

A Reflection on the Names of a City in the Borderlands

– Pressburg/Pozsony/Prešporok/Bratislava (I)

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Introduction

It is widely known that the capital city of the Slovak Republic, Bratislava, had in its past several different names. It is often said that this city was called Posonium in Latin, Pressburg in German, Pozsony in Magyar and Prešporok in Slovak in order to emphasize its historical, multiethnic, multicultural, and peripheral character. The renaming of the city to “Bratislava” happened recently. Bratislava became Bratislava soon after the end of World War I, when Czechoslovak state independence was declared (28 October 1918) and the Martin declaration was accepted by the Slovak political representatives (30 October 1918) by which the Slovak territories were incorporated into the new state. The renaming process began after the occupation of the city by the Czechoslovak army (1 January 1919).¹

¹ Especially after the political transition in 1989, many academic monographs, almanacs and articles on the city of Bratislava appeared in print in addition to many general publications. Representative Slovak historians (Ľ. Lipták, M. Hronský, D. Kováč, D. Škvarna and others), as well as foreign researchers (Peter Bugge, Pieter C. van Duin and Naoki Kosaka) published articles on the history of Bratislava. Several almanacs on this topic were recently released, so the issue of Bratislava has become popular in the world of academia. On the history of this city after 1919 when it was incorporated into the Czechoslovak Republic, and

In this article, I intend first of all to give an overview of the historical development of the city names, then to follow the (re)construction process of the name “Bratislava” in the 1830s and the 1840s and, finally, to provide information related to the process of the renaming of the city to Bratislava at the beginning of 1919. Citing several new primary sources, I will present a hypothesis about this process and simultaneously suggest how it might be further investigated.

In my opinion, the complicated metamorphosis of the city names gives us a valuable stimulus to investigate the history of Bratislava more diversely and to consider the concept of “Slovakia” more flexibly. In the name “Slovakia” we do not see a historical substance, but an imaginary conceptual framework (re)constructed in the modern era.

I. A Historical Overview to the Metamorphosis of the City Names

First let us look at an overview of the development of historical names, quoting three fundamental sources.

In the heading “Bratislava (city)” of *Bratislavský topografický lexikon* [The Topographic Lexicon of Bratislava] we find the following list of historical names (the year shows when the name was first mentioned in documents): 805–Wratislaburgium, Pisonium, 907–Brezalauspurc, 1001–Poson, 1108–Presburch, 1137–Comitatus Posoniensis, 1138–Posonium, 1189–Bresburc, Bosonium, Prespurc, 1221–Burgum [?–S.N.], 1271–Presburch, 1273–castrum Pusionii, Posonium, 1298–cas-

especially on the dramatic process of the “Slovakization” of the city in the first half of the 20th century, see: LIPTÁK, Ľubomír: “Bratislava as the Capital of Slovakia”, in: *Changes of Changes: Society and Politics in Slovakia in the 20th Century*. Bratislava: 2002, pp.95-114.; BUGGE, Peter: “The Making of a Slovak City: The Czechoslovak Renaming of Pressburg/Pozsony/Prešporok, 1918-19”, in: *Austrian History Yearbook, Volume 35* (2004), pp.205-227.; C. van Duin, Pieter: *Central European Crossroads. Social Democracy and National Revolution in Bratislava (Pressburg), 1867-1921*. New York/Oxford: 2009; KOVÁČ, Dušan: “Bratislava: Chcené-nechcené hlavné mesto. Premeny dejin a dejepiscov” [Bratislava: A Wanted-unwanted Capital. Changes of History and Historians], in: *Bratislava. Zborník Múzea mesta Bratislavy* [Almanac of the Bratislava City Museum]. Bratislava: Volume XXI, 2009. pp.41-51.

trum Posiniense, 1773–Posonium, Posony, Presburh, Pressporek, 1786–Pressburg, 1808–Pozsony, 1918–Prešporok, 1919–Prešpurek, Wilsonovo mesto [Wilson's city], 22 February 1919–Bratislav, 6 March 1919–Bratislava.²

The list shows that since the early Middle Ages the city names were recorded in many languages: Latin, German, Magyar, Czech and Slovak. Starting with Wratislaburgium (supposedly 805) and Brezalauspurc (907), already in the 12th century the German name Pressburg, the Latin name Posonium and the Magyar name Pozsony had become widely accepted. In the second half of the 18th century the Slavic name Pressporek appeared on the list. Here it is also recorded that the present name Bratislava had appeared in 1919 with concrete dates.

