars to improve the potency of its soldiers. Muslim scholars engaged in fervent prayers for the warriors with use of texts from

<sup>27</sup> T. OLOWOOKERE – G. FAGBORUN, *Systems of Communication in Yoruba Wars*, in: I. A. AKINJOGBIN (ed.), *War and Peace in Yorubaland, 1793–1893*, Ibadan 1998, p. 238.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid.

<sup>29</sup> Saheed Abioye Zarumi, Magaji Zarumi Ologbondoroko (68), a traditional chief in Ilorin, Nigeria, interviewed, May 5, 2015.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid.

the Holy Quran popularly known as *hantu*, (spiritual water) and *asiri*, (classified potent spiritual element) for protection not known to many.

### **Force Structure and the Deployment of Troops**

Two major corps, the infantry, and the cavalry, operated in the Ilorin army, especially after the establishment of its emirate. The infantry was made up, mainly, of the archers and swordsmen while the cavalry consisted of heavy and light-armed horsemen. In Ilorin, the cavalry, which represented the elite corps of the *emir's* army, was recruited largely from the ranks of officialdom and its dependents. Titled officials and their free chiefs, and selected slaves composed the bulk of the horsemen. Mercenaries and men of wealth, who could afford to mount themselves also contributed to the ranks of the cavalry. Indeed, the impact of the cavalry on Ilorin wars and her society was further reinforced by the royal attachment it had in the emirate. For instance, there was an officer in charge of fending for horses and training them in preparation for battles known as *Akesinrin*, which translates as trainer of horses. The cavalry force played a significant role in Ilorin army. It was headed by the *Ubandawaki* or *Madaki*, (leader of the horsemen). The Ilorin cavalry constituted the emir's elite force and was dominated by the major warriors, who controlled the various units of the Ilorin army. It comprised of professional soldiers, elites' freeborn volunteers and selected slaves.

As one of the southern frontier emirates of the Sokoto Caliphate, Ilorin's plan was to extend the Jihad influence on new areas in Yorubaland and this objective had an impact on the structure of its forces. J. P Smaldone in his study on *Warfare in the Sokoto Caliphate*, submits that a broad distinction can be made between the southern frontiers of expansion and the northern "frontiers of defence". Unlike the northern Emirates of Katsina, Daura, Kano and Zaria, where a pre-Jihad Islamic tradition existed among the Hausa states, the eastern and southern emirates of Bauchi, Gombe, Adamawa, Muri, Southern Zaria, Nupe, Ilorin, and Kontagora were founded in non-Muslim areas characterised by cultural and ethnic fragmentation.<sup>32</sup> While the southern emirates expanded progressively at the expense of multifarious fragmented pagan people, the northern emirates became locked in the perennial defence of relatively fixed frontiers against hostile states. Sokoto, Katsina, Daura and Kano were periodically

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<sup>32</sup> SMALDONE, p. 56.

invaded by armies from Maradi and Tessawa, the successor states founded by skilled loyalist of Katsina.<sup>33</sup> However, for either defence or expansion, the common denominator in all the emirates was the organisation of a force for prosecuting their missions.

In Ilorin, there was a hierarchy of titled officials appointed by the Emir. Most of these titled officials were remunerated by a share of the annual taxes collected from the fiefs that were attached to their offices. Each fief holder (*Daudu*, *Alangua* or *Magaji* as they were variously known in Ilorin) was assigned several military responsibilities, including the requirement to maintain a small-armed force to serve in the emir's army on specific campaigns, and to ensure the construction and periodic repairs of the walls of towns under his jurisdiction for defence purposes. Even though these were the basic military requirements of the *Baloguns* and other fief holders in Ilorin, the training of soldiers was less emphasised because the warriors and their families already knew that warfare was their responsibility and were always prepared and alert to that duty before other volunteers would join them to increase the numerical strength of the army.

### Archery

Bow and arrows provided great utility and outstanding result in the Ilorin wars of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. This was perhaps due to its simplicity and affordability, which also made it a common weapon. Since archery was already a formidable element in hunting, it was easier to incorporate it into warfare. Indeed, Usman Dan Fodio, the Jihad leader in Hausaland, emphasised the significance of the bow and arrow in warfare during the Jihad, describing it as unsurpassed as a weapon.<sup>34</sup> A bow consisted of a "bent stave of pliant wood (*orún*) and a string (*isán*) of a sufficient elasticity", the strings tied to the stave were of twisted raw hide cut into throngs.<sup>35</sup>

The string is threaded through holes at the two ends of the stave and then bound and tied. The arrow on the other hand was of light wood or reeds, which formed the shaft with the arrowhead barbed and embedded by a long point or tang. Arrows were carried in a tube-like container known as quiver (*apó*), which could hold between forty to two hundred

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<sup>33</sup> Ibid.

<sup>34</sup> U. B. FODIO, *Bayan Wujubul-Hijrat alallbad*, Ph.D. Thesis, Ibadan 1977, p. 214.

<sup>35</sup> R. SMITH, *Warfare and Diplomacy in Pre-colonial West Africa*, London 1989, p. 98.

darts. Rabbah archers, for instance, carried about a hundred arrows in their quivers, while those of Abuja and Nupe carried about two hundred.<sup>36</sup>

Archers used thumb guards and leather bracelets to protect the thumbs and arms against bruises when the bow was constantly pulled during battle. String of a bow when pulled might reach up “*to the level of the right ear with the right hand and left extend full holding the middle of the bow*”.<sup>37</sup> During battles, archers preferred the long-shafted arrow to the short one because it had more weight and provided balanced shots and greater accuracy. Its weight gave it support so it was not easily deflated by wind when in motion. Most arrow darts were barbed with two or more ears on their edge.<sup>38</sup>

In Ilorin, the barbed arrow darts were common some with two or three ears so that when used against an opponent, it penetrated and caused grave injuries. The bow’s range could be between two to three hundred metres. Certain factors made bow and arrow to be pervasive in Ilorin Emirate in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. These include its simplicity, availability of materials for its manufacture and the prevalent of local artisans like blacksmiths, carvers, and tanners. Indeed, local artisans worked in family compounds to produce bow and arrows making the weapon to be easily accessible to Ilorin warriors. The bow and arrow were a projectile attack weapon, which was less cumbersome to handle and thus required little training to master the skills of its application in warfare.

### Poisoned Arrows

In Africa, the use of poisoned arrows originated with the hunting of animals by traditional people. Since most animals in the region are comparatively bigger than those in the other continents and there were no guns then, hunters had to devise a method to kill such large animals, using poisoned arrows. Indeed, poisoned arrows killed bigger animals faster than ordinary arrow. In Africa, venoms from snake, spiders, toads, scorpion, plants, grubs, and many other ingredients were used to make poison. Some were quite poisonous while others were employed due to their magical effect. With time, poisoned arrows were introduced to warfare. In pre-colonial Nigeria, Bauchi and Daura were noted as places

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<sup>36</sup> M. LAIRD – R. A. K. OLDFIELD, *Narrative of a Second Expedition into the Interior of Africa by the Niger, 1833 and 1834, Vol. II*, London 1970, p. 69.

<sup>37</sup> SMITH, *Warfare and Diplomacy*, p. 95.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*



where poisons of various brands were produced and from where other emirates in the caliphate got their supply. The *Zabgai* poison from Bauchi was found to be the most lethal, hence the Hausa epithet, *Zabgai mai kare dangi* (*Zabgai* which wipes out the family).<sup>39</sup> Usually, the arrow was poisoned close to its tip by deeping it in a poison brew and allowed to dry. Great care was taken to prevent the poison from touching the pointed edge of the arrow to avoid accidental poisoning in case the handler got a scratch from the arrow.

Two kinds of poisons are said to be common in West Africa, the *strophanthus hispidis* and snake venom. *Strophanthus hispidis* is a kind of shrub that grows about five metres tall and bears flowers. It was popularly used for arrow poison in West Africa, specifically in the coastal regions of Senegal, Gambia, Guinea, and Gabon.<sup>40</sup> It is plausible to argue that the techniques of poison making could have been universal in Africa since her people had long heritage of the knowledge of plants, herbs, and animals. Poisons could also have been parts of the items of trade in the long-distance commerce across West African sub-region. Thus, Ilorin possibly had access to poisoned arrows through the caravan trade and from herbalists and other traditional healers in and around its environment. Besides, the Bariba group also contributed to Ilorin archery especially the use of poisoned arrow.

Captain (later Lord) Lugard buttressed this fact of Bariba use of poison when he visited Borgu (Baribaland) in 1894 for making treaties on behalf of the Royal Niger Company. He emphasised Bariba people's belief in the use of spiritual element in warfare describing them as a "fetish people". In his address to the Royal Geographical Society in 1895, Lugard attributed the successes of the Bariba in warfare to two causes. First, their reputation for a knowledge of witchcraft and of deadly poisons, which rendered their poisoned arrows very dreaded. Second, was their fighting tactics.<sup>41</sup> So far from dreading to separate their forces, their practice, when they fight, was to make a feint of attack simultaneously on the front

<sup>39</sup> E. BOVIL, *The Niger explored*, London 1968, p. 107. Two kinds of poisons are said to be common in West Africa, the *strophanthus hispidis* and snake poison venom. *Strophanthus hispidis* is a kind of shrub that grows about five metres tall and bears flowers. It was popularly used for arrow poison in West Africa. A. D. OSSEO-ASARE, Bioprospecting and Resistance: Transforming Poisoned Arrows into Strophantin Pills in Colonial Gold Coast, 1885–1922, in *Social History of Medicine*, 21, 2, 2008, pp. 269–290.

<sup>40</sup> BOVIL, p. 107.

<sup>41</sup> H. B. HERMON-HODGE, *Gazetteer of Ilorin Province*, London 1929, p. 60.

and rear, reserving the bulk of their strength for a strong attack on the centre of a long caravan. This mode of attack by ambush would succeed in dividing their enemies' forces and inducing panic on them.<sup>42</sup> Some of the Bariba warriors, who migrated to Ilorin in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, brought their knowledge of weaponry, marksmanship, poison making and fighting tactics to help the Ilorin army in its encounters.

Only on very few cases were victims of poisoned arrow able to survive the attack. This was perhaps because no immediate antidotes could be provided to neutralise the lethal effect of the poison, or because it completely defied available antidotes. Nonetheless, Prince Shitta of Ilorin, who was hit by a poisoned arrow in the *Eleduwe* battle during a joint Oyo/Bariba invasion of Ilorin in the 1830s was rescued. Shitta's herbalists, named Bale *Alanamu*, was said to have prepared and administered an anti-poison herbal substance that saved his life.<sup>43</sup> Similarly, elsewhere in the battle of Konya, Caliph Bello was wounded in the neck with a poisoned arrow, following which Ben Gumsu, a North African Merchant from Ghadames was ordered by Bello to prepare some medicine for him. Ben Gumsu was reported to have written some verses on a wooden plate, which was washed in a calabash. Bello drank the substance and recovered shortly after.<sup>44</sup>

### Incendiary Arrow

Another important arm of the archery was the use of incendiary arrows, which were found quite effective against the quilt armour worn by the cavalymen because the quilt was often made of silk cotton material, which easily caught fire when struck by a burning arrow. Incendiary arrows were also found effective when shot at thatched roofs of the enemy; they were used to set houses ablaze to break resistances of the occupants. The Fulani (Ilorin) was reported to employ aerial incendiary against Algi, a village near old Oyo with the use of combustibles fastened to the tail of birds and released to the thatched roof of the buildings in the village.<sup>45</sup>

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<sup>42</sup> Ibid.

<sup>43</sup> L. A. K. JIMOH, *Ilorin: the Journey so Far*, Ilorin 1994, p. 101. The Bale prepared a herbal substance which Prince Shitta drank and recovered. For this, he was rewarded later when Shitta became the Emir with appointment as the First Balogun Alanamu of Ilorin.

<sup>44</sup> H. CLAPPERTON, *Journal of a Second Expedition into the interior of Africa in the Year 1823, and 1824*, London 1829, p. 280.

<sup>45</sup> R. SMITH, *Yoruba Warfare and Weapons*, London 1973, p. 240. Volleys of arrows were fired against the enemy soldiers.

This strategy represented a traditional African projectile weapon, used to achieve the objective of modern day ballistic or scud missile in battles, even though on a far limited scale.

### **The Spearmen**

This was a unit of the infantry, which principally targeted the enemy cavalry as soon as it came within range. This category of warriors had greater ability to deal better with the opponent cavalry. The spears were strong and could be used to tear the armour or leather shield of the enemy unlike the arrow, which had limited success against the enemy cavalry. There were various kinds of spearheads, shapes and sizes depending on the function they were meant to perform in battle. The bigger ones with thicker shaft and broader heads were for thrusting against the enemy in close combat. Others with narrow heads were used in the form of projectile weapon as javelins against the opponent. Either in the broad or narrow spear, the shaft was made of wood or metal. In Ilorin, the broad-headed spear popularly known by the Hausa name, *masi*, was the most common.<sup>46</sup> The spears, like arrows, were also sometimes poisoned to enhance its effect on their victims. Ilorin warriors also carried some weapons, which served secondary functions. These included fighting bracelets, axes, maces, and clubs.

### **Role of Hunters in Ilorin Army**

Like in many precolonial Yoruba societies, considerable number of the Ilorin army came from among the hunters. For instance, the hunter's association in every Yoruba town or village constituted a para-military organisation for the maintenance of security at the borders against encroachment by hostile neighbours. Hunters also ran intelligence services in the times of war. They were sharp shooters due to their experience in in hunting and thus constituted an important part of the contingent in

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<sup>46</sup> A number of respondents including some blacksmiths in Ilorin buttressed this. (i) Ajikobi Amidu (59), Ajikobi Compound, Ilorin, a member of the Balogun Ajikobi Family, interviewed on September 28, 2016; (ii) Ayuba Alagbede Pakata (72) Area, a local blacksmith, interviewed on March 30, 2015; (iii) Baba Elegbeji (68), a local blacksmith in Adangba area Ilorin, interviewed on May 25, 2015; (iv) Taiye Alagbede Pataki (60), Ile Oloyin, Isale Gambari Area, Ilorin, interviewed on January 5, 2017, and Baba Busari Alagbede (85), in Ogidi Compound, Ilorin, interviewed on April 14, 2015. Also, Suleiman Yahya, Magaji Akaraje (75), Akesinrin Compound, Isale Koto, Ilorin, interviewed on June 18, 2017.

battles.<sup>47</sup> The hunters were part of military in precolonial Ilorin. Indeed, it is reported that hunting was a major adventure of the Baruba group in the city. Some of the earlier hunters among the Baruba were said to have contributed to the success of many defensive wars fought Ilorin in the early days of the emirate. It was for this hunting dexterity and the killing of animals to feed the warriors that the Baruba were rewarded with the title of *Sarkinpawa* (Head of the Butchers).<sup>48</sup> Meanwhile, this hunting prowess was not peculiar to the Baruba group as other inhabitants of the town also engaged in the vocation.

### Command and Coordination of Troops

Generally, different towns in Yorubaland had standing chiefs whose titles were either associated with lineages or age grade associations. Apart from commanding segments of the army during campaigns, these chiefs were responsible for the planning of war strategies and the general coordination of the war. In Ekiti, for instance, the war chiefs were called *Elegbe* and they all bore war titles. In Egbaland, Lisabi founded the *Olorogun*, association of war chiefs in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. The Old Oyo had a more elaborate organization of war chiefs than other Yoruba kingdoms. Here, the *Eso* was a class of semi-professional non-hereditary war chiefs.<sup>49</sup> Ibadan also developed into a military confederacy by early 19<sup>th</sup> century and her warlords wielded enormous influence in political decision.

In Ilorin, like in the typical Yoruba societies, the *Balogun* were responsible for the general administration of military affairs, the maintenance of the army and its logistic requirements, and the planning and direction of wars. Each *Balogun* also coordinated other warriors within his own domain including the assembling of variety of weapons to be used in prosecuting a battle. It was they, who assumed command of the army when the “feudal” contingents of the entire emirate assembled for campaigns. The *Balogun* were also expected to keep a regular army within their jurisdiction. Individual fief holders also maintained their own contingents and a corps of subordinate titled officials with specialised military roles. While the fief holders had general military functions in the military organisation of the emirate, they did not actually command their troop in battle. When the

<sup>47</sup> D. OGUNTOMISIN, *Studies in Precolonial Yoruba Warfare and Peace-making*, Ibadan 2017, p. 32.

<sup>48</sup> Suleiman Muahmmad (67), the 12<sup>th</sup> Sarkin Pawa (Head of Butchers) of Ilorin, interviewed on May 13, 2018.

<sup>49</sup> Musa Maiyaki, (68), the Magaji Maiyaki of Ilorin, interviewed on March 1, 2015.

emir mobilized forces for specific campaigns, the territorial fief holders acted as liaisons between their own officers and the *emir*'s commanders. The fiefs' contingents were commanded by the military officials of their areas, who were subordinated to their respective counterparts in the *emir*'s professional officer corps led by the *Balogun* from the capital.<sup>50</sup>

Similarly, the *emir* himself rarely took personal command of the army in the field, he gave instruction on when to commence attack or cease attacks. With this arrangement, commanding obligation of *Jihad* was considered a conjoint duty of the Muslim community. However, the sick, lame, blind, women and children were exempted from military service, except to defend Muslim territories from an unexpected attack. Normally then, the obligation of military service was universal and compulsory only for adult male believers.

As part of Ilorin's strategies to beef up its military arsenal and ensure loyalty, conquered areas were required to contribute soldiers to support the state's expeditions and they were expected to provide military logistics to ensure the success of encounters. Such military service was used as a mechanism for supervising the outlying territories and to assess their level of allegiance to the Ilorin authority. Perhaps, it was for this obligation that some Igbomina leaders even participated as field commanders in the Ilorin army during campaigns. An example was the *Jalumi* war in which the *Elese* of Igbaja led a contingent of the Ilorin army in the encounter against Ibadan. In the same vein, the *Elekan* of Ekan, was said to have made concession with the *Emir* of Ilorin during the Ilorin's war with Illa, which substantially assisted the Ilorin group.<sup>51</sup> It is reported that during the *Eleduwe War* of the 1830s, Offa supported Ilorin. The then *Olofa*, Oba Anilelerin deployed his soldiers led by *Balogun* Ajayi to increase the numerical strength of the Ilorin army.<sup>52</sup> Similarly, Offa also brokered peace with Ilorin/Ogbomoso on one hand, and Ikoyi on the other during the *Pamo War*, in which the Ilorin group was victorious.<sup>53</sup>

Indeed, it was Offa's refusal to make her regular contribution of soldiers to support Ilorin campaign against Ibadan in 1878 that resulted in suspicion, which eventually led to a 9-year hostility between the two

<sup>50</sup> J. B. OLAFIMIHAN, *Iwe Itan Offa*, Ibadan 1982, p. 1.

<sup>51</sup> Adisa Onikoko, Onikoko (81), Compound, a retired civil servant, Pakata area, Ilorin, interviewed on August 30, 2016.

<sup>52</sup> OLAFIMINAN, p. 1.

<sup>53</sup> A. A. RAHMAN, *A political History of Offa in the 20<sup>th</sup> Century*, Ph.D. Thesis, University of Ilorin, 2015, pp. 30–31.

from 1878 to 1886. Since Offa came under Ilorin's authority, she could no longer boast of an organised army because the *Baloguns* of Ilorin were directly in charge of war expeditions in the *emirate*.<sup>54</sup> The same military obligation was expected of the other non-metropolitan areas under Ilorin's control in the Igbomina, Ibolu and Ekiti areas.

Furthermore, some Igbomina areas were rich in the production of iron implements. This became an advantage to Ilorin when parts of the region were conquered. Places like Owa Onire, Owode Ofaro, Iwo, Ijara-Isin, and Oke Aba were areas where pig iron was extracted, and blacksmiths were common. Elsewhere within the Old Ilorin Province, especially in areas like Shaare, Isin, Agbamu and few parts of Igbominaland, iron working seemed to have taken place. This fact is buttressed by the residual of slags used for obtaining iron by the smiths in the olden days still visible in the areas.<sup>55</sup> In addition to the production of hoes, cutlasses and other household utensils, articles of warfare such as spears, arrows, swords, and later guns, increased due to the exigencies of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. For instance, the Oro-Ago people, having learnt the art of spear throwing from the Nupe, took to its production on large scale.<sup>56</sup>

Meanwhile, in the 19<sup>th</sup> century Ilorin, certain considerations determined the force structure and deployment of troops. These include status, proficiency in the use of specific weapons and the number of soldiers available to prosecute particular campaigns. The Ilorin army essentially comprised of elites, professional soldiers, freeborn volunteers, and slaves all drawn from the metropolis and the conquered territories. Even though the commanders always directed the military contingent, militias (unprofessional but trained civilian soldiers), slaves and volunteers were always in the advance section of the army followed by professional soldiers and then the elites while the *Balogun* came in the rear. This was to ensure that the strongest collection in the army was not easily given away to the enemy. The distribution of weapons also took cognisance of the technical ability and proficiency of the soldiers in using different fighting implement.

In this regard, Ilorin's cosmopolitan nature also had impact on its soldiers' use of specific weapons. For instance, the Yoruba fought with

<sup>54</sup> Suleiman Yahya (75), Magaji Akaraje, Akesinrin Compound, Isale Koto, Ilorin, interviewed on June 18, 2017.

<sup>55</sup> Tunde Adeniran (50), Department of Geology and Mineral Science, University of Ilorin, interviewed on November 30, 2019.

<sup>56</sup> Amos Iyanda (85), a community leader at Oro-Ago, interviewed on April 20, 2017.

variety of weapons including swords, lances, bow, and arrow; the Hausa were strong in the use of spear, bow, and arrows; the Fulani were good in swords while the Nupe and Bariba combined excellence in swords, spear, and arrows. The Bariba were particularly renowned for their marksmanship in archery, and they brought this to bear in the battles they participated for Ilorin. According to a respondent, Suleiman Yahaya, Bariba gift in the use of bow and arrow was so great that at times during encounters, their archers would merely shoot arrows into the air and the opponents would be struck.<sup>57</sup>

This was made possible because the arrows were embedded with spiritual substances at both its blade and the base so that when released, they would find an opponent to hit. The Bariba also had a special strategy on the battlefield. So far from dreading to separate their forces, their practice, when they fight, was to make a feint of attack simultaneously on the front and rear, reserving the bulk of their strength for a strong attack on the centre of a long caravan. This mode of attack by ambush would succeed in dividing their enemies' forces and induced panic on them. Thus, the Bariba warriors brought these qualities to help the Ilorin army in its wars.

## Conclusion

The fall of old Oyo and the emergence Ilorin Emirate in Yorubaland put the latter at the centre of attacks in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Groups such as Yoruba, Hausa, Fulani, Nupe, Kanuri and Bariba contributed men, materials, intelligence, and physical and spiritual weapons to support the Ilorin army. The Ilorin military force structure comprised infantry and cavalry while the fighting troops were made up of professional soldiers, elites, freeborn volunteers, and slaves all drawn from the metropolis and the outlying territories of the emirate. The emir was the Commander-in-Chief of the Ilorin army in the precolonial period, but he rarely accompanied the soldiers to battles. Warlords, known as *Balogun*, were appointed, and saddled with the responsibility to defend the emirate. There was a catalogue of other titleholders in the city such as the *Ajia*, *Daudu* and *Alangua*, who were all expected to contribute men and materials during warfare. The leadership of the outlying areas also contributed men and logistics for the prosecution of battles. Smiths, singers, drummers, charms makers

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<sup>57</sup> HERMON-HODGE, p. 60. Suleiman Yahya (75), Magaji Akaraje, Akesinrin Compound, Isale Koto, Ilorin, interviewed on June 18, 2017.

and Islamic spiritualists also were formidable backups for Ilorin military. The Ilorin emirate's military benefitted from the state's heterogeneity and the liberal nature of her military structure, particularly the involvement of people from different strata of her society. The Ilorin city, in the course of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, had also attracted varied groups from far and near, and this provided the military opportunity for an array of weapon system, military strategies, tactics, skills and ideas that promoted her campaigns. This contributed to the success of the state's expansion and defence in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The Ilorin authorities also mandated conquered territories and vassals to contribute soldiers and logistics during military campaigns as strategy to secure their loyalty. This military cum diplomatic move brought the vassals closer to the central leadership of the emirate and boosted Ilorin's military during campaigns. In fact, few leaders of the conquered territories served as military commanders on the side of the Ilorin emirate. There were military ancillaries like blacksmiths, hunters, spies, spiritualists, and entertainers in Ilorin Emirate in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Others were drummers, flutists, trumpeters, and praise-singers who motivated soldiers through songs, chants, and elegy.



## The Adriatic Powers Parity and Albania (1912–1914): Desire and Reality

Ledia Dushku<sup>1</sup>

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In the triangle relation among Austria-Hungary and Italy with their mutual focus on Albania, there can be seemingly depicted a long linear process, but internally viewed as a phase which passed through constant ups and downs. They reflected stability in case when both Great Powers accepted their mutual interest in the Adriatic Sea, thanks to cooperation on a paritarian basis, it was also included their attitude toward the Albanians and their national state. This article analyses the Austro-Italian parietal attitude toward Albania on two main aspects: *First*, in the diplomatic aspect, which mainly focused on the Conference of Ambassadors in London (1912–1913), where the newly founded Albanian state was recognized and organized internationally. *Secondly*, considering the finance projects of the Adriatic Powers in Albania and the efforts to concretize their commitment with the Provisional Government of Vlora, founded as a political will of the Albanians, but not recognized by the Great Powers. In its entirety, this article places the Austro-Italian relationship in confrontation with the policy of other Great Powers, evidencing their role in bypassing the Austrian–Italian parity in both ways of how the Albanian state was organized and functioned. This article was drafted using a comparative and chronological approach based on the archival sources and relevant literature.

[Adriatic Powers; Parity Relationship; Conference of Ambassadors in London; Albanian State; Economic Penetration; Concessions; Principle of Internationalization; Albanian National Bank]

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### Introduction

Relations among Habsburg Empire and Italy were depicted as a long linear process but clearly with its continual ups and downs.<sup>2</sup> The culminating

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<sup>1</sup> Institute of History, Academy of Science of Albania in Sheshi “Nënë Tereza”, Nr. 3, Tiranë; ledia\_dushku@yahoo.com.

<sup>2</sup> On a more thorough analysis of the Austro-Italian relationship and their rivalry see: A. H. BENNA, Studien zum Kultusprotektorat Österreich-Ungarns in Albanien im Zeitalter des Imperialismus (1888–1918), in: *Mitteilungen des Österreichischen Staatsarchivs, Herausgegeben von der generaldirektion*, 7, 1954, pp. 13–26; F. J. KOS, *Die politischen und*

moment in the relations between them was the verbal agreement of November 1897 in Monza,<sup>3</sup> where despite mutual suspicions and contradictions, they chose coordination on stable principles, such as parity, necessary to establish the balance between bilateral interests in the Adriatic Sea.<sup>4</sup> Subsequently, the Monza Agreement was confirmed with the assessed marks of December 20, 1900 and February 9, 1901. The three acts, meanwhile, implemented the historic compromise between Austro-Italian interests in the western Ottoman territories, where Albanians lived, through the preservation of the *status quo*. If alienation was imposed, the parties would effortlessly endeavour to make the relative changes direct toward autonomy,<sup>5</sup> by supporting the establishment of a unified Albanian entity under the Ottoman suzerainty while at the same time this included their involvement in committing to seek and use the most suitable ways and means for reconciliation and maintaining mutual interests.<sup>6</sup> Thus the territories where the Albanians lived remained, even if only *de jure*, under the suzerainty of the Sultan for as long as the Ottoman Empire would exist, while the Albanian matters would be handled entirely on a par between the Dual Monarchy and Italy. Parity on the one hand and the recognition of the adequate compensation of the parties on the eastern coast of the Adriatic on the other, contributed as the two principles which had a positive effect on avoiding any possible conflictual collision between the two allies. Both Rome and Vienna had a clear vision that any mutual progress in the territories where the Albanians lived, would only be realized due to a bilateral agreement with

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*wirtschaftlichen Interessen Österreich-Ungarns und Deutschlands in Südosteuropa 1912–1913. Die Adriaahafen, die Saloniki – und die Kavallafrage*, Wien 1996; S. SKËNDI, *Zgjidhje kombëtare shqiptare 1878–1912*, Tiranë 2000, pp. 238–263; N. CLAYER, *Në fillimet e nacionalizmit shqiptar: Lindja e një kombi me shumicë myslimane*, Tiranë 2009, pp. 330–341; M. VERNASSA, *Opinione pubblica e politica estera. L'interessamento italiano nei confronti dell'area balcanica. 1897–1903*, in: *Rassegna storica Del Risorgimento*, 3, 1976; A. WERNICKE, *Teodor Ipen dhe Shqipëria në fokusin e Perandorisë Austrohungareze*, Tiranë 2012, pp. 79–85.

<sup>3</sup> *I Documenti Diplomatici Italiani* (hereinafter DDI), *Terza Serie: 1896–1907, Vol. II (01. 05. 1897–23. 06. 1898)*, Roma 1958, doc. No. 286, November 27, 1897, p. 215.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, doc. No. 251, October 27, 1897; doc. No. 379, February 21, 1898.

<sup>5</sup> E. WALTERS, *Austro-Russian Relations under Goluchowski 1895–1906*, in: *The Slavonic and East European Review*, XXXI, 76, 1952, p. 188.

