

MORIC BENYOVSZKY – WAS HE EVER THE KING OF MADAGASCAR?

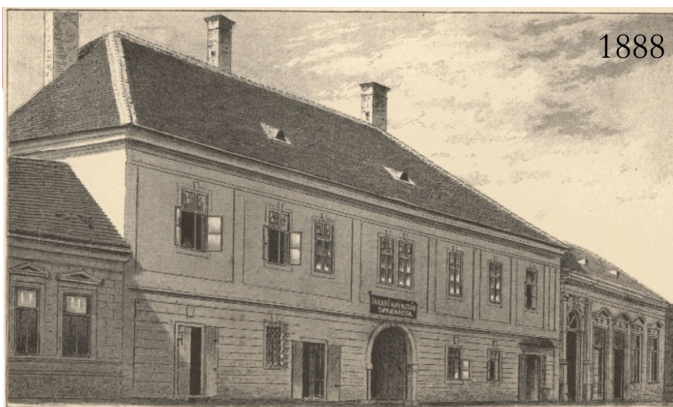
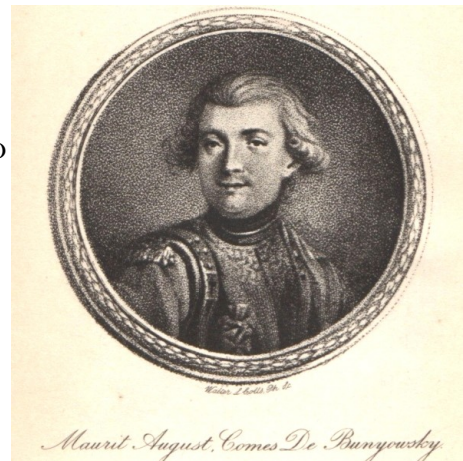
*Transcript of a talk given to the British Czech & Slovak Association, in the Slovak Embassy,
London, February 2019.*

Dobrý večer, dámy a páni – good evening, ladies and gentlemen.

So the question before us is : Was a Slovak ever the King of Madagascar?

Well, I'm not going to answer that immediately: I hope I can give you some information which will help you to make up your own minds. But what I must say, right at the start, is this: in the case of Moric Benyovszky, prising apart fact and fiction is a very tricky business indeed. When I first encountered Benyovszky's story, it was my intention to write a novel, a fiction, about him. I had written a number of novels before, on obscure historical subjects, so this one seemed ideal.

The raw material was readily available: Benyovszky had written an autobiography which was published after his death. It is fascinating. Here it is [*waves book*] – and that's only the first volume.



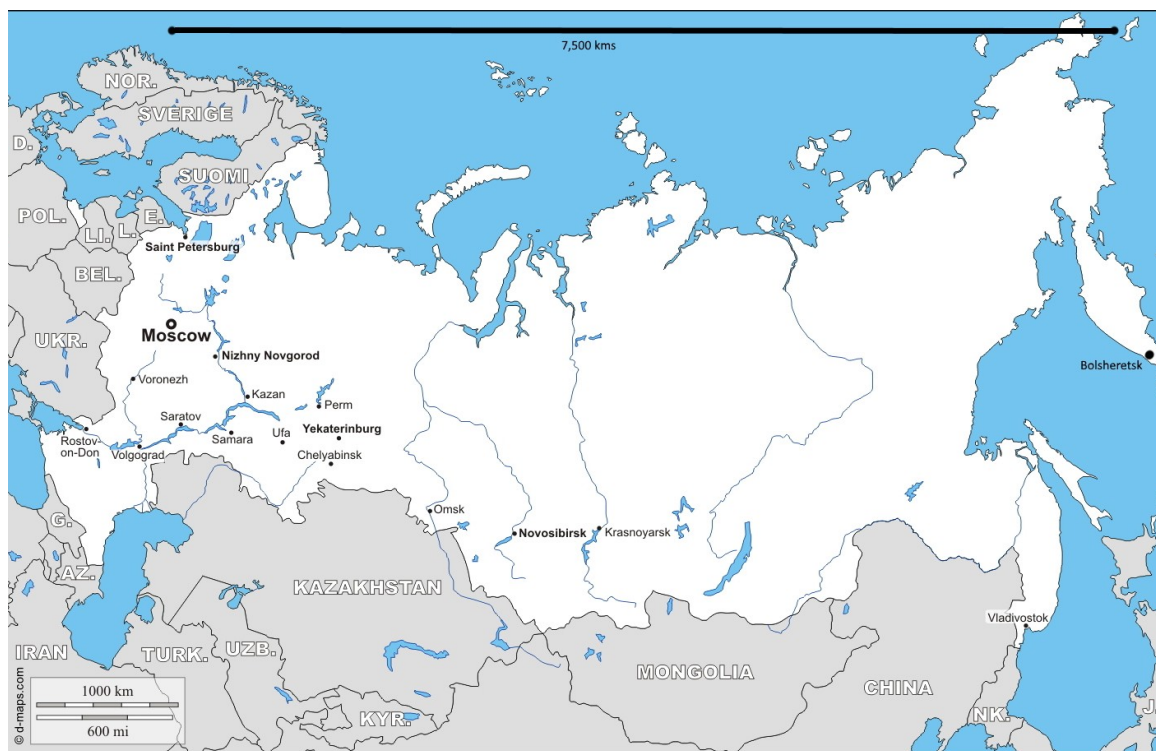
But it soon became clear to me that a lot of what Benyovszky had written was itself fiction. To write fiction about fiction seems a pointless exercise. So I aimed for the facts. And this evening I will rely not on Benyovszky's exciting Memoirs, but on the eye-witness accounts of his contemporaries.