Recently the Slovak linguist-lexicologist Milan Majtán examined the history of the name Bratislava for the first time and published the article “Vznik názvu Bratislava” [Origins of the Name Bratislava], using philological methods. At the end of the article, under the heading “Chronológia vzniku názvu Bratislava” [A Chronology of the Origins of the Name Bratislava], Majtán presents the following list: 905 [805? –S.N.] –Wratislaburgum, 907–Braslavespurch, Preslavasburc, 1042–Brecisburg ... Prešpurk, Prešpurek, Prešporek, 1830–(J. Kollár) Wratislawa, 1832–(J. Kollár) Tatranská Wratislawa, 1837–(P. J. Šafárik) Bracislaw, Brecislaw, Břetislaw, 1837-1838–(L. Štúr) Tatranská Vratislava, 1838–(L. Štúr and others) Břetislava, 1838-1841– (J. Petrovič, M. Hamuljak) Breťislava [in the Slovak literary language initiated by Anton Bernolák – S. N.], 1838– (J. Kollár) Břetislaw, Břetislava, 1839–(S. B. Hroboň, J. Kollár and others) Tatranská Břetislava, 1841– (L. Štúr and others) Břetislava nad Dunajem, 1843–(J. Francisci) Bratislava, 1844–(L. Štúr and others) Braťislava, 1844–(L. Štúr) Braťislava nad Dunajom, 1845–(L. Štúr and others) Breťislava, 1849–(A. Radlinský) Vratislava, 22 February–6 March 1919–Bratislav, 6 March 1919–Bratislava.³

2 HORVÁTH, Vladimír: *Bratislavský topografický lexikon* [The Topographic Lexicon of Bratislava]. Bratislava: 1990, p.62.

3 MAJTÁN, Milan: Vznik názvu Bratislava [Emergence of the name Bratislava], in.: *Z histórie lexiky staršej slovenčiny* [From the history of lexis of the older Slovak language] Bratislava: 2008, pp.173-174. The article was first published in 1996.

Thanks to Majtán's close investigation we now have a clearer perspective on the matter: in the 1830s, nationally oriented intellectuals with Slovak roots, Ján Kollár and Pavol Jozef Šafárik, (re)constructed the "original Slavic names" (Wratislawa, Bracislaw, Brecislaw, Břetislaw etc.). Under their direct influence, from the end of the 1830s Ľudovít Štúr and his followers, the main organizers of the Slovak national movement at the time, used among other names the name Bratislava.

Simultaneously we can see that these lists are missing data from the second half of the 19th century, that the name Bratislava again appears fifty years later and that the date in 1919 is cited from the above-mentioned topographic lexicon.

Finally, let us quote dates from a lexicon of place names in Slovakia *Názvy obcí Slovenskej republiky (Vývin v rokoch 1773 – 1997)* [Place names of the Municipalities of the Slovak Republic (Development in the years 1773-1997)], edited by Majtán. In this lexicon dates are chronologically limited to the period after 1773, when the first list of municipalities was compiled in the Hungarian Kingdom. Names of present-day Bratislava are listed as the following: 1773–Posonium, Posony, Presburg, Pressporek, 1786–Preßburg, Posony, Pressporek, Posonium, Pisonium, 1808 –Posonium, Posony, Pozsony, Preßburg, Pressporek, 1863, 1877-1913 –Pozsony, 1873–Poson, 1920–Bratislava.⁴

This list shows that since the second half of the 18th century the city names were recorded in parallel in Latin, in German, in Magyar, and in Czech, and that from 1877 to 1913 [1918? – S. N.] the Magyar name Pozsony was the official one. At the same time we notice that according to the lexicon the city was named Bratislava in 1920 and that this date does not coincide with the first two sources (1919).

On the basis of mutual comparison between these three primary sources we can classify the historical names into the following seven categories:

I) the place names Vratislaburgum and Brezalauspurc found in the mediæval chronicles and considered as names of the 9th – 10th centuries;

4 MAJTÁN, Milan: *Názvy obcí Slovenskej republiky (Vývin v rokoch 1773 – 1997)* [Place Names of the Municipalities of the Slovak Republic (Development in the Years 1773-1997)]. Bratislava: 1998, p.41.