<sup>6</sup> *DDI, Terza Serie: 1896–1907, Vol. III, (24. 06. 1898 – 25. 07. 1900)*, Roma 1962, doc. No. 404, May 24, 1900; G. SALVEMINI, *La politica estera dell'Italia dal 1871 al 1914*, Firenze 1944, pp. 114–115.

preferential terms, in case any existing specific situation in the Ottoman Balkans would change.<sup>7</sup>

In autumn of 1912, the disruption of the *status quo* became evident and real. The outbreak of the First Balkan War and the progress of the armies of the northern Balkan Allies would bring dangerous consequences for the Dual Monarchy as well as affect the change of its political map.<sup>8</sup> In such circumstances, the establishment of Albania as a buffer state, would keep the Slavic danger away from the borders of the Habsburg Empire, this attitude was considered as the fundamental basis in the Balkan policy of the Viennese diplomacy, which already started its negotiating talks with Italy to reach an agreement among them.<sup>9</sup> The intention of the Habsburg Minister of Foreign Affairs, Count Berchtold, to treat the Albanian state and its organization as an Austro-Italian trusteeship, founded upon the principle of equal participation, became the axis of intense talks between Vienna and Rome.<sup>10</sup> As it was earlier preferred that Albania should be treated as a priority issue if not exclusive among them, as two of the powers that due to the geographical position had direct interests there, aiming the avoidance of the interference from third powers. The parity relation of Austro-Italy regarding Albania, encouraged and blessed by Germany,<sup>11</sup> recognised as a culminating moment the secret bilateral agreement, signed in Rome on May 8, 1913. Under the conditions of the Crisis of Shkodra, by the time when the King of Montenegro refused to

<sup>7</sup> L. DUSHKU – E. QESARI, A dual perspective study: The Italian-Albanians' political activity in the focus of the relations between Vienna and Rome (1895–1897), in: *Hiperboreea*, 11, 1, 2023, pp. 41–42.

<sup>8</sup> N. GUY, *The birth of Albania. Ethnic Nationalism, the Great Powers of World War I and the emergence of Albanian Independence*, London, New York 2012, p. 42; K. GOSTENTSCHNIGG, *Wissenschaft im Spannungsfeld von Politik und Militär. Die österreichisch-ungarische Albanologie 1867–1918*, Springer 2018, pp. 263–377; S. UKSHINI, Austro–Hungarian Foreign Policy and the Independence of Albania, in: *West Bohemian Historical Review*, XI, 2, 2021, pp. 167–207.

<sup>9</sup> *Haus, Hof und Staatsarchiv Wien, Politisches Archiv, Albanien* (hereinafter HHSt, PA, A) at the Archive of History Institute – Tirana (hereinafter AIH), Vj. 22–23–2312, Protocol of discussions held in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Austria–Hungary, Vienna, October 25–30, 1912.

<sup>10</sup> HHSt, PA, A in: *AIH*, Vj. 22–24–2443, Count Berchtold to Marquis di San Giuliano, Budapest, November 17, 1912.

<sup>11</sup> *Archivio Storico e Diplomatico del Ministero degli Affari Esteri* (hereinafter ASDMAE), Serie Politica P (1891–1916), Pacco 677, Albania, 1913. Telegram from the Italian Ambassador in Berlin, Bollat to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Marquis di San Giuliano, Berlin, May 4, 1913.

surrender and hand over the city castle,<sup>12</sup> the parties reserved the right to occupy the territory of Albania on their own initiative, “*which we divide it for this purpose into two equal parts*”.<sup>13</sup>

Austria-Hungary would apply its control in the provinces above the river Shkumbin, while Italy to the south of it. The withdrawal of Montenegro from Shkodra, on May 14, 1913 preserved the action of the Adriatic Powers, leaving the agreement simply on paper and forcing the parties to follow the so-called “*penetration pacifique*” in Albania.

### Conference of Ambassadors in London: Avoidance of Austro-Italian Parity in the Organization of the Albanian State

The Austro-Italian paritarian policy regarding the organization of the Albanian state was struck to its core by the spirit and decisions of the Conference of Ambassadors in London. Since December 17, 1912, at the first meeting of the Conference, the issue of Albania’s status was affected not only in relation to the Ottoman Empire, but also to the Great Powers. The reports of the participating ambassadors are unanimous when they say that on the first day of work, the Conference decided that autonomous Albania would be placed “*under the guarantee and control of the Powers*” and be “*neutral*”.<sup>14</sup> The decision reached on December 17 to give the Albanian state an international character with the equal participation of the six Great Powers, seems to have been affected by a certain deviation with the recognition of the special role, that due to special interests, the conference recognized Austria-Hungary and Italy, charging them with the drafting of a detailed project “*on the bases of the future organization of the autonomy*” of the Albanian state.<sup>15</sup>

Work on the project highlighted essential changes within the Adriatic

<sup>12</sup> Regarding the Crisis of Shkodra and consequences on diplomatic level see: H. Ch. LÖHR, *Themelimi i Shqipërisë. Wilhelm Widi dhe diplomacia e Fuqive të Mëdha në Ballkan 1912–1914*, Tiranë 2018, pp. 75–94; A. PUTO, *Pavarësia shqiptare dhe diplomacia e Fuqive të Mëdha 1912–1914*, Tiranë 2012, pp. 184–202; *Historia e shqiptarëve gjatë shekullit XX*, vëllimi I, Tiranë 2017, pp. 124–142.

<sup>13</sup> *Çështja shqiptare në aktet ndërkombëtare të periudhës së imperializmit (Përmbledhje dokumentesh me një vështrim historik)*, Vol. II (1912–1918), edit. by A. PUTO, Tiranë 1987, pp. 255–258. Secret Agreement between Austria–Hungary and Italy, signed in Rome, May 8, 1913.

<sup>14</sup> *British Documents on the Origins of the War 1898–1914* (hereinafter *BD*), Vol. IX (*The Balkan Wars*), Part II (*The League and Turkey*), London, New York 1934, pp. 292–293. Sir E. Grey to Sir F. Cartwright, Foreign Office, December 17, 1912.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*

Powers in terms of international control of the fledgling Balkan state. Rome felt a risk regarding a close partnership with Vienna, which had more consolidated positions in the ranks of the Albanian political elite, which could turn in the latter's favour. Italy reasonably believed that if the treatment of the Albanian issue was left only to the two most interested Powers, the risk of disagreements between them would arise, while its treatment as an international guardian of all the Great Powers could serve as an element of reconciliation. Austria-Hungary had a different attitude, which remained consistent with its earlier views, strongly opposing the idea of the participation of all Great Powers in Albania's affairs. To them, placing Albania under "*a broad-based international trusteeship*" was out of place, as it undermined the essence of the relationship between the two Adriatic Powers, and at the same time they and the Albanian state. The treatment of all the essential issues of the organization of the Albanian state had to remain the exclusivity of Austria-Hungary and Italy, while the other Powers could only have some side competences. With a wider participation, he continued, "*groups of powers would be created*", "*the administration of the new state would work much more slowly and be more complicated*". This could cause "*deep disagreements*" between Austria-Hungary and Italy who had more direct interests in the Adriatic/Albanian area.<sup>16</sup>

On the other hand Berchtold's intentions for an "*Austro-Italian venture*" in the Albanian issue were destined to still remain a wish, as long as they did not correspond to the real balance of forces on the diplomatic front. When even Italy did not want to become his sole partner, it was clear that his views would not find support in the Conference of Ambassadors.<sup>17</sup> The first withdrawal occurred in the last week of January, when Vienna accepted the idea of extensive European control over the finances of the Albanian state. Two months later, Viennese authorities did the same for the civil administration. On this basis, the Adriatic Powers drew up the project on the organization of the Albanian state, which was presented to the Conference of Ambassadors on May 8, 1913,<sup>18</sup> the time when the two allies signed the above-mentioned secret agreement in Rome.

In the following events, the talks between the Great Powers were focused on the creation of a certain mechanism, which shall make the basis

<sup>16</sup> For a detailed treatment of the Italian and Austria-Hungary position regarding the international control of the Albanian state see: PUTO, *Pavarësia shqiptare*, pp. 235–238.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 238.

<sup>18</sup> *BD*, pp. 738–784. Sir E. Grey to Sir F. Cartwright, Foreign Office, May 8, 1913.

where the international control of the Albanian state would be realized. Difficult consensus was reached in the decision of June 5, 1913, when the creation of the International Commission of Control was decided, while debates continued over its mission and duration. The confrontation turned out to be extreme between two blocs: Triple Alliance and Entente Cordiale. Berchtold continued to be clear and consistent when he expressed that he did not understand the development of Albania at this first stage, without the support and control of the Concert of Europe, but Vienna could not accept a plan that would end in the division of influence in Albania, equally among the six Great Powers. On the other hand, the Entente advocated just as strongly the opposite goal, the establishment of the widest possible international control, equally dividing the influence of the Great Powers.<sup>19</sup> Gradually the two sides began to show signs of withdrawing from their hardened positions and engaged in working out an acceptable solution through elaborate diplomatic formulations.<sup>20</sup> On July 29, 1913, the Conference of Ambassadors adopted the final decision regarding the status and organization of the newest state in the Balkans.<sup>21</sup>

According to this decision, governance in Albania, mainly civil administration and financial control, would have the character of collective governance by the six Great Powers. This would be accomplished through the International Commission of Control, “composed of delegates of the six Powers and a delegate of Albania” (Article 4). This international institution, in cooperation with the power provided the Prince, as head of state and at the same time embodying the executive power, constituted the highest decision-making authority. The International Commission of Control had the features of a state-forming, supervisory, guardian and control body. The powers of this commission will continue for ten years, and can be renewed in case of need (Article 5). In addition to the project of the detailed organization in all branches of the administration (Article 6),<sup>22</sup> an inherent part of his mission was to complete the transition for Albanian citizens from the Ottoman rule to their new state.<sup>23</sup>

<sup>19</sup> PUTO, *Pavarësia shqiptare*, p. 270.

<sup>20</sup> P. MILO, *Politika e jashtme e Shqipërisë, Vëllimi i parë (1912–1939)*, Tiranë 2013, p. 112.

<sup>21</sup> BD, pp. 941–942. Sir F. Bertie to Sir Edward Grey, Paris, July 29, 1913; O. PEARSON, *Albania and King Zog. Independence, Republic and Monarchy 1908–1939*, London 2004, p. 44.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid.

<sup>23</sup> R. GURAKUQI, *Shqipëria 1911–1914*, Tiranë 2012, pp. 529, 593.

On July 29, 1913, the Ambassadors' Conference thus decided the constitution of the Albanian state, as an undertaking that belonged to the six Great Powers. Although the equal participation and responsibility of the Great Powers was not openly expressed, it was clearly understood that the organization of the Albanian state under the custody/supervision of the Habsburg-Italian parity was avoided due to this decision.

### **From the Diplomatic Tables to the Albanian Territory: Austro-Italian Parity in Economic Projects in Albania**

Despite the attitude and decisions of the Ambassadors' Conference, Austria-Hungary and Italy continued to implement bilateral cooperation on a parity basis in economic projects related to Albania. Immediately after the signing of the Secret Agreement of May 8, 1913, the Dual Monarchy's diplomats compiled the document known as "*Aktion in Albanien*". Aiming at the final "nailing" of Italy and avoiding eventual conflicts with it, measures of a partisan nature were foreseen in bilateral cooperation. Emphasis was placed on the measures outlined as "*penetration pacifique*": the sending of Austria-Hungarian and Italian officials to various institutions of the Albanian central state administration; the possible avoidance of the appointment of Albanians in its most important positions; the establishment of a financial consortium with equal financial and human contributions, which would be in charge of financing all enterprises in Albania, specifically the establishment of banks, the construction of roads, railways, etc.<sup>24</sup>

Based on this document, in *Ballhausplatz*, it was worked out in details to compile a secret bilateral economic agreement, thanks to which, Austria-Hungarian and Italian enterprises were assured of economic superiority in Albania.<sup>25</sup> On completion of discussions, the parties agreed on their positions and, on July 12, 1913, the Italian Minister of Foreign Affairs, the Marquis Antonino di San Giuliano, conveyed to his subordinates in Albanian city of Shkodër, Durrës and Vlora, the confidential information on the readiness of the Austria-Hungarian government for an agreement referring to economic commons, accompanied by text for thought.

<sup>24</sup> HHSt, PA, A, in: *AiH*, Vj. 23–20–2013, *Aktion in Albanien*, May 15, 1913.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, Vj. 24–41–4119. The Austria-Hungary proposal for a joint economic agreement with Italy.

According to Marquis di San Giuliano, this agreement, which would be in force until the maintenance of regime of capitulations in Albania:

*“...will ensure for both parties in full parity all the undertakings, for which it is necessary to grant special privileges offered by the central government of Albania that are related to concessions in areas of vital importance such as railways, ports, roads, public buildings, traffic, privileged banks, exploitation of mines, exploitation of forests, etc. [...]”*<sup>26</sup>

In the next following events, the avoidance of the decision-making of the Conference of Ambassadors, the aim of work was focused on the division of the sectors of the Albanian economy, where specialists from each country would be recruited. The proposal was offered by the Italian government, which on July 26 asked Vienna *“to reach an agreement on the appointment of Austria-Hungarian and Italian officials as civil servants in Albania. In this case [...] to act on the basis of full parity”*.<sup>27</sup> On August 1, 1913, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Count Berchtold, asked the ambassador in Rome, von Mery, to concentrate his efforts on reaching *“an immediate agreement with San Giuliano on the question of the specialists who will be appointed to go [to Albania]”*.<sup>28</sup>

After a series of talks some of which faced a few contradictions, on October 13, 1913, Vienna and Rome agreed to strictly apply the principle of equal participation and influence in the enterprises of the economic system in Albania; Austria-Hungarian specialists were appointed on the head of the postal, customs, forestry, animal husbandry, village commune organization and public accounting sectors, while Italians were recruited in the telegraph, customs, forestry, agriculture, justice, ports and mining sectors.<sup>29</sup>

<sup>26</sup> ASDMAE, Serie Politica P (1891–1916), Pacco 675, Albania, Anno 1913. Announcement of the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Italy for the Consuls in Shkodër, Durrës and Vlora. Forwards the draft agreement on Italian-Austrian economic operations in Albania, Rome, July 12, 1913.

<sup>27</sup> HHSt, PA, A, in: *AIH*, Vj. 23–28–2861. Telegram from Count Berchtold to the Ambassador, von Mery in Rome, Vienna, July 26, 1913. Broadcasts the announcement of the Italian ambassador in Vienna.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, Vj. 23–28–2864. Telegram from Count Berchtold to the Ambassador von Mery in Rome, Vienna, August 01, 1913.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, Vj. 23–28–2893. Telegram from Count Berchtold to Count Ambrózy in Rome and Consul Lejhanec in Vlora, Vienna, October 13, 1913; Vj. 23–29–2918. Extract of the report from the Austro-Hungarian Embassy in Rome to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Rome, October 22, 1913.



### **The Project of Sending Austria-Hungarian and Italian Officials in Albania and the Provisional Government of Vlora**

Since December 4, 1912, the Provisional Government of Vlora operated in the Albanian territory, created by the National Assembly as an expression of the will of the Albanians, but under no recognition of its status from the Great Powers. The outline of the main lines of the economic policy of this government was made under the influence and pressure of the “*two protective powers*”, as Austria-Hungary and Italy were described by Ismail Qemal Vlora, the President of the Albanian Provisional Government.<sup>30</sup>

By the end of July 1913, when the Conference of Ambassadors had to reach the final decisions about Albania and the Adriatic Powers had to make great efforts to recognize the Provisional Government of Vlora as a national authority, Ismail Qemali verbally asked the Austria-Hungarian and Italian consuls to suggest to their governments the need for appointing advisers and specialists to contribute for the organization of various branches of the Albanian economy. Under the guidance of the Albanian government bodies, the foreign specialists were tasked to study the policies of the country and their responsibility was to introduce concrete proposals to the government for the most urgent projects which needed to be undertaken.<sup>31</sup> On August 7, 1913, the respective consuls asked the President of the Provisional Government for a concrete list of foreign advisers who were welcome and wanted by the Albanian side.<sup>32</sup> This request seems to be a manner of expressing the will of the Adriatic Powers to consider the government of Ismail Qemal Vlora as a potential partner.

The verbal request of Ismail Qemal Vlora, detailed and completed with confidential information, was forwarded to Count Berchtold on August 14, 1913. The Provisional Government was looking for 16 specialists in various fields of the Albanian economy, the allocation of which was trusted to two “*protective powers*” according to a free agreement. But Ismail Qemali preferred that Austria-Hungary would send “...*organizers*

<sup>30</sup> The National Archives, London (hereinafter TNA), Foreign Office (hereinafter FO) 421/287, No. 296, Lamb to Grey, Vlora, November 5, 1913.

<sup>31</sup> HHSt, PA, A, in: *AIH*, Vj. 23–28–2865. Telegram of Austria-Hungarian consul in Vlora to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Vlora, July 31, 1913.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, Vj. 23–28–2867. Telegram from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Austro-Hungary to the ambassador in Rome, Vienna, September 6, 1913; Vj. 23–28–2863. Telegram from the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Austria-Hungary for the Ambassador, Mery in Rome, Vienna, August 7, 1913; Vj. 23–28–2862. Telegram of Consul of Austria-Hungary in Vlora, Lejhanec to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Vlora, August 7, 1913.

*and keepers, responsible for the post, roads, railways, agriculture and forests, while from Italy organizers for telegraphs, irrigation installations and possibly for mining and justice. Ismail Qemali has not expressed himself regarding other branches”.*<sup>33</sup>

The specialists were required to be skilled, experienced and possessed the right authority from the middle ranks. The maximum annual salary offered to them ranged from 6,000 to 8,000 francs.<sup>34</sup> Ismail Qemal Vlora preferred that the contracts be with a predetermined term of 1 year contract, with the exception of specialists for world affairs and agriculture, whose contracts term were 3 years. This policy makes you think about the greatest concern that awakened in the eyes of the Albanian governors about the conditions that these two sectors were, an immediate solution was to give them a greater priority through longer contracts. At the same time, it showed a more obvious readiness on the part of Ismail Qemal Vlora to submit to the instructions and will of the “*two protectors*”, in the respective fields.

Following this, the diplomats in Vienna and Rome were intensively engaged in compiling a framework, which Ismail Qemal Vlora formally had to convey in its entirety, on behalf of his government, to the Austria-Hungarian and Italian consuls in Vlora. The text compiled in Vienna, in the first ten days of October 1913,<sup>35</sup> based on the information sent on August 14 by the Consul Lejhanec. The drafters clearly and carefully gave evidence that Austro-Italian supported Albania, as well as the desire of the Provisional Government to employ 16 Austria-Hungarian and Italian specialists, as advisers and organizers in various fields of the Albanian economy. In addition to the salary, the government of Vlora had to cover fully the payment of travel expenses and per diems of experts for services within the country. In contrast to the verbal request of August, in the note prepared in Vienna, the salary had been increased. It was fixed at 8,000 francs per year, even for special cases it was expected to go up to 12,000 francs, burdening the fragile finances of the Albanian state. The note also contained additional commitments on behalf of the Provisional

<sup>33</sup> Ibid., Vj. 23–28–2870. Report of Consul Lejhanec from Vlora to the Minister of Foreign Affairs in Vienna, Vlora, July 14, 1913.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid., Vj. 24–11–1118.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid., Vj. 23–28–2886. Announcement of the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Austria-Hungary to Count Ambrózy in Rome, Vienna, September 26, 1913; Vj. 23–28–2897. Announcement of the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Austria-Hungary to Consul Lejhanec in Vlora, Vienna, October 15, 1913.

Government of Vlora, which had to undertake the commitment of appointing the persons that the respective Austro-Hungarian and Italian governments considered suitable ones.<sup>36</sup> The note clearly showed the imposition of the Adriatic Powers on the temporary government of Vlora, but also on the European concert. In order to make the International Commission of Control aware of the fact, the note should have been dated September 9, before its members arrived in Albania.<sup>37</sup>

Meanwhile, another second note was ready to be announced in the diplomatic premises in Vienna and Rome. That would be the answer that the Austria–Hungarian and Italian consuls would formally respond to the note prepared for Ismail Qemal Vlora.<sup>38</sup>

But the process of exchanging note, known as *mutatis mutandis*, was only one aspect of the matter. Since the end of September 1913, Count Berchtold himself was engaged in the process of compiling the contracts, which, after receiving the approval of the Italian government, would have to be implemented as the final contract between the Albanian government and the Austro-Italian officials.<sup>39</sup> Such contract, compiled in that form that fixed the commitment of the forest keeper, which would serve as a model for other specialists in various fields.<sup>40</sup> The Adriatic Powers agreed that the contract should be presented in two copies containing the same text and paragraphs, it should be signed by the President of the Albanian Provisional Government and the relevant functionary, in the presence of the Austria-Hungarian or Italian consul in Vlora. The both parties chose the date of October 9, as the time when the oral agreement was reached between the Chargé d’Affaires of Austria-Hungary in Rome and the Secretary General of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Italy, regarding the procedure that needed to be in accordance with the

<sup>36</sup> Ibid., Vj. 24–33–3361. The text of the note that Ismail Qemali, President of the Provisional Government of Vlora, had to send to the Austria-Hungarian and Italian Consuls in Vlora for sending experts from the respective governments to the Albanian government.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid., Vj. 23–28–2898. Telegram of Count Ambrózy in Rome to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Rome, October 14, 1913.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid., Vj. 24–33–3361, Text of the note of the response of the Austria-Hungarian Consul to the President of the Provisional Government of Vlora.

<sup>39</sup> Ibid., Vj.23–28–2884. Telegram from Count Berchtolt to Count Ambrózy to Rome, Vienna, September 26, 1913.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid., Vj. 23–28–2886. Notice from Count Berchtolt to Count Ambrózy to Rome, Vienna, September 30, 1913.

Albanian government for the engagement of the organizers.<sup>41</sup> Although the Austria-Hungarian Foreign Minister preferred that the document be dated even earlier, so that it would not be too close to the start of the work of the International Control Commission,<sup>42</sup> he expressed the conviction that its determination in no way should not delay the exchange of notes, which must be dated before the starting time of the work of the International Control Commission.<sup>43</sup>

With the agreement between two chancelleries, on October 13, 1913, the Austria-Hungarian consul in Vlorë received the following announcement from Count Berchtold:

*“Taking into account the rapid constitution of the International Control Commission, it is necessary to give assurance to Ismail Qemal Bey regarding the recruitment of specialist advisers according to the report, dated August 14, 1913, so that the Albanian government would not direct to the other Powers through the International Control Commission [...] It is important to get the assurance that Ismail Qemali considers himself bound by the oral statements given earlier on this and will not use the activity of the International Control Commission, to be occupied by a third party, for the positions of specialist advisers offered to us and to Italy.”<sup>44</sup>*

Two days later, the information forwarded from Ballhausplatz to Vlorë was completed. The content of the official note that Ismail Qemali would have send to the respective consuls, the answer that the consuls would have to exchange with him, as well as including the service contract model. The Minister of Foreign Affairs also explained the reason why Ismail Qemal Vlorë’s request to send a specialist to the railway sector was not fulfilled. The organization of this sector was considered premature in the conditions of the new state when *“Albania first of all needs an economic and financial consolidation ... firstly it must have reached a degree of development in the other two branches of communication (navigation and road)”*. The consul was ordered to say *“these words to Ismail Kemal Bey only orally and through*

<sup>41</sup> Ibid., Vj. Vj. 23–29–2916. Raport extract from the Austria-Hungarian Embassy in Rome to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Rome, October 11, 1913.

<sup>42</sup> The First Meeting of International Commission of Control was held on 16. 10. 1913 in Vlorë

<sup>43</sup> Ibid., Vj. 23–28–2897. The announcement of Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Austria-Hungary to Consul Lejhanec in Vlorë, Vienna, October 15, 1913.

<sup>44</sup> Ibid., Vj. 23–28–2893. The announcement of Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Austria-Hungary to Consul Lejhanec in Vlorë, Vienna, October 13, 1913.

*conversation, as long as they do not contain the notices that will be exchanged*".<sup>45</sup> At the same time, the information conveyed the order that the principle commitment of the Albanian Provisional Government towards the Austria-Hungarian and Italian specialists had to be presented as soon as possible in writing form, definitely before the starting operation of the International Commission of Control. Similar instructions were also received by the Italian consul in Vlora.<sup>46</sup>

But, despite the instructions, the exchange of notes with the Provisional Government of Vlora was not carried out and the project to send Austria-Hungarian and Italian officials was not implemented. As a reason for this, the Austria-Hungarian documentation consulted evidences the "*resignation of Ismail Qemali*", without presenting the reasons for this action.<sup>47</sup>

In an attempt to discover the reasons, it is helpful to analyse the conversation of the President of the Provisional Government with the Italian consul in Vlora. It reveals Ismail Qemali's dissatisfaction with the "*passive observer*" status that the "*protector states*" named his government. He expressed his conviction that the Provisional Government "*must maintain some initiative, in order that the economic activity in Albania is not paralyzed, either by the indolence of the two protectorate states or by their eventual disagreement on certain issues*".<sup>48</sup> Thus, an attempt is made by Ismail Qemal Vlora to avoid the complete economic dependence of his government on the Adriatic Powers, with the aim of keeping Albania as far as possible out of the rivalry of the two allies.

Meanwhile, in the fall of 1913, it is noticed the dominance of the Albanian opposing political side toward Ismail Qemali, personified by the name of Esat Pashë Toptani. The support assimilated in the political and public opinion that was already being provided to the latter by Italy and/or Austria-Hungary<sup>49</sup> makes you think that even among the Adriatic

<sup>45</sup> Ibid., Vj. 23–28–2897. The announcement of Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Consul Lejhanec në Vlora, Vienna, October 15, 1913.

<sup>46</sup> Ibid., Vj. 23–28–2898. Telegram from Count Ambrózy from Rome to Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Rome, October 14, 1913. Transmits the announcement that the Italian consul in Vlora has telegraphically received the so wanted instructions on the note exchanging project.

<sup>47</sup> Ibid., Vj. 24–33–3348. Report prepared for the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Austria-Hungary by specialist, Jovanović, Vienna, April 10, 1914.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid., Vj. 23–15–1586. Report of Austria-Hungarian Consul in Vlora for the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Count Berchtold, Vlora, August 13, 1913.

<sup>49</sup> TNA, FO 421/287. Part I. Correspondence. Affairs of Albania, October to December 1913, No. 19, Lamb to Grey, Vlora, November 8, 1913.

Powers themselves there was a spirit of distrust towards the government of Ismail Qemal Vlora.

In the framework of this analysis, with the beginning of the work of the International Commission of Control, the President of the Provisional Government of Vlora required for support to the French, British and Russian delegates in his efforts to prevent the newly state from becoming a victim of the “monopoly” of any “*Special Power, or Special Powers*”. To the British delegate, Harry Lamb, this attitude was undoubtedly related to the fact that the head of the Albanian government felt very discouraged and ashamed by the way his “*protectors*” were treating him.<sup>50</sup>

After the resignation of Ismail Qemal Vlora and his government, in January 1914, the issue of sending foreign specialists and advisers to the Albanian administration became present again. Immediately after Prince Wilhelm von Wied’s arrival in Albania (March 1914), the Albanian government asked the Adriatic Powers to send 4 specialists in mining, agriculture, post-telegraph and world affairs; a financial adviser, preferring one of Belgian nationality, as well as an organizer for the port service, giving preference to a former naval officer.<sup>51</sup> The Albanian government’s request reconsidered the previous documentation, while the Adriatic Powers failed to reach an agreement on the abovementioned request.<sup>52</sup> The issue of foreign specialists and advisers in aid of the Albanian government created in itself the distrust and the camouflaged rivalry between the two allies, accompanied by the open rivalry for dominance in Albania of all the Great Powers.

### **Concessionary Policy of the Provisional Government of Albania, the Austria-Italian Parietal Relationship and the Albanian National Bank**

The Austro-Italian parietal agreement conditioned the economic policy of the Albanian provisional government even including the case of concessions. In addition to the recovery of the weak finances of the newly born state, the granting of concessions was also used by the Albanian government to ensure the support of the Great Powers, in particular

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<sup>50</sup> Ibid., No. 296, Lamb to Grey, Vlora, November 5, 1913.

<sup>51</sup> HHSt, PA, A, in: *AIH*, Vj. 24–33–3318. Announcement of Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Austria-Hungary, Vienna, April 3, 1914; Vj. 24–33–3348. Report prepared for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs by specialist, Jovanović, Vienna, April 10, 1914.

<sup>52</sup> Ibid., Vj. 24–33–3325. Report from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Austria-Hungary to the Ambassador in Rome, Vienna, April 27, 1914.

those of the Adriatic ones. Ismail Qemal Vlora believed that the “two protecting states” should receive concessions for large projects in Albania, which should be divided between them based on the principle of parity. Regarding smaller enterprises, such as the construction of trams, hotels, government buildings, lighting network plants, etc., the decision had to be reached by local authorities and local interest groups.<sup>53</sup> Such immense projects envisaged the telegraph cable between ports of Shëngjin and Bari would be extended with the concession, the construction of the Vlorë-Durrës-Shkodër railway, the construction of the tramway and the port in Vlora.<sup>54</sup>

The most important, large-scale concession that the Provisional Government of Vlora granted to the Adriatic Powers was that of the Albanian National Bank, which for the Italian professor Alessandro Rosselli was issued under conditions of pressure.<sup>55</sup>

The establishment of the National Bank, just as it was projected in the active negotiations between the Adriatic Powers, was realized before the International Commission of Control arrived in Vlora. It relied on the concession agreement, with a 60-year term, dated October 4, 1913, between the Provisional Government of Vlora and representatives of the Wiener Bank Verein and Banca Commerciale d'Italia.<sup>56</sup> According to the agreement, the value of the bank's capital would be 10,000,000 kroner, converted to 10,500,000 lira. The capital would be all in gold coins and could be increased by decision of the General Assembly of Shareholders (Article 2). The central headquarters of the bank would be located in the capital of Albania and, in accordance with the needs, branches and subsidiaries could be opened both inside and outside the country (Article 3). According to Article 4, the highest rank governing institution of the bank was the Administrative Council, composed of an equal number of representatives of the two financial groups and of “Albanian elements”. But the value of this article was clearly limited by the clauses of its paragraphs 2 and 4, where it was determined that the first administrative

<sup>53</sup> Ibid., Vj. 23–15–1586. Report from Austria-Hungarian Consul in Vlora to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Count Berchtold, Vlora, August 13, 1913.

<sup>54</sup> A. PUTO, *Shqipëria Politike, 1912–1939*, Tiranë 2009, p. 42; Trami në Vlorë, in: *Përlindja e Shqipëriës*, August 27, 1913.

<sup>55</sup> A. ROSELLI, *Italy and Albania: Financial Relations in the Fascist period*, London, New York 2006, pp. 8–9. J. SWIRE, *Shqipëria. Ngritja e një mbretërie*, Tiranë 2005, p. 155.