Moric Benyovszky was born in Vrbové in the old Kingdom of Hungary in 1746. Vrbové is of course now in Slovakia – his family home is shown here – in 1888 when it was a bank, and today as a restaurant

(serving, as I understand it, a very good 'Benyovszky Pizza'...). After his parents died in 1760, Moric and his brothers and sisters had to fend for themselves. In 1768, a family feud, involving four step-sisters and their wicked husbands, caused Moric to flee to Poland. Just before this he married a Slovak girl by the name of Zuzana Hönsch, from which marriage there came – over the course of the years – three or possibly four children.

By good fortune, he found employment in Poland. The Polish Commonwealth had just become entangled in a war with the Russian Empire. Young Moric, then aged only 21, joined up on the Polish side and had a brief – and according to him very eventful – few months engaged in military exploits. But he was captured by the Russians in April 1769 and was sent as a prisoner-of-war to Siberia.

Now Benyovszky found himself in a small party of prisoners being taken to Siberia - they were mostly Russians who had upset Catherine the Great. The journey from St



Petersburg [*on the left*] to Kamchatka [*on the right*], which was largely undertaken by sledge or on foot, lasted from November 1769 to September 1770: a mere 10 months! Which was perfectly normal.

He and his companions ended up in a tiny place named Bolsheretsk, which lies near the southern end of the Kamchatkan peninsula. At that time Bolsheretsk was the administrative capital of the area, and contained, apart from a healthy number of exiles and prisoners, a sizeable garrison of soldiers and a thriving community of merchants and fur-traders.

Now, Kamchatka was about as wild as it could get. It had only very recently been

colonised, and its population was a volatile mix of native Siberians, Russian traders, Cossacks, political exiles and common prisoners. It was, in fact, very much like the American Wild West. (Except that, obviously, it was in the east.) The Russian Empire tried to impose its authority through half a dozen small garrisons of soldiers scattered across 270,000 square kms of wilderness. But it was, even at the best of times, a good 6 months' journey away from St Petersburg. So the region was more or less left to look after itself.

Benyovszky decided right from the start that he was not going to stay a prisoner in Siberia. From the moment he and his companions landed in Kamchatka, they set about plotting an escape. Options were limited: between October and May, the seas around were ice-bound. Any overland journey required a trek of 1,500 kms northwards, with no roads to speak of – and if you survived that, then you had another 7,500 kms of Russian territory to cross before getting anywhere close to Europe: impossible in winter, and really not much better in summer.

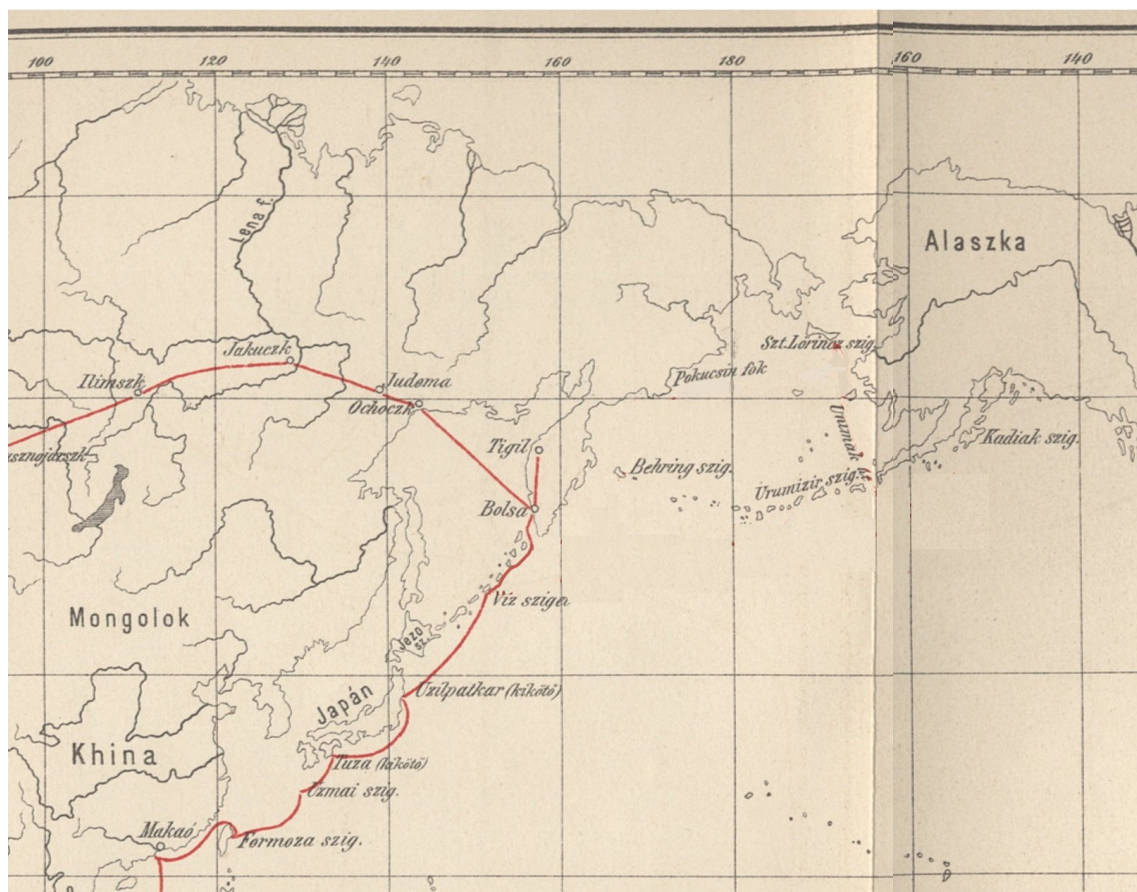
But there were plenty of people wanting to leave Kamchatka. So Benyovszky and a small group of conspirators hatched a plan to capture a supply-ship and take it into the South Pacific. And, as soon as the seas began to clear of ice, that is exactly what they did. Benyovszky and around 70 men and women overcame the military garrison, captured the supply-ship, loaded it up with food and water, and a season's haul of furs, and set sail for freedom.