- II) German names (Presburch, Bresburc ... Pressburg), recorded from the beginning of the 12th century;
- III) Latin names (Posonium etc.) recorded also from the 12th century;
- IV) Magyar names (Posony, Pozsony) supposedly derived from Slavic personal names (there are different interpretations);
- V) Czech and Slovak names (Prešpurk, Prešporok etc.), the “corrupted” forms of the German “Pressburg”. They were registered after the second half of the 18th century;
- VI) a series of “original Slavic names” (Wratislawa, Bracislaw, Brecislaw, Břetislaw ... Břetislava ... Bratislava), (re)constructed by nationally oriented Slovak intellectuals in the first half of the 19th century on the basis of place names in the medieval chronicles (see I);
- VII) Wilsonovo město (“Wilson’s city” in Czech) of 1919 [1918? – S. N.], named after the President of the United States, Thomas Woodrow Wilson.⁵

5 We only have limited information about the episode of Wilsonovo. This interesting subject has not yet been properly researched. At present, P. Bugge’s description (BUGGE, op. cit., pp.216-218) is the most systematic and critical. Here I will list only the most basic sources on this issue: 1) a short article in the newspaper of the Czech agrarian party, Venkov [The Village] of 22 October 1918. (in HORVÁTH, Vladimír; RÁKOŠ, Elemír; WATZKA, Jozef (ed.): *Bratislava, hlavné mesto Slovenska. Pripojenie Bratislavy k Československej republike roku 1918-1919* [Bratislava, the Capital City of Slovakia. Incorporation of Bratislava into the Czechoslovak Republic in the Years 1918-1919]. Documents. Bratislava: 1977, p.80); 2) an article in the German newspaper “Pressburger Zeitung” of 24 October 1918 (see *Ibid.*, p.80); 3) references in official documents. For example, a written inquiry from the Ministry of National Defense addressed to the Board of Ministers of the Czechoslovak Republic on 10 February 1919 (see *Ibid.*, p.273); 4) the memoirs of Štefan Krčméry “Slovenská rozpomienka na Bratislavu” [A Slovak Reminiscence on Bratislava], in: MEDVECKÝ, K. A.: *Slovenský prevrat* [The Slovak Revolution]. Volume IV, Trnava: 1931, p.71; 5) a reference made in *Bratislavský topografický lexikon* (p.62). Here it is written that “this name was used only for military maps of the Czechoslovak army corps from Italy during the occupation of Slovakia”. I am not sure whether this statement is valid or not; 6) an interesting description in the book “*Zlatá kniha Bratislavy*” [The Golden Book of Bratislava] (Bratislava: 1993, pp.475-476.) by Pavel Dvořák; 7) *Obsadenie Bratislavy. 1918-1920. Kronika pamätných*

II. How was the Name Bratislava (Re)constructed?

Let us summarize the complicated philological discussion on the etymological interpretation of the German name Pressburg and the Magyar name Pozsony, basing our discussion on articles written by the Slovak Slavist-linguist Ján Stanislav (1904-1977).

Stanislav published in 1948 the article “Bratislava – Prešporok – Pressburg – Pozsony (Pôvod stredovekej Bratislavy. Vysvetlenie mien)” [Origins of Medieval Bratislava. An Explanation of Names]⁶ in which he examined this subject in detail. In this linguistic-philological article (to understand its contents is not always easy), analyzing preceding academic articles of German, Magyar, Czech and Slovak researchers on this issue (mainly from the 1920s and 1930s), Stanislav offers his own interpretation of the etymology of the German name Pressburg and the Magyar name Pozsony.

According to Stanislav, the possible source of the name Braslavespurch, recorded in *Annales Juvavenses Antiquae* of the Bavarian chronicler Johannes Aventinus (1477-1534), was a Slavic personal name Braslavъ of the 9th century (according to him “a name of some members of the Slovak seigniorial family”⁷), from which the German name Pressburg was derived. Stanislav further notes that “Bratislava was still in the 13th century a Slovak city”⁸ and that “native inhabitants [of the city] were Slo-

vní [Occupation of Bratislava. 1918-1920. The Chronicle of Memorable Days] (Bratislava: 2004, pp.33-34) by Jozef Hanák. There are interesting descriptions in this book, but their sources are not mentioned. It is also questionable whether, as Hanák writes, at the end of October 1918 the Slovak name Wilsonov was accepted in the city council, which was at that time still dominated by the German-Magyar majority). – According to these sources, the name Wilsonovo (and its variations) were proposed by both the Czecho-Slovak and German-Magyar sides for their own political benefit. This subject awaits further academic investigation.

6 STANISLAV, Ján: Bratislava–Prešporok–Pressburg–Pozsony (Pôvod stredovekej Bratislavy. Vysvetlenie mien) [Origins of Medieval Bratislava. An Explanation of Names], in.: *Slovanská Bratislava* [Slavic Bratislava], Volume I., Bratislava: 1948, pp.22-46.

7 *Ibid.*, p.24.