<sup>56</sup> Banka Kombëtare Shqipëtare. Akt Konqesie, in: *Përlindja e Shqipëriës*, December 3, 1913, p. 3.

council was created only by the two founding Austro-Italian groups, while the appointments and renewals of Albanian administrators would be appointed by the General Assembly of Shareholders, according to a list established in the agreement between the Albanian government and the Bank's Administrative Council. The Albanian government had no right to include its candidates in the list, without first agreeing with the Austro-Italian representatives of the two financial groups. The Administrative Council was subordinated to a committee, which consisted of two or four members from the Austria-Hungarian and Italian financial groups. No Albanian representative was part of this committee. The administration and activity of the bank were implemented according to the laws of the Albanian state (Article 5). Only after a preliminary agreement with the Administrative Council, the Albanian government had the right to appoint a high commissioner, who would control the issuance of bank notes and strictly observe the implementation of the provisions of the statutes and regulations that referred to the procedures for issuing bank notes. However, the high commissioner had no right to interfere in the administration and management of the bank's affairs (Article 6). The bank issued coins, dealt with their circulation, purchased precious metals and was the only financial agent of the government, both inside and outside Albania (Article 7). Despite the intervention of the President of the Provisional Government of Vlora to strengthen the Albanian element within the bank, Article 11 determined that the Austro-Italian group had *"the right of preference for all concessions that the state will grant, as well as for all construction works and all supplies for the reserves of the state"*.<sup>57</sup> In this way, he had a *de facto* monopoly in all financial and industrial enterprises in Albania. Ismail Qemal Vlora also intervened in the content of Article 21, succeeding in securing the right to dispute. According to the addition made by him, in case of dispute over the clauses of the concession or judicial procedures, which could appear between the Albanian government and the bank, related to the implementation of the statutes or for reasons of social work, the agreement was subject to the Federal Court of Lausanne, without possibility of any appeal or recourse.<sup>58</sup>

The National Bank did not develop any genuine financial activity. Its only action was executed on October 6, 1913, that is, only two days

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<sup>57</sup> Ibid.

<sup>58</sup> TNA, FO 421/287. Part I. Correspondence. Affairs of Albania, October to December 1913, No. 29, Lamb to Grey, Vlora, November 20, 1913.



after the signing of the concession agreement. It is about a deposit of 545,283 groshis (about 4,000 pounds sterling) made by the Provisional Government of Vlora to the “*Union of the National Bank of Albania-Treasury Office*”. From the total amount, 257,000 groshis were withdrawn from the bank in three instalments, the rest of 288,000 groshis remained deposited in the Treasury branch. This amount turns out to have been unchanged until June 1914.<sup>59</sup>

### **Debates on the Albanian National Bank in the International Commission of Control and International Chancelleries**

The establishment of the International Commission of Control, as one of the compromises of the Great Powers at the Conference of Ambassadors in London, did not resolve the old disagreements between them over its powers and character. New disagreements and clashes appeared from the moment it had to start its operation.<sup>60</sup> Not only Austria-Hungary, but also Italy, which had not been initiators and unconditional supporters of the creation of the international organization, aimed to direct and dominate its activity. The final goal was to invalidate the mission of the International Commission of Control, as a team work of the six Great Powers, in function of their policy of dominating the Adriatic-Balkan region as an exclusive area of their sphere of influence on a parietal basis.

One of the issues regarding the controversial debate shifting from the diplomatic tables of the London Conference to those of the International Commission of Control in Vlora was clearly reflected, is closely related with that of the Albanian National Bank. The handling of this issue started at the meeting on November 27, 1913. The debate initially focused on the validity of the concessionary act and then on contract evaluation for the bank establishment.<sup>61</sup> In their discussions, the French, Russian and British members of the International Commission of Control defended the view that the Provisional Government of Vlora had violated the decision of the Conference of Ambassadors, according to which Albania should be governed uniquely by the Great Powers. It had no right to grant final concessions for a long period of time that directly affected the

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<sup>59</sup> H. SHKOZA, *Financat e Shqipnis (1839–1934)*, Tiranë 1935, pp. 779–780.

<sup>60</sup> MILO, p. 138.

<sup>61</sup> TNA, FO 421/287. Part I. Correspondence. Affairs of Albania, October to December 1913, No. 40, Lamb to Grey, Vlora, November 27, 1913; No. 5, Grey to Lamb, Foreign Office, December 10, 1913; No. 48, Lamb to Grey, Vlora, December 8, 1913; No. 51, Lamb to Grey, Vlora, December 11, 1913.

economic future of all Albania, under the reasoning that its governing authority did not cover the entire territorial unit of the Albanian state. It was the right of International Commission of Control, which was the only regular administrative body that, after analysing the advantages of the concession, could grant it or not. Based on these criteria, the concession of the National Bank was evaluated by the representatives of the Entente, as one-sided and too expensive for the low Albanian finances. Germany was shared the same attitude, although it did not openly articulate it diplomatically. The German Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, in a private letter sent to the ambassador in Vienna, stated that *“Albanian Bank, although in a slightly hidden form, has no other meaning than that of an Italian-Austrian monopoly and thus contradicts the principle of which we have tried everywhere, i.e. the open door principle”*.<sup>62</sup>

The establishment of the Albanian National Bank, in addition to the International Commission of Control, was also addressed in the relevant international chancelleries. The Concert of Europe, excluding Austria-Hungary and Italy, although it recognized the creation of the institution, required the internationalization of the National Bank of Albania, which had to be a joint and equal investment of all the Great Powers and not just two of them.<sup>63</sup> In such circumstances of the presence of the Italian retreat, whose policy oscillated between loyalty to the Triple Alliance and flirting with the Entente, the extreme persistence of the Habsburg Empire became evident to the fore in diplomatic circles. It began to bow its head only in February 1914, when Austria-Hungary accepted the temporary internationalization of the bank, on the condition that a special position would be secured for Austria-Hungary and Italy, because of their much more important interests in Albania, created by their geographical position.<sup>64</sup> The special position of the two Adriatic Powers was related to 60% of the capital of the bank, while the remaining 40% would have to

<sup>62</sup> *AIH*, A–VI–13, The Policy of the European cabinets from September 1913 to July 1914, p. 1419. Private letter from the German Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs to the Ambassador in Vienna, January 25, 1914.

<sup>63</sup> TNA, FO 421/292. Part II. Correspondence. Affairs of Albania, December–March 1913, No. 25, E. Goschen to E. Grey, Berlin, January 16, 1914; No. 44, R. Rodd to E. Grey, Roma, January 31, 1914; No. 18, E. Grey to M. de Bunsen, Foreign Office, February 10, 1914; No. 125, E. Grey to F. Bertie, Foreign Office, March 4, 1914; No. 85, E. Grey to G. Buchanan, Foreign Office, March 6, 1914.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 18, E. Grey to M. de Bunsen, FO, February 10, 1914.

be divided equally among the other four Great Powers. The withdrawal, although not entirely, took place under the conditions of French and Russian pressure, which conditioned the granting of the international loan to Prince Wilhelm von Wied on the issue of the Albanian National Bank. Repeatedly, since December 1913, they had declared that they would participate in guaranteeing the Albanian loan, only if “*the National Bank would be internationalized and the International Commission of Control would take over the administrative and financial organization of Albania and to execute loan control*”.<sup>65</sup> In this way, the guarantee of the loan by the all Great Powers was closely related to the issue of the internationalization of the Albanian National Bank, the regulation of which was rightly considered by the British government as one of the most appropriate means to strengthen the position of the Prince and to enable an effective administration policy in the Albanian state.<sup>66</sup>

Under the conditions of the lack of consensus for an equal percentage between the Great Powers in terms of the bank’s financial investment, the discussions focused on reaching an agreement on the management and administration team of the bank. The Adriatic Powers withdrew, and it was no longer just a question of Austro-Italian parity participation, as envisaged in the concession agreement of October 1913, but of a distribution of positions among all the Great Powers. One of the longest term discussions was related to the position of the bank governor. The Entente Powers in unison demanded that the governor shall be British, while Austria-Hungary insisted that he shall be either Austrian or Hungarian. Protracted debates continued until July 1914, without reaching a comprehensive compromise on various issues related to the Albanian National Bank.<sup>67</sup> The outbreak of the First World War left it hostage to the rivalry between the Great Powers.

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<sup>65</sup> *AIH*, A–VI–13, The Policy of the European cabinets from September 1913 to July 1914, pp. 1170–1173. German deputy delegate to the International Commission of Control, Nadolny for the Chancellor of the Reich, Vlora, December 15, 1913.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 1490–1491. German Ambassador in London for the Chancellor of the Reich, London, May 29, 1914.

<sup>67</sup> L. DUSHKU, Provisional Government of Vlora, the Albanian National Bank and the Great Powers, in: *Money and banking in Albania, from Antiquity to modern times. The First Conference of the Museum of the Bank of Albania, June 14–15, 2017*, Tirana 2018, pp. 143–144.

## Conclusions

The relationship between the Adriatic Powers regarding the Albanians and Albania since the verbal agreement of Monza (1897) was outlined on the basis of the principle of parity. Parity on the one hand and the recognition of the adequate compensation of the parties on the eastern coast of the Adriatic on the other, there were two principles which had a positive effect on the benefit of avoiding any possible collision between the two allies. Subsequently, the decisions of the Conference of Ambassadors in London constituted the Albanian state as a cooperation that belonged to the six Great Powers, openly ignoring the Austro-Italian parity in relation to Albania. Despite this decision-making, the Adriatic Powers continued to implement their priority policy regarding economic projects in Albania. In this case, the relationship of the Adriatic Powers with the Provisional Government of Vlora (1912–1914) was similarly outlined to that of the Centre and Periphery in Johan Galtung's Structural Theory of Imperialism.<sup>68</sup> At the foundation of this relationship was the concept of interest, which as far as the Adriatic Powers playing the role of the Centre is concerned, is formed on the value of equality between them. While in the relationship that the Centre, as a dominant collective outlined with the Periphery, that is, with the Albanian state/Provisional Government of Vlora, as a dominated nation, the concept of interest did not follow the same premise of equality. As the weakest in this relationship, the Provisional Government of Vlora, with the status of unrecognised by the Great Powers, in a transitional period of power, saw itself in an unequal relationship, and forced to accept dependence and subjugation by the Adriatic Powers.

Economic dominance in Albania was aimed by Austria-Hungary and Italy as a means through which political dominance would be ensured, which meant avoiding as much as possible other Great Powers in matters related to the organization of the independent state of Albania. In this direction, the obstacle named "Entente" proved to be insurmountable. France, Russia and Great Britain strictly adhered to the spirit of the decisions of the Conference of Ambassadors (1912–1913). They supported the principle of the internationalization of the Albanian state on a paritarian basis by the six Great Powers and did not allow the

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<sup>68</sup> J. GALTUNG, A Structural Theory of Imperialism, in: *Journal of Peace Research*, 8, 2, 1971, pp. 81–117.

economic and political domination of the independent Albanian state by Austria-Hungary and Italy itself. In such a situation, the issue of foreign specialists and advisers, as well as that of the Albanian National Bank, remained hostage to the rivalry of the Great Powers and did not resolve a final solution.



## György Barcza – Hungarian Diplomat in an Era of Change: György Barcza’s Foreign Service in Northern Europe between 1916 and 1922

*Anita Faust,<sup>1</sup> – Viktória Németh<sup>2</sup>*

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The aim of the study is to provide a contextualised analysis of the work of Hungarian diplomat, György Barcza, between 1916 and 1922, offering a unique insight into the complexities of an age of intense conflict and manifold social and geopolitical transition. György Barcza became a diplomat in the last decade of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, and from the transitional period following the First World War he became a defining figure of the emerging Hungarian diplomacy. He was part of the efforts to establish an independent Hungarian Foreign Service in the period after the First World War up until the conclusion of the Treaty of Trianon, a time of isolation for Hungary. Based on his previous experience and network of contacts, György Barcza actively participated in the building of Hungary’s international relations. His retrospective memoirs provide an insight into the background of the historical processes of the time, and into the development of Hungarian diplomacy, which was laden with difficulties. Thus, Barcza’s memoirs cast a light on the diplomatic traditions of the monarchy as well as on the functioning of the independent Hungarian Foreign Service. Emblematic of diplomacy in his era, György Barcza’s career included building ties with the families of the nobility and integration into the traditions of imperial officials. From his memoirs, we can also learn how the countries where he served as a diplomat viewed Austria-Hungary and, later, Hungary. These soft factors may contribute supplementary information for the interpretation of the international relations that constituted the context of the Treaty of Trianon.

[György Barcza; Austro-Hungarian Monarchy; Kingdom of Hungary; Northern Europe; Neutrality; International Legitimacy]

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- <sup>1</sup> Anita Faust, University of Pécs (Hungary), The Doctoral School of Earth Sciences, Political Geography, Geopolitics and Geo-economics from a Central European Perspective, PhD-candidate; Research fellow at the Geopolitical Research Group of the Eurasia Center at the John von Neumann University in Kecskemét, Hungary; faust.anita@gmail.com.
- <sup>2</sup> Viktória Németh, University of Pécs (Hungary), The Doctoral School of Earth Sciences, Political Geography, Geopolitics and Geo-economics from a Central European Perspective, PhD-candidate; Senior researcher at Economic Research Foundation, Budapest; nemetviki@gmail.com.

## Introduction

The lives and experiences of historical personalities who held important offices can provide valuable windows onto the past. From among the papers published in the *West Bohemian Historical Review*, such is the approach embraced by Oleh Strelko and Oleh Pylypchuk who, in their study titled *Apollon Konstantinovich Krivoshein: the last Railway Minister of the Russian Empire in the Era of Emperor Alexander III* examined the exceedingly complex duties of the minister who played a decisive role in the construction of the Great Siberian Railway.<sup>3</sup> Their study also draws attention to the features of contemporary society, by showing that Krivoshein's professional career required more than talent and professional expertise, as his family ties and the relations within the court of the Czar also contributed to his eligibility for promotion.

Similarly daunting complexity characterizes the professional life of a diplomat serving the foreign office of the Austro-Hungarian Empire in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. The institution itself is complex, as it shaped the policies of a multi-ethnic empire. Then came the re-structuring of Central Europe in the wake of the Great War. The Habsburg Empire, which had been one of the leading European powers, and which had, until then, played a decisive role in shaping the history of Central Europe and the Balkans,<sup>4</sup> was dismantled. After the world war, but before the conclusion of the peace agreement, the creation of the foreign affairs establishment for the newly independent Hungary was a particularly challenging task. Hungarian leaders viewed foreign relations as crucial for ensuring the inclusion of Hungary in the shaping of the conditions of the peace agreement. The analysis of the Treaty of Trianon is not within the scope of the present study. It does, however, seek to provide additional insight into why Hungary's Foreign Service was severely isolated after 1918.

At the end of the First World War, in 1918, the Hungarian Foreign Service had rather limited room for manoeuvre. László Tamás Vizi describes this period from Hungary's perspective as an era without international allies and a very complex situation from the Hungarian foreign policy's point of view:<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> O. STRELKO – O. PYLYPCHUK, *Apollon Konstantinovich Krivoshein: the last Railway Minister of the Russian Empire in the Era of Emperor Alexander III*, in: *West Bohemian Historical Review*, XI, 1, 2021, pp. 1–23.

<sup>4</sup> S. UKSHINI, *Austro-Hungarian Foreign Policy and the Independence of Albania*, in: *West Bohemian Historical Review*, XI, 2, 2021, pp. 167–208.

<sup>5</sup> L. T. VIZI, *The Ideas of Hungarian Politics on Revision in the First Half of the 1920s*, in: *West Bohemian Historical Review*, XI, 1, 2021, pp. 25–47.



*“In the first half of the 1920s, the Hungarian political elite had to handle the situation created by the Trianon Treaty, although the Hungarian foreign politics had very little room for manoeuvres against the Little Entente and for the revision of the Trianon Treaty.”<sup>6</sup>*

Indeed, this was a period when international allies would have been needed, to help minimise the losses imposed as conditions of the peace treaty and their effect on the country’s economy and society. At that time, Hungary did not yet have a ministry of foreign affairs: the joint Austro-Hungarian administration had ceased, and the independent institution had to be set up after the war. The era was also characterized by the disintegration of the previous international order and domestic political chaos after the war.

As the independent state of Hungary was in the process of being formed, Hungary’s independent ministry of foreign affairs had yet to be created. Hungarian officials who had served in the diplomatic corps of Austria-Hungary, among them György Barcza, were tasked with the establishment of Hungary’s bilateral relations. For György Barcza, this meant building Hungary’s relations in Northern Europe, with states with which Hungary had had scant direct contact in previous centuries.<sup>7</sup>

The First World War and the Treaty of Trianon, which concluded it in the case of Hungary, is a much-studied issue in Hungarian literature. However, the practical operation of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and diplomacy is a topic that has been given unduly little attention. The transformation of foreign affairs from a joint Austro-Hungarian institution into an independent Hungarian one became a key issue in the era. Éva Somogyi, who was a researcher at the Institute of History of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences for decades, stands out in this research field. She examined in detail the operation of the Government system in the Monarchy. The period after 1914 was outside the scope of her research. Nevertheless, her work provided valuable input for our quest. Another author whose work we have relied on is William D. Godsey, research fellow at History of the Habsburg Monarchy. Godsey examines the Habsburg Monarchy in an international context and also researches the operation of governing bodies, with particular regard to the foreign office on the eve of the First World War. We were able to utilize these works as a starting point for our

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<sup>6</sup> Ibid., p. 25.

<sup>7</sup> V. NÉMETH, Skandinávia a geopolitika térképén, in: *Geopolitikai Szemle*, 1, 3, 2019, pp. 85–104.

research. At the same time, György Barcza's own notes provided the deepest insight into the operation of the Hungarian foreign mission, as they were based on his own daily experiences. We have reviewed the theoretical literature, primarily the theory of international relations, and the international assessment of the Hungarian situation at the end of the 1910s and beginning of 1920s, to establish the theoretical and historical context.

### **The Foreign Ministry of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy**

To construct the context for the analysis of György Barcza's life and achievements we need to summarize the key features of the Foreign Ministry of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Among these, we consider the definition of the role of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in state administration to be the most important, which also serves as the starting point of our research. Understanding the operation of the institution, the role of its officials as well as the composition of its staff is also relevant as context for interpreting György Barcza's work and his recollections thereof. In this phase of the research, we were able to rely heavily on studies of Éva Somogyi and William D. Godsey.

Hungarian historian Éva Somogyi,<sup>8</sup> a renowned researcher of the Austro-Hungarian government apparatus analyses the role of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs within the bureaucracy in Vienna as follows: "*Ballhausplatz*<sup>9</sup> was the casual reference to the iconic institution that implied the centre of the Monarchy from where the politics of a European great power was coordinated, as was that of the Empire itself."<sup>10</sup>

Austria-Hungary being one of the great powers at the turn of the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries,<sup>11</sup> foreign affairs enjoyed an elevated status within its government. This prominent role was also embodied in the fact that from among all ministers, solely the minister of foreign affairs had direct access to the emperor and was also the closest to the emperor in rank. This intimacy was necessary as the responsibilities of the ministry of foreign affairs included the marital and hereditary matters of the ruling Habsburg family. This meant that the foreign minister, who had an in-depth understanding of international political conditions, and whose office had the

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<sup>8</sup> É. SOMOGYI, *Magyarok a bécsi hivatalnokvilágban: a közös külügyminisztérium magyar tisztviselői, 1867–1914*, Budapest 2017.

<sup>9</sup> Ballhausplatz is a metonym for the ministry, and a reference to its location.

<sup>10</sup> SOMOGYI, p. 31.

<sup>11</sup> P. KENNEDY, *The Rise and Fall of the Great Powers*, New York 1987; H. KISSINGER, *Diplomacy*, New York 1994.

direct and confidential relationship with the emperor could, and indeed, was depended upon to orient the royal family's marriage aspirations., the Foreign Ministry was, indeed, one of the centres of the empire.<sup>12</sup>

The composition of the apparatus of the ministry played an important role in its operation. The social status and provenance of the officials working at the ministry was key to how and with what efficacy the ministry built and handled relations with foreign states. The institution's researchers, among them Somogyi and Godsey, emphasize that the organisation's main goal was professionalism, in the achievement of which the social background of the officials became a determining issue. This did not mean that in the first decades of the twentieth century, its officials were chosen from the aristocratic elite. As the bourgeoisie gained ground in society, a growing number of officials and military officers from bourgeois descent were appointed to higher ranks. As shown in research by Josef Redlich on Franz Joseph I, referenced by Éva Somogyi (2017), rivalry emerged between the aristocracy of the court, and the officials of bourgeois descent. While the immense prestige of the ministry extended to the officials who worked there, holding high office was not synonymous with having personal political influence.

Similarly to the tradition pursued at other government institutions, at the Foreign Ministry, too, only people with a doctoral degree in law obtained at one of the universities of the Monarchy could hold an office. After 1869, a special examination in diplomacy was introduced as part of the curriculum.<sup>13</sup> The introduction of these requirements served the emergence of professionalism and helped prepare the integration of new officials into the organisation of the prestigious institution. The fact that requirements were standardised for all candidates with the requirement of preliminary studies, and the very strict rules of operation at the ministry erased the relevance of the ethnic origin of officials.<sup>14</sup> It became a general practice for all officials to have to climb the institutional hierarchy, with newly hired officials starting in entry level positions and gradually ascending the ladder in their careers. This served to strengthen the expertise of the officials, as well as to boost their integration into the institutional system of the ministry.

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<sup>12</sup> S. E. GODSEY, *Aristocratic Redoubt: The Austro-Hungarian Foreign Office on the Eve of the First World War*, West Lafayette 1998; SOMOGYI, p. 31.

<sup>13</sup> GODSEY, p. 33.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 16.; SOMOGYI, pp. 46–47.

Employees of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs were able to work in several areas. Officials serving at the central institution, diplomats, and later consulates all uniformly belonged under the Foreign Ministry. Those serving in the central apparatus, i.e. the ministry officials who actually served at Ballhausplatz, could gain political influence, while the diplomats working in the Foreign Service, i.e. embassy staff, enjoyed greater prestige. This meant that those working at Ballhausplatz were in direct contact with the heads of the ministry's organisation, and they were present in the operation of the organisation daily. Meanwhile, diplomats were physically absent from the ministry's day-to-day affairs, but were nonetheless held in high esteem. This differential status entailed differential benefits in terms of prestige and political influence.

### **An Overview of György Barcza's Life**

Éva Somogyi and William D. Godsey's research on the diplomatic career of the time provided a good basis for analysing the data in Barcza's biography, including his career path and influence on Hungarian foreign policy. Beyond his academic formation and professional career, György Barcza's life experience and his personal traits also played a role in how he represented his country as a diplomat. Directly relevant to our quest, these factors also determined how he looked back upon his service in Northern Europe between 1916–1922 when writing his retrospective memoirs.

In the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, György Barcza emerged as a defining figure of Hungarian foreign policy. During his career, he climbed the steps of the institutional hierarchy described by Éva Somogyi (2017). First, he obtained his degree at the faculty of law in Budapest, after which he went on to study at the Diplomatic Academy of Vienna, where took his examination in diplomacy. He started his career as a junior member of the central apparatus at Ballhausplatz and went on to become a diplomat serving first in Greece, then in Denmark, until the dissolution of the monarchy in 1918. He rose rapidly in rank and became a broad-minded and experienced diplomat at a young age. He maintained good relations with several important public figures of his day. He was on close terms with Hungarian statesman István Bethlen<sup>15</sup> and politician and novelist Miklós

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<sup>15</sup> István Bethlen (1874–1946) was the prime minister of Hungary between 1921 and 1931. His contemporaries referred to him as “the great consolidator” for his economic recovery policy in the country burdened by the Treaty of Trianon.

Bánffy,<sup>16</sup> both of aristocratic extraction. When serving abroad, Barcza was quick to integrate and established good relations with important personalities including the Greek royal couple,<sup>17</sup> Winston Churchill and Pope Pius XII.

His personal traits proved to be more important for building relationships and moving up the ranks than his family background, i.e. aristocratic descent. This phenomenon coincides with the trend described by Somogyi and Godsey, that is, the professionalisation of the organisation came to the fore, as opposed to gentility. Coming from a middle noble family in Transdanubia, György Barcza himself was not part of the aristocratic elite but did have kinship ties to it. He built his diplomat career on professionalism, rather than his own social status. His autobiographic oeuvre clearly reflects the fact that the Austro-Hungarian Diplomatic Academy as well as the diplomatic corps itself was highly regarded not only within the region, but internationally, too. In this sense the life of György Barcza shows similarities as well as contrasts with that of Apollon Konstantinovich Krivoshein, based on Oleh Strelko and Oleh Pylypchuk's paper.<sup>18</sup> While at the turn of the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> century, personal abilities and professional background had become important in the Russian Empire, personal contacts and kinship remained crucial. By contrast, in the Austrian apparatus of the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, the official's career and professionalism was decisive. In her collection of Viennese officials Éva Somogyi (2017) also describes how more and more ministers were emerging from an institutional career, and aristocratic extraction was losing its relevance in appointments. This facilitated the establishing of relations with foreign diplomats, politicians, and important personalities, ranging – as in Barcza's case – from Winston Churchill through the pope to the royal family of Greece.

While his service as a member of the Austro-Hungarian diplomatic corps was the foundation of his career, he went on to important foreign missions under the independent Hungarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Highlights of his career during this period included being the Hungarian ambassador to the Vatican from 1927 until 1938, and to London, from

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<sup>16</sup> Miklós Bánffy (1873–1950) writer, politician, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Hungary between 1921 and 1922, later Transylvanian Hungarian writer and politician.

<sup>17</sup> Constantin I (Athens, 1868 – Palermo, 1923) and Sophia (Potsdam, 1870 – Frankfurt, 1932), younger sister of Wilhelm II., German Emperor.

<sup>18</sup> Footnote 3.

1938 until 1941. He also played a significant role in creating Hungary's foreign affairs, as the head of the political department of the ministry. Later, from 1943 onwards, he represented the Hungarian endeavours to gain independence in Switzerland and conducted negotiations with British and American parties. He did not return to Hungary after World War II but spent the rest of his life in emigration. He settled in Sydney in 1952, where he died in 1961.

For the purposes of the present study, Barcza's personal ties to Northern Europe also demand attention, as this is where he was fulfilling his diplomatic missions in the period examined, that is between 1916 and 1922. He was attracted to Scandinavia by more than his duties as a diplomat. In 1911, after completing his university studies, but before starting his career as a diplomat, he went on a private trip to the region. Traveling through Denmark and Norway to the Barents Sea, he made an excursion to the waters from where forty years prior, the Austro-Hungarian expedition set out to discover what was to be named Franz Josef Land.<sup>19</sup> He published an account of his adventure in a book that same year, titled *Útjegyzetek: egy jegestengeri vadászkirándulásról*.<sup>20</sup> His diplomatic mission to Denmark started five years later, in 1916. In his memoirs, he wrote with enthusiasm about his experiences in Scandinavian countries, their democratic spirit, their way of life and the beauty of their natural scenery. During his stay, he learned to speak Danish, and acquainted himself with the Swedish language.

György Barcza's memoirs were published in two volumes, in 1994, as edited by Ferenc Glatz, Péter Sipos and László Antal. More than one thousand pages long in total, the two volumes contain the longest, edited copy of Barcza's retrospective memoir written in 1946, during his emigration to Switzerland, discussing the period from 1911 to 1945. The manuscript fills twelve large boxes at the Eckhardt section of the Hoover Institution. Selected parts were published in Hungarian journals, in the 1980s. The edited copy of his full manuscript was published in 1994, with the title *Diplomataemlékeim 1911–1945 I– II. – Magyarország volt vatikáni és londoni követének emlékirataiból* [My Diplomatic Memories 1911–1945 I–II. From – the memoirs of Hungary's former ambassador to the Vatican and London]. The owner of the copyright, Mrs Maya Cranitch, György Barcza's

<sup>19</sup> Gy. BARCZA, *Útjegyzetek: egy jegestengeri vadászkirándulásról*, Budapest 1911.

<sup>20</sup> The title of the book translated into English: Travel Notes from a Hunting Expedition to the Arctic Sea.

granddaughter living in Australia gave the editors and the publisher the authorization.<sup>21</sup> The memoirs have since proven to be a valuable source to historians studying the epoch and diplomatic history.

### The International Status of North European States

While the present paper cannot undertake the analysis of the role Denmark and Sweden played during World War I, it is necessary to examine some aspects thereof, to provide insight into the nature of the tasks of the diplomats of Austria-Hungary delegated to these countries. The mission to Northern Europe was unlike any other, because during World War I, Denmark and Sweden declared themselves neutral, hence no combat took place on their territories. As a part of their neutral status, they were important sources of imports and materiel for both sides of the conflict.<sup>22</sup> Both countries were equally significant hubs for intelligence services.<sup>23</sup> In his memoirs, György Barcza remembered the special status of the Northern countries during World War I as follows: “*Small neutral states became important places of observation [...] From an economic point of view, neutral ones became particularly important as sources of procurements.*”<sup>24</sup>

Indeed, through Denmark, Entente states (i.e. United Kingdom, France, and Russia) gained visibility primarily into Germany, while Central Powers (i.e. Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Italy) into Britain and Russia.<sup>25</sup>

In connection with the role of the Austro-Hungarian Foreign Service, György Barcza emphatically noted the clear distinction between the work of intelligence services and the work of the embassy. Diplomats had no insight into espionage activities, as these were separated from the roles of professional diplomats. Thus, Barcza wrote exclusively about the operation of the diplomatic corps, not about espionage.

<sup>21</sup> J. LUKÁCS, Barcza György írott hagyatéka, in: Gy. BARCZA, *Diplomataemlékeim 1911–1945*, Budapest 1994; P. PRITZ, Emlékirat és napló, avagy emlékirat a naplóban, in: M. BARÁTH – A. MOLNÁR (eds.), *A történettudomány szolgálatában: Tanulmányok a 70 éves Gecsényi Lajos tiszteletére*, Budapest 2012.

<sup>22</sup> A. COTTEY, European Neutrality in Historical Perspective, in: A. COTTEY, (ed.), *The European Neutrals and NATO: Non-alignment, Partnership, Membership?*, London 2018, pp. 23–24.

<sup>23</sup> K. BRUHN: Intelligence and Espionage (Denmark), 1914–1918, in: U. DANIEL – P. GATRELL – O. JANZ et al. (eds.), *International Encyclopaedia of the First World War*, Berlin 2018.

<sup>24</sup> BARCZA, *Diplomataemlékeim 1911–1945*, p. 96.