What happened next is a matter of some debate. According to Benyovszky, the ship – named the *St Peter and St Paul* - sailed firstly eastwards towards Alaska and the west coast of North America, and then back along the chain of the Aleutian Islands, before heading for Japan. Along the way, they had some extraordinary adventures. Realistically, however, this an almost impossible scenario: such a hazardous journey in a leaky flat-bottomed ship, with very few experienced sailors aboard would have taken far longer than Benyovszky claimed. Even the seasoned explorer Captain Cook and his professional crew – who sailed these seas at around the same time - took longer to follow this route.

Luckily, we have a couple of accounts from other people aboard the ship, and these state that the ship simply headed due south and west, along the chain of the Kuril Islands.

So the route is more likely as seen here. (The maps I'm using here, by the way, are from the one created by Benyovszky's Hungarian biographer, a man named Mor Jokai.) From the Kuril islands, while heading for the idyllic South Pacific, they almost accidentally found Japan.



While this journey was not as epic as the one Benyovszky would have us believe, it is not one to dismiss lightly. Just think: they had only the most primitive of navigational aids, no charts, and no one who actually had a clue where they were at any given time. It really was quite extraordinary that they got anywhere at all. And lived to tell the tale!

Japan in the 18th century was a highly civilised country, which means that we have

historical Japanese documents which record the passage of Benyovszky and the ship down the coastline.

There is for example a contemporary report in which Benyovszky appears under the name of 'Hanbengoro' - 'han' being a rendition of the noble prefix 'von' or 'van', and 'Bengoro' being an approximation to 'Benyovszky'. The reports indicate that "Hanbengoro" landed initially on the shores of the island of Shikoku. The crew had run out of food and were in a bad way, but the lord of Shikoku took pity on them and supplied them with food and water. And this was despite a law forbidding Japanese people from having any contact with foreigners.

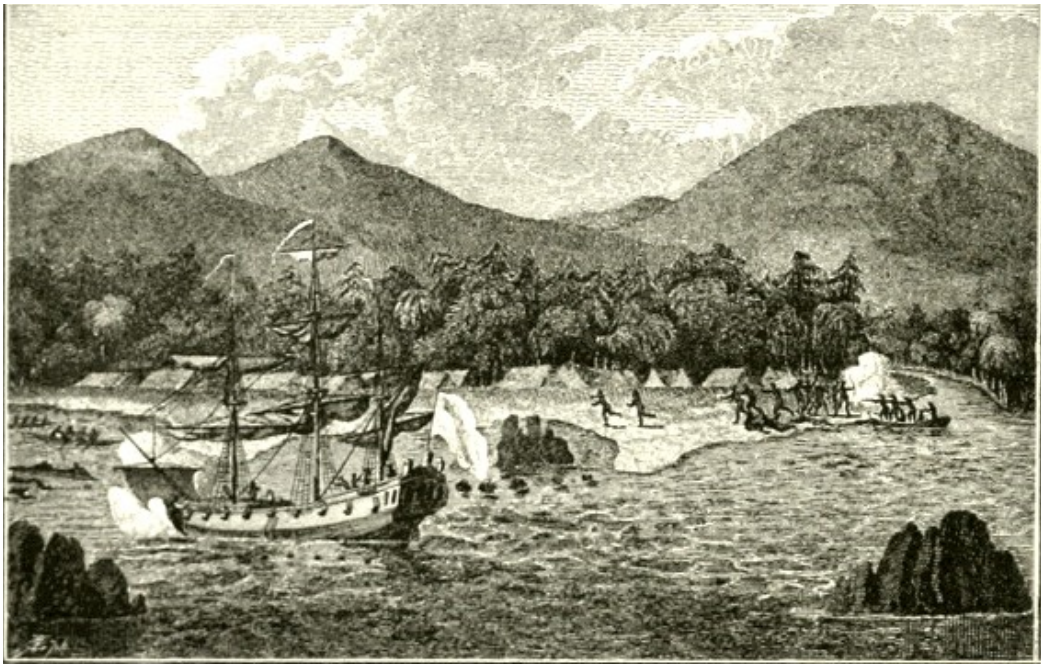
The Japanese records indicate that the ship full of red-haired foreigners had landed on the east coast of Shikoku, "on the eighth day of the sixth month in the eighth year of Meiwa" - that is the 19th July 1771. The local people reacted very cautiously and when the foreigners insisted on coming ashore, every effort was made to give them what they wanted and then quickly shoo them away. And because of the threat of punishment by their own government, the several eye-witnesses told slightly different stories - most especially when it came to describing the goods which had been bartered with Benyovszky's ship. These ranged from a simple "some shirts" to a more precise inventory of:

three cotton shirts, two pairs of cotton trousers, two pairs of red silk trousers, two yellow silk vests, one red and one blue silk vest, three scarves, six bundles of tobacco, a "sheet of foreign paper with horizontal writing on it", and one coloured picture.

The foreigners also introduced the startled Japanese to snuff "which they inserted in their noses, and then put in our noses".

All of this was upsetting enough, but when it came to writing up the official reports, things went badly wrong for the locals: district officials refused to take away the trousers and shirts because they had not been mentioned in the initial report; the locals countered with a valid complaint that "these are foreign things that we don't have the slightest idea about. The trousers and shirts all seem to be connected."

It need not be said that the Japanese were very relieved when the ship unfurled its sails and set off again four days later.



By contrast, Benyovszky's own Memoirs dealing with the encounters in Japan tell a very different story. Which can be summed up as follows : impressed the Japanese with guns and gunpowder, sold them lots of furs, won occasional battles – like the one depicted here - and persuaded everyone that trade agreements would be of mutual benefit. None of which, I'm afraid, seems very likely. On one island, which Benyovszky named the 'Island of Liquor', the trade agreement with the native population even included intermarriage between the men of the ship's crew and the unmarried daughters of the community. There were piles of gold, silver and diamonds, and the place was awash with fruits, crops, and tasty animals such as pigs and goats. It was a true island of Paradise.

Rather sadly, the location of the island of Liquor has never since been determined.

What is significant, however, is that the ship and all those aboard managed to acquire supplies of food, contrived not to be arrested, and avoided shipwreck. Which is more than could be said for many other western explorers and traders who tried to land in Japan at that time.

And so, in the Chinese port of Macao on the 23rd September 1771, an Englishman named Nathaniel Barlow was greatly excited by the arrival of a small and bedraggled ship. It was, he later reported, "a vessel of uncommon appearance". It had "sixty five persons on board, most of them military. The Commanding Officer bore the rank of Colonel and the title of Baron de Benyorsky, which he held under the Queen of Hungary."

So, almost five months after leaving Kamchatka, after a nightmare sea-journey of over 5,000 kms, the *St Peter* had made it to the Portuguese trading port of Macao. Of the original crew of 70, only three had died, killed by angry islanders on Formosa. Another three, all mutineers, had been dropped off at one of the Kuril islands soon after the

voyage began.

Of course, the traders of Macao were very interested to know what had happened in Japan. But Benyovszky was not going to tell them. He told them a number of different versions of the story – but he refused point-blank to show anyone his log-book, or discuss the details of the voyage. There was a very simple reason for this: Benyovszky wanted to get back to Europe. But he had no money. He had only a rather smelly cargo of furs and the secrets of his voyage – both of which he intended to sell to the highest bidder in return for passage to western Europe. He began negotiations with the Portuguese, and then the British and then the French, all of whom were anxious to find out what he had learned of Japan's policies on trade, and of the Far East of the Russian Empire.

Tragically, of the 64 crew and passengers on the *St Peter*, 15 died very suddenly just after they reached Macao. It is probable that this was an effect of gorging on proper food after five months of deprivation, polluted water and maggoty biscuits.



Benyovszky succeeded, after considerable trouble, in booking passage on a French ship which left for Europe in January 1772. The voyage took them first to the French island of Mauritius, where 13 of Benyovszky's crew took one look at the blue seas and sunshine and beach-umbrellas, and quite understandably decided that Mauritius was the place for them, and went no further. It was here that Benyovszky came up with the idea of establishing a settlement on Madagascar.

Only 26 people remained of the original 70 when, in July 1772, the ship arrived in Brittany. And armed with a letter of introduction from the governor of Mauritius, Benyovszky finally succeeded in reaching Paris.

Moric Benyovszky was clearly a very dynamic and charismatic man. And he could tell a good story. His stories were so good that, within weeks of his arrival in Paris – where he knew absolutely nobody – he had persuaded the ministers of the French government to fund an expedition to set up a trading colony on Madagascar, led by Benyovszky and under French protection. It was now that several tales of the adventures of the *St Peter* began to circulate, along with hints of highly profitable trading in Japan. A few years later, these stories had been polished up to appear in Benyovszky's Memoirs. It was clear to everyone in Paris that our Slovak had all the qualities necessary to establish a

successful trading colony in Madagascar. If the French ministers could not trust him to make a go of it, then who could they trust?