8 *Ibid.*, p.34.

vaks and then Magyar ‘guests’ came and after them the Germans”.⁹ He argued that even the Magyar name Pozsony was derived from the Slovak personal name Božan (“he was perhaps a master of the castle”¹⁰). “These two names [Braslavъ and Božan – S. N.] [...] tell us that Bratislava had, in the Middle Ages until the beginning of the 14th century, a pure Slovak character. The central Slovak [dialect] was spoken here”.¹¹

This interpretation of Stanislav’s that both Pressburg and Pozsony were derived from Slovak personal names was then widely accepted in Slovakia.¹² After 30 years, in 1978, in the introductory article “Názvy Bratislavy” [Names of Bratislava] in *Dejiny Bratislavy* [A History of Bratislava], Stanislav repeats the same argument in shortened form, and reaches to the following conclusion: “From the historical point of view, the most probable names are Božaň or Božañ, or Vratislav and Preslav. All of them have their roots in personal names, i.e., names of princes who owned the castle in Bratislava. [...] We only know that Vratislav in 805 restored the castle, that Braslav was in Italy in the 9th century, and that Božan lived roughly before 950 [...]”.¹³

While Stanislav examined the etymological interpretation of Pressburg and Pozsony with detailed analyses, he only mentions the present name Bratislava very briefly at the end of the article published in 1948: “the present name Bratislava emerged from the wrong reconstruction of P. J. Šafárik (*Slovanské starožitnosti* [Slavic Antiquities]. 1837, p.831). After 1844 Ľ. Štúr and his followers began to write Bratislava. (A. Pražák,

9 *Ibid.*, p.34.

10 *Ibid.*, p.42.

11 *Ibid.*, p.45.

12 On the archeological findings that are (probably) related to the name Braslav (a Hungarian coin from the beginning of the 11th century in which the words “[B]reslauus civitas” are inscribed) see: UHLÁR, V.: Odkedy je miestny názov Bratislava (Oživovanie historických slovenských mien štúrovcami) [Origins of the Place Name Bratislava (A Revival of Historical Slovak Names by Štúr’s Followers)]. *Kultúra slova* [Culture of Words], Bratislava: volume 20, 1986, No. 6, p.208. In this article the opinion of the Magyar linguist L. Kiss is mentioned. Kiss notes that Pozsony was derived from the personal name Poš. (*Ibid.*, pp.208-209.)

13 STANISLAV, Ján: Názvy Bratislavy [Names of Bratislava], in.: *Dejiny Bratislavy* [A History of Bratislava]. Bratislava: 1978, p.8.

[the almanac] *Bratislava*, Volume I, p.303)”¹⁴. This simple definition is literally repeated 30 years later in the publication *Dejiny Bratislavy* [A History of Bratislava] as follows: “The present name Bratislava emerged, as we can see, from the incorrect reconstruction of P. J. Šafárik from the record of Brecisburg. [...] A. Pražák said that after 1844 Štúr’s followers first began to write “Bratislava”.¹⁵ This interpretation of the origins of the name Bratislava was accepted for many years as the standard one.

As I already mentioned, Majtán recently published an academic article on this topic and the origins of the name Bratislava in the first half of the 19th century, which had remained for a long time inexplicit, were systematically clarified. In the next section we will follow the (re)construction process of the “original Slavic name”, basing our argument on Majtán’s article and citations from the original texts in chronological order.

According to Majtán’s investigation, the person who first wrote the (re)constructed “Slavic” name was Kollár, who published in 1830 in Buda [part of present-day Budapest] the work *Rozprawy o Gmenách, počátkách i starožitnostech národu Slawského a geho kmenů* [Discussion on Names, Origins and Antiquities of the Slavic Nation and its Tribes]. In this work he adduced as the “original Slavic name” of the city where he himself spent several years of his youth, the name “Vratislava”. Kollár mentioned as sources of his argumentation three Latin works: the chronicle *Annales Boiorum* [the Bavarian chronicle] of the Bavarian chronicler J. Aventinus, *Series chronologica rerum Slavo-Bohemicarum* of the Czech historian František Pubička (1722-1807) and *Notitia Hungariae novae historico-geographica* of the representative humanist of the Hungarian Kingdom in the first half of the 18th century, Matej Bel (1684-1749). Kollár wrote, “Wratislawa (in German Wratislaburg, Breslaburg, Preslburg, Presburg m. přešp. [city of Prešporek ? – S. N.]”¹⁶

Two years later, in 1832, Kollár published in Pest [part of present-day Budapest] an anthology of sonnets which glamorized the history of

14 STANISLAV, 1948, op. cit., p.46. Bibliographic dates are supplied – S. N.

15 STANISLAV, 1978, op. cit., p.8.

16 KOLLÁR, Jan: *Rozprawy o Gmenách, počátkách i starožitnostech národu Slawského a geho kmenů* [Discussion on Names, Origins and Antiquities of the Slavic Nation and its Tribes]. Budjn: 1830, p.110.