<sup>25</sup> K. GRAM-SKJOLDAGER, Denmark during the First World War: Neutral policy, economy and culture, in: *Journal of Modern European History*, 17, 2, 2019, p. 237.

From the point of view of Hungarian diplomacy, the significance of neutral states stood out in the exchange of prisoners of war between the two opposing blocks. As the war progressed, the roles of neutral northern countries broadened, to include the exchange of prisoners of war between the two blocs. It also gave the Hungarian diplomatic apparatus the most tasks, as Barcza recollected it in his memoir: “Denmark was our protective power in Russia.”<sup>26</sup> “With the mediation of the Danish Red Cross, some fifteen thousand disabled Austro-Hungarian officers and foot soldiers were brought to Denmark...”<sup>27</sup>

On the other, Danish side, too, prisoners of war played a prominent role in bilateral affairs. In the Danish Foreign Ministry, a department was created to deal specifically with the affairs of Austro-Hungarian prisoners of war. In line with the 1907 Hague Conventions,<sup>28</sup> a camp was established for the prisoners received, where adequate living conditions were provided for those emerging from combat during their temporary stay in Denmark. The Embassy in Copenhagen served as the point of contact between the Danish Foreign Ministry and the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy.<sup>29</sup>

However, Barcza’s duties in Denmark were not limited to this single issue. In the following, we analyse the activities of the diplomat in Denmark.

## The Analysis of György Barcza’s Diplomatic Services between 1916 and 1922

### *The Work of the Austro-Hungarian Embassy in Denmark*

Of the four Scandinavian countries, György Barcza spent the most time in Denmark, and this is where he gained the most significant experiences. His memoir describes in detail the role small neutral states play in wartime. This transpires both through the presentation of the activities of the embassy, and through his description of local living conditions. In the following, we present the general atmosphere experienced by György Barcza, the operations of the Austro-Hungarian Embassy, its dissolution, and the attitude of Danish people toward Hungary. The development of bilateral relations is affected by factors beyond

<sup>26</sup> Ibid., p. 120.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid., p. 105.

<sup>28</sup> COTTEY, pp. 23–24.

<sup>29</sup> R. NACHTIGAL, The Repatriation and Reception of Returning Prisoners of War, 1918–22, in: *Immigrants & Minorities*, 26 1–2, 2008, pp. 157–184; BARCZA, *Diplomata-emlékeim 1911–1945*, p. 105.



government-to-government communication. How one nation relates to another on a peoples-to-peoples level also matters. Equally important is the general stance a country takes to the key international events of the day, which in case of Denmark in the early 1900s was neutrality. All these needs considering to gauge the atmosphere surrounding the operation of Hungarian diplomacy in the Nordic countries, in the 1916–1922 period.

Its support for Germany earned Austria-Hungary dislike by the Danish people. This was not the first occasion that it sided with Prussia. The negative attitude of Danes to the Austro-Hungarian support for Germany had its roots in the 1864 war waged by Prussia and Austria against Denmark, where Denmark lost its territories in Schleswig-Holstein to Prussia. The ensuing misgivings were ratcheted up by the shortages of supplies in Denmark, caused by the submarine warfare during the First World War.<sup>30</sup> The general population was becoming increasingly hostile to Central Powers and any deliveries to them.

Nevertheless, in his memoirs, György Barcza expressed his appreciation and respect for Danish society, political culture as well as foreign policy. He considered the neutrality of Scandinavia as a positive example because it was suitable for maintaining welfare and economic prosperity. This behaviour in international relations made a great impression on him, and during his later career he considered it exemplary for Hungary. In his view, neutrality was key to prosperity. On the other hand, he saw a potential ally for Hungary in the Nordic countries. He concluded his experiences as follows: “*Absolutely everything was different in Denmark [...] different, more pleasant, nicer, better [...] a full picture of peace, one we have not seen since 1914. [...] it was pleasing to witness that here there still are nations that live in prosperity, that is, in peace.*”<sup>31</sup>

It is also worth noting to understand Barcza’s perspective, that his praise of Denmark can also be seen as veiled criticism of conditions in his homeland. Barcza was fascinated by the practical functioning of the constitutional monarchy. According to his accounts, the Danish king fully submitted himself to all written and unwritten laws of the land, did not abuse his royal privileges, and lived a bourgeois way of life.

“[...] *the popularity King Christian enjoyed in Denmark was rivalled by few among their own peoples. [...] King Christian was the first citizen of his country,*

<sup>30</sup> L. MÜLLER, *Neutrality in World History*, New York 2019, pp. 127–128.

<sup>31</sup> BARCZA, *Diplomataemlékeim 1911–1945*, p. 95.

*nothing more. As ruler, he strictly followed the constitution, and did not interfere in any affair that pertained in the authority of the governments, while reducing the court protocol to the indispensable essentials.*"<sup>32</sup>

*"[...] the king accepted the precepts without a word of complaint, [...] this fact is so characteristic of the Danes and their king. [...] The king sets an example by his respect for laws, his democratic principles and gentlemanly conduct that many could learn from [...]."*<sup>33</sup>

During the examined period, the status of Denmark as well as of other Scandinavian states was revalued, not only from Barcza's perspective. The role of neutral states as intermediaries between the two blocs gained significance, not only on account of the exchange of prisoners of war, but also, for instance, for the procurement of supplies. Before the world war, the monarchy only had a representation staffed by two diplomats. As the number of tasks grew, embassy staff was significantly increased.

Managing procurements, the issues of prisoners of war and propaganda activities constituted the bulk of the work of the Austro-Hungarian Embassy. As Embassy Secretary, György Barcza paid multiple visits to camps of prisoners of war, and continually managed procurements. Barcza describes the famine and serious shortages that ravaged Germany and his homeland, compared to which the fall in living standards experienced by Danes due to the war seemed like prosperity.

The deterioration of the Danish standard of living also affected the perception of Germany and its allies. In Scandinavia, the fall in living standards was attributed to Germany, which launched the submarine warfare.<sup>34</sup> *"Morally and politically, the Central Powers – and Germany in particular – caused themselves immense harm,"*<sup>35</sup> Barcza noted, giving the following explanation: *"Since in their trade, Scandinavian countries rely practically entirely on transportation by sea, unlimited submarine warfare was having a severely negative impact upon their economy. [...] We have not opted for neutrality only to suffer for this, they said. When will this war that is causing hardships for the innocent finally end? The unpopularity of Germans, which until then, had been only political transformed into a general hatred and anger."*<sup>36</sup> This led to the

<sup>32</sup> Ibid., p. 98.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid., p. 99.

<sup>34</sup> MÜLLER, p. 128 notes that the trade of neutral Nordic maritime states was also restricted by the British, who imposed blockades and considered any Scandinavian vessels bound for Germany as belonging to the enemy.

<sup>35</sup> BARCZA, *Diplomataemlékeim 1911–1945*, p. 107.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid., pp. 106–108.

negative perception of Central Powers, including Hungary, resulting in the restriction of exports by Scandinavia.

The following example illustrates the differences in living standards and the situation in the Central Powers thrust into poverty because of the war. Barcza recounts a case when a Danish trader sold spoiled canned meat and fish to the Austro-Hungarian army. After the incident, the diplomat was unable to assert domestic interests. According to Barcza, the trader may easily have bribed the Foreign Ministry in Vienna, to evade the investigation of the case and the imposition of damages.

Sensing its own unpopularity, the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy promptly moved to try to improve its reputation in the Nordic countries. The campaign implemented included a fashion show, an exhibition of artefacts by Austrian avantgarde artists, and the dissemination of colourful brochures. The embassy carried out the propaganda activity that had been devised by the Foreign Ministry. Barcza frequently criticised the principles underlying these activities, because they fitted neither the recipient culture, nor the political situation. At the time, the strictly rational Nordic audiences did not appreciate these genres, and the campaign backfired, as Barcza perceived it. These failed efforts were passed on to the successor states of Austria-Hungary. Thus, they started from an unfavourable status even as an independent state. Barcza remembers the events as follows: *“Nothing grandiose, nothing imposing or wild romantic either in nature or in the people. Denmark was the little country of an infinitely peaceful and rather materialistic people living in great wealth, which, amid the global conflagration, lived its usual life of abundance as if it were an enchanted paradise on Earth.”*<sup>37</sup>

*“This exhibition was a rather sad failure. By then, everyone was aware that in the spring of 1917, the Central Powers were struggling with the gravest of difficulties. While the Danes hated the Germans more than ever, we were still enjoying some sympathy here and there. Now this sympathy completely evaporated.”*<sup>38</sup>

The above illustrates the unfavourable perception that was inherited by the successor states, including Hungary. Later, Barcza remained in Denmark as a diplomat even after the dissolution of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. This way he gained personal experience of the events of the ensuing period. His task was to establish Hungarian-Danish relations. In the following we discuss this period with the beginning of bilateral relations. It is also worth noting that after a short time Barcza’s

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<sup>37</sup> Ibid., p. 103.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid., p. 112.

responsibilities were no longer limited to the Danish Embassy. The independent Hungarian state was represented by an ambassador in Denmark, Sweden, and Finland.

## The Organisation of the Hungarian Embassy in Northern Europe

### *Denmark*

From the point of view of the situation of Hungarian foreign affairs, it is important to state that at the end of World War I, in the autumn of 1918, Hungary came into being as an independent state.<sup>39</sup> As László Gulyás says, Charles I, emperor of Austria, the last ruler from the House of Habsburg-Lorraine, who also reigned as king Charles IV of Hungary, fully restricted the room for manoeuvre available to the Hungarian monarchy in its foreign relations and eliminated at the end of the first world war the possibility of a separate peace accord from that awaiting Germany.<sup>40</sup> As a result, the Embassy representing the Monarchy was dissolved, opening a rather lengthy transitory period. For lack of a formal, institutional representation, diplomacy and foreign relations activities were pursued by Hungarian aristocrats, whose individual efforts at propaganda sought to maintain the integrity of Hungary and lands inhabited by ethnic Hungarians. Miklós Bánffy visited the Nordic countries to win the support of neutral states for Hungary. For lack of appropriate contacts and common interests, his efforts failed.

The creation Hungary's official institutionalised foreign affairs was a gradual process. Barcza recounts how this happened through his personal experience with the Embassy in Denmark and the Northern European states. He remembers the events as follows, emphasising the difficulties of the initial steps after the war. *"I was fine with the Danish government, I was there in Copenhagen as the envoy of Hungary, but I had no office, no secretary, no errand boy, and – last but not least – no official budget. So, I had to create an embassy out of thin air. [...] This is how the first Hungarian embassy was established in the Scandinavian states."*<sup>41</sup>

<sup>39</sup> A. TÓTH, Összehasonlítható-e az összehasonlíthatatlan? Az első világháború utáni Magyar Királyság és az első Csehszlovák Köztársaság politikai rendszerének kiemelt aspektusai, in: B. RESS – J. BALI – L. KULCSÁR et al. (eds.), *Ibolyától krizantémig 1867–1920*, Budapest 2021, pp. 85–92.

<sup>40</sup> L. GULYÁS, Adalékok a versailles-i békerendszer történetéhez. IV. Károly Nagy Háború alatti diplomáciája: a spai egyezmény és következményei, in: B. RESS – J. BALI – L. KULCSÁR et al. (eds.), *Ibolyától krizantémig 1867–1920*, Budapest 2021, pp. 231–236.

<sup>41</sup> BARCZA, *Diplomataemlékeim 1911–1945*, pp. 133–135.

Initially, the status of the new, independent Hungarian diplomatic mission was special. Because Hungary as an independent state had not conclusively been recognised. For this reason, foreign representation was possible only on the level of envoy, that is, the envoy was accredited to the government, and not to the head of state. Stockholm was chosen as the headquarters for the Hungarian diplomatic representation whose scope of responsibility encompassed all four Scandinavian countries, because Sweden and its capital carried the most political and economic clout in the region. “*Somehow Stockholm seemed more significant, it gave a grander impression, as did Sweden itself, which was huge compared to little Denmark.*”<sup>42</sup> Other small states proceeded similarly and chose Stockholm as the centre for managing their affairs concerning the northern states. In the next part of the study, we will discuss his activities in Denmark. It is also worth noting that Barcza was later appointed ambassador to other Northern European countries, parallel to his duties in Denmark. As part of the expansion of the field of work, he moved to the new headquarters to Stockholm. Barcza’s activities in the other two Northern European countries, Sweden, and Finland, are discussed in the following sections.

### *Sweden*

György Barcza was the Hungarian Envoy, who laid the foundations of the present-day Hungarian Embassies in Northern Europe, and who launched bilateral relations with these countries. His status was ambivalent, the favourable atmosphere of the past relationship between the two countries, and Barcza’s personal qualities are among the positives, meanwhile, the contemporary international perception of Hungary was unfavourable after the war.

Barcza emphasised in his memoir that for several reasons, he had significant advantage over the diplomats of the other new Central European states. Central European geography was little known in Scandinavia. Furthermore, the historic relations between Hungary and Sweden were not burdened with any tensions, and despite the geographic distance, there had been economic, cultural, and political cooperation between the two countries.<sup>43</sup> György Barcza’s personal advantage over the diplomats of other countries was his training and professional experience. This may have been an advantage in terms of Hungary’s diplomatic perception.

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<sup>42</sup> Ibid., p. 138.

<sup>43</sup> D. GUSTAFSSON, *Sverige och Ungern. Svédország és Magyarországnak*, Trelleborg 2004; NÉMETH, p. 95.

The Envoy as a person was unable to compensate for the reputation of Hungary. Based on Barcza's personal experience, the reputation of the Károlyi government was poor, and the excesses of both the far left and far right were viewed negatively among the Nordic peoples who appreciated restraint. The diplomat observed that internationally Károlyi's government was considered extremely weak and incapable of maintaining order. The following quote encapsulates how Barcza perceived the situation: "[...] *the Entente have no trust in the government. They do not trust it because it has neither the will or the power to reign in the left-wing elements that emerged and went on a rampage after the collapse, and it fails to take the necessary measures and restore order in the country. As long as the current Hungarian regime fails to prove its ability and determination to act, the Entente and neutral countries will be distrustful of it and will not consider its rule stable.*"<sup>44</sup>

The rise to power of an extreme political trend and the chaotic operation of the government was unconscionable from the perspective of Sweden. This situation made it significantly more difficult to represent the Hungarian affairs abroad. In the period when Treaty of Trianon was concluded, part of the domestic political public agreed that it would have been particularly important for Hungary to gather allies abroad, including among neutral states during the war. (It is worth noting, that Barcza disagreed with the government in connection with its policy to seek the international recognition of Hungary). As Ambassador, György Barcza was committed to finding allies for Hungary, within the framework for which he was authorized. He saw an excellent opportunity in the neutral Northern European states. However, the advance of the extreme political trend in Hungary was a hindrance to his endeavours, as the government's international reputation deteriorated.<sup>45</sup>

As the above quote shows, for Barcza, Sweden, like Denmark, was a model state. Personally, he was even more impressed by the social and political conditions, and the living standards there than in Denmark. His impressions reinforced his conviction that neutrality was the best option for a small or medium sized state. Ever since this time, the preference of neutrality has been a recurrent thought in Hungarian foreign policy. Several foreign policy experts have argued for it, even independently from one another. Barcza can certainly be seen as one of the forerunners of the idea of neutrality for Hungary.

<sup>44</sup> BARCZA, *Diplomataemlékeim 1911–1945*, p. 123.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 140.

Based on Barcza's description and the analysis of contemporary bilateral relations, the predisposition of Swedes towards Hungarians was much more favourable than the Danes'. One reason may have been that the bilateral relations between the two countries had a significantly longer history, and opportunities for contact between them had been more numerous. Despite the distance trade relations and military alliances also strengthened their cooperation. Its intensity fluctuated over time, nevertheless, it left its mark on the foreign policy as well as the public opinion of the country.<sup>46</sup>

György Barcza played a decisive role in establishing official bilateral relations between the newly independent state of Hungary and Sweden. Full-fledged ambassadorial representation was not established until several decades later.

### *Finland*

Relations between Hungary and Finland were special at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, not least due to earlier findings of Finno-Ugric linguistic traits in the Hungarian language. Regardless of the perception of the war, bilateral relations, and the atmosphere between the two countries endured, as Barcza's memoirs attest. György Barcza himself was quite surprised by the positive reception he experienced in Finland. In the other two states, Denmark, and Sweden, he faced a significantly more distant environment than in Finland. Barcza recalled his experiences in Finland as follows. *"Wherever I went, the Finns welcomed me most cordially, even celebrated me, as a representative of a nation related to them. At times I felt as a rich and aristocratic relative visiting the poorer."*<sup>47</sup> By the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, Finno-Hungarian friendship had been well established. This also gained practical importance as a diplomatic asset: Finland was the only Nordic country to legally recognize Hungary as an independent state.

In addition to nurturing good cultural relations, the Finns also saw multiple similarities in the fate of the two peoples and did not view the political situation in Hungary as negatively as the other Nordic countries did. Like Hungary, Finland, too, had only recently gained its independence, after which it, too, underwent consecutive periods of red and then white terror. The situation was stabilized by general Mannerheim, who

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<sup>46</sup> GUSTAFSSON, p. 2.

<sup>47</sup> BARCZA, *Diplomataemlékeim 1911–1945*, p. 143.

was comparable to governor Miklós Horthy, both in terms of personality and in terms of the political system he created.<sup>48</sup>

Regarding Barcza's personal motives, it is worth noting, that Barcza disagreed with the new Hungarian government regarding its policy to seek the international recognition of the country. In his opinion, the international recognition of Austria as an independent state that had been a member of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy automatically and simultaneously implied the de facto recognition of Hungary. Barcza also disagreed with the signing of the Treaty of Trianon. While being anti-war, he advocated perseverance to the end. However, his personal convictions could not override the official framework to which his authority extended.

Barcza considered the sweeping reforms introduced in Finnish public administration, education, along with the development of the infrastructure, an example for Hungary to follow. "*Finland's first years are highly instructive from a Hungarian point of view [...]*."<sup>49</sup> This made Barcza one of the forerunners of those political figures, who have urged Hungary to follow Finland's example. Later, many political thinkers and decision-makers considered the Finnish model exemplary. Like the concept of neutrality, the adoption of the Finnish model has been a recurrent thought over the past one hundred years, shared by many Hungarian politicians and experts.

It is worth noting that Finno-Hungarian relations reached their climax in the 1920s, 1930s. While good relations between the two countries were palpable, they had their limits.<sup>50</sup> The reasons include the significant physical distance, the cultural differences, and most importantly, the lack of common interests that could have given friendly relations more depth. Despite the obvious parallels between the histories of the two countries, they often faced quite different challenges. Although both countries developed a positive perception of the other, they could not extend meaningful military assistance to one another. Their political cultures and social structures also differed, and trade relations could not

<sup>48</sup> B. DMYTRO, The dissolution of the Russian and Austro-Hungarian Empires and the revolutionary process (1917–1920): A comparative analysis, in: *Revista Română de Studii Eurasiatice*, 15, 1–2, 2015, pp. 61–76; A. HALMESVIRTA, Magyarország és Finnország útja a XX. század elejétől napjainkig, in: J. SIEVERS (ed.), *Rokoni körben: A magyarországi finn képviselő története*, Budapest 2010, pp. 10–18.

<sup>49</sup> BARCZA, *Diplomataemlékeim 1911–1945*, p. 146.

<sup>50</sup> HALMESVIRTA, p. 13.



develop either. Nevertheless, their communities played important roles in nurturing friendly people-to-people and cultural relations.<sup>51</sup>

### The Perceptions of the Treaty of Trianon in the Nordic States

The perception of Hungary abroad is not only important, or because of how it affected the beginning of bilateral relations in the 1920s. The general unfavourable perception and atmosphere also contributed to the formulation of the Treaty of Trianon, the peace treaty that defined the creation of the independent Hungarian state.

The perceptions of the Trianon peace treaty by the Nordic countries can be viewed considering their attitudes towards Hungary. In the following, we review the perceptions of Hungary by the Northern European countries as a context for their attitudes to the Trianon Treaty, with particular regard to György Barcza's experiences as a diplomat.

As discussed in the above, the Danes condemned Hungary for siding with Germany in the war, and they maintained this opinion. Barcza's memoirs show that they were nevertheless more understanding of Hungary's territorial losses, as they had experienced the consequences of the war of 1864 in a similar way. Overall, Hungary being remote from Denmark, and due to Danish resentment over Hungary's cooperation with Germany, they did not show much sympathy. In Barcza's experience, this resentment clearly transpired through the positive personal relations he had built: *"To me, the Danes with whom I was on friendly terms demonstrated polite compassion and lamented the harsh conditions of the peace treaty but did not fail to point out that this is what happens to those who pick the wrong side in a war. We hope, in the next war, you, too, will be on the right side, they would add. The Czechs, Serbs and Romanians did not enjoy any sympathy at that time, nor were they well known [...]."*<sup>52</sup>

Possibly due to its long-standing relations with Hungary, Sweden had a greater understanding of the Hungarian cause, but even this did not constitute sufficient ground for the country to stand up for Hungary on an international level.

Finland was much more overt in its support for Hungary, but being a new state, it had to take its own vulnerability into consideration. For this reason, their pro-Hungarian stance on international fora was restrained.

<sup>51</sup> A. HALMESVIRTA, Hungary and Finland in interwar years: A Comparative Survey, in: R. BARTA – R. KEREPESZKI – K. KRZYSZTOF (eds.), *Trianon 1920-2020. Some Aspects of the Hungarian Peace Treaty of 1920*, Debrecen 2021, pp. 31–44.

<sup>52</sup> BARCZA, *Diplomataemlékeim 1911–1945*, p. 149.

The Norwegian stance is the least featured in György Barcza's memoir. In connection with the situation following the signing of the Treaty of Trianon, it only says that the Norwegians were unequivocally committed to the Entente's side. Their perception of Hungary's role in the war was purely negative, and they showed no compassion whatsoever over the serious conditions of the peace treaty. "*The Norwegian press, being completely Anglophile, approved of everything, the Swedes' stance was balanced, and in fact, some of their media took our side, while the Finns spoke carefully, but with warm compassion over our fate.*"<sup>53</sup>

Vince Sulyok (2003) a researcher who lived and worked in Norway for decades, disagrees with Barcza's assessment. According to his experience, the Norwegians had great sympathies towards Hungary in connection with the Treaty of Trianon.<sup>54</sup> Given his more extensive experience in Norway, Vince Sulyok may have had better insight into Norwegian public opinion and media than did Barcza. At the same time, given the geographical remoteness and a lack of common interests, Norway, too, embraced an aloof attitude towards the Hungarian cause on the international level.

Overall, for the Northern European states, Hungary was a less important partner, and in many cases, Hungary even came under a negative assessment. So Nordic countries could not be partners in the effort to have Hungary overrule the peace treaty at international level, which entailed significant economic and social losses for it. Moreover, war involvement was also a negative starting point for the establishment of bilateral relations. At the same time, the situation was coloured by the fact that the country looked back on a longer-term history with the individual states in the field of bilateral relations.

## Conclusions

During World War I, the small and neutral Nordic countries gained international significance, because of which their economies grew stronger. Nevertheless, the region suffered some decline in prosperity due to the war, but this regression was negligible compared to that experienced by countries at war. It was at this point in history that the economic and development gap between Central and Northern Europe deepened. While this was not the only factor that contributed to the significant difference

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<sup>53</sup> Ibid., pp. 150–151.

<sup>54</sup> V. SÚLYOK, A norvégok és Magyarország, in: *Szépirodalmi figyelő*, 3, 2003, pp. 129–135.

between the development of the two regions that can be observed today, this was the time when the first signs of the tendencies appeared.

The role played by Scandinavian states during World War I was relevant to Hungary in multiple ways. The Nordic countries became sources of procurement, and their importance in intelligence was also amplified. In the 1916–1922 period, the Nordic, and in particular the Danish role in the exchanges of prisoners of war was the most tangible form of help from the Hungarian perspective. The topic has been quite neglected even though tens of thousands of people were able to return to their homeland after the war with Scandinavian mediation.

His experiences in the Nordic countries were defining for György Barcza, shaping his way of thinking for the rest of his life, all the more important due to his influence in founding the foreign affairs of the newly independent state of Hungary. Barcza was among the first figures to call for Hungary's neutrality, and to point to the Finnish development model as being highly instructive and worthy of following for Hungary.

The early 1920s were an important milestone for Hungary, as well as for the country's bilateral relations with the North European countries. György Barcza was the first Envoy to represent Hungary in Scandinavian countries. He laid the foundations of Hungary's present-day diplomatic representation in these countries, as well as of official bilateral relations.

Representing the post-World War I Hungarian cause and instilling sympathy toward it was a significant challenge for Hungarian diplomats. This was particularly so in the Nordic countries, which were at a great geographic distance from Hungary, and so had scant first-hand impressions about the country. The more intense historic relations with Sweden and Finland proved to be helpful in improving Hungary's reputation. In the case of Denmark and Norway, the lack of common interests contributed to the aloof or even negative attitudes towards it, particularly in the wake of Austria-Hungary's support for Germany in the war. These misgivings were amplified by the dire economic consequences of the German-initiated submarine warfare for the region that relied on transportation by sea for practically all its trade. Later, it was the weakness of the Károlyi government, particularly in the light of extremist movements in Hungary, that further eroded the country's reputation. Only Finland, having undergone similar historical processes, showed sympathy towards Hungary.

Based on Barcza's observations, it was clear that in its post-war isolation Hungary could look to Finland for positive, even friendly relations.

The Finno-Hungarian relations reached their zenith between the two world wars but were mostly limited to cultural cooperation.

György Barcza was an erudite, broad minded and experienced diplomat, whose memoirs remain a valuable source of insight. While he did not seek to register every single event that took place during his career, Barcza's recollections of his impressions and experiences provide a unique perspective for scholars on the relations between Hungary and Scandinavia in the 1916–1922 period.

The examined period as one of intense change for the world order, for Europe, and within them, for Hungary. The insights and experiences recorded in the retrospective memoirs of the erudite and experienced Hungarian diplomat György Barcza can help refine our understanding of the deeply interrelated processes of domestic politics, international relations, and global events, affecting recognition, legitimation, cooperation, and power on each level.

# The Ethnic Composition and the Participation of the Reorganized French Army in the Liberation of the Metropolitan France

*Krisztián Bene*<sup>1</sup>

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Although France suffered a crushing defeat in 1940 and was forced to sign an armistice, the war did not end for all French territories. In July 1940, General Charles de Gaulle created the Free French Forces in London to continue the fight against the Axis powers. The Allied invasion of French North Africa in November 1942 has changed the situation: the French North African government started to contribute to the Allied war effort and the French Army of Africa also joined the fight on the side of the Allies. In 1943, the two French forces have joined to form the French Liberation Army which took an active part in the fighting on the European theatre of operations. It fought successfully in Italy, during the liberation of the metropolitan France and in Germany. In a surprising way, more than half of the members of the French Liberation Army came from the French colonies. These soldiers were able to show a convincing performance on the battlefield during the fighting on the European theatre. Despite this, they were forced to undergo the so-called bleaching (*blanchiment*) during which they were replaced by metropolitan soldiers. This process created general discontent in their ranks, but their demonstration for more equitable behaviour was severely repressed by the French authorities.

[World War II; French Army; Liberation; Colonial Troops; Bleaching]

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## Introduction

The French army suffered a crushing defeat in 1940. On the other hand, its participation in the war continued thereafter thanks to the Free French Forces (*Forces françaises libres*) created by General Charles de Gaulle. Then, this activity reached a higher level after the French colonies in North Africa rallied to the Allies at the end of 1942 under the command of General Henri Giraud. The merger of two French armies of similar origins

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<sup>1</sup> Department of French Studies, Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, University of Pécs, 7624 Pécs, Ifjúság útja 6.; bene.krisztian@pte.hu.

but with very different convictions was a difficult task. Despite this, a force was created in 1943 that was able to play an active role in the liberation of Europe.

As a result, French troops participated in the conquest of Italy and the liberation of France, and later in the invasion of Germany. It is also a little-known fact that many soldiers who fought for the French army were not French citizens. The new armed force was primarily based on colonial forces being composed mainly of native soldiers. They were supplemented by a significant number of nationals of other European and non-European nations. However, for various reasons, the French military command had already begun to “whitewash” (*blanchir*) these units upon the liberation of the mother country.

In my article, I will present the process of reorganization and deployment of the new French army. At the same time, I will try to reveal what motivated the French military leadership to relegate to the background, in the last months of the war, its soldiers who had played an important role in the victory.

### **The French Colonial Empire in 1939–1940**

The French colonial empire was gradually built up from the early 16<sup>th</sup> century. French sailors explored the shores of the Americas on numerous voyages before the French crown officially began colonising the New World. As a result, large areas of the North American continent came under French rule during the 17<sup>th</sup> century, as did parts of the Antilles and Guyana in South America. At the same time, France also took control of small areas of West Africa, islands in the Indian Ocean and parts of India, laying the foundations for a global colonial empire. However, at the end of the Seven Years' War in the second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, most of these territories in North America, Africa and India came under British rule.<sup>2</sup> To aggravate the situation, in 1804 the island of Saint-Domingue (now Haiti) won its independence from mainland France after a long struggle.<sup>3</sup> Consequently, the promising colonial construction process seemed to have come to a standstill.<sup>4</sup>

The great turning point came in 1830, when Charles X re-launched the colonisation of Africa with the invasion of Algeria, complemented

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<sup>2</sup> B. PHAN, *Colonisation et décolonisation (XVI<sup>e</sup>–XX<sup>e</sup> siècle)*, Paris 2009, pp. 45–51.

<sup>3</sup> P. SINGARAVÉLOU (ed.), *Les empires coloniaux. XIX<sup>e</sup>–XX<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Paris 2013, pp. 378–380.