And so, in early 1773, three ships under Benyovszky's command, with 250 colonists aboard, set out for Madagascar. Five months later, they arrived on Mauritius. But it was not until early 1774, almost a full year after leaving France, that Benyovszky finally set foot on Madagascar.

And here once more, accounts diverge quite wildly. Because we have Benyovszky's own version of events. And we have those of European contemporaries who had dealings with him and his colony.

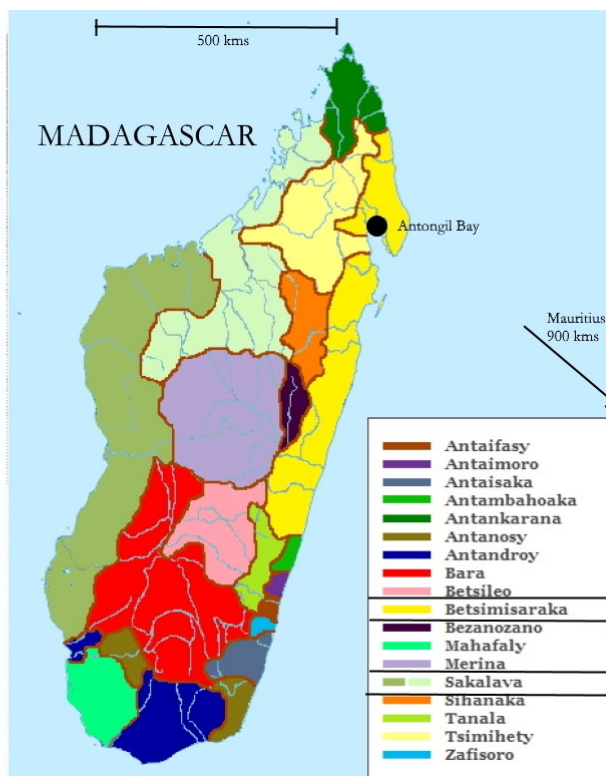
I will pause here just to repeat what I have already suggested - that Benyovszky was by no means a reliable reporter of his own life. When it suited him, he invented people and places and events. There was a purpose to all these inventions - which was to demonstrate to the world that he was a born leader of men, a proven diplomat and a successful trader. The story of his spectacular escape from Kamchatka had served to persuade the French government to fund this, his first Madagascar trip.



And now it will become clear that his story of the 2½ years spent on Madagascar was written to persuade investors - and this time specifically NOT the French government - to fund his later second attempt to colonise Madagascar. And so the second volume of his memoirs describes in great detail how he built up a thriving trading business, how he won over the natives by means of war and diplomacy, how he dug canals, how he built roads and harbours and small villages. At every turn, he recorded that the Madagascan people were anxious to do business with him. So much so that, just before he returned to France, he was elected 'King of Madagascar' by these same native peoples.

We shall return to all these claims shortly.

Let us begin by outlining the difficulties that anyone faced in trying to colonise Madagascar. The Portuguese, the French and the British all made various attempts at establishing themselves on the island, but were faced by a powerful group of native peoples, who permitted them to have only small trading posts on the east coast – and reserved the right to attack these posts at any given moment. The French eventually gave up and established their headquarters on the island of Mauritius, which lies about 900 kms east of Madagascar. As long as their small trading posts functioned on Madagascar, the French were quite happy.



When Benyovszky arrived on Madagascar in early 1774, he chose to settle in the north-east of the island. It was not necessarily a good choice, because the place was particularly prone to malaria and hostile locals. The place he landed was named Antongil Bay – *[shown here on the maps]* - and it had something of a history: in the 1630s, a French colony here was abandoned after the local people massacred the colonists. In

1739, a French frigate was attacked by the natives with heavy loss of life. In 1815, a colony established by the British at Antongil was abandoned after local people massacred them. In 1816, another one was abandoned after decimation by malaria.

And so it was with Benyovszky's attempt. In the space of barely six months, 200 out of the 250 men of Benyovszky's colony died of sickness. And then he faced a whole host of other difficulties.

Firstly, the French: like Maudave before him, Benyovszky found that the French officials on Mauritius obstructed him at every opportunity, and sent dozens of complaints back to Paris. It has to be said that the government in Paris did not handle this well: they had neither consulted Mauritius on Benyovszky's project, nor did they consider just how trade between the two islands was supposed to work. And the plantation owners on Mauritius always had very strong objections to anyone settling on Madagascar.

A colony on Madagascar would threaten their monopoly of trade. And there was a very significant trade – in cattle, in rice - and in slaves. It is estimated that in 1790, around 3,000 slaves annually were sent from – or through - Madagascar to Mauritius.

A second difficulty for Benyovszky was posed by his own people: contemporary reports suggest that many of those who signed up with Benyovszky were of a class who had nothing left to lose – someone described them as 'boys and blackguards'. Maybe. What is certain is that, whenever an opportunity arose for Mauritius or passing ships to offload the worst and most mutinous of their sailors, they were happy to offload them on to Benyovszky. The lack of discipline of these would-be colonists led regularly to mutiny, fights and other unpleasant scenes.