the Slavs *Slávy Dcera. Lyricko-epická báseň w pěti zpěwjch* [The Daughter of Slavs. A Lyric-epic Poem in Five Parts]. In this famous anthology Kollár published one sonnet (No. 267), the main motif of which was this city called Tatranská Vratislava: “When we see Tatranská Wratislawa/ the evening throws a shadow into nature/ Here the storm throws waves onto the ship/ But Milek tired slumbers;/ [...] / As soon as the day opened the veil of night/ We went first to visit the Czecho-Slavic/ Circle in the city:/ Then we feasted our eyes by the Tatra mountain with wine-hairs/ Which ennobled my young soul/ sometime for five years here by its beauty”.¹⁷

Kollár in the same year published the philological annotations *Wýklad čili Přjmětky a Wyswětliwky ku Slávy Dceře* [An Explanation or Comments and Footnotes to “The Daughter of Slavs”] in which he listed the sources of his sonnets. In an annotation to sonnet No. 267 he explained the city name as follows: “Tatranská Wratislawa, i.e., Prešporek, in German Wratislaburg, Bretislaburg, Breslaburg, Presburg. Compare Wratislaw in Silesia in German Breslau”.¹⁸ Then he cited as sources of his description three Latin works (the above-mentioned Aventinus’ chronicle, the work of Matej Bel, and the historical work *Mars Moravicus* (1677) written by the Czech historian Tomáš Pešina (1629-1680)) (in *Rozprawa* [Discussion] of 1830, Kollár mentioned only the author’s names and the titles of the works). At the end of the annotations he adds in Czech that “even the old names of some city gates and streets, for example, Wedrice, das Wedritzer Thor etc. show the Slavic origins of this city.”¹⁹

Several years later, in 1836-1837, another nationally oriented Slovak intellectual and scholar, Šafárik, published the monumental academic work *Slovanské starožitnosti* [Slavic Antiquities] (approximately 1000 pages in total) in Prague. In chapter IX of this book “On Moravians and Slovaks”, listing their places of residence, he wrote that “In the Slovak

17 KOLLÁR, Jan: *Slávy Dcera. Lyricko-epická báseň w pěti zpěwjch* [The Daughter of Slavs. A Lyric-epic Poem in Five Parts]. Complete edition, Pešť: 1832, without page numbers. This is virtually the second edition.

18 KOLLÁR, Jan: *Wýklad čili Přjmětky a Wyswětliwky ku Slávy Dceře* [An Explanation or Comments and Footnotes to “The Daughter of Slavs”]. Pešť: 1832, p.238.

19 *Ibid.*, p.239.

area there is a city [called] Brecisburg, namely Bracislaw or Brecislaw or Břetislaw, now Prešpurek, [In] the year 1042 it is mentioned in [the work of] Hermannus Contractus”.²⁰ On the same page in the footnotes we read “Hermannus Contractus, year 1042. Heimenburg (now Haimburg) et Brecisburg”.

Šafařík (re)constructed the “original Slavic name” from the German place name Brecisburg found in the medieval chronicle. He referred to it in three names: Bracislaw, Brecislaw (according to Majtán, both are “Slovak” names) and Břetislaw (the Czech name). Majtán pointed out that “after the publication of Šafařík’s *Slovanské starožitnosti*, Kollár used for [the name of present-day] Bratislava Břetislaw. In his correspondence we may find this Czech name already in 1838”.²¹

Kollár again published in 1845 in Buda *Díla básnická Jana Kollára we Dwau Djljch* [Poetic Works of Jan Kollár in Two Parts], in which he published the revised and enlarged edition of *Slávy dcera*. We find in this edition the sonnet cited above (under No. 269) with the modified name (Tatranská Wratislawa→Tatranská Břetislawa).²² The same modification

20 ŠAFAŘÍK, Pawel Josef: *Slovanské starožitnosti* [Slavic Antiquities]. Praha: 1837, p.831. The description in the second edition of 1863 was not changed. See: ŠAFAŘÍK, Pavel Josef: *Slovanské starožitnosti. Pavla Josefa Šafařika Sebrané spisy* [Slavic Antiquities. Complete Works of Pavel Josef Šafařík]. Part II, Praha: 1863, pp.516-517. In Šafařík’s next monumental work *Slovanský národopis* [Slavic Ethnography] (ŠAFAŘÍK, Pawel Josef: *Slovanský národopis*. Second edition, Praha: 1842), the city was called Prešpurek (p.98, p.119, even on the attached map “Slovanský zeměvid” [Slavic Geography]). Only in the list “Wýklad místných jmen” [Explanation of Place Names] in the same work we read “Břetislava (Prešpurek), uslw., Pressburg” (p.183). The third edition in 1849 has the same contents as the second (pp.95, 118, 183).