<sup>4</sup> J. FRÉMEAUX, *Les empires coloniaux. Une histoire-monde*, Paris 2012, pp. 70–71.

by French expansion in sub-Saharan Africa. The number of colonies then began to grow rapidly again during the Second Empire, when, in accordance with Napoleon III's ideas, not only did the earlier expansion in Africa continue, but new conquests were made in the Indian and Pacific Oceans (e.g. Madagascar, New Caledonia, Cambodia).<sup>5</sup> Subsequently, the Franco-Prussian War gave a new impetus to expansion, as the heavy military defeat suffered in the course of the war demonstrated that France could only expand its territory in a colonial race, and that it could not compete with its rivals on the European continent. During the Third Republic, the expansionist processes that had begun earlier continued in both Africa and Asia, leading on several occasions to great power tensions (Fashoda, Agadir). By the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, colonial expansion had made France one of the major colonial powers.<sup>6</sup>

The French-controlled colonies played an important role during the First World War. On the one hand, they contributed to the conquest of the German colonies, which was a major achievement, and on the other, they sent large quantities of munitions and labour, as well as large numbers of soldiers to the European theatres of war, which contributed decisively to the victories won there. It is estimated that more than 600,000 colonial soldiers served in the conflict, while more than 200,000 colonial workers were employed in French factories producing munitions.<sup>7</sup> This contribution was significant in both quantity and quality, as is demonstrated by the fact that most of the medals awarded during the conflict were to colonial units.<sup>8</sup>

The victory in the First World War further increased the number of territories under French control. This was not the result of new military conquests, but of the peace treaties that ended the conflict, which allowed France to take control of former German and Ottoman possessions as mandates (Cameroon and Togo jointly with the British, and Syria and Lebanon separately). By 1936, with almost 13 million km<sup>2</sup> and 110 million inhabitants, the French colonial empire was the second largest in the world, behind the British. At the same time, its military importance was also decisive, as it accounted for a quarter of the available French military force. Moreover, the latter was even more important in qualitative terms,

<sup>5</sup> A. CLAYTON, *Histoire de l'armée française en Afrique 1830–1962*, Paris 1994, pp. 75–90.

<sup>6</sup> PHAN, pp. 107–110.

<sup>7</sup> C-R. AGERON – C. COQUERY-VIDROVITCH – G. MEYNIER – J. THOBIE, *Histoire de la France coloniale 1914–1990*, Paris 2016, pp. 73–79.

<sup>8</sup> P. MONTAGNON, *Histoire de la Légion de 1831 à nos jours*, Paris 1999, pp. 169–170.

as the colonial formations were generally made up of professional soldiers with considerable combat experience.<sup>9</sup>

Accordingly, the troops redeployed from the colonies to the defence of the motherland were heavily involved in the fighting in the spring and early summer of 1940. At the same time, notwithstanding, the colonial territories were left with only small, under-equipped and often reserve forces, which were not capable of fighting on their own.<sup>10</sup> Nevertheless, after the armistice of 22 June 1940, the French forces stationed in the mainland were the most important, since the army in the mainland was limited to 100,000 men, while in the colonies much larger forces remained in arms. These were available in the following numbers and distribution. In total, we can therefore talk of more than 360,000 soldiers defending a very large territory and resource base, who, even with relatively few modern weapons, represented a major military potential.<sup>11</sup> The only question was who would command this armed force during the war, as another French leader had emerged to take control of the colonial – and, in the long term, the mainland – territories, in contrast to the Vichy-centred French State of Marshal Philippe Pétain.

### **The Partial Free French Occupation of the Colonial Empire**

This challenger was a professional army officer, Brigadier General Charles de Gaulle, who flew to London on 17 June 1940 to continue the fight against the Axis powers, despite the French government's desire for an armistice.<sup>12</sup> He found full support from the British government, which recognised the Free French Movement as a political and military organisation representing French wartime interests.<sup>13</sup> With only a few thousand members, Free France needed to consolidate its position, and the best opportunity to do so was within the French colonial empire. A few small colonial territories joined Free France voluntarily (New Hebrides, Chad, French Cameroon, Congo, Oubangui-Chari), while the rest were brought to its side over the next few years often with British military assistance.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> FRÉMEAUX, pp. 475–480.

<sup>10</sup> CLAYTON, pp. 155–161.

<sup>11</sup> AGERON – COQUERY-VIDROVITCH – MEYNIER – THOBIE, pp. 314–316.

<sup>12</sup> Service Historique de la Défense (hereafter SHD) GR 4 P 1. *Historique des Forces françaises libres*, t. 1, p. 9.

<sup>13</sup> Archives nationales (hereafter AN) 72 AJ 221. *Accord Churchill-De Gaulle du 7 août 1940*.

<sup>14</sup> SHD GR 4 P 2. *Historique des Forces françaises libres*, t. 2, pp. 12–13, 23–24.



De Gaulle, facing reality, first concentrated on consolidating control over French territory in Central Africa and on 12 October he ordered the occupation of Gabon, which did not follow the example of the neighbouring French colonies and did not switch to the Allies. Thanks to the decisive action of the Free French troops, who had considerable combat experience, the campaign ended quickly on 10 November with the capture of Libreville and with few casualties (36 dead).<sup>15</sup>

In addition to the rapid capture of Gabon, the autumn of 1940 was marked by further minor successes as more French territories decided to join Free France. On 7 September the French Colonies of India, on 9 September the French Colonies of the Oceania and on 24 September the leadership of New Caledonia chose General De Gaulle's camp.<sup>16</sup>

Although the Central African territory under Free French control covered nearly three million square kilometres, it had a population of only six million (including 5,000 of European origin) and a low level of infrastructure.<sup>17</sup> However, the acquisition of the region, which was called Free French Africa from the autumn of 1940, had many strategic advantages for both the Free French and Britain. A land link was established east-west across the African continent with British troops in Egypt, allowing supplies to reach the fighting units safely and by a relatively short route.<sup>18</sup>

In the meantime, a completely new situation had developed in the Eastern Mediterranean: in May 1941, Rashid Ali had launched an uprising against the British in Iraq.<sup>19</sup> At the time, the Germans considered that French involvement would be useful in exploiting this unexpected event, and so they negotiated the use of French airfields in Syria and the transfer of weapons stored in the Syrian arsenals to the rebels.<sup>20</sup> In the light of these events, Churchill decided that French territory should be neutralised and on 20 May he ordered Operation Exporter, the occupation of the French Mandate areas of Levant.<sup>21</sup> On 8 June, in the early hours of

<sup>15</sup> A-P. COMOR, *L'Épopée de la 13<sup>ème</sup> Demi-brigade de Légion Étrangère 1940–1945*, Paris 1988, pp. 114–118.

<sup>16</sup> AN 72 AJ 238. L'origine du recrutement et des motivations des Forces françaises libres, pp. 5–8.

<sup>17</sup> SHD GR 4 P 2. Historique des Forces françaises libres, t. 2, p. 20.

<sup>18</sup> R. CHARLES, Les Forces aériennes françaises libres en Afrique, in: *Revue historique des armées*, 20, 1964, p. 122.

<sup>19</sup> R. O. PAXTON, *La France de Vichy 1940–1944*, Paris 1973, pp. 117–118.

<sup>20</sup> B. LAMBAUER, *Otto Abetz et les Français ou l'envers de la collaboration*, Paris 2001, pp. 330–332.

<sup>21</sup> COMOR, p. 140.

the morning, the attack on the French territories of Levant (Syria and Lebanon) began with the deployment of British and Free French Forces. The local French command requested a ceasefire on 9 July, and on 12 July the terms of surrender were negotiated in the town of Acre and ratified on 14 July.<sup>22</sup> Subsequent British-Free French negotiations resulted that the territories concerned, and the captured military equipment have come under Free French control.<sup>23</sup>

In addition to the military successes, an important step was the decision of other French colonial territories to join the Free French movement during this period. On 27 May 1942, the Western Pacific archipelago of Wallis and Futuna announced that it would join Free France.<sup>24</sup> On 28 November 1942, with British approval, the Free French Forces landed on the island of Réunion, whose leadership surrendered after three days of negotiations, adding another territory to the ranks of Free France.<sup>25</sup> The next to join was French Somaliland. The 1,500 members of the pro-Vichy garrison stationed there, led by Lieutenant Colonel Georges Raynal, left their designated posts on 27 November 1942, and joined the Free French Forces on their march to British territory.<sup>26</sup> At the end of December, these forces returned to the colony to march to Djibouti to overthrow the local leadership, which they did without firing a shot. As a result, by the end of the year the territory and its garrison of 13,000 men were under Free French control.<sup>27</sup>

Madagascar was a special case among the French colonies. On 5 May 1942, the British forces carried out Operation Ironclad, a surprise landing operation to capture the island.<sup>28</sup> The military operations ended on 8 November with the surrender of the French garrison.<sup>29</sup> As a result of De Gaulle's decisive action, control of the island was handed over to the Free French Forces in November.<sup>30</sup>

<sup>22</sup> Y. GRAS, *La 1<sup>ère</sup> D.F.L. Les Français libres au combat*, Paris 1983, p. 101.

<sup>23</sup> AN 72 AJ 220. Chronology of the Free French activities, pp. 12–14.

<sup>24</sup> AN 72 AJ 225. Aux Antilles (juillet 1941-avril 1944).

<sup>25</sup> J-L. CRÉMIEUX-BRILHAC, *La France Libre. De l'appel du 18 Juin à la Libération*, Paris 2013, p. 561.

<sup>26</sup> AN 72 AJ 225. Mémoire du lieutenant Eichenbaum, p. 8.

<sup>27</sup> AN 72 AJ 220. Chronology of the Free French activities, 30–31.; R. MAGGIAR, *Les fusiliers marins de Leclerc. Une route difficile vers De Gaulle*, Paris 1984, pp. 62–63.

<sup>28</sup> AN 72 AJ 238. Témoignage de l'amiral Paul Ortoli, pp. 64–65.

<sup>29</sup> E. Nativel, La « guérilla » des troupes vichystes à Madagascar en 1942, in: *Revue historique des armées*, 54, 1998, pp. 49–60.

<sup>30</sup> AN 72 AJ 225. Témoignage du Général Legentilhomme, p. 6.

This success was compounded by news from the Caribbean at the end of June, as the French Antilles joined Fighting France on 14 July.<sup>31</sup>

As a result, by the end of 1942, all former French colonial territories except these under Vichy control in North and West Africa and Indochina, occupied by Japanese forces, were under De Gaulle's authority. The most important task was therefore to bring all the French colonial territories under joint control to build up a substantial land, air and naval force to fight on the Allied side.

### The Reorganization of the French Armed Forces

Even before the end of the fighting in North Africa, discussions began on the creation of a French force with a large combat capability. The main obstacle was the division between the *Gaullists* and the *Giraudists*, but Anglo-Saxon leaders made great efforts to bridge the gap between the two camps. The two French generals were invited to a conference in Casablanca, Morocco, from January 14 to 24, 1943, to try to find common ground even though they had different views on several issues. Despite the talks between De Gaulle and Giraud on January 22, 23 and 24, no agreement was reached.<sup>32</sup> The question of the equipment of the new force was nevertheless settled, with President Roosevelt committing himself to providing the new French army with sufficient modern weaponry, thanks to the almost unlimited capacities of American industry.<sup>33</sup> This was essential, because the French colonies, although rich in certain raw materials, did not have any large-scale industry and could not contribute to the equipment of the French forces.<sup>34</sup> During the discussions, General Giraud had initially agreed to create eight infantry divisions and five armored divisions. Because it would have taken a long time to arm and train them, and because of American concerns about their future effectiveness, a compromise was reached: finally, five infantry divisions and three armored divisions have been established.<sup>35</sup> However, due to organizational and training difficulties, only some of these units were still operational in 1943.<sup>36</sup>

<sup>31</sup> AN 72 AJ 225. Rapport du commandant Henri Tourtet.

<sup>32</sup> F. BROCHE – J-F. MURACCIOLE (eds.), *Dictionnaire de la France libre*, Paris 2010, pp. 55–56.

<sup>33</sup> J-M. MARILL, Coloniaux et Français libres, deux destinées, in: *Revue historique de l'armée*, 56, 2000, p. 58.

<sup>34</sup> E. JENNINGS, *La France libre fut africaine*, Paris 2014, pp. 181–220.

<sup>35</sup> P. MONTAGNON, *La France dans la guerre de 39–45*, Paris 2009, p. 548.

<sup>36</sup> BROCHE – MURACCIOLE, p. 76.

In an attempt to resolve the tense situation between the two French generals, De Gaulle travelled to Algiers on May 30, 1943, to personally negotiate with Giraud. Although he was in a weaker military and political position, he was finally able to reach an agreement that served both the creation of a joint force and his own interests.<sup>37</sup> This led to the creation of the French Committee of National Liberation (*Comité français de libération nationale*) in June and the French Liberation Army (*Armée française de la Libération*) on August 1. The new political and military leadership, composed of the followers of the two generals, was forced to operate within this framework to create a new French army capable of contributing to the liberation of France and occupied Europe. Consequently, the French Fighting Forces (*Forces françaises combattantes*), the Free French Forces which had taken that name in 1942, and the Army of Africa (*Armée d'Afrique*), which had joined the Allies in November 1942 and included French military units stationed in the French territories of North Africa, ceased to exist in their previous form. Then, their best units had to be transformed into a single army with a high combat value during a few months.<sup>38</sup>

The most important problem was the composition of the units, which had to be established from two bodies with very different numbers, training and, above all, convictions. On the one hand, there was a force of nearly 300,000 men according to General Giraud, which could be multiplied in a short time by the conscription carried out in the French territories in Africa.<sup>39</sup> Nonetheless, it was composed mainly of native soldiers, whose weapons were obsolete at the beginning of 1943 and who had almost no experience in modern warfare.<sup>40</sup> Therefore, most of these troops were not ready for combat. On the other side were the Free French soldiers of General De Gaulle, who followed their leader unconditionally. They had modern equipment and had gained combat experience in battles won and lost in various African theatres of operations, but their numbers were much smaller. The most reliable estimates put their numbers at 66,000 at most,<sup>41</sup> while the number of soldiers serving in the most valuable units (the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> Free French Divisions), capable of

<sup>37</sup> F. BROCHE, *L'Armée française sous l'Occupation. La métamorphose*, Paris 2002, pp. 408–409.

<sup>38</sup> GRAS, pp. 246–249.

<sup>39</sup> MARILL, p. 59.

<sup>40</sup> C. BACHELIER, La nouvelle armée française, in: J-P. AZÉMA – F. BÉDARIDA (eds.), *La France des années noires. De l'occupation à la Libération*, Paris 2000, pp. 250–252.

<sup>41</sup> J-F. MURACCIOLE, *Les Français libres. L'autre Résistance*, Paris 2009, pp. 36–37.

operating effectively in the European continent against German forces, did not even reach 20,000.<sup>42</sup> The fact that most soldiers serving in both forces regarded each other with mutual resentment and sometimes even hatred did not make the task of military management any easier.<sup>43</sup> In this complex and contradictory situation, a compromise had to be found to avoid new conflicts between the two sides and at the same time contribute to the creation of a French army with high fighting value.

On the Free French side, two old and proven formations played a vital role in the new army: the 1<sup>st</sup> Mechanized Infantry Division was created from the 1<sup>st</sup> Free French Division, and the 2<sup>nd</sup> Armored Division was based on the 2<sup>nd</sup> Free French Division, so in theory they made up a quarter of the new force.<sup>44</sup> Though, since there were not enough technical and armored troops available in the Free French ranks to form the second one, a large part of the division was filled with units transferred from the Army of Africa. The remaining divisions of the new force were created using only forces stationed in North Africa, and thus, despite their former affiliation, they clearly constituted the majority of the Liberation Army. These included the 2<sup>nd</sup> Moroccan Infantry Division, the 3<sup>rd</sup> Algerian Infantry Division, the 4<sup>th</sup> Moroccan Mountain Division, the 9<sup>th</sup> Colonial Infantry Division, and the 1<sup>st</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> Armored Divisions.<sup>45</sup>

In parallel with the reorganization of the land forces, the air force was also reformed and, in general, faced the same problems as the army. A unified, combat-ready force had to be created from units with different equipment, training, experience, and beliefs. In addition, the French general staff was forced to accept that units equipped with U.S. war materiel would be deployed under Allied command to the European theatre of operations. Following this agreement, the transfer of aircrafts accelerated, and the Anglo-Saxon powers accepted the French proposal to create a French Air Force of 600 aircraft and 33,000 men by July 1944.<sup>46</sup> General René Bouscat, from the Army of Africa, was appointed to head it, while General Martial Valin, former commander of the Free French Air Force,

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<sup>42</sup> MARILL, p. 56.

<sup>43</sup> GRAS, pp. 246–247.

<sup>44</sup> J. DELMAS, Le général Koenig d'El Alamein à Alger, août 1942-mars 1944, in: *Revue historique des armées*, 58, 2002, p. 83.

<sup>45</sup> F. BROCHE – G. CAÏTUCOLI – J-F. MURACCIOLE, *La France au combat de l'Appel du 18 juin à la victoire*, Paris 2007, p. 454.

<sup>46</sup> P. FACON, L'armée de l'Air nouvelle: du corps expéditionnaire au projet d'Air Force française (1942–1945), in: *Revue historique des armées*, 48, 1992, pp. 72–74.

was only given the position of Deputy Chief of Staff of the Air Force. The reason for this was the difference in manpower: the Free French Forces had only seven aircraft units, with a rather varied combat value, and less than 4,000 men at the time of the merger, while the troops of Bouscat had 25 aircraft groups and more than 20,000 men, although their equipment was rather obsolete, and the personnel was poorly trained. Between June 1943 and August 1944, these groups received modern weapons, while nearly 10,000 people were trained in their use. Joint training and deployments quickly forged bonds among soldiers from different backgrounds, enabling the new air force to participate effectively in air operations in the European theatre in the years to come.<sup>47</sup>

Reorganizing the navy was also a major challenge because of the costly and time-consuming construction and repair of the surface units that made up the navy. The new fleet commander, Rear Admiral André-Georges Lemonnier, had a difficult task ahead of him in creating a unified force.<sup>48</sup> The African Navy had 30,000 men and large ships with greater range, while the Free French Navy had only 5,000 men and mostly small surface units. U.S. and British weapons supply and modernization were a great help, and by mid-1944, the French Navy had 100 modernized warships and 140 new-build ships.<sup>49</sup> The renewed French Navy resumed the fight against the Axis powers with great determination and played its part in major operations throughout the remainder of the war.<sup>50</sup>

### **The Ethnic Composition of the Armed Forces**

Despite their different origins and identities, the new French forces show many similarities, one of the most striking of which is the fact that they had a very large number of non-French citizens in their ranks. At first glance, this may seem surprising, for one might reasonably assume that this force, whose primary objective was the liberation of the occupied homeland, was composed almost exclusively, or at least overwhelmingly, of French nationals. Notwithstanding, the reality of the situation belies this logical assumption, since this force was made up, particularly in the ground units, of a very high proportion of colonial soldiers and volunteers of foreign nationality.

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<sup>47</sup> AN 72 AJ 238. Témoignage de l'amiral Philippe Auboyneau, pp. 34–37.

<sup>48</sup> MONTAGNON, *La France*, p. 548.

<sup>49</sup> P. MASSON, *La Marine française et la guerre 1939–1945*, Paris 2000, pp. 416–417.

<sup>50</sup> CRÉMIEUX-BRILHAC, pp. 930–931.

The Free French Forces numbered about 66,000 soldiers, but about 10 percent of them were part of the metropolitan resistance, so the maximum number of soldiers in combat units was approximately 60,000. However, recent research on the subject clearly shows that the number of colonial soldiers among them was about 30,000, or about 50% of the fighting forces. It should be noted that these numbers are only estimates, as most of them did not volunteer for service. In general, they were ordered by their commanders to join the Free French Forces, almost automatically, and thus did not sign an application form, making it difficult to identify them later. In addition, there were approximately 3,000 foreign nationals who signed up to fight for the Free French.<sup>51</sup> They were mainly motivated by anti-fascist sentiments, so it is not surprising that the Spaniards (480 people) and the Poles (270 people) were the largest national contingents, but my research also proves that the number of Hungarians was about 150, which is relatively large when compared with the numbers presented above.<sup>52</sup> Overall, almost half of the people serving in the Free French Forces were not French citizens.<sup>53</sup>

Most of the new force was formed by the Army of Africa, which did not participate in operations between the armistice of June 1940 and the end of 1942. Nonetheless, it also experienced a period of turbulence that had a fundamental impact on its strength and ethnic composition. After the outbreak of World War II, this new army, with its extensive experience in colonial combat, grew to a total of 340,000 men by enlisting a large portion of the mobilizable population.<sup>54</sup> The number of soldiers of North African origin in its ranks is estimated at 240,000, so that about 70% of the African army was composed of people from the ranks of the local population.<sup>55</sup> In the entire French colonial empire, about 80,000 people were deployed in the continental theatre of operations in 1940, of which 68,500 were part of the Army of Africa, which suffered significant losses, about 30%, during the German offensive.<sup>56</sup>

By virtue of the armistice with the Germans, the colonies remained under the authority of the French government, which was allowed to

<sup>51</sup> MURACCIOLE, pp. 36–37, 50–51.

<sup>52</sup> BROCHE – MURACCIOLE, p. 1390.

<sup>53</sup> E. JENNINGS, *La France libre fut africaine*, Paris 2014, p. 11.

<sup>54</sup> AGERON – COQUERY-VIDROVITCH – MEYNIER – THOBIE, pp. 313–314.

<sup>55</sup> C. METZGER, *Le Maghreb dans la guerre 1939–1945*, Paris 2018, p. 75.

<sup>56</sup> D. LORMIER, *C'est nous les Africains. L'épopée de l'armée française d'Afrique 1940–1945*, Paris 2006, p. 24.

maintain a small force to protect them. This force was steadily increased as the war situation in North Africa developed, reaching 140,000 men between 1940 and 1942. This number was reduced to 116,000 during the fighting with German-Italian forces but increased rapidly when mobilization began. In 1944, the North African region deployed 176,000 French citizens, 150,000 Algerians, 85,000 Moroccans and 46,500 Tunisians, which illustrates the predominance of soldiers of foreign origin. The overall picture, even though, shows an even greater colonial superiority, as Black Africa, Madagascar, and the West Indies contributed an additional 113,000 men to the French force, so 394,600 colonial soldiers served alongside about half as many Frenchmen, thus about two-thirds of this force was of non-French origin.<sup>57</sup>

We can therefore observe that the French Liberation Army was composed, alongside French citizens, of many soldiers born in the colonies and foreign nationals, whose fighting qualities obviously varied, but without whom the army would have been only a symbolic force.

### **The Liberation of the Metropolitan France**

Using the first units deemed combat-ready by the French military command, a large unit was created on May 18, 1943. Initially known as Army A, and later as the French Expeditionary Corps of Italy (*Corps expéditionnaire français d'Italie*), it was deployed in Italy as part of the U.S. Fifth Army. This 112,000-man corps actively participated in the fighting between November 1943 and July 1944, distinguishing itself in several offensive operations (such as the battle of Monte Cassino and the capture of Elba).<sup>58</sup>

Parallel to this series of operations, and even before the major landings in France, the reconquest of territories belonging to the metropolitan France began. Corsica had been under Italian occupation since November 1942, but after the Italian armistice of September 1943, the former Italian occupation forces, as well as the local French resistance, turned against the German troops stationed on the island. In response to this unexpected situation, the French command, which could not rely on the Anglo-Saxon allies in the area due to the depletion of their forces, dropped about 6,000 troops by submarines and small boats on the island during September. This contingent, along with the local French resistance

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<sup>57</sup> AGERON – COQUERY-VIDROVITCH – MEYNIER – THOBIE, p. 341.

<sup>58</sup> MONTAGNON, *La France*, pp. 575–582, 598–614.



and Italian soldiers who had defected, succeeded in liberating Corsica on October 4. According to French administrative logic, the occupation of the mainland island marked the beginning of the liberation of France.<sup>59</sup>

However, only a small French unit participated in the Normandy landings in June 1944, alongside a very powerful Anglo-Saxon force. Only the Kieffer Commando (the 1<sup>st</sup> French Marine Rifles Battalion), composed of 177 men and commanded by Lieutenant-Commander Philippe Kieffer, actively contributed to the operation, which began on June 6.<sup>60</sup> It would be followed on August 1<sup>st</sup> by the 2<sup>nd</sup> French Armored Division, which distinguished itself in the fighting in Normandy and in the liberation of Paris and the north-east of the country.<sup>61</sup>

On November 21, 1943, the B Army was created, which would later be renamed the 1<sup>st</sup> French Army. This 250,000-strong armed force continued to grow and by the summer of 1944, it included all French corps except the 2<sup>nd</sup> Armored Division stationed in England (including the French Expeditionary Corps in Italy, which was redeployed in July 1944). This army carried out the Provence landings on 15 August 1944 and liberated a large part of southern France. At the same time, the 2<sup>nd</sup> Armored Division participated in the liberation of the French capital, so that French units advancing in both directions could unite in September, and then, together with Allied troops, continue to drive German troops out of France and then begin the occupation of Germany.<sup>62</sup>

Even if this military participation was not decisive for the outcome of the war, the Allied powers recognized the contribution of the new French force to the victory. It was in recognition of this effort that General Lattre de Tassigny has signed the document of the German surrender in Berlin on May 8<sup>th</sup>, 1945, and General Leclerc had accepted the Japanese surrender on the battleship Missouri on September 2<sup>nd</sup>, 1945.<sup>63</sup>

### **The Importance of Colonial Participation and the “Bleaching” of the Troops**

Based on the data on the ethnic composition of French forces presented earlier, it is not surprising that the number of colonial soldiers in operations was also extremely high. Of the approximately 72,000 soldiers

<sup>59</sup> BACHELIER, p. 254.

<sup>60</sup> V. TROUPLIN, *Dictionnaire des compagnons de la Libération*, Bordeaux 2010, p. 564.

<sup>61</sup> E. BERGOT, *La 2<sup>ème</sup> D.B.*, Paris 1980, pp. 43–263.

<sup>62</sup> AN 72 AJ 221. Le général Leclerc, par le colonel Repiton-Préneuf.

<sup>63</sup> BROCHE – MURACCIOLE, pp. 77–79.

deployed in the Tunisian campaign of 1942–1943, just over 50,000 were of North African origin.<sup>64</sup> 60 percent of the 112,000 expeditionary force soldiers in the Italian campaign were also of North African origin, and their mountain warfare skills were crucial to victories in difficult terrain.<sup>65</sup> The situation was similar for the quarter of a million French soldiers who landed in the south of France in August 1944, more than 60 percent of whom were of colonial origin.<sup>66</sup> Historical research proves that these soldiers not only represented a significant proportion of the French army in terms of numbers, but that they also had a high combat value, contributing significantly to the successes achieved on the battlefield.<sup>67</sup>

Despite all these feats of arms, in the fall of 1944, the French military command issued an order that sub-Saharan (i.e. black) soldiers serving in the First Army were to be relieved and removed from the front line. This decision affected some 20,000 members of the 1<sup>st</sup> Mechanized Infantry Division and the 9<sup>th</sup> Colonial Infantry Division. This order was justified by the challenges of the impending winter, which the Black African soldiers would not have been able to face.<sup>68</sup> Notwithstanding, this explanation does not appear to be legitimate. Since the pre-combat performance of the evacuated soldiers and the post-combat performance (in winter weather conditions) of the African soldiers remaining on the battlefield were very convincing. The withdrawn soldiers were gradually replaced by new French recruits from the metropolitan France. Hence the process later called “bleaching”, whereby coloured personnel were relieved by white volunteers. It seems that the real reasons were different. The French administration wanted to ensure that colonial soldiers did not mix with the local population. On the one hand, to avoid possible incidents due to cultural differences. On the other hand, to avoid that the ideologies of the metropolitan France (establishment of democracy, self-determination, civil rights, etc.) exerted too much influence on the colonial soldiers

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<sup>64</sup> B. RECHAM, *Les musulmans algériens dans l'armée française, 1919–1945*, Paris 1996, pp. 236–240.

<sup>65</sup> P. GAUJAC, *Le Corps expéditionnaire français en Italie*, Paris 2003, p. 31.

<sup>66</sup> J. FRÉMEAUX, Les contingents impériaux au cœur de la guerre, in: *Histoire, économie et société*, 23, 2004, p. 223.

<sup>67</sup> S. WEISS, L'engagement des troupes nord-africaines et coloniales dans le Sud-Ouest de la France en 1944–1945, in: *Guerres mondiales et conflits contemporains*, 65, 2013, pp. 143–152.

<sup>68</sup> C. DE GAULLE, *Háborús emlékiratok*, Budapest 1973, p. 504.

living in fundamentally different circumstances.<sup>69</sup> In addition, arming the newly recruited French was a major problem since the Anglo-Saxon allies did not provide the French forces with new supplies of arms during the liberation struggle. This was partially solved by the transfer of weapons from the withdrawn colonial forces.<sup>70</sup>

The unspoken fears of French military and political leaders were partially confirmed, as several incidents occurred among the African soldiers who were withdrawn. Some were due to the treatment of the authorities (insufficient rations, poor equipment, refusal to pay, etc.) and others to the condescending and isolating behaviour of the metropolitan population. This negative discrimination led to many incidents between colonial soldiers and French residents. The colonial soldiers rightly felt that they should be treated in the same way as metropolitan soldiers for their service in France.<sup>71</sup> Many African veterans released from captivity refused to obey because they had not received their rightfully claimed salary for the duration of their captivity, which led to reprisals by the French authorities.<sup>72</sup>

One of the most serious atrocities took place in Thiaroye, Senegal, where 1,280 colonial riflemen were stationed after being released from captivity and demanding payment of their back wages. Local authorities responded with armed force, killing 35 and wounding 48, according to official reports, but the death toll was probably much higher.<sup>73</sup>

It is important to note that the colonial territories, which had played a major role in the defence and liberation of the mainland, rightly claimed the gratitude of French political leaders, which was expressed in mass demonstrations in Algeria during the May 1945 celebrations marking the end of World War II. French authorities again responded with the use of armed force, resulting in thousands of deaths (the exact numbers are the subject of considerable debate, as illustrated by the fact that the most

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<sup>69</sup> WEISS, p. 153.

<sup>70</sup> C. MIOT, *Le retrait des tirailleurs sénégalais de la Première Armée française en 1944. Hérésie stratégique, bricolage politique ou conservatisme colonial?*, in: *Vingtième Siècle. Revue d'histoire*, 32, 2015, pp. 77–86.

<sup>71</sup> FRÉMEAUX, *Les contingents impériaux*, p. 228.

<sup>72</sup> A. COUSIN, *Retour tragique des troupes coloniales. Morlaix-Dakar, 1944*, Paris 2011, pp. 44–55.