And thirdly, there were the Madagascans themselves. During the 18th century, the huge island was subdivided into territories controlled by three or four ethnic groups, and each of these were subdivided into clans. As we can see on the maps. in the west and north, the ethnic group known as the Sakalava dominated the island. In the east, a people known as the Betsimisaraka held sway. And in the central highlands, the Merina people were, in the 1820s, to break out of their enclave and subjugate most of the north and east of the island. Most of these wars were about controlling the slave-trade. And while the Madagascan people were quite happy to *trade* with Europeans, they certainly had no desire to be *governed* by them.

So traders often found it impossible to correctly guess who was in league with whom and which clan to negotiate with. Some traders chose a diplomatic course of action, others did not. Benyovszky seems to have made the mistake of adopting a warlike

stance right from the start. Barely a couple of weeks after Benyovszky arrived, a passing French explorer named Kerguelen found that the native people around Benyovszky's trading-post were describing him as a 'bad white man', had refused to continue the trade in cattle and rice, and – indeed - were threatening to kill him.

Benyovszky's journal – which we must remember was largely put together some years after the events they describe – is a curious document. By and large, it tells a tale of successful negotiations with the native peoples, of the swift construction of buildings, roads, outposts, hospitals and canals, and of large cargos of rice and cattle being exported to Mauritius. There is also talk of rapid and successful wars against Madagascans who opposed him.

But every so often, you come across a rather plaintive paragraph – such as the one where he suddenly discovers that all of his soldiers were dressed in rags and were very depressed about it. Rather abruptly, it sounds very real.

Benyovszky wrote one thing in his journals, but his letters back to France tell a different story. He was continually asking for more men, more equipment and more money, and complaining that Mauritius was providing no help to him whatsoever. Barely six weeks after his arrival, he sent Paris a request for :

a ship of 600 tons, loaded with wine, brandy and flour, 200 recruits, 6 carpenters, 2 blacksmiths and 2 masons, 3 officers of the rank of captain - to command the different outposts, 2 surgeons with medicines, 6 12-inch mortars and 16 cannons, along with munitions, 2 chaplains, and an assortment of tools.

Six months later, another request went back to Paris:

a 300-ton ship, a 150-ton ship, 12 cannons, 6 mortars, 30 blunder-busses, 24 breech-loading cannon, anchors, flags, hand-mills; also a second-in command, 4 captains, 1 warehouseman, 4 subalterns, 15 secretaries, 4 priests, 4 doctors, 4 master-carpenters and 12 assistants, 2 master-masons, 2 blacksmiths, bakers, gardeners, tanners, coopers, butchers, farmers, and 60 orphans of both sexes aged between 2 and 15

all of which were “absolutely necessary” for the success of the enterprise.

That none of these items were delivered is no surprise: the French government did seem utterly incompetent. You would have thought they could at least have found 60 orphans on the streets of Paris – but no...

Other contemporary reports also suggest that all was not going well on Madagascar. When Paris finally sent out a couple of inspectors in 1776 to audit what had happened to

all the government's money, they found very little to impress them. The roads and canals which Benyovszky claimed to have built were non-existent, wooden buildings had vanished, fences and forts were collapsing into the mud. "Everything," said the inspectors rather cruelly, "is rotten".

That Benyovszky's trading colony collapsed was quite normal for the time. What is surprising, however, is that his memoirs barely admit to any problems whatsoever. The 200 and more pages devoted to this period in his life tell of little else but continuous successes. And perhaps the most surprising thing of all is the story of Benyovszky's election as King of Madagascar. In very simple terms, what Benyovszky claimed to have happened was that various clan chiefs were told by a wise woman that Benyovszky was the prophesied heir to a race of kings which had died out. This old lady had, apparently, known Benyovszky's mother and had recently had a dream about it all. One thing led to another, and in early October 1776, over 50,000 natives assembled to pledge their allegiance to Benyovszky as their *Ampansacabé*, their Emperor.

Curiously, this was the second time that such a thing had happened to Benyovszky. In 1772, while escaping from Kamchatka, he had stopped off on the island of Formosa (modern-day Taiwan), and a friendly Formosan had announced – according to Benyovszky - that

he had no doubt but that I was the person whose coming was announced by the Prophets, who had foretold that a stranger should arrive with strong men, who should deliver the Formosans from the Chinese yoke.

But if one thing stands out more than anything else in the King of Madagascar story, it is the total lack of independent corroboration. We have already mentioned that two French inspectors were visiting Benyovszky. They interviewed six local chieftains, who were quite unenthusiastic about anything. A week later, on the 10th October 1776, Benyovszky tells us that 50 thousand Madagascans assembled outside his house at 6 am to proclaim him King. And later that very same morning, the two French inspectors boarded their ship a few hundred metres away and sailed away - evidently without even noticing the vast and incredibly noisy celebrations on the shore.

But let us suppose for a moment that Benyovszky really was proclaimed King of Madagascar. Then a few basic problems arise.