21 MAJTÁN, 2008, op. cit., p.166.

22 KOLLÁR, Jan: *Díla básnická Jana Kollára we Dwau Djljch* [Poetic Works of Jan Kollár in Two Parts]. Budín: 1845, without page numbers. This is virtually the third edition. Except for the modification of the city name, Kollár changed the expression “five years” to “four years” in the edition of 1845. In reality, however, he studied at the lyceum of this city not quite three years (from September 1812 to August 1815). In the next edition of *Slávy dcera* in 1852 (KOLLÁR, Jan: *Slávy dcera. Báseň lyricko-epická w pěti zpěwích*. Wíden: 1852) the text of this sonnet is not changed. We can assume in advance that in later editions of the

is also found in the annotation *Výklad čili přímětky a vysvětlivky ke Slávy Dceře* (second edition) where Kollár changed the city name while in the text itself, aside from small orthographic changes (w→v, j→i etc.), nothing had changed.²³

Under the influence of Kollár and Šafárik, as Majtán's list shows, Štúr and his followers used these names in several variations after 1837. Here we only confirm the following:

1) at first the name with the letter W/V was used (even Štúr used it), then after the publication of Šafárik's *Slovanské starožitnosti* in 1837, Štúr and his followers began using the name with the letter B (after 1838 Kollár accepted it);

2) Until the years 1843-1844 the city names were written in several variations in Czech, including names used by Štúr and his followers. After 1843, however, the names were written in the new standard language, so-called Štúr's language (in the 1840s they spelt it as Braťislava. The pronunciation is the same as that of present-day Bratislava);

3) at the end of 1843 the current name Bratislava was used for the first time not by Štúr, but by one of his followers, the poet Ján Francisci-Rimavský. We should point out that this process went hand in hand with the process of the introduction of new standard Slovak.

In this context, I would like to indicate that the first and second volumes of the almanac *Nitra (Ňitra)* [the name of a city in Western Slovakia] may have played an important role in the propaganda of the new city name. As is well known, the first volume of this almanac edited by J. M. Hurban was published in 1842 in Czech, but the second volume of 1844 was the first book printed in "Štúr's" standard language. Both almanacs were published in present-day Bratislava, and on the cover page of the first volume is printed: "w Prešporku, čili w Břetislawě nad Dunagem" (in Czech: Břetislava on the Danube) and on the cover page of the second volume: "v Prešporku, a lebo v Braťislave nad Dunajom" (in Štúr's

work after 1919 Břetislava was again changed to Bratislava. For example, see KOLLÁR, Jan: *Básně* [Poems]. Praha: 1952, p.158.

23 KOLLÁR, Jan: *Výklad čili přímětky a vysvětlivky ke Slávy Dceře. Spisy Jana Kollára* [Explanation or Comments and Footnotes to the Daughter of Slavs. Works of Jan Kollár]. Part II., Praha: 1861, pp.222-223. The third edition in 1875 has the same contents as the second.

language: Braťislava on the Danube). These two publications, which were widely circulated among Slovak and Czech readers, might have played an important role in familiarizing them with the new standard language and the “original Slavic name” of the city. The use of the new city name in personal correspondence among individuals, however, had more or less a private character with limited social consequences.

III. The Fate of the Name Bratislava after the Second Half of the 19th Century

In my opinion, we should not emphasize the importance of the attempt to (re)construct the “original Slavic name” by Kollár, Šafárik, Štúr and his followers too much. They did not in any way seriously think about the official renaming of the city (this would have been unreal in the political and social situations of the Hungarian Kingdom in the 1830s and the 1840s). They did not intend to replace “the people’s name” (Prešporek etc.), which was used by Slovak inhabitants at that time with the “original Slavic name” (Braťislava etc.). It seems that they were not particularly concerned with using their proposed name all the time. As Majtán says, “meanwhile, of course, Štúr also used the names Prešpurek and Prešporek etc. in his letters. After 1848 the name Braťislava disappeared from Štúr’s letters”.²⁴

The ironic evidence of this is two linguistic works written by Štúr in 1846, *Nárečja slovenskuo alebo potreba písanija v tomto nárečí* [The Slovak Dialect or the Necessity to Write in this Dialect]²⁵ and *Nauka reči slovenskej* [A Handbook of the Slovak Language]²⁶, in which he laid the

²⁴ MAJTÁN, 2008, op. cit., p.168.