<sup>73</sup> C. ONANA, *La France et ses tirailleurs. Enquête sur les combattants de la République*, Paris 2003, pp. 189–190.

extreme estimates place the death toll between 1,000 and 45,000). This confrontation was effectively a precursor to the war of independence in Algeria that would follow a few years later.<sup>74</sup>

### **Summary**

The reorganization of French forces was a long and difficult process hampered by external and internal factors. Nevertheless, in 1944, a well-equipped and relatively large army was committed to the liberation of metropolitan France, the majority of which was made up of soldiers from the colonial territories. Although it was not this force that won the victory, as this was essentially achieved by the Anglo-Saxon allies, it contributed in a modest way. This participation was recognized by the great powers through a series of political gestures at the end of the war.

However, the behaviour of French leaders regarding colonial soldiers was controversial. They were heavily relied upon to win the war, but on the eve of victory, their services were renounced, and they were not rewarded. The soldiers in the colonies were rightly offended by this, yet their demands were not only ignored, but their protests were met with the utmost severity. The long-term consequences of this insensitivity, even though, jeopardized the future of the entire colonial empire, and French political leaders paid a heavy price for their short-sightedness.

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<sup>74</sup> CLAYTON, pp. 189–190.

## The Kyiv Society of Naturalists and its Importance in the Development of Zoology

*Oleh Strelko<sup>1</sup> – Oleh Pylypchuk<sup>2</sup> – Oksana Pylypchuk<sup>3</sup>*

Until recently, most of the works on the history of naturalist societies have been devoted to the Moscow, St. Petersburg, Tartu, and other societies. The study of scientific heritage and other societies has become an urgent need. Among them, a particular attention is paid to the Kyiv Society of Naturalists (1869–1929), which contributed significantly to the systematic development of many branches of natural science since the late 1860s. By choosing the Kyiv Society of Naturalists (hereinafter referred to as the KSN) as the topic of our research, we sought to recreate a holistic picture of the history of that society based on historical and scientific analysis. Within that society, the issues of higher education, scientific training, and practice emerged in a single complex with outstanding scientific research, traditions of Kyiv University, and specific socio-historical conditions for the development of Ukraine. The history of the KSN is highly instructive in terms of identifying the dependence of its development not only on the accumulation and theoretical comprehension of scientific facts but also on various forms of social creation and national traditions. The analysis of the specific concepts of the Kyiv naturalists is utterly vital to clarify the genesis of scientific ideas and problems. The creation of new scientific areas is associated with the activity of the KSN. The Society has largely contributed to the development of the materialistic worldview. The enormous moral and spiritual potential accumulated within the Society still remains the essential virtues that young scientists are educated on. Achievements of the KSN set the prerequisites and grounds for the development of many scientific areas in the Soviet era. Finally, many fundamental issues addressed by the Society are still relevant today. The significance of the KSN in the development of natural science in the post-Darwinian period has not been sufficiently discussed in the scientific literature. As far as we know, there are almost no works considering this issue from the perspective of modern natural science. Meanwhile, the KSN experience deserves a thorough study to highlight not only the history

<sup>1</sup> Department of Transportation Process Management and Transport Technologies, State University of Infrastructure and Technologies, Kyiv, Ukraine; olehstrelko@duit.edu.ua.

<sup>2</sup> Department of Ecology and Life Safety, State University of Infrastructure and Technologies, Kyiv, Ukraine; olegpilipchuk47@gmail.com.

<sup>3</sup> Department of Philosophy and History of Science and Technology, State University of Infrastructure and Technologies, Kyiv, Ukraine; oksanapilipchuk78@gmail.com.

of the Society but also its part in implementing fundamental research in biology, geology, physics, chemistry, mathematics, geography, and other sciences. We are trying to fill this gap to some extent. The stated motives determined the topic of our research – the activities of the Kyiv Society of Naturalists (1869–1929) as a whole. The history of the creation and functioning of the Kyiv Society of Naturalists (1869–1929) and its role in the development of zoological research in the Russian Empire and in the early years of the young Soviet state are considered. Analysis of the history of zoological research in the KSN showed that several zoological schools emerged and successfully developed in Russia. One can point out the morphological school of A. N. Severtsov, associated with the names of I. I. Schmalhausen, B. A. Dombrovsky, M. M. Voskoboinikov, the paleontological school of N. I. Andrusov, and the school of experimental zoologists of I. I. Schmalhausen. The problem of the emergence of zoological schools in the KSN and Russia as a whole, both in the pre-revolutionary and Soviet times, was important for understanding the emergence of the theoretical foundations of zoology. However, it remains underdeveloped. Thanks to the discoveries and research carried out by the KSN naturalists, zoological science has been enriched by outstanding scientific works, underpinning, and promoting the development of modern zoology. The successes of the KSN naturalists in the fauna's study led to a high level of zoological thought in Russia and Ukraine. The study of the emergence and progress of evolutionary trends in different areas of zoology will make it possible to recreate the complex picture of the development of scientific prerequisites for evolutionary biology and the reconstruction of the entire biology on an evolutionary basis with maximum completeness over time. Therefore, the history of the emergence and development of zoological research in the KSN should be regarded as an interesting and fruitful part of the history of biology as a whole.

[Zoological Researches; Societies of Naturalists; Kyiv Society of Naturalists; Development of Embryological; Evolutionary and Functional Researches]

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## Introduction

Scientific societies started emerging with the organization of universities in the Russian Empire, gathering significant forces of outstanding scientists and progressive figures of the country.<sup>4</sup>

In the second half of 19<sup>th</sup> century, several natural science societies were

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<sup>4</sup> E. SINELNIKOVA, Philosophy of science in Russia: The St. Petersburg Philosophical Society (1897–1923), in: *Philosophy of Science*, 27, 4, 2019, pp. 79–93; <https://doi.org/10.14394/filnau.2019.0027>; L. SOLOVIOVA – S. HURINCHUK – Yu. BERDNYCHENKO et al., Professor V. Ye. Timonov – the Formation of the Scientific Worldview, in: *History of Science and Technology*, 10, 2, 2020, pp. 368–382, <https://doi.org/10.32703/2415-7422-2020-10-2-368-382>; N. PASICHNYK – R. RIZHNIAK – H. DEFORZH, Biographical Materials of Mathematicians and Natural Scientists in 'Bulletin of Experimental Physics and Elementary Mathematics' (1886–1917): Meaningful and Content Analysis, in: *History of Science and Technology*, 12, 2, 2022, pp. 279–301, <https://doi.org/10.32703/2415-7422-2022-12-2-279-301>.

founded at the Kyiv University of St. Vladimir: the Society of Naturalists (1869), obstetric-gynecological (1890), physico-medical (1896), psychiatric (1897), syphilidological, and dermatological (1890), and multiple technical departments of large technical and agricultural societies.<sup>5</sup>

It is not an accidental phenomenon that several natural science societies emerged in Ukraine. Interest in natural science, in studying the nature of Ukraine, determining the need to expand the network of higher and secondary educational institutions and, interestingly, vocational education organizations naturally arose at the stage of socio-economic development of the tsarist Russia in the post-reform, capitalist era of its history after the abolition of serfdom in 1861. This article aims at analyzing the structure, activities, historical significance, and merits in the development of natural science and, in particular, zoology, of the previous natural science society known as the Kyiv Society of Naturalists (1869–1929).

The increased interest in the history of naturalist societies established at universities in pre-revolutionary Russia is fully justified.<sup>6</sup> The significance of a specific contribution made by researchers of different natural societies to the general development of natural science contributed to a deeper and more comprehensive understanding of their activities. A great deal of what science stands for today is owed to the activities of the well-known naturalist societies as peculiar scientific centers for the development of natural science.<sup>7</sup> Until recently, most of the works on the history of naturalist societies<sup>8</sup> have been devoted to the Moscow,<sup>9</sup>

<sup>5</sup> O. Ya. PYLYPCHUK, *The Kyiv Society of Naturalists and Its Contribution to the Development of Embryological Science*, Kyiv 1991, p. 19.

<sup>6</sup> S. UDERBAEVA – A. LYUBICHANKOVSKIY, The Contribution of the Russian Imperial Scientific and Local Lore Societies to the Scientific Study of Central Asia, in: *Istoriya*, 10, 8 (82), 2019, <https://doi.org/10.18254/S207987840006044-7>.

<sup>7</sup> N. G. SUKHOVA – A. Y. SKRYDLOV, The Russian Geographical Society and the Polar Studies in the Second Half of the 19th century, in: *IOP Conference Series: Earth and Environmental Science*, 180, 1, 2018, p. 012001, <https://doi.org/10.1088/1755-1315/180/1/012001>.

<sup>8</sup> I. KRZEPTOWSKA-MOSZKOWICZ, Study of the Interest of Seweryn Józef Krzemieniewski (1871–1945) in the Nature Conservation, the History of Botany in Poland, and his Passion for Popularizing the Natural Sciences, in: *Studia Historiae Scientiarum*, 19, 2020, pp. 53–74, <https://doi.org/10.4467/2543702XSHS.20.004.12560>.

<sup>9</sup> G. G. KRIVOSHEINA, Faunistic Research in the Moscow Governorate in the 19th Century: the Role of Scientific Societies, in: *IOP Conference Series: Earth and Environmental Science*, 579, 1, 2020, p. 012163, <https://doi.org/10.1088/1755-1315/579/1/012163>.

St. Petersburg,<sup>10</sup> Tartu<sup>11</sup> and other societies.<sup>12</sup> The study of scientific heritage and other societies has become an urgent need. Among them, a particular attention is paid to the Kyiv Society of Naturalists (1869–1929), which contributed significantly to the systematic development of many branches of natural science since the late 1860s.

By choosing the Kyiv Society of Naturalists (hereinafter referred to as the KSN) as the topic of our research, we sought to recreate a holistic picture of the history of that society based on historical and scientific analysis. Within that society, the issues of higher education, scientific training, and practice emerged in a single complex with outstanding scientific research, traditions of Kyiv University, and specific socio-historical conditions for the development of our State.

The history of the KSN is particularly interesting and instructive today. It turned a vivid chapter in the development of the native culture in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> – the first third of the 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. For 60 years, this Society played an outstanding part in the scientific, social, and cultural life of the Russian Empire, and then of Soviet Ukraine. Along with international recognition, its own understanding of being a part of the world history and its place in the common civilization grew and strengthened.

The history of the KSN is highly instructive in terms of identifying the dependence of its development not only on the accumulation and theoretical comprehension of scientific facts but also on various forms of social creation and national traditions. The analysis of the specific concepts of the Kyiv naturalists is utterly vital to clarify the genesis of scientific ideas and problems.

The academic achievements of the KSN have long been the property of science. Many members of the Society are world-renowned scientists

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<sup>10</sup> G. G. KRIVOSHEINA, Scientific Societies and Exploration of the Territory of the Russian Empire, in: *IOP Conference Series: Earth and Environmental Science*, 350, 1, 2019, p. 012007, <https://doi.org/10.1088/1755-1315/350/1/012007>.

<sup>11</sup> M. TOOMSALU, Pioneering Embryological Research at the Old Anatomical Theatre of the University of Tartu, in: *Papers on Anthropology*, 29, 2, 2020, pp. 71–82, <https://doi.org/10.12697/poa.2020.29.2.06>.

<sup>12</sup> L. VANIUHA – Ya. TOPORIVSKA – O. HYSYA et al., I. H. Verkhtskyi (1846–1919): at the Origins of Ukrainian Natural Science, in: *History of Science and Technology*, 11, 1, 2021, pp. 84–102, <https://doi.org/10.32703/2415-7422-2021-11-1-84-102>.



Ivan Schmalhausen,<sup>13</sup> Alexander Kowalevsky,<sup>14</sup> Sergei Navashin,<sup>15</sup> Nicanor Chrzęszczewski,<sup>16</sup> Józef Paczoski.<sup>17</sup> Each of them has raised many outstanding naturalists. The creation of new scientific areas is associated with the activity of the KSN. The Society has largely contributed to the development of the materialistic worldview. The enormous moral and spiritual potential accumulated within the Society still remains the essential virtues that young scientists are educated on. Achievements of the KSN set the prerequisites and grounds for the development of many scientific areas in the Soviet era. Finally, many fundamental issues addressed by the Society are still relevant today. The significance of the KSN in the development of natural science in the post-Darwinian period has not been sufficiently discussed in the scientific literature. As far as we know, there are almost no works considering this issue from the perspective of modern natural science. Meanwhile, the KSN experience deserves a thorough study to highlight not only the history of the Society but also its part in implementing fundamental research in biology, geology, physics, chemistry, mathematics, geography, and other sciences. We are trying to fill this gap to some extent. The stated motives determined the topic of our research – the activities of the Kyiv Society of Naturalists (1869–1929) as a whole.

### Research Methodology

Two aspects were chosen as the main directions of historical and scientific analysis: presenting the KSN as a special form of research activity (this

<sup>13</sup> G. RISPOLI – F. D'ABRAMO, Ivan I. Schmalhausen (1884–1963), in: L. NUÑO DE LA ROSA – G. B. MÜLLER (eds.), *Evolutionary Developmental Biology*, Cham 2021, pp. 275–287, [https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-32979-6\\_29](https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-32979-6_29).

<sup>14</sup> A. V. ERESKOVSKY, Alexander Onufrievich Kowalevsky (1840–1901), in: L. NUÑO DE LA ROSA – G. B. MÜLLER (eds.), *Evolutionary Developmental Biology*, Cham 2021, pp. 217–233, [https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-32979-6\\_9](https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-32979-6_9).

<sup>15</sup> V. P. KORZH, Sergei Gavrilovich Navashin: Two Anniversaries, in: *Cytology and Genetics*, 42, 3, 2008, pp. 139–146, <https://doi.org/10.3103/S0095452708030018>.

<sup>16</sup> O. O. MOIBENKO – V. Ie. DOSENKO – V. L. HUR'IANOVA, Scientific Portrait of Nicanor Adamovich Trzaska-Hrzonzczowski (to the 175th Anniversary of the Birth of the First Pathophysiological of Ukraine), in: *Physiological Journal*, 57, 6, 2011, pp. 118–124, <https://doi.org/10.15407/fz57.06.118>.

<sup>17</sup> T. SAMOJLIK – A. FEDOTOVA – P. DASZKIEWICZ et al., Conclusions – Learning the Past to Understand the Future of BPF, in: *Białowieża Primeval Forest: Nature and Culture in the Nineteenth Century*, Cham 2020, pp. 219–223, [https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-33479-6\\_9](https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-33479-6_9).

required highlighting the main issues of the organization, structure, and social activity of the society), on the one hand, and analyzing the main directions of scientific activity of the society members, focusing primarily on zoological research, on the other hand. All the above determines the significance of this study, which aims at revealing the historical part of the Kyiv Society of Naturalists in the development of national natural science.

The specific objectives of the research comprised of reproducing the entire history of the KSN and periodizing this history; identifying the reasons for the emergence of naturalist societies at the universities of pre-revolutionary Russia; covering the main stages and activities of the KSN; identifying its social function; assessing the part of the KSN in raising the level of natural sciences; determining the place and significance of the Kyiv naturalists in the development of natural science; analyzing the organization of scientific activities in the Society; deploying cultural and educational activities of the KSN; covering the nature and significance of its publishing activities; demonstrating the importance of the KSN in the establishment of biological stations, exhibitions, and museums; analyzing the role of the Society in the arrangement of congresses of Russian naturalists and doctors, as well as congresses of farmers; revealing the expedition and excursion activities of the Society, and describing its scientific collections.

Following the main goal of the study, we also sought to find out the key issues within which the interaction between zoology and evolutionary trends in biology developed, and how the evolutionary principle assisted in solving complex scientific matters in specific zoological disciplines. All these tasks were solved through the study of little-known sources, large archival material, protocols, and works of the Kyiv Society of Naturalists.

## **Results and discussion**

Despite the great merits of the Society in the development of natural science and its wide popularity in scientific circles, no analysis of its practical and scientific activities was carried out in the pre-October literature. The first attempt to assess the results of the 10-year activity of the Society was made by N. V. Bobretsky, a well-known Ukrainian zoologist of the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> – early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, professor and rector of the Kyiv University. His work known as “A note on the 10-year activity of the Kyiv Society of Naturalists”, as the title suggests, was a jubilee one.

Therefore, it is no wonder that it emphasized the successes of the Society and omitted its failures.<sup>18</sup>

It is also worth noting the more or less thorough studies of separate issues of the Society's activities, carried out by some of its members: N. Cherkunov,<sup>19</sup> V. Montrezor,<sup>20</sup> N. Krichagin,<sup>21</sup> N. Bobretsky.<sup>22</sup> These were reference works that significantly expanded the source base and extended the assessments of certain events in the history of the KSN activities.

In Soviet times, the study of the history of the KSN was also poor. The existing domestic historical and biological research have not always fully interpreted the trends and stages of the development of biology in Russia and Ukraine. Only sporadic works provide a historical commentary on certain issues of the Society's activities. So, only in 1929, devoted to the 60<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Society, an advanced article (in French) was published in the "Notes of the Kyiv Society of Naturalists", which briefly highlighted the key moments of the Society's activities for the entire period of its existence.<sup>23</sup>

In 1970, A. I. Barbarich, a historian of botany from Kyiv, analyzed the role of the KSN in the development of botany.<sup>24</sup>

It is worth noting our monographic research published as a scientific manual "Kyiv Society of Naturalists and its contribution to the development of embryological science" (1991) for students of pedagogical institutes and universities in such specialties as Zoology, Evolutionary Teaching, Embryology with Fundamentals of Histology, and Phylogeny

<sup>18</sup> N. BOBRETsky, Notes on the Ten-Year Activity of the Kyiv Society of Naturalists (1869–1878), in: *Notes of the Kyiv Society of Naturalists*, 6, 2, 1880, pp. 37–49.

<sup>19</sup> N. CHERKUNOV, List of Beetles found in Kyiv and its Suburbs, in: *Notes of the Kyiv Society of Naturalists*, 10, 1, 1889, pp. 147–204.

<sup>20</sup> V. V. MONTREZOR, List of Rare Plants found in Kyiv, Podilsk and Volyn Regions in 1877, 1878, 1879, in: *Notes of the Kyiv Society of Naturalists*, 6, 2, 1881, pp. 117–182.

<sup>21</sup> N. A. KRICHAGIN, Report on an Excursion to the Northeast Shore of the Black Sea carried out in the Summer of 1874 on Behalf of the Kyiv Society of Naturalists, in: *Notes of the Kyiv Society of Naturalists*, 5, 1, 1878, pp. 1–56.

<sup>22</sup> N. BOBRETsky, Report of Zoological Researches conducted at the Shore of the Black Sea in Summer of 1869, in: *Notes of the Kyiv Society of Naturalists*, 1, 1, 1870, pp. 1–18.

<sup>23</sup> Sixtieth Anniversary of the Existence of the Kyiv Society of Naturalists, in: *Notes of the Kyiv Society of Naturalists*, 27, 4, 1929, pp. 3–5.

<sup>24</sup> A. I. BARBARICH, The Kyiv Society of Naturalists and its Role in the Development of Botany, in: *Botanical Journal*, 55, 4, 1970, pp. 583–591.

of the Animal World.<sup>25</sup> It is devoted to the organization and structure of the KSN, as well as its contribution to the development of embryology. It shows the influence of the KSN on the development of embryological ideas and its role in the formation of evolutionary biology. Along the way, considering the main stages of the establishment of the KSN, its scientific and social activities, a brief description of the creative path of the outstanding naturalists of the Society, who were actively involved in the development of complex embryological problems, is given.

We may find informative excursions into the history of certain branches of natural science, in which some aspects of the KSN activity are partially considered, in the papers of Ukrainian historians of biology such as Academician A. P. Markevich<sup>26</sup> and Professor B. N. Mazurmovich.<sup>27</sup> Studying the papers of these authors proves that they are focused mainly on covering certain specific issues.

The research is based on a wide range of both published and unpublished sources, handwritten and printed materials. The main source base comprises the minutes of the KSN meetings (sessions) published in the "Notes of the KSN", as well as unpublished documents discovered by the author in various archival repositories of Russia and Ukraine. The largest group of sources on the topic "Kyiv Society of Naturalists" consists of the documents of the Society, published in the collection of documentary materials of Kyiv University and the periodicals of the KSN. The first place in the total volume of documents concerning the KSN belongs to the minutes of the general meeting of the Society members, its Council, its departments, and committees. These documents, containing a wide variety of information, have often been of the greatest importance to us since sometimes the minutes of the Society were very short and laconic. In most cases, they reported the raising and passing of an issue with no records of the course of its discussion. That is why we compared handwritten minutes with the printed ones. Sometimes, special opinions, notes, and lists of Society members for a particular year are found in the minutes as appendix after a certain issue is resolved.

We paid great attention to the annual reports of the KSN on its activities. They reveal the true state of affairs in the Society, containing information on its scientific and educational activities for a year or

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<sup>25</sup> PYLYPCHUK, p. 24.

<sup>26</sup> A. P. MARKEVICH, *Parasite Fauna of Freshwater Fishes of the Ukrainian SSR*, Kyiv 1951.

<sup>27</sup> B. M. MAZURMOVYCH, *Development of Zoology in Ukraine*, Kyiv 1972.

another period. One can always find information on the personnel of the Society's Council, on the participation of naturalists in expeditions and excursions, international congresses, on the activities of public committees for disseminating scientific knowledge among the population, on the arrangement of biological stations, exhibitions, and museums. An obligatory component of each annual report is the financial report of the Society and the report of the Auditing Committee.

We were greatly interested in a group of documents on the convocation of Russian congresses of naturalists and the organization of biological exhibitions therein. The materials of the congresses are mainly represented in the minutes of the Society's meetings by records of preparatory committees, project programs, regulations, reports, lists of members of the preparatory committees of congresses and exhibitions, terms of competitions, reports on exhibitions, arrangement of museums and on awarding prizes. Materials from exhibitions organized by the KSN are valuable sources on the history of natural science because they showcased important achievements of that time in the field of natural science. Sometimes the exhibitions were accompanied by catalogs providing an overview of the exhibits. And this reflected the level of scientific thought and products of national economic importance.

We paid some interest to the correspondence of the KSN members and its leadership with government bodies, Russian and foreign natural history societies, and individuals. The documents found in the handwritten department of the National Library of Ukraine named after V. I. Vernadsky fully reflect the external relations of the Society and its interests. Most of the materials already published in the collections of the KSN naturalists reveal the variety and complexity of the issues that they deal with. For example, A. O. Kowalevsky<sup>28</sup> and A. N. Severtsov,<sup>29</sup> who conducted an extensive correspondence with many outstanding scientists of the country and abroad, keep unique materials directly related both to the activities of the KSN and other scientific institutions.

To analyze the scientific and social activities of the KSN, we used papers of the Society members, reports of treasuries, other periodicals that keep

<sup>28</sup> A. V. ERESKOVSKY, Alexander Onufrievich Kowalevsky (1840–1901), in: L. NUÑO DE LA ROSA – G. B. MÜLLER (eds.), *Evolutionary Developmental Biology*, Cham 2021, pp. 217–233, [https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-32979-6\\_9](https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-32979-6_9).

<sup>29</sup> M. B. ADAMS, Severtsov and Schmalhausen: Russian Morphology and the Evolutionary Synthesis, in: *The evolutionary synthesis*, Cambridge, MA, London 2013, pp. 193–226, <https://doi.org/10.4159/harvard.9780674865389>.

the necessary information. The works, diaries, and other materials of scientific congresses contain important information about the development of natural science and zoological education.

To recreate the full history of the KSN activities, we used the archives of the Ministry of Public Education of the Russian Empire, Kyiv, Podilsk and Volyn governor-general, and the Kyiv educational district.

The main sources for creating the history of the KSN were also such official data: 1) Service records of professors and teachers of the university and the Society, which were preserved in the archives; 2) Minutes of the Council of the Kyiv University; since 1861, they were published in the journal "University News"; 3) Activity of the Council and the Board of Kyiv University; 4) Review of lectures at the University of St. Vladimir; 5) Overview of the annual reports of the university, published since 1861; 6) Other materials that are placed in the "University News".

Exceptionally important sources were: 1) Journal of the Ministry of Public Education (official part, reports, scientific papers, and obituaries); 2) Publications from various higher educational institutions dedicated to their history; 3) Biographical dictionaries; 4) Separate biographies and obituaries, which were published in "Kievlyanin" and "Modern Medicine". A large array of sources stored in the Kyiv city archive and the archive of the Leningrad region (the fund of St. Petersburg University) were also used. A common drawback of archival sources is their understaffing, and hence the lack of generalizing data on all areas of the KSN activity.

Along with the above issues, we were more interested in private matters concerning the development of zoological science. In this regard, the KSN served as: 1) The educator of many Russian zoologists, natural scientists, whose work was reported and critically discussed at the meeting of the Society, and then published in the "Notes of the KSN". As a rule, the Society, to the best of its capabilities, contributed materially to scientific research; 2) A place of concentration of expensive zoological collections, which were transferred to the zoological office of the Kyiv University according to the charter of the Society; 3) The center for publishing the most important works in all areas of natural science and zoology in particular; 4) A provider of multiple excursions and expeditions, which yielded essential materials for studying the fauna of Ukraine, Russia, and abroad. The studies have covered the entire fauna; 5) A center for researching the major element of the country's productive forces – the fauna, intending to use it for the needs of the national economy; 6) An active participant

in the propaganda of evolutionary doctrine and Darwinism; 7) A place of origin and development of new scientific disciplines (comparative or evolutionary embryology, evolutionary morphology, zoopsychology, etc.), as well as new methods of scientific research and equipment (for example, V.A. Karavaev's device);<sup>30</sup> 8) One of the founders of a wide front of work on the history of domestic science and the compilation of bibliography on individual disciplines; 9) One of the initiators and holders of the congresses of Russian naturalists and doctors, which was attended by many zoologists – members of the Society;<sup>31</sup> 10) An initiator of several prizes, which were awarded to zoologists to involve them in research work; 11) A place where zoological nomenclature developed; 12) A creator of a valuable natural history library (its fund kept plenty of Russian and foreign periodicals), as well as an archive, which included the most important manuscripts and natural history materials. Finally, the KSN was a hotbed for popularizing natural history knowledge, including zoological knowledge, among the public.

We strive to highlight different sides of the multifaceted activity of the KSN in zoology. The key prerequisite for the success of this activity was the fact that from the very beginning of the Society's existence, a fairly significant circle of persons united by a deep interest in the study of comparative anatomy, embryology, paleontology, systematics, faunistics, and zoopsychology was identified. The increased interest in these zoological disciplines (and the separate scientific areas within each of them) was not accidental. It was conditioned by the entire period preceding the creation of the KSN, characterized by major shifts in the socio-economic life of Russia and related rapid development of evolutionary trends in biology. The theoretical foundations of special biological disciplines were transformed under the influence of the evolutionary idea. This enriched the topic of their research and expanded their goals and tasks. In several cases, the awareness of the constructive role of the evolutionary idea in zoology led to the substantiation of the programs of independent evolutionary disciplines. Some Kyiv zoologists were the founders of new scientific disciplines that emerged at the first stage of evolutionary theory development (A. O. Kowalevsky) – evolutionary

<sup>30</sup> L. G. ZAVERNÝĚ – A. I. POĬDA – I. D. LIUBITSKIĬ et al., Vladimir Afanas'evich Karavaev (on the 175th anniversary of his birth), in: *Khirurgiia*, 7, 1986, pp. 153–155.

<sup>31</sup> The Sixth Congress of Russian Naturalists, (1880), in: *Nature*, 21, 534, pp. 288–289, <https://doi.org/10.1038/021288b0>.

embryology;<sup>32</sup> and at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century – A.N. Severtsov – evolutionary morphology, V.A. Karavaev – comparative zoopsychology, and M. M. Voskoboinikov – functional morphology.

With the above considerations in mind, an analysis of the heritage of the KSN members was carried out to clarify the contribution of the KSN zoologists to the development of the main methods for studying the evolutionary process (embryological, paleontological, morphological, biogeographic, and systematic), evolutionary morphology, and zoopsychology.

The study of the KSN staff among zoologists showed that the following prominent scientists widely known in zoological literature took part in its activities: a) In the embryology of invertebrates – A. O. Kowalevsky, N. V. Bobretsky, A. A. Korotnev, V. V. Zalensky, B. A. Svarchevsky, V. P. Pospelov, N. A. Krichagin; b) In the embryology of vertebrates – A. N. Severtsov, I. I. Schmalhausen, B. A. Dombrovsky, M. M. Voskoboinikov, D. I. Beling; In the animal morphology – A. O. Kowalevsky, N. V. Bobretsky, A. A. Korotnev, V. A. Karavaev, B. A. Svarchevsky (invertebrates); A. N. Severtsov, I. I. Schmalhausen, B. A. Dombrowski (vertebrates ); c) In the paleontology – N. I. Andrusov, P. A. Tutkovsky, B. L. Lichkov, B. A. Svarchevsky, and others; d) In the faunistics and systematics (with ecology) – A. O. Kowalevsky, B. A. Svarchevsky, Yu. M. Semenkevich, S. Yu. Kushakevich, V. M. Artobolevsky, I. K. Pachosky, E. B. Sharleman.

Besides these areas of zoology, the Society has made a great deal for the development of comparative anatomy and morphology, as well as experimental embryology. Some of the published studies are considered classical. Most of them have significantly strengthened the evolutionary theory. These are the works of M. A. Maksimovich, A. O. Kowalevsky, N. V. Bobretsky, V. K. Sovinsky, A. N. Severtsov, I. I. Schmalhausen, A. A. Korotnev, M. M. Voskoboinikov, and others. The Society contributed greatly to the development of zoopsychology and animal ecology.

The material we got leaves no doubt that the evolutionary idea penetrated into zoology as early as at the time of its isolation as an independent science. The study of the scientific heritage of the major zoologists of the KSN allows us to conclude that the origins of the comparative evolutionary trend in zoology date back to the late 1960s – early 1970s.

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<sup>32</sup> M. RAINERI, On Some Historical and Theoretical Foundations of the Concept of Chordates, in: *Theory in Biosciences*, 128, 1, 2009, pp. 53–73, <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12064-009-0059-y>.



Having established evolutionary trends in special disciplines, the KSN zoologists, along with physicists, chemists, geologists, and biologists of other special disciplines created real prerequisites for the formation of important components of future evolutionary biology. Assuming that the theory of evolution serves as the foundation of the latter, and the components, as the analysis of the scientific activities of Kyiv naturalists has shown, are the elements designed to make up the future system of knowledge, they often emerged independently of each other (for example, in zoology or geology). Subsequently, they interacted with each other, like stratigraphy and paleontology, and the links between individual elements were strengthened.