Firstly, given that there were several large groups of people on the island, all involved in mutual hostilities with each other, there is no way that anyone could have become King of all of Madagascar. With the perpetual wars we have mentioned, no single ethnic

group ever controlled more than half of Madagascar – and therefore no one king could ever be a king of whole island. The Merina people, who by 1820 controlled a very large part of the north of the island, managed to have their leader recognised – by the British at least – the British had in fact been giving him a bit of a helping hand – as ‘King of Madagascar’: but even he wasn’t really.

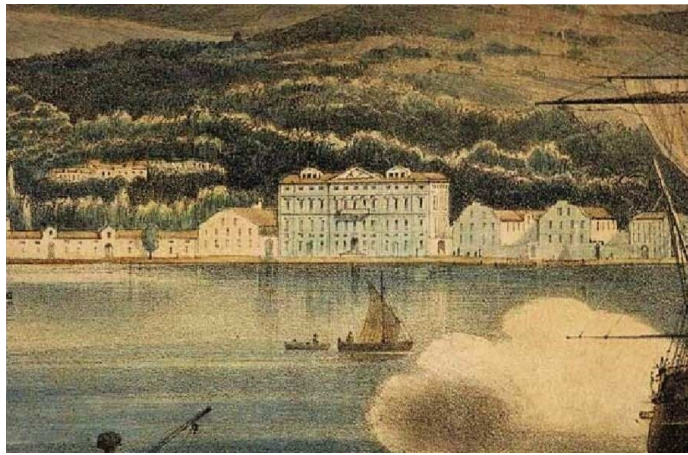
And here’s another thing: back in 1722, an English pirate named James Plantain had settled on the east coast of Madagascar, married a local princess, and had then ... proclaimed himself King of Madagascar. But he also wasn’t really.

Benyovszky’s case is not helped by his erratic naming of the ethnic groups who supported him. A glaring omission from this list is the largest ethnic group of all – the Sakalava. The other groups mentioned all appear to be small local clans, members of the larger ethnic groups. He may perhaps have *thought* he was King of all Madagascar, but it was clear that not all of Madagascar was aware of it.

Secondly, modern historians have found absolutely no evidence of such a thing happening – the ruling succession of the main Madagascan ethnic groups show no gaps at all. And, just as an aside: Benyovszky writes a great deal about his campaigns against the Sakalavans and their King, who controlled the west coast. But he did not appear to know that their king at that time was actually a queen – a lady named Ravahiny, who ruled quite happily from 1767 until her death in 1808.

Thirdly, if Benyovszky had really become King of Madagascar, why did he leave the island so soon thereafter, and return, virtually penniless, to France? His explanation for this was that he was renouncing his obligations to France, and wished to find other financial backers. But this is not what he actually did on his return to Europe – instead, he tapped the French government for his own back pay, and then set off to make money in Austro-Hungary and Croatia. It was not until 9 years later that he actually returned to Madagascar.

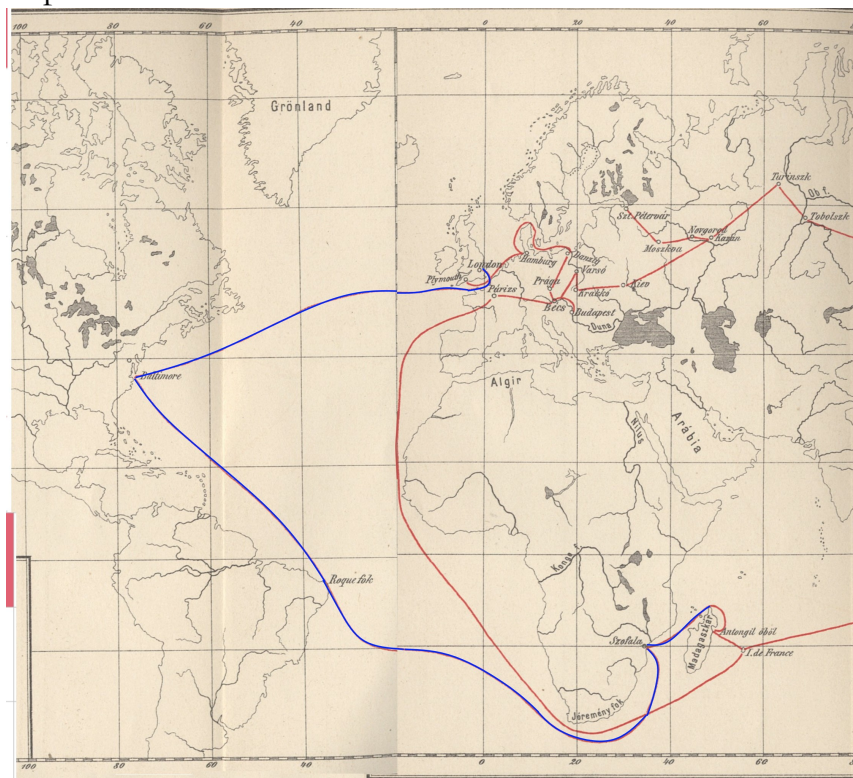
And lastly, there exists a lengthy document, written by Benyovszky himself immediately after his return from Madagascar. What is interesting about this document is that, when we compare it with his later Memoirs, there are many differences – for example, in terms of the number of battles fought, or the number of men in his armies. But most striking of all is that there is no mention whatsoever of his election as King of Madagascar. It appears to have been a story made up a few years later.