²⁵ ŠTÚR, Ludevít: *Nárečja slovenskuo alebo potreba písanija v tomto nárečí* [The Slovak Dialect or the Necessity to Write in this Dialect]. Prešporok: 1846. It is interesting to note that in this work we find, besides the expressions “Prešporská stolica [the Prešporok district]” (p.78) and “Slováci Prešporskí [Slovaks in Prešporok]” (p.78), also the expression “tu na pametnom poli našom Braťislavskom [here in the memorable field of our Braťislava]” (p.8). Both expressions are used in parallel.

²⁶ ŠTÚR, Ludevít: *Nauka reči slovenskej* [A Handbook of the Slovak Language]. Prešporok: 1846. In this text we find the expression “Prešporok, Pre-

ideological and linguistic foundations of the new standard language and which are regarded as epoch-making works in the history of the literary Slovak language and of modern Slovakia. The place of publication of both works, however, is written as Prešporok, not Braťislava.

In this context, we have to add that the fate of the name Bratislava in the second half of the 19th century was not unambiguous and straightforward. According to Majtán, “in later years the name Bretislava was used more often. Even Štúr used it several times after 1845 and in the 1880s J. M. Hurban used it in the journal *Slovenské pohľady* [Slovak Views] (in Štúr’s life story). In the 1860s this name was used in the newspaper *Pešťbudínske vedomosti* [The Budapest News] and by the Slovak historian F. V. Sasínek”.²⁷ In Hurban’s work “Ľudovít Štúr” (1881-1884) we find a prophetic statement that “May God grant that [...] Bretislava be called Bretislava n[ad] D[unajom] again in word and deed”.²⁸

Another evidence which shows that the name Bratislava was not widely accepted in the second half of the 19th century is Kollár’s work *Paměti z mladších let života* [Memoirs from My Youth], published in Prague after his death (1852). In this work, Kollár consistently calls the city where he himself spent several years of his youth “Prešpurk”. He did not use either Wratislawa (Vratislava), which he himself (re)constructed in *Slávy dcera* published in 1832, or Břetislawa (Břetislava) in the same anthology of 1845.²⁹ *Slávy dcera* was read widely among Slovaks and

sporku [sic]” (p.137).

27 MAJTÁN, 2008, op. cit., p.172.

28 HURBAN, Jozef Miloslav: Ľudovít Štúr. *Slovenské Pohľady* [Slovak Views], 1881, Number 2, p.103. In a later edition of this work published after 1919 (HURBAN, J. M.: *Ľudovít Štúr. Spisy Jozefa Miloslava Hurbana* [Works of Jozef Miloslav Hurban]. Turčiansky Svätý Martin: 1928, p.41) we find after the expression “Bretislavou nad Dunajom [Bretislava on the Danube]” in addition “alebo Bratislavou [or Bratislava]”. It was probably added by the editor of this edition (Jaroslav Vlček).

29 KOLLÁR, Jan: *Cestopis druhý a Paměti z mladších let života. Spisy Jana Kollára* [The Second Travel Book and Memoirs from My Youth. Works of Jan Kollár]. Fourth volume, Praha: 1863. In the Slovak edition of this work (KOLLÁR Ján: *Paměti z mladších rokov života*. Bratislava: 1972) Prešpurk was replaced by Bratislava without comments. For further information I will add that in

Czechs in the second half of the 19th century, so it might have reminded them of the “original Slavic name” of the city. However, we have to keep in mind that it was not “Bratislava”, but “Břetislava”.

In Czech this city was usually called Prešpurk. It is interesting to note that in both representative Czech encyclopedias at that time, in Rieger’s and in Otto’s, besides the heading “Prešpurk” we also see the name Břetislav, i.e., one of the names (re)constructed by Šafárik³⁰. Generally however, they used Prešpurk. For example, the famous Czech ethnographer Lubor Niederle in his academic work *Národopisná mapa uherských Slováků* [The Ethnographic Map of Hungarian Slovaks] called this city Prešpurk and in the index he adds “Prešpurk (in the western Slovak dialect, Prešpurek; in the central Slovak dialect, Prešporok)”³¹. In the book *Slovenská čítanka* [A Slovak Reader] we read that “the city of Prešpurk lies on the Danube, in the western part [of Slovakia], on the ethnic boundary. The city has historical importance. It has played a vital role since the beginning of the reign of the Habsburgs”³².

Nevertheless, it seems that the name Bratislava did not completely vanish from the memory of the Slovaks. In this context, we have to take into account the poem “Žalmy tatranského Slovana” [Psalm of a Slav in the Tatra Mountains], written by the Slovak poet Juraj Zvestoň Bulla (1827-1898) and published in the anthology *Lipa* [Linden]³³. This pas-

the work *Cestopis druhý* contained in the same volume of 1863 we also find the expression “Břetislav[a]” (p.3).