Thus, the intensive restructuring of the entire complex of zoological disciplines based on the theory of evolution resulted in using the historical method and the principles of Darwinism in the study of all phenomena of the life of the fauna. There is no doubt that the development of zoology in the KSN and the theory of evolution coincided chronologically. This indicates that both branches of biology were in an emerging state.

As a general result of the development of zoological research in the KSN, it can be noted that a fairly wide range of issues has been discussed in this branch of knowledge within a relatively short time. It became obvious that the principles of Darwinism were applied to embryology, morphology, paleontology, systematics, faunistics, and even zoopsychology. All the above disciplines succeeded in using a comparative approach to study certain issues. This allowed the KSN zoologists to create new concepts. There have been attempts to construct animal systematics based on phylogenetic relationships and the emergence of new evolutionary disciplines. The evolutionary restructuring of biology required from the KSN zoologists a more thorough knowledge of the fundamentals of zoology, as well as the mastery of diverse biological information related to the entire organic world. Therefore, dealing with zoological issues involved the study of forms from different taxa and sometimes from different kingdoms of living nature. And all this required using the comparative method. However, this approach did not always pursue evolutionary goals. In most cases, it was dictated by the interests of the actual zoological research. Although the accumulation of comparative zoological material could not but contribute to the solution of evolutionary issues, it was not at all easy to distinguish the comparative and historical approach in the studies of different zoologists, the KSN member. The point is that the concept of “comparative” often had an evolutionary meaning. The programs of

A. O. Kowalevsky, N. V. Bobretsky,<sup>33</sup> and other KSN zoologists can serve as good examples. Here, they referred to comparative embryology, although the latter was deemed to solve truly evolutionary issues.

The material considered in this article, covering the activities of a Pleiad of prominent representatives of zoological science in Kyiv in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> – first third of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, allows us to conclude that zoological generalizations were based on the empirical and theoretical basis. In particular, it is noteworthy that the tendency to develop evolutionary-zoological conclusions was determined in the 1870s. A. O. Kowalevsky's detailed study of the individual development of invertebrates and vertebrates is a vivid illustration of this process.<sup>34</sup> Consequently, the emergence of evolutionary embryology as an independent science implied not only the creation of a reliable methodological basis but also the successful synthesis of empirical, comparative, and historical methods. The evolutionary trend in zoology contributed to the expansion of the scope of application of the experiment in the study of the development processes of the organic world.

The first stage of the history of zoology in the KSN yielded significant results thanks to the development of the comparative evolutionary trend. Among the evolutionary conclusions related to this period, we should first refer to the principle of the genealogical unity of the fauna, the genealogical theory of germ layers, the so-called biogenetic law, and many principles of organ transformation.

While working on evolutionary topics, the KSN zoologists were deeply interested in the philosophical questions of natural science, the theory of cognition, and its place in natural science. They not only criticized idealism but also defended and developed natural-scientific materialism (especially A. N. Severtsov and his students).<sup>35</sup> They were clearly aware of the role of theoretical thinking and philosophy in the cognition of zoological objects and the laws of their development.

<sup>33</sup> N. A. BOLTACHOVA – E. V. LISITSKAYA, On the Taxonomic Classification of spio (annelida, spionidae) Species from the Sea of Azov – Black Sea Basin, in: *Marine Biological Journal*, 4, 3, 2019, pp. 26–36, <https://doi.org/10.21072/mbj.2019.04.3.03>.

<sup>34</sup> R. A. RAFF – A. C. LOVE, Kowalevsky, Comparative Evolutionary Embryology, and the Intellectual Lineage of Evo-Devo, in: *Journal of Experimental Zoology Part B: Molecular and Developmental Evolution*, 302, 1, 2004, pp. 19–34, <https://doi.org/10.1002/jez.b.20004>.

<sup>35</sup> A. G. ASMOLOV – E. D. SHEKHTER – A. M. CHERNORIZOV, The Other Side of Homeostasis: A Historical Evolutionary Approach to Development of Complex Systems, in: *Voprosy Psikhologii*, 4, 2015, pp. 3–15.

The development of evolutionary disciplines in biology was driven by the interaction of individual sciences. Geologists, physicists, chemists, and representatives of other sciences were involved in the study of the laws of biological evolution. At the same time, the evolutionary disciplines themselves revealed a tendency towards integration, which later became a factor contributing to the formation of a united front of sciences studying living nature. The above was fully manifested in the activities of biologists of the Kyiv Society of Naturalists.

There is a certain continuity in the development of research of different zoological directions in the KSN, which is characteristic of all methods of scientific research – empirical, experimental, and theoretical. For example, the studies of A. O. Kowalevsky, N. V. Bobretsky, A. A. Korotnev, B. A. Svarchevsky, V. A. Karavaeva, A. N. Severtsova, I. I. Schmalhausen, and others constitute separate scientific directions, which are manifested in the development of embryology, comparative in its content. The theoretical direction in embryology did not remain isolated from zoology. On the contrary, represented the process of shaping the theoretical foundations of zoology and the evolutionary process, an indicator of the involvement of zoological science in solving general biological issues and understanding the laws of development of the organic world. It can be assumed that the evolutionary doctrine should be considered one of the first among the many factors that conditioned the differentiation and development of zoological science. The successes of the comparative evolutionary direction in zoology served as a prerequisite for the creation of serious research programs by A. O. Kowalevsky, N. I. Andrusov, A. N. Severtsov, I. I. Schmalhausen, and other researchers. Implementing some of them led to the creation of independent research areas (evolutionary embryology,<sup>36</sup> geomorphology,<sup>37</sup> evolutionary morphology,<sup>38</sup> etc.).

It should be emphasized that a lot of work has been done in the KSN, specifically in zoological research. Zoologists of the KSN have widely studied the fauna of Russia and Ukraine – its species composition,

<sup>36</sup> S. I. FOKIN, Life of Alexander Onufrievich Kowalevsky (1840–1901), in: *Evolution and Development*, 14, 1, 2012, pp. 3–8. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1525-142X.2011.00517.x>.

<sup>37</sup> V. P. CHICHAGOV, Outstanding Russian Scientist Nikolai Ivanovich Andrusov (1861–1924) and his Geomorphological Works, in: *Geomorfologiya*, 4, 2018, pp. 96–103, <https://doi.org/10.7868/S0435428118040089>.

<sup>38</sup> M. F. NIKITENKO, Development of the Ideas of A. N. Severtsov on Evolutionary Morphology of the Brain, in: *Arkhiv Anatomii, Gistologii i Embriologii*, 52, 1, 1967, pp. 99–112.

ecology, geographical distribution, and systematics. Owing to their efforts, the fauna of Ukraine is now studied quite thoroughly. The invertebrates are the most thoroughly studied. Along with the study of terrestrial fauna, the fauna of freshwater bodies, the Black Sea, the Sea of Azov, and the Mediterranean Sea has been studied in detail. The KSN zoologists have produced several summarizing papers and major monographs on faunistics, zoogeography, and animal ecology.

The works of the KSN morphologists (in comparative anatomy, comparative embryology, and experimental zoology) were a significant contribution to the creative development of Darwinism's issues. All the material accumulated by morphologists confirmed the validity of the evolutionary teachings of Charles Darwin. Thus, the works on the establishment of morpho-physiological regularities of shape formation are of exceptional interest in the KSN. The issues of general regularities of the evolutionary process and animal phylogeny were successfully addressed in the KSN. The activity of paleozoologists was also fruitful. After the October revolution, research on experimental zoology, morphology, fauna, and animal ecology developed successfully. Naturally, the discovery of the regularities concerning zoological objects facilitated the reconstruction of the ways of their historical development.

## **Conclusion**

Analysis of the history of zoological research in the KSN showed that several zoological schools emerged and successfully developed in Russia. One can point out the morphological school of A. N. Severtsov, associated with the names of I. I. Schmalhausen, B. A. Dombrovsky, M. M. Voskoboinikov, the paleontological school of N. I. Andrusov, and the school of experimental zoologists of I. I. Chmalhausen. The problem of the emergence of zoological schools in the KSN and Russia as a whole, both in the pre-revolutionary and Soviet times, was important for understanding the emergence of the theoretical foundations of zoology. However, it remains underdeveloped.

Thanks to the discoveries and research carried out by the KSN naturalists, zoological science has been enriched by outstanding scientific works, underpinning, and promoting the development of modern zoology. The successes of the KSN naturalists in the fauna's study led to a high level of zoological thought in Russia and Ukraine. The study of the emergence and progress of evolutionary trends in different areas of zoology will make it possible to recreate the complex picture of the development of

scientific prerequisites for evolutionary biology and the reconstruction of the entire biology on an evolutionary basis with maximum completeness over time. Therefore, the history of the emergence and development of zoological research in the KSN should be regarded as an interesting and fruitful part of the history of biology as a whole.



## Gender Upbringing of Children in Traditional Kyrgyz Families (On the Example of South-West of Fergana Valley)

*S. Osmonova*<sup>1</sup> – *A. Asankanov*<sup>2</sup> – *E. Karabekova*<sup>3</sup> – *T. Omurzakova*<sup>4</sup> –  
*D. Keneshbaeva*<sup>5</sup> – *G. Chynykeeva*<sup>6</sup>

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The study of the issues of children socialization in traditional culture is important for understanding the various mechanisms that ensure the formation of a person as a social personality and a representative of an ethnic group. Gender upbringing of children in traditional Kyrgyz families was an urgent task, to the solution of which the social, economic, and spiritual potentials of the ancestry were directed. Many institutions of the traditional culture of an ethnic group are disappearing, including the institutions of socialization, so first of all, the task of specialists is to fix them.

This article is devoted to identifying and characterizing gender upbringing of children in traditional Kyrgyz families which was a reliable guarantor of the upbringing of the younger generation. The model of socialization developed by generations ensured the readiness of the individual to reproduce the economic and spiritual values of the ethnic group. Gender upbringing of children in traditional Kyrgyz families is closely connected and intertwined with culture, which is the fundamental basis for many relations of ideas and actions in society.

Respectful and diligent attitude towards elders and children, the desire to morally,

- 
- <sup>1</sup> Candidate of Historical Sciences, Associate Professor, Department of History and Social Work, Osh State University, Osh, Kyrgyzstan.
  - <sup>2</sup> Academician of the National Academy of Sciences of the Kyrgyz Republic, Doctor of Historical Sciences, Professor, Director of the Institute of History, Archaeology and Ethnology named after B. Jamgerchinov. B. Djamgerchinov Institute of History and, Archaeology and Ethnology, Bishkek.
  - <sup>3</sup> Senior Lecturer, Department of World Languages and Cultures, Osh State University, Osh, Kyrgyzstan.
  - <sup>4</sup> Doctor of Historical Sciences, Associate Professor, Director, Institute of Humanitarian and Regional Studies, Osh State University, Osh, Kyrgyzstan.
  - <sup>5</sup> Lecturer, Faculty of Natural Sciences, Tourism and Agrarian Technologies, Osh State University, Osh, Kyrgyzstan.
  - <sup>6</sup> Candidate of Historical Sciences, Associate Professor, Faculty of History and Social Work, Osh State University, Osh, Kyrgyzstan.

and materially help those in need, mercy in its most diverse manifestations, help and mutual assistance in relation to the ancestry and tribe, the concept of honour and duty, the implementation of certain duties that have been taken on, that is, the blame for this is with skill, diligence and almost everything else – all this should be considered the basis of the culture of gender upbringing of children in traditional Kyrgyz families.

The scope of the study covers mainly the late XIX – early XX centuries. Based on the author's field materials, as well as a wide range of written sources, a reconstruction of the traditional model of raising children among the Kyrgyz is given.

[Gender; Traditions; Upbringing; Morality; Veneration; Culture]

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## Introduction

Cultural heritage has always served and serves as a foundation for the gender upbringing of children in traditional Kyrgyz families, as well as for the spiritual development of generations. It contains and concentrates those humanistic values that are not subject to ageing. Thanks to the labour and creativity of various peoples, the world's cultural heritage accumulated over the years is bound to have and has an enduring cultural and historical significance. This provision should also apply to the cultural heritage of the Kyrgyz.

Gender upbringing of children in traditional Kyrgyz families is closely connected and intertwined with culture, which is the fundamental basis for many relations of perceptions and actions in society. Respectful and careful attitude to elders and children, eagerness to morally and materially help those in need, mercy in its various manifestations, help and mutual assistance to the clan and tribe, the concept of honour and duty, the implementation of those or other duties that have been undertaken, that is, the guilt of the word, diligence and almost everything else – all this should be considered the basis of the culture of gender upbringing of children.

Transmitted from generation to generation, the world cultural stock is never interrupted in history, so it accumulates evenly.

In our opinion, all this means the essence of the impartial law of historical continuity of culture, as well as education in the as its constituent part. And each generation uses the accumulated experience, learns the merits, and moves forward to create new cultural values. Many institutions of traditional culture of an ethnos are disappearing, including institutions of socialisation, so the main task is first to fix them.

The aim of this study is to characterise the traditional gender upbringing of children in the Kyrgyz. The objectives are to:



- to give an idea of behaviour related to the gender upbringing of children;
- to trace the processes of integrating children into the world of adults, introducing the child to the economic activities of the tribal family and clan;
- to characterise the moral qualities of children as one of the most important elements of folk pedagogy in the spiritual development of the child.

The research is based on the principle of historicism. The study of the peculiarities of gender children's upbringing in the Kyrgyz is based on the study of complexes of social phenomena as part of a single whole – traditional culture.

In addition, the following methodological work was carried out while working on this study:

- survey and conversations-interviews with informants of the older generation;
- analyses of ethnographic materials on traditional gender children's upbringing.

For any clan system, the culture of behaviour and morality is a significant, obligatory moment, in turn leaving the essence of clan production, tribal and family life. The creation of man is formed not only from the physical production of individuals, but also from the material-spiritual and aesthetic criteria of their life and personality. The latter, unlike procreation, can be called the processing of people by people, it has its own stages, nuances, and directions. The material interpretation tells us that man is formed and develops as a subject of labour, industrial and political relations, as a personality of this or that historical era, as an inimitable peculiarity, which was taken in the social aspect in this process. But the place given to the moral formation of the individual cannot be underestimated. A person cannot be constituted on the physical level alone. When someone is reported to be accomplished as a human being, his highest moral qualities are first assumed. Morality, more than any other sphere of a person's inner world, ensures social stability of a person, the strength of his ties with his clan or tribe.

Our article discusses only some aspects of this important and complex problem. Since upbringing in this system is a multifaceted process. Gender upbringing of children in formation of behavioural culture in the traditional Kyrgyz family is studied based on the historical experience of the people.

The well-known researcher M. Muzayev<sup>7</sup> rightly writes that the education of a perfect personality of a real Kyrgyz required a thoughtful application of a set of means for all-round influence, and folk teachers chose more effective means of influencing the personality. According to the scientist, the more effective means of influencing the consciousness and feelings of children were riddles, proverbs, songs and fairy tales, i.e. oral folk art. The purpose of riddles was intellectual education, proverbs, and songs – moral and aesthetic education. One of the principal tasks was to foster the correct perception of ancestral important values. For this reason, the Kyrgyz strongly condemned idleness, consumerist attitude to the ancestral view, which was of great importance in the Kyrgyz culture. Another task, a commandment of upbringing can be considered the necessity to lay the base, the foundation of directed behaviour already in childhood. Adamdyn bashky mildeti – yymanduuluk, (The main duty of man is morality). Adamdyn zhaman – zhakshysy tuulgandan emes, kɵrgɵn tarbiyasynan, (A good or bad person is not from birth, but from the education received) – said the Kyrgyz.<sup>8</sup> More necessary commandments were: “do not lie”, “do not kidnap”, “do not offend a loved one”, which were learnt by Kyrgyz children together with their mother’s milk.

The basis of culture of all peoples is the national character, which is an essential element of national psychology, and without considering this and almost all other reasons it is unrealistic to study economic, financial and political life and manage the main directions of life and activities of these peoples.

The Kyrgyz paid great attention to the moral education of the younger generation. The child first met the accepted tribal norms and rules of behaviour in the family. The example and behaviour of elders played a major role in this. Growing up, children uniformly entered the system of relations that existed in the family, and it became for them an unquestionable law of relations between elders and juniors, rules of behaviour in relation to the clan and tribe, etc.

The tribal norms of behaviour transmitted from generation to generation related to all aspects of social life of the tribe and family: from birth and marriage to labour work, daily communication in family life and

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<sup>7</sup> M. MURZAYEV, *The Role of Socialization of Individuals in Kyrgyz National Pedagogy*, Bishkek 2014, p. 86.

<sup>8</sup> S. K. OSMONOVA, *Field Materials Notebook*, No. 2, 2019, p. 18.

labour, tribal forms of leisure time, etc. The norms were not regulated in any way. Usually, they were not regulated by any definite legal regulations, but were sometimes more than the latter, being based on public morality and clan opinion.

The whole totality of tribal requirements of behaviour in most peoples is based on the opinions of this people about some positive kind of perfect representative of their own kind at a certain time, in a certain environment and in a certain role. And this collective, historically formed image of a flawless, “ideal man” of this or that tribe seems to be forever recorded in the consciousness of each member of this tribe. Each nation has historically formed and exists its own certain and only inherent ideal of behaviour, and the norms of tribal behaviour prescribe a member of this tribe to follow this model in each certain situation. Of course, in different peoples, as well as in Kyrgyz people, this ideal is different in some ways, arising from the style of life, the prevailing way of life, moral and moral perceptions, notions about the attitude to the opposite sex, elders and juniors, comrades to friends, good and evil, good, and bad, courage, heroism, honesty, etc. Any nation, as it is clear, has historically formed written and unwritten norms of “decent behaviour”, the violation of which is condemned by other members of the family and tribe.

Even though the violation of the requirements of this “impeccable behaviour” or “impeccable model” of behaviour was not formally punished and is not punished directly, they still existed and are stable for long periods of time in one or another ethnic community, being interdependent elements of social, ethnic, and confessional character.

In the Kyrgyz family in the educational process, the value was usually given to the cultivation of such moral qualities as honesty, truthfulness, modesty, politeness, respect for parents and other members of the family and tribe. Simplicity, dignity, sociability, loyalty to relatives and friends were strongly pronounced character traits of the Kyrgyz people. Great importance was attached to the formation of high moral relations and their daily fulfilment. Kyrgyz proverbs noted the following: “Adamdyn kerký – adep, Adamdyn kerký – adiletty – adilettyyylylyktø, zhigittin kerký – adilettylylylyktø, adilettyy kishi – azaptan alys” – “Morality adorns a man”, “justice adorns a man, morality adorns a man”, “A moral man is always in happiness”.

So, what is “Adep-akhlak” (“moral character”) – it is etiquette, norms of behaviour, ethics, aesthetics. “Adep-akhlak” is a whole complex or

a system of ethical requirements.<sup>9</sup> The Kyrgyz, being in the past a long time a non-written people, made a fascinating, deeply and finely thought out system of unwritten moral standards of behaviour, which concern virtually all aspects of life and activity, which characterise difficult relations in the family, in the household, in the clan and in the tribe. “Adep-akhlak” can be found as a set of etiquette rules of behaviour, which relate to the external manifestation of the attitude to people: dealing with others, forms of address, greetings, behaviour in public places, manners, dress, etc. Etiquette is an integral part of the ‘external culture of the clan’, the culture of behaviour.

The norms of behaviour, etiquette and behavioural culture are part of the world culture. The Kyrgyz have never lived in isolation, without communication with other peoples. Since past times, the Kyrgyz have communicated not only with their nearest neighbours – Uzbeks, Kazakhs, Tajiks, but also with other close and distant peoples. Archaeological materials, written sources, as well as folklore and field ethnographic materials speak about these ties.<sup>10</sup> It is necessary to emphasise such bases of world culture development as mutual enrichment, mutual influence, and interchange. In such variants any nation, also Kyrgyz, accepts and brings into its culture mainly what is close to it in psychology and lifestyle. Of course, we are now turning to the Kyrgyz culture of the past, so it has its own mentality.

Moral and aesthetic education can be considered a fundamental, significant basis for the formation of character, moral and ethical form of a person throughout his life, his relations with his clan and tribe, it largely determines the present status of a person in the social environment. The Kyrgyz paid great care to the education of children in these moral categories, such as discipline, a sense of collectivism, obedience and reverence to parents and elders, loyalty in friendship, adherence to the clan and tribe, etc. The boys were educated to be disciplined, a sense of collectivism, obedience and reverence to parents and elders, loyalty in friendship, adherence to the clan and tribe, and others. Courage, loyalty, faithfulness, steadfastness, selflessness were brought up in boys, and perseverance, politeness, obedience to elders, and respect for the future spouse were brought up in girls. All this corresponded to the standard of moral and aesthetic dignity

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<sup>9</sup> Ibid., p. 6.

<sup>10</sup> N. P. LOBACHEVA, *Family and family rites at the peoples of Central Asia and Kazakhstan*, Moscow 1978, pp. 144–175.

of that time, when aspects of upbringing of the younger generation of Kyrgyz were tightly connected with the historical criteria of their life.

One of the weighty and key postulates of patrimonial and tribal upbringing was the development and strengthening of these qualities in children, such as respect for elders, parents, opposite sex, sense of duty and honour, conscientiousness, modesty, self-esteem, etc. The necessary claim was that children should grow up ashamed of their own wrong actions, that they should be conscientious – “namystu”.

At the time we are considering, the Kyrgyz brought up their own children on the moral values of Islam and tried to pass on to them proper domestic and craft skills. Knowledge in general was highly valued, and any opportunity to teach or learn something was never missed. Mature and adult members of the family were responsible for the younger ones, instilling in them the abilities they might need in life.

Our field materials highlight the probability that children learnt the traditions of respectfulness towards parents, relatives, elders and lodgers in their daily interactions with them. It is worth noting that children were usually quite attached to older family members (grandmothers, grandfathers, aunts, etc.). One of the informants told us that in the past children and 70–80-year-olds would go out and sit wherever they felt comfortable in the yard. Adults usually had peaceful conversations among themselves and did not let the children playing in the yard out of their sight. Our informant recalled how he used to listen to the stories and fairy tales of Kalch’s grandfather, who had the talent of a storyteller and was able to interest children.<sup>11</sup> Adults and older members of the family were responsible for the younger ones, imparting to them skills that could be useful to them in life.

The Kyrgyz, during historical processes, lost a lot of cultural values about which we know only from traditional legends. The new life made its own adjustments and imposed its own ideology. Regardless of this, in the treasuries of people’s memory there remained deep and delicately considered systems of moral tribal norms concerning all aspects of people’s life and activity.

These clan and tribal norms characterised difficult relations in the family, in the environment and in society. They, as perennial mole towers, keep in their own splendour the beauty and commitment of their own

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<sup>11</sup> OSMONOVA, p. 20.

contemporaries – our forefathers, who created them. The system of social relations formed in the life of the older generation has developed spiritually, changing, and improving it together.

Most people are included in the contours of social relations developed by the previous development, acquiring the spiritual properties programmed in them, improving them in various spheres of life; when they leave life, they leave for new generations the more elevated degree of moral formation of personality expressed in them.

Regardless of how long the system of social relations protects its own contours and how quickly a new system is distinguished from the past, the process of succession of generations is never interrupted. It is known that the succession of generations is an important condition of social progress, which exists in all spheres of life: industrial and political, financial, legal, moral, aesthetic, tribal relations.

One of the ways of moral education of a child in a Kyrgyz family was approval for a good deed, which always contributed to the development of positive traits in the child's behaviour and awakened in them the desire to behave decently. Praise and expressions of satisfaction with certain actions of a child were often used in upbringing. For their excellent behaviour in the stay of other children praised, put it to them as an example. Encouragement of children's actions not only by parents, but also by neighbours and close people was an effective form of approval. According to our field materials, the most effective form of approval for the children was encouragement of their actions by their father. The relevant features of Kyrgyz family and domestic relations since ancient times are the thorough reverence of children for their parents, respect for elders, generous behaviour towards people around them, regardless of their nationality, gender, education, position in the clan, etc. Traditions encouraged to honour people of old age.

In all cases the elder spoke first, the younger one gave way, listened to his advice and served the food. It was highly obscene to interfere with the conversation of the elders, to sneer loudly in their presence, to say things that were obscene to gender and age, to do any ignorant action in the presence of the elders, at the same time in the presence of parents.

Simple skills were gradually imparted to a child: the ability to address elders, behaviour during a feast, with guests, in the presence of guests, etc. Kyrgyz women were measured and gentle in the family, never spoke in exaggerated tones and did not use formidable punishments towards the child. Babies were accustomed to fulfilling instructions, recommen-

dations, wishes of relatives and elders. According to the custom it was hoped that if a boy sent by his parents on business met an old man in the street and if he asked him to help him in something, the boy would help him first of course, and then he would fulfil the task of his relatives. When meeting with the elders, the younger ones were obliged to approach or approach them as a sign of respect from the left side, from the same side to follow the footsteps with them on the way. The right side was and is honourable, and it is customary to yield it to the elder. If when meeting an elder, the young one was on horseback and the elder was on foot, the young one was obliged to hurry up, approach the elder and offer him his own horse. From an early age the idea was instilled in the children that they owed a debt to their mother, to their parents. "There is no higher debt than duty to one's mother," says a Kyrgyz proverb.

It should be noted that this idea was assertively introduced into the understanding of young people throughout the centuries by the older generation, supporting it with established traditions, which were dictated by the need in conditions when the family did not materially provide for old age, when parents could count only on their children and saw them as the sole support and breadwinners in old age.

Therefore, upbringing of children from childhood to adulthood did not exclude violence against their will and consciousness.

The older generation was to be respected and honoured, while obedience to the elders was the duty of the young. Proceeding from this, the Kyrgyz have always paid great care to the education of the younger generation respectful attitude to the elders.

Children were introduced to ancestral norms of morality and rules of behaviour first in the family. The key role in this, as mentioned above, was played by the behaviour of elders, their image. The beginning of this system of upbringing was the family, its micro-environment, first the tender attitude of mum to her own kids.

To characterise it, let us cite some folklore works. Here, for example, is a farewell song:

"I wish you a long life,  
And strong health!  
May the pastures be filled with livestock,  
And the granary with harvest.  
May your yard be filled with cattle,  
And your home with children."

This is one of the main wishes and desires of a child, which is necessary in his life.<sup>12</sup>

In Kyrgyz family children were treated with affection, care, and love, i.e. they paid much attention to them, especially the youngest children were often spoilt. Kyrgyz etiquette and ethics prescribed to treat children gently, patiently and with restraint. They were not angry with children and tried not to shout at them. From an early age, all members of the family tried to instil in children good-naturedness, kindness, respect and reverence for elders, kind attitude to all living things. As children grew up, the emotional tone of their parents' attitude towards them gradually changed: from mild forgiveness in early childhood to exacting strictness in adolescence and friendly guardianship in youth.

A special attitude to the mother was brought up from childhood. Under any circumstances, mother should not be offended, even with bad thoughts, it was impossible to be rude, to increase the eye on her, the key thing in the attitude to mum is commitment, attention to her. Motherhood has always been the central concept of a woman's destiny, in traditional Kyrgyz culture and traditional rituals created unquestionable laws, according to which a girl's childhood was only a preparation for motherhood. In some families, a woman had to patiently bear offences from her spouse and other family members to preserve the family for the sake of the children.

Children consulted with their father in all their actions and received his blessing: "Allaga amanat, Kudai saktasyn" – "God to help, God to keep".

And only in very rare cases the father resorted to the power of curse. According to the Kyrgyz, the father's curse was extremely effective. The Kyrgyz used to say "ata kargyshy – ok", "The father's curse is an arrow".<sup>13</sup> A person who deserved a curse from his father expected difficult calamities and misfortune for himself. A person cursed by his parents became an outcast, and everyone looked at him as an outcast.

Ethnic morality and the tribal norms of behaviour based on it demanded absolute reverence for parents throughout their lives. Children were obliged to obey their parents in all things and to support them in their old age.

Honouring old age is not just a mark of respect for their years, for their family status. It is honour to their luggage of knowledge, life experience,

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<sup>12</sup> Ibid, p. 12.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid, p. 13.



everything that they have seen and heard, carried worthily through the years and hardships; it is the life they have seen; the songs they have heard; the rituals, ceremonies and customs they have participated in; the hands that have spun, embroidered, caressed grandchildren, baked; welcomed and embraced guests with affection. “Sadaga bolup ketein, baleketindi alayin’ – these expressions have no literal translation into Russian, but they mean women’s sacrifice, readiness to give their lives, their strength, for their children – “That I should take your troubles on my head, that I should die for you”.<sup>14</sup> Such is the meaning of these words.

The religious and moral basis of intergenerational relations in the tribe and family was more clearly manifested in the people’s perception of the meaning of parental blessing and parental curse. The Kyrgyz believed that the highest moral properties were predestined to people by God. It was faithful and ethical if a son followed his father’s precepts; disobedient children were regarded as ungrateful and were a punishment for parents. “Abiyr tapsa balasy, atasyna bak konot”, “If the son is conscientious, the father is happy”. Moral, moral attitudes were modified, adapting to new conditions, continued their life.

It is known that Muslim culture is syncretic by nature: difficult circumstances of economy, small land, not always smooth relations with neighbours and many other things gave reason for manifestation of character. The whole system of clan and tribal upbringing was oriented to contain it to a significant extent.

The peculiarities of Kyrgyz moral education were manifested in relations between women and men, adults and children, elders, and juniors everywhere, in any environment – indoors, outdoors, in the household, in clan and tribal spaces, on the road, etc.

The interests of the family in the clan and tribe were represented by the father of the family, the eldest of the men.<sup>15</sup>

Other issues of daily life were jointly decided by the parents. All family members, who jointly owned joint property, depending on their abilities, skills, and abilities, were engaged in cattle breeding and farming, and partly in hunting.

They produced everything necessary for life in their households by handicrafts. The family had to process the diverse products of animal

<sup>14</sup> Ibid, p. 14.