Back in Europe, Benyovszky proved himself a man of infinite resource. The French government refused to give him any more money for Madagascar - but they did give him 3 years of back pay, a pension as a Brigadier, and the Order of St Louis. So he went off to fight for the Austro-Hungarian Empire in the War of the Bavarian Succession. And then he set up a trading business in the flourishing port of Rijeka on the Adriatic coast of Croatia (shown here in the painting). After that, for four years he travelled round Europe, trying to find someone to finance another expedition to Madagascar. He had hoped that the British would help: we didn't. But then he went to America, and persuaded the merchants of the young United States that profits could be made by establishing a colony on Madagascar under Benyovszky's leadership. The profits, I regret to say, were to be made exclusively in the slave-trade.

Madagascar [II] and Memoirs

And so in June 1785, he returned to the north-west of Madagascar – the route the American ship took from Baltimore is marked in blue here. Almost immediately on



arrival, his expedition was attacked by the Sakalava people, the American ship upped anchor and fled, and Benyovszky was left for dead. But he was not: he was discovered six months later, alive and well, having taken control of a French trading-post in the north-east of the island.

Mauritius was duly informed. Mauritius was not pleased. Here they now had a known troublemaker, not a Frenchman and – even worse – funded by Americans, muscling in on what they fondly imagined to be their own territory. Mauritius thought Benyovszky would have to be removed. A small troop of French soldiers was sent from Mauritius to Madagascar in May 1786, with orders to arrest him. They tracked him down, a fire-fight broke out – and Benyovszky was shot dead.

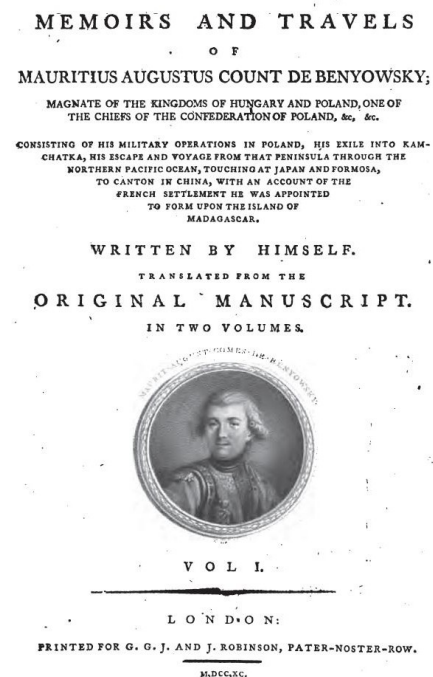
Before he left Europe, Benyovszky had tried to have his autobiography published. But it was not until 1790, four years after his death, that the Memoirs were printed – first in English, and then in French, and then in German, Dutch, Polish, Swedish – and, of course, a Slovak edition appeared in 1808, entitled '*Pamätné Prihody Hrabéte Benowského*'.

The Memoirs were a huge success in Europe and America. Famous playwrights wrote plays about his escape from Kamchatka, operas about Benyovszky were performed to packed houses. In 1814, one such play was performed in Baltimore at the same event which saw the very first public performance of America's "Star-Spangled Banner". Had Benyovszky been alive, he might have made his fortune on speaking-tours.

Conclusions

You will probably have realised by now that I personally find it difficult to believe the story that Benyovszky was ever King of Madagascar. But I do believe that Slovakia still has in him a remarkable countryman and a worthy national hero. Let us reflect on what he did achieve.

At the age of only twenty-four, he took a leading role in a successful mass-escape from one of the most inhospitable outposts of the Russian Empire. Elected their



leader, he guided some seventy desperate men, women and children in a leaky ship, with no reliable instruments or crew, down the chain of the Kuril and Japanese islands. This was a route which very few Westerners had followed before him; and even those who had been there have left little in the way of maps or descriptions.

He encountered Japanese communities which were quite unused to the sight of Europeans and - for the most part - he managed to avoid conflict and bloodshed. After an exhausting and perilous journey lasting five months, he reached the port of Macao with the loss of only three men. Even explorers as experienced as Captain Cook could scarcely boast as much.

Once in Macao, he proved himself entirely capable of negotiating with hard-bitten European traders for the return of the surviving voyagers to Europe. Once in France, still aged only twenty-six, he appeared so self-confident before sophisticated Parisian society that he persuaded a set of government ministers to fund his expedition to Madagascar. His plans misfired badly in Africa. His business failed in Croatia. But still he did not give up. In the United States, he succeeded in getting more financial backing for his ambitions.

The legend of Benyovszky does not need him to be King of Madagascar, any more than it needs him to be a successful trader with the Japanese. It is surely enough that he showed qualities of leadership and ingenuity which are quite remarkable in one so young. He invented much. But he also had many real adventures which – apart from the last one – he survived. He was murdered when he was not yet forty years old, by French soldiers acting in the interests of the French slave-trade. What else he might have achieved before his early death - and what other exciting tales he might have left for us - can only be imagined.

Thank you, ladies and gentlemen - **Ďakujem, dámy a páni.**