30 Rieger, Frant. Lad.(ed.): *Slovník naučný* [the Encyclopedia]. Sixth volume, Praha: 1867. “Prešpurk, in Czech also Břetislav, in Magyar Pozsony, in Latin Posonium, in German Pressburg, [...]” (p.928); *Ottův slovník naučný* [Otto’s Encyclopedia]. Twentieth volume, Praha: 1903. “Prešpurk, Břetislav (in Slovak Prešporok or Požůň, in Latin Posonium, in German Pressburg, in Magyar Pozsony, [...]” (p.653).

31 Niederle Lubor: *Národopisná mapa uherských Slováků na základě sčítání lidu z roku 1900* [The Ethnographic Map of Hungarian Slovaks on the Basis of the Population Census in 1900]. Praha: 1903, p.2, p.181.

32 Houdek, Fedor: *Průmysl a obchod* [Industry and Trade], in: *Slovenská čítanka* [A Slovak Reader]. Praha: [1915], p.136.

33 BULLA, J.: *Žalmy tatranského Slovana* [Psalm of a Slav in the Tatra Mountains], in: *Lipa. Národní zábavník* [Linden. A National Almanac]. Volume I.

sionate poem with “Panslavist” contents, starting with the words “Bratislava, Bratislava!/ There the glory of the Slavs fell;/ There the heathen hordes raged,/ and cut down the Slavic youth” became a popular song at the time.

At the very beginning of this poem the name Bratislava is used repeatedly and effectively, therefore it is probable that it might have played a role in reminding the Slovaks of this form of the city name. The motif of the poem is based on a description in the Salzburg annals, which tells the story of a battle that took place near Brezalauspurc between the Magyars and Bavarians in 907. It is said that in this battle, the victorious Magyars gained the territory around the Devín gates. Renaming Breza-

Budín 1860, pp.145-146. Bulla is barely known in the history of Slovak literature. Even in Rizner’s comprehensive bibliography there is only a brief mention of him (10 lines). (Rizner, E. V. (ed.): *Bibliografia písomníctva slovenského* [Bibliography of Slovak Literature]. Volume I. Turčiansky Svätý Martin: 1929, p.221). However, as an educated man with Slovak roots Bulla had a very unique career. I will summarize his life story with references from *Biografický lexikón Slovenska* [Biographic Lexicon of Slovakia]. Volume I. (Martin: 2002, pp.618-619) – Juraj Zvestoň Bulla (1827-1898) was a poet, publicist, judge. He was born into a yeomanry family in Orava district of Northern Slovakia. In 1848-1849 he participated in the Hungarian revolution and then served in the French foreign legion in Africa. In 1853-1856 Bulla fought in the Crimean War on the side of Ottoman Turkey against Russia. From 1856 to 1860 (?) he served in French Algeria. After 1860 (?) he worked in a judicature in the small town of Dolný Kubín in Orava district, and retired in 1893. He was a representative of the Magyarofil Slovak yeomanry and the author of the national poem “Bratislava, Bratislava ...”, which L. Procházka set to music and which was often cited in song books and anthologies. – I also learned about him from Bugge’s article (BUGGE, op. cit., p.209. notes: The second half of Bulla’s poem which was cited in Bugge’s article (Bratislava, Bratislava, /there the glory of the Slavs will shine...) was not found in the original almanac *Lipa* [?]). It is a mystery why Bulla, who fought on the Magyar side (against Štúr and his followers) in the revolutions of 1848-1849, participated in the Crimean War on the Turkish side against Russia and who was characterized as the “representative of the Magyarofil Slovak yeomanry”, wrote and published in 1860 such a passionate poem; a poem which aroused in Slovaks strong nationalistic feelings and “Panslavist” sentiments. This will be the topic of my next research.

lauspurc to Bratislava (the poet probably followed Štúr's example), Bula, in accordance with the romantic interpretation of Slovak history in the second half of the 19th century, emotionally presented the “deplorable incident” when the Slavs, siding with the Bararian army, were defeated by the Magyars. In contemporary Slovak historiography, however, this historic event is interpreted differently. There is even one theory which suggests that the Slavs sided with the Magyars.³⁴

[to be continued]

34 For example, the Slovak historian Dušan Kováč in *Dejiny Slovenska* [A History of Slovakia] writes: “Around 907 Great Moravia broke up. In this year a battle near Brezalauspurc was recorded in which the Magyars defeated Bavarian troops with the help of the Slavs. We can assume that at that time Great Moravia did not exist any more. Here, under the name of Brezalauspurc, present-day Bratislava is mentioned for the first time”. (KOVÁČ, Dušan: *Dejiny Slovenska* [A History of Slovakia]. Third edition, Praha: 2010, p.28). [underline – S. N.]