<sup>15</sup> S. M. ABRAMZON, *The Kirghiz and their ethnogenetic and historical-cultural ties*, Frunze 1990, p. 261.

husbandry and farming in time and completely, prepare them for use or storage, on which their well-being depended to no small extent. And this work mainly fell on women's shoulders. Many authors have drawn attention to the constant employment of Kyrgyz women in the household, interpreting it as slave dependence on their husbands. But playing a major role in the production of material goods for the family, women had freedom of action and autonomy in the household.

At the same time, S. M. Abramzon and A. Dzhumagulov, getting acquainted with the life of the Kyrgyz, saw only its external side and underestimated the role of male labour in household management. While women's labour was necessary for daily household chores, men's labour was used in seasonal work where physical strength was needed. Men's duties included: choosing pastures and places for migrating, caring for cattle and training horses for riding, setting up yurts and building pens for cattle.

Thus, male and female labour was equivalent in the economy of the Kyrgyz family as an independent economic unit of society based on private production and individual consumption.

The clan and tribal norms of child rearing were greatly influenced by general Muslim traditions and values. Most of them did not contradict this folk culture and were freely grafted onto the behavioural culture of the Kyrgyz. The Arabic language became the linguistic shell of Muslim etiquette, and after that of Kyrgyz etiquette, which was replenished every day with borrowings from communication with the outside world, with neighbours. People accepted these new generic generally recognised norms and criteria, adapting this new one to their own specific peculiar national conditions.

Ancestral and tribal upbringing – the splendour of manners, customs, tales, stories, bylinas – all this people managed to carry through the centuries to preserve and pass on to the next generations. And here it should be noted that beauty, health, knowledge were inextricably linked in people's lives. According to folk beliefs, by preserving the qualities of morality, a person gained external beauty and long life. A young man – “zhigit” – was obliged to stand respectfully in the doorway during the conversation of elders or during a feast (toi), ready to serve them, to bring a horse, to see them off, to greet those who arrived. He was at all times near, not participating in the conversation, was there, listening, noting, memorising. Tact, honour, a worthy place in the future – these are links of one chain, which in the future is called “tarbiyaluu zhigit” (well-mannered guy).

In this way children were taught not only manners, not only beautiful communication and behaviour, but also care for their elders.

The Kyrgyz tribal norms of behaviour and morality, as well as faith, demanded and still demand unconditional respect for parents throughout their lives. Clan or tribal opinion strongly condemned and condemns persons who showed disrespectful attitude towards people of older age.

According to the Kyrgyz worldview, the religious and moral basis of intergenerational relations in the family was quite clearly manifested in ideas about the meaning of parental blessing or curse, and especially of paternal blessing. The Kyrgyz attached great importance to the blessing and prayer of parents. Parents blessed their children before marriage, before travelling on a long journey or before embarking on important undertakings: “Zholun shydir, zholdoshun kyzyr bolsun” [“May your path be smooth, and your companion (friend) be your guide”], “Baktyluu bala-chakaluu bolgula” (“Be happy with your children”), “Ishin ilgeri bolsun, zharatkan ɵzy koldosun” (“May you have success in your endeavors, and may Allah bless you”).<sup>16</sup> Numerous other wishes related to blessing were also used. There were special “ayats” (“verse”) of the Koran, which were read, and even now are read by mothers and older people when their children leave home.

In accordance with the ancestral generally recognized norms of Kyrgyz moral culture, not only parents and relatives of older age, but all elders in general were worthy of veneration and respect. Young children helped the guest to enter the house, tethered the horse, fed him, asked him about important things – health, the way and those who are dear to a person (his relatives). The first greeting of the Kyrgyz begins with the phrase: “Are your cattle and your family healthy?” Characterizing the life and customs of the Kyrgyz, Ch. Valikhanov noted that Kyrgyz “eats and drinks and dresses with cattle, for him cattle are more valuable than his peace of mind”.<sup>17</sup>

At the age of 15, a young man was ready for many things: he took part in his father’s household chores, harvesting, haymaking, came to help each other (‘ashar’), and could already start his own family.

The Kyrgyz had a large number of strict rules, which stemmed from the honouring of the eldest person. The custom unconditionally demanded respect from all the younger to all the older and regulated its requirement

<sup>16</sup> OSMONOVA, p. 15.

<sup>17</sup> Ch. Ch. VALIKHANOV, *Notes on the Kirghiz Collected Works*, Alma-Ata 1961, Vol. I, p. 301.

in the following way: the elder could sit wherever necessary, and the younger stood until invited to sit down; when there were many people in the house, the elderly sat in the order of seniority, and the young had to stand at the threshold. One of the important and obligatory moments of honouring elders was to stand up whenever they appeared. Every self-respecting person considered himself obliged to stand up, otherwise he would show his ill-manneredness. According to Kyrgyz custom, if one of the elders stood up at home, all those who were younger than him in age had to get up from their seats and stand until he sat down again or said the word *sit*.<sup>18</sup>

According to generally recognised tribal norms, young people, including a son or daughter, even those who had long since become parents themselves, had no right to sit down in the presence of their father without his invitation. In the presence of the elderly, one had to stand, and certain rules were also observed: one had to stand at a certain distance from the elder, or behind him, etc. Young or middle-aged people, who could honour their elders, did not sit down immediately, even when the elder asked him to do so, and not close and not next to him. It was not allowed to sit in front of the elders, with legs spread, etc. When walking together with elders, one was not supposed to be the first to enter a room or cross the path of an elder. The Kyrgyz condemned the verbosity of young people, especially in the presence of their elders. They do not talk about love, about women, or even about their children in the presence of their fathers, or elders in general. In cases when men and women had to go somewhere together, regardless of age, the woman walked necessarily a few steps behind the man. Parents and other family members created, i.e. fostered in the family respectful, friendly relations towards each other.

As we have already noted above, in order to properly educate the younger generation, it was believed that parents should be an example for their children. In this regard, the people say such proverbs: “Uyadan emneni kōrsōh, uchkanda oshonu alasyh”, “What you see in your nest, you get in flight from it”, etc.<sup>19</sup>

In the Kyrgyz culture, strict upbringing was associated with certain prohibitions. And these prohibitions were not discussed or disputed by anyone. The word of an elder, wise in experience, vital knowledge, a great baggage of interpersonal communication, respected by all, was immutable. The spoken word of the elder was the law.

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<sup>18</sup> OSMONOVA, p. 18.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 22.

Kyrgyz proverbs, sayings, fairy tales, legends and their content serve as good didactic material that reveals such concepts as the role of elders in the formation of moral foundations in the family and in the tribe. The images of older people were valued as bearers of goodness and wisdom: they gave advice to the young in difficult situations, provided the necessary help.

The life experience of the people, its wisdom was vividly embodied in a variety of proverbs and sayings. Like any folk sayings, Kyrgyz proverbs and sayings in a very figurative and lucid form inculcate love for the motherland and the people, cultivate a sense of courage, censure vices, condemn evil. They used to be closely connected with the cattle-breeding and partly with the military nomadic life of the people. On the basis of this genre of oral folk art, independent works specific to Kyrgyz folklore have grown up, which are moral songs and poems. They consist of popular proverbs (often in verse form) and rhymed aphorisms. Such poems are called *sanat* (edification, or an example worthy of imitation). Proverbs are selected either on a single theme, or are diverse in subject matter, but in general act as poetic moral teachings.<sup>20</sup>

Proverbs and proverbs inculcated reverence for elders, for the elderly, for mothers, for the younger in the family: “Ata-enyendin ak sөzүн kulagynндan uchurba”, “Don’t let the sincere word of parents fly out of your ears”, “Ene syllagan, elge zhagat”, “Who respects his mother, the people like him”, “Atadan – akyl, apadan – tarbiya”, “From the father – intelligence, from the mother – upbringing”, and others.

Lullaby songs also reflect the reflection of everyday life, traditions, psychology and didactic norms of the family.

Here is a lullaby song for a girl:

“My daughter so dear,  
Born from your mother, hold her near,  
Like a valley, with love clear,  
Divided by rays, bright and sheer.  
May your hands be strong, without fear,  
And wisdom fill your heart, my dear.”

In the upbringing of a daughter, a special role was given to her preservation of her natural beauty. And that she should be a splendid master of women’s work; this role belonged mainly to mothers and aunts – sisters of the mother and father.

<sup>20</sup> ABRAMZON, p. 357.

And here is a lullaby song for a boy:

“Dear my precious one,  
Born from your mother, like the morning sun,  
A valley of care, where love’s begun,  
Divided by light, each day’s begun.  
May your hands be strong, your spirit spun,  
Filled with wisdom, my darling one.”

It says here that their foal should be industrious, that he should be a master of his trade.<sup>21</sup>

Proverbs and proverbs, as we have already said many times, instilled reverence for the elders, the old, the mother, the younger in the family. Lullaby songs trace the reflection of everyday life, traditions, psychology and didactic norms of the family. Of the folklore genres, children earlier than others encountered songs, primarily lullabies, which, as a rule, were often considered improvisations. Kyrgyz verbal art was and is considered to be a school of education for family members, an important spiritual and artistic environment where a person was formed. It had a huge educational and cognitive meaning. Through works of oral folk art the world, nature, people, good and evil, the surrounding environment, etc. were and are learnt.

And also one of the generally recognised tribal norms of moral behaviour in the Kyrgyz tribe was the observance of avoidance customs. Usually the action of prohibitions began already from the time of matchmaking of young people. It was from that moment that their behaviour was controlled and meetings were strictly limited. The bride and groom had to avoid each other and not show themselves in society. This prohibition, slightly changed, continued after the wedding: the young people had no right to communicate and talk to each other in front of strangers. Often this prohibition lasted until the newlyweds reached adulthood, or until they separated from their parents and began to run their own separate household.

Until then, the young people communicated through intermediaries, usually younger members of the family. It should be emphasised that these prohibitions were mutual; the spouses never addressed each other by name. The young wife called her husband “atasy” (father of children), he called his wife “enesi” (mother of children). But even such an address was not allowed if the newlyweds stayed with their parents.

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<sup>21</sup> OSMONOVA, p. 25.

The customs of prohibition and avoidance instilled in young people restraint, calmness, patience, and restraint of feelings. Spouses were not allowed to show any feelings for each other openly, in public: love, attention, affection. It was not allowed to go somewhere together (according to custom, a wife with children always walked 5–6 steps behind her husband), it was also forbidden to sit or even to be near each other in public places.<sup>22</sup> It was forbidden to express parental feelings towards their children in public. Relationships between spouses only warmed slightly with age.

According to N. A. Kislyakov, a researcher of family and marital relations of the peoples of Central Asia and Kazakhstan, the prohibition between husband and wife to call each other by name was found almost in all Central Asian peoples.<sup>23</sup> Such family-marital relations were preserved among the inhabitants of the region under study for the whole life.

Not only the young, but also the husband's parents had to observe some prohibitions and avoidances with regard to their daughters-in-law. In the studied region, according to the folk adat, there were prohibitions both temporary and lifelong.

It is necessary to emphasise the prohibition of “terөө” – to call a daughter-in-law by his name, both in his presence and absence. The daughter-in-law had to replace the names of animals or objects consonant with his name with other words. According to tradition, the following prohibitions were constantly preserved in everyday life: a daughter-in-law was not allowed to appear in front of her father-in-law with uncovered legs, arms, head, with open breasts when feeding a child; it was forbidden to sit with her back to her father-in-law, sit with him at the same *das-torkon*, or sit on his seat; at his appearance she had to get up. If a “kelin” had to mend her father-in-law's clothes, she asked others for help to take his clothes out of the chest.

According to informants, these prohibitions, which, according to them, manifested themselves most fully in relations between a daughter-in-law and her husband's father, were characterised by the fact that they were reciprocal.

<sup>22</sup> S. K. OSMONOVA, *Traditional wedding rituals of the Kyrgyz people in the southwest of the Fergana Valley (late 19<sup>th</sup> – early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries)*, Osh 2015, p. 118.

<sup>23</sup> H. A. KISLYAKOV, *Essays on the history of family and marriage among the peoples of Central Asia and Kazakhstan*, Leningrad 1969, p. 163.

The father-in-law was also subject to certain restrictions: he could not leave parts of his body uncovered, he could not undress in the presence of his daughter-in-law; he was not allowed to touch her or sit next to her. Jokes and laughter, and even more so swearing and obscene language, were not allowed in their relationship. If the father-in-law had to make a remark to his daughter-in-law, he addressed his wife or daughter so that they could be heard by the “kelin”. It is not without reason that Kyrgyz people have a saying: “Kyzim, saga aytam, kelinim, sen uk!” (Daughter, I am telling you, daughter-in-law, you listen!).<sup>24</sup>

The daughter-in-law observed temporary prohibitions until her father-in-law gave official permission. But it happened that she received such permission after 3, 5 and more years, and sometimes she did not receive it at all. The permission to lift the ban was given to the daughter-in-law by her mother-in-law or her husband’s elder aunt. After that, in accordance with the tradition, the “kelin” bowed to her father-in-law and from now on could freely enter the common room, clean, bring water to her father-in-law, etc., but communication between them was minimal, the “kelin” always answered her father-in-law quietly and shyly.

According to the custom, prohibitions for “kelin” in relation to mother-in-law were short, although in their strictness they were not inferior to the prohibitions in relation to father-in-law, which was explained, first of all, by economic necessity. In a large family all women were obliged to obey the orders of their elders unconditionally, performing all household chores, which limited the range of their interests. In such conditions, it was especially difficult for the “kelin”, for she was entrusted with almost all household duties immediately after marriage. The fulfilment of various household tasks by the daughter-in-law predetermined the short duration of bans, which were terminated by the mother-in-law herself. But normal relations between them were not soon established.

In the region under consideration there were traditional forms of special address of “kelin” to her husband’s parents. Instead of the words “kayin atam”, she, according to custom, pronounced terms meaning father and mother – “atam” (my father-in-law), “enem” (my mother-in-law), thus confirming the kinship of relations, and they, in turn, addressed her with the word “balam” (my child).

The daughter-in-law strictly observed certain prohibitions not only with regard to her husband’s parents, but also with regard to his older

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<sup>24</sup> OSMONOVA, *Traditional Wedding*, p. 119.



relatives. It should be noted that certain groups of husband's relatives adhered to the custom of avoidance: firstly, "kayyn jur̄t" – avoidance of older male relatives of the husband by the daughter-in-law; secondly, avoidance of the young daughter-in-law by them – "kelin".

N. P. Dyrenkova, a researcher of family-marital prohibitions and avoidances in the Turkic peoples of Central Asia, proposed to consider this custom in the following groups: in relation to the older male relatives of the husband or wife, the older female relatives; and also in relation to the younger male and younger female relatives.<sup>25</sup>

It should be emphasised that while with regard to the older male relatives of the husband ("kayin"), the daughter-in-law was obliged to observe the custom of avoidance for some time, there were no prohibitions for her with regard to the younger relatives and female relatives from the husband's and his mother's family.

According to informants' reports, married women in the region in question usually adhered strictly to certain norms of behaviour, which included a number of prohibitions that can be grouped as follows: excessive meetings on any occasion, direct address to and gazing at her husband's older relatives, appearance with naked parts of the body and uncovered head were prohibited. A daughter-in-law was not allowed to sit with her leg outstretched and in case of men in the room, or with them at the same dastorkon, to talk loudly and disrespectfully, to walk barefoot and enter the men's half of the yurt.

So, "kelin" never stayed alone with her husband's elder relatives, always greeted them first with a nod of the head; when they appeared in the house, she quickly got up from her seat and, pulling her handkerchief over her eyes and lowering her head, silently left the room; and in case of an accidental direct meeting with them, she immediately passed by with her head lowered, letting the elder one pass ahead; she immediately fulfilled all the requests of "kainag" (her husband's elder brothers), whom "kelin" honoured as well as his parents. A daughter-in-law did not dare to eat and drink in their presence, to feed her children, to do household chores, for she had to give them all kinds of honours and signs of attention. She answered the questions of older relatives with the help of an intermediary, usually involving her children or younger brothers and sisters of her husband.

<sup>25</sup> N. P. DYRENKOVA, Marriage, Kinship Terms, and Mental Taboos among the Kyrgyz, in: V. G. BOGORAZ-TAN (ed.), *Collection of Ethnographic Materials*, Leningrad 1927, No. 2, pp. 16–21.

Through them, the “kelin” also conveyed her requests. The prohibition to avoid older male relatives of the husband lasted for quite a long time and was usually lifted with the birth of the first child, accompanied by the induction of the young into the household of each of the relatives.

Of course, the older in-laws in the family, who had already grown up children, felt freer than the younger ones. In order not to violate the customs of the prohibition, young daughters-in-law often had to be inventive and use various tricks. Thus, one of the informants said: Once one of the “kelins”, while managing the household, could not hold the cow to milk it. At that time, everyone was absent from the house, except for her husband’s older brother. Naturally, the daughter-in-law, who observed the prohibition of avoiding older relatives, could not address him directly. In order not to break the custom, she had to shout quietly to the neighbouring children who were in the house. But her husband’s elder brother, having heard the shouting and understood the request, came out into the yard and helped the “kelin” to hold the cow.<sup>26</sup>

Prohibitions on bodily contact with the husband’s male relatives were considered lifelong for daughters-in-law. On the contrary, hugging and kissing her husband’s female relatives was approved. But “kelin” were forbidden to speak with older female relatives of the husband for some time. They lifted this prohibition themselves, accompanying it with an obligatory gift in gratitude for the respect shown to them. But even after that, the daughter-in-law in conversation with them was very courteous, extremely respectful, always affectionate and accommodating. Thus, if a senior relative of her husband entered the house, the “kelin” had to meet her immediately, without delay, treat her to tea, and, if possible, provide comfort and cosiness for her rest. And in the absence of other relatives, the young daughter-in-law was obliged to leave all her affairs and give the guest as much attention as possible.<sup>27</sup>

The daughter-in-law’s relations with the “kainiler” (her husband’s younger brothers) and “kayin sindiler” (his sisters) were more free: they joked, talked about various topics, but did not go beyond what was allowed. The daughter-in-law also fulfilled the requests and errands of her minor relatives quickly, willingly and unconditionally. The “kelin” also behaved modestly and respectfully with other relatives of her husband.

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<sup>26</sup> OSMONOVA, *Traditional Wedding*, p. 118.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*

The custom of avoidance of male relatives of the husband by the daughter-in-law until a certain time has its roots in deep antiquity.

There are several theories on the origin of the custom of avoidance. The first theory belongs to the ethnographer M. O. Kosven.<sup>28</sup> He defines avoidance as a forbidden mechanism that emerged in the transition period from group to individual marriage. Representatives of the second theory<sup>29</sup> consider avoidance as a relic of orders in the transition from matrilocality to patrilocality. The third theory can be called psychological. Its supporter N. A. Kislyakov<sup>30</sup> believes that the custom of avoidance performs not only social functions, but also functions of psychological protective nature caused by the change of marriage localisation. It is not excluded that modesty, respect are reflected in this social context, so the custom of avoidance is a peculiar manifestation of etiquette.

### Conclusion

Thus socialisation as a process in the course of which people assimilate social norms peculiar to a particular socio-cultural environment, provides not only the transmission of culture of a given society from generation to generation, but also makes possible the very existence of society. An individual's assimilation of the cultural experience accumulated by a given society begins at an early age and takes place directly through the institutions of socialisation: family, tribe, clan, i.e. peer society, which usually has no rigid organisation, close relatives (uncles, aunts, grandfathers, and grandmothers), etc. The family and tribe with its specific educational environment bear the main burden of socialisation of the child. It is in the family as a micro-model of society that the child acquires the first skills of social interaction, gets acquainted with the basic orders accepted in a given tribe or clan, which regulate interpersonal and intergroup relations.

The power of example played a huge role in the upbringing of the clan and tribe system. Therefore, parents and elders in general had to behave in accordance with the norms of behaviour that they wanted to develop in the younger generation. The elders tried to be attentive to the younger ones, brought up courage, firmness and endurance in them.

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<sup>28</sup> M. O. KOSVEN, *Ethnography and History of the Caucasus*, Moscow 1961, p. 120.

<sup>29</sup> DYRENKOVA, p. 16.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid.

Of the moral qualities instilled in children, special importance was attached to the cultivation of a sense of duty and kinship solidarity, discipline and politeness, awareness of male dignity and female honour. A man from a good family, tribe or clan was not conceivable without knowledge of generally accepted norms and rules of behaviour. Besides thorough knowledge of the norms of relations between elders and juniors in the family, children had to learn the norms of behaviour in the tribe or clan. They were supposed to remember all the signs of attention given by a man to a woman and by a woman to a man. They had to learn perfectly the laws of hospitality and its rules, etc. Children who successfully coped with the requirements of the tutors were encouraged in every possible way. In general, encouragement took a great place in the Kyrgyz upbringing process. They tried to influence children not so much by threats and punishments as by persuasion and, above all, by good example.

Family and clan education was supplemented by even broader tribal and clan education. Not a single person from a given tribe or clan remained indifferent to a child's misbehaviour and, depending on the degree of guilt, made a remark. And since the life of children, and even more so of adolescents, took place not only at home, but also in the streets, at ceremonial gatherings, etc., the role of tribe and clan in the formation of the younger generation was very noticeable.

**David TROJAN**

***Tobiáš z Benešova. Biskup – hospodář – politik***

Praha 2023

ISBN: 978-80-200-3443-4, 348 pp.

Tobias of Benešov (sometimes wrongly referred to as Tobias of Bechyně) was the bishop of Prague for almost twenty years (1278–1296) in the turbulent times of the late 13<sup>th</sup> century. In the Bohemian lands, this period was influenced by the crisis years following the death of King Přemysl Otakar II, which were marked by the captivity of young Wenceslaus and the subsequent rule of Otto V, Margrave of Brandenburg, the rise of the Přemyslid kingdom under the independent rule of Wenceslaus II, and, above all, the ongoing “transformation” of the Bohemian lands.<sup>1</sup>

The history of the Prague diocese at the time of Tobias of Benešov was investigated in the presented book by David Trojan, which is a modified and revised version of the author’s diploma thesis. However, Trojan has already published some inspiring preliminary studies on the subject, dealing mainly with administrative and economic issues.<sup>2</sup> The presented publication is not a classical biography of the bishop,<sup>3</sup> but rather a comprehensive analysis of the Prague bishopric in the time of Tobias of Benešov. At the beginning of the review, it can be stated that following the collective monograph on

the Fourth Lateran Council,<sup>4</sup> Trojan’s monograph is another important contribution to the history of the Bohemian church at the end of the Přemyslid era, i. e. at the time of the growing political, economic, administrative, and judicial emancipation of the Bohemian Church.

<sup>1</sup> See overview J. KLÁPŠTĚ, *The Czech Lands in Medieval Transformation*, Leiden – Boston 2012.

<sup>2</sup> D. TROJAN, Českokobrodsko. Majetková proměna a osídlení jednoho regionu (13.–14. století), in: *Historie – Otázky – Problémy*, 13, 1, 2021, pp. 9–26; D. TROJAN, Kouřimský děkanát. Jeho struktura a topografie v předhusitské době, in: *Sborník archivních prací*, 72, 1, 2022, pp. 7–202; D. TROJAN, (Arci) biskup a jeho faráři, in: *Historie – Otázky – Problémy*, 14, 1, 2022, pp. 43–55.

<sup>3</sup> The last attempt to write a biography of Tobias of Benešov was undertaken by Jaroslav Kadlec, see J. KADLEC, Bischof Tobias und die Prager Diözese während seiner Regierungszeit (1278–1296), in: *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Bistums Regensburg*, 6, 1972, pp. 119–172.

<sup>4</sup> R. ANTONÍN et al., *Čtvrtý lateránský koncil a české země ve 13. a 14. století*, Praha 2020.

The book is divided into three parts: The Bishop, The Manciple, and The Politician. This division may seem strange at first, since these episcopal activities were largely interconnected. However, the author himself never conceals that one sphere of the episcopal activity merges with another.

In the first part, titled The Bishop, the author highlights Tobias's activities as a diocesan administrator, a judge, and, most importantly, as a person responsible for the flock of sinners entrusted to him. Trojan points out how Tobias (probably due to his noble origins) successfully established himself in the Prague diocese despite the turbulent times in which he assumed his office. In the following passages, Trojan presents a picture of Tobias as a relatively successful manager of his diocese. The author, for example, highlights the multidimensional nature of the bishop's approach to ecclesiastical institutions. He also discusses topics such as Tobias's relationship with the papal curia and the metropolitan of Mainz, or the structure of the episcopal chancery.

The second part, which is the most comprehensive, discusses the life of bishop Tobias as a maniple. The author analyses not only the gains and losses of estates or the economic life of the diocese, but also the form of amelioration of estates (e.g. in the form of colonization activities) and the introduction of emphyteuses into the diocesan economy. Trojan concludes that bishop Tobias of Benešov was the one who completed the emancipation of the Prague episcopal see and en-

forced the reform program which the Prague bishops had been trying to promote since the beginning of the 13<sup>th</sup> century. An important factor that (quite paradoxically) contributed to the transformation of the episcopal estates was their plundering at the time of political instability during the youth of Wenceslaus II. Bishop Tobias thus left the diocese in good shape with a consolidated economic base for his successors.

The third part is called The Politician. In the introduction, Trojan first discusses Tobias's noble origins (from the Benešovići family), which appear to be a crucial factor in his success in political life and in the economic and administrative dimensions of his episcopacy. Tobias's overall successes must be viewed through the prism of his noble origins. The fact that certain vices such as nepotism and favouritism of close relatives also derived from Tobias's noble mentality is the flip side. Trojan then briefly summarises the basic outlines of Tobias's political role in the late Přemyslid Bohemia – in particular the role of the bishop in the turbulent times after the death of Přemysl Otakar II, Tobias's relationship to Wenceslaus II and his court, and the appearance of his own episcopal court. Given the recent scholarly attention this matter has received,<sup>5</sup> Trojan's concise and factual last chapter is appreciated. The third part then con-

<sup>5</sup> See especially J. ŽEMLIČKA, *Do tří korun: Poslední rozmach Přemyslovců*, Praha 2017; D. DVOŘÁČKOVÁ-MALÁ, *Královský dvůr Václava II.*, České Budějovice 2011.

cludes with a chapter devoted to the image of Tobias in historical memory.

In his book, Trojan has made a precise and critical analysis of all available sources, demonstrating great insight into the subject and detailed knowledge of the economic and spiritual administration of the Prague diocese. The main contribution of the research lies in the detailed analysis of the economic activities of bishop Tobias. With his approach, Trojan has made a conscious entry into the discourse on Bohemian medieval “transformation” – a contribution that should be welcomed.

The publication is clearly structured; however, it can be argued that the book could benefit from a different order of chapters, as the chapter three

seems in many respects to open the discussion. Since the interpretation does not follow a chronological framework, it would also have been helpful to add a chronological table at the end of the book with key moments of the development of the Prague diocese.

In conclusion, nevertheless, it should be explicitly stated that the image of bishop Tobias and his episcopate in Trojan’s book is plausible and worthy of reflection by church historians. Trojan has avoided any attempt to glorify the bishop. The resulting image of bishop Tobias can be summed up as that of a confident nobleman who was also a successful manager, housekeeper, and administrator of the diocese.

*Martin Šenk*

**John McALEER**

***Atlantic Voyages: The East India Company and the British Route to the East in the Age of Sail***

Oxford 2023

ISBN: 978-0-19-289474-8, 258 pp.

John McAleer is Associate Professor of History at the University of Southampton. He was previously Curator of Imperial and Naval History at the National Maritime Museum, Greenwich. His interest focuses on the history of the English East India Company and British influence in the world in the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries. Until now, he has become known primarily as the author of dozens of studies mapping the global and maritime context of the history of the British Empire, but also as the editor of the *Worlds of the East India Company* series by Boydell & Brewer and co-editor of the *Maritime Humanities* series of studies by Amsterdam University Press.

His latest monograph is focused on a specific type of “everyday life”, the life of passengers aboard East Indiamen, ships that carried thousands of passengers to the new colonies in Asia. The book is focused on the lesser-known, Atlantic part of the journey. In the end, he places these experiences in the broader history of the English East India Company and the British Empire in the period under review.

In the first chapter, the author introduces the reader to the concept of

the work, the main types of sources and the dominant types of creators of them, the development of historiography to date, the methodology and structure of the work. In the second chapter, the author is interested in what happened in the “wooden world” of ships. In the center of attention is not only the material culture on board, daily practice, food and drink, but also the feelings and concerns of the passengers, the ways they coped with the difficulties of the journey, weather fluctuations, diseases and cramped living conditions. The author’s crosshairs include problematic food and extremely limited privacy. The author is also interested in how these small and internally differentiated groups of people lived together and how they celebrated the rituals of long journeys.

The third chapter examines in more detail the conditions under which people experienced long-term sailing, how they dealt with boredom, separation from their home communities, how they recorded these experiences in their diaries and correspondence, and what books they read.

The fourth and fifth chapters are devoted to observation, investigation,



evaluation and research. The fourth chapter concerns the sea, the fifth the land. At the same time, the author focuses on the contradictions between subjective perception and real observation. In the fourth chapter, you can find knowledge about the sea, underwater life, climate, celestial phenomena and changes in the starry sky. The author does not neglect the collecting passion of many passengers. The fifth chapter, on the other hand, reflects on the stops on the way, on the Atlantic islands and in Atlantic ports. These stops not only allowed travelers to gain strength and replenish supplies, they also brought confrontation with other European and non-European cultures, other religions, other inhabitants, sometimes causing cultural disorientation. The author is interested not only in the interaction with this environment, but also in the way the findings are presented to the domestic audience. Last but not least, he is interested in the relationship with representatives of competing colonial empires.

In the end, the author states that the journeys from Europe to Asia cannot be dismissed as simply moving from one place to another. He states

that the travelers were usually thrown into realities regarding the size of the globe, climate and natural phenomena with which they had no previous experience and their knowledge, captured in the sources of a personal nature, usually reflects this. For the passengers, the journeys were a source of many insights, broadening horizons and bringing initial ideas closer to reality. In many cases, it was only during the journey that travelers discovered Britain's true place in the modern world.

The value of McAleer's book is in its innovative approach. Until now, most historians have examined the findings of East India Company travelers and employees in their Asian destinations. They generally focused on the end of the journey, not the journey itself. How ship passengers were affected by the experience of transatlantic voyages has been virtually neglected. The author's emphasis on historical sources should also be appreciated. John McAleer has conveyed to the reader a wealth of information obtained through careful study in many British and South African archives.

*Michal Wanner*

