PRISPEVKI

ZA NOVEJŠO ZGODOVINO

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Editorial Notice

Contributions to Contemporary History is one of the central Slovenian scientific historiographic journals, dedicated to publishing articles from the field of contemporary history (the 19th and 20th century).

It has been published regularly since 1960 by the Institute of Contemporary History, and until 1986 it was entitled Contributions to the History of the Workers' Movement.

The journal is published three times per year in Slovenian and in the following foreign languages: English, German, Serbian, Croatian, Bosnian, Italian, Slovak and Czech. The articles are all published with abstracts in English and Slovenian as well as summaries in English.

The archive of past volumes is available at the **History of Slovenia - SIstory** web portal.

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Uredniško obvestilo

Prispevki za novejšo zgodovino je ena osrednjih slovenskih znanstvenih zgodovinopisnih revij, ki objavlja teme s področja novejše zgodovine (19. in 20. stoletje) srednje in jugovzhodne Evrope.

Od leta 1960 revijo redno izdaja Inštitut za novejšo zgodovino (do leta 1986 je izhajala pod imenom *Prispevki za zgodovino delavskega gibanja*).

Revija izide trikrat letno v slovenskem jeziku in v naslednjih tujih jezikih: angleščina, nemščina, srbščina, hrvaščina, bosanščina, italijanščina, slovaščina in češčina. Članki izhajajo z izvlečki v angleščini in slovenščini ter povzetki v angleščini.

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ODVETNIK
IN OBLAST

DR. IGOR ROSINA
(1900–1969)

Editorial

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Borders and Administrative Legacy
Ljubljana, 24–26 November 2016

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Identities, Categories of Identification, and Identifications Between the Danube, the Alps, and the Adriatic
Ljubljana, 20–21 April 2017

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"We are faced with a process of making borders and undoing them. It is like the process that never stops and is still going on today."
Emmanuel Brunet-Jailly, Ljubljana, 24 November 2016

"Identities are categories that serve to represent social realities by simplifying them / … / Identifications are choices made by people about the groups or categories to which they wish to belong."
Pieter Judson, Ljubljana, 20 April 2017

Borders and identities: two concepts, two conferences, and yet a single great topic for historiography. There are no borders without identities and identifications. Identities cannot exist without borders. Are we dealing with the two sides of the same coin? Both concepts (borders and identities) can only be discussed in the historical (and geographical) context. Both phenomena are clearly apparent and recurrently problematic in human societies, and both are undoubtedly never-ending processes. They are never the same, but always there.

In the framework of the project *The Phenomenon of Border Rivers* (financed by the Slovenian Research Agency, 2014–17), the Institute of Contemporary History

supported two international conferences. The *Borders and Administrative Legacy* conference was envisioned as the culmination of our work on the project. The main organiser was the Institute of Contemporary History in cooperation with the Department of History at the Faculty of Arts and the National Museum of Contemporary History. The purpose of the conference was to critically assess the methodological and conceptual power of the administrative legacy (borders) and landscape relations, as well as to subject it to theoretical and empirical historical research. Why "administrative legacy"? The administrative legacy represents the phantom past, structured in the official records of the states. It is vital for the legitimacy and status of the present. The legitimacy and meaning of the contemporary borders stem merely from the official records. Furthermore, borders can outlive the states that have created them. As the political space changes, the obscure parts of the administrative legacy suddenly become important: cadastral municipality borders, police districts, etc. The Slovenian–Croatian maritime border, for instance, never existed in Yugoslavia, but what did exist was the administrative practice of (federal) police supervision over the waters of the Adriatic Sea. When the issue of the maritime border between the newly independent states arose, the technical "division of labour" – police supervision – became a question of national interest.

The Department of History at the Faculty of Arts in Ljubljana was the main organiser of the second event, the conference entitled *Identities, Categories of Identification, and Identifications between the Danube, the Alps, and the Adriatic*. Recent research has shown that even after the rise of nationalisms, nation-ness was not (and still is not) relevant for the entirety of the populace, and it has not been relevant in all situations. Many scholars see group identities as a result of non-determinate processes, which have always had alternatives. Those unrealised options are not historical mistakes (as the traditional national historiography has assumed), but simply alternatives that have not been successful. The very fact that they have appeared proves that they have had a certain potential. The aim of the conference was to respond to these challenges with historical case studies: how have the identities and identifications in the region between the Danube, the Alps, and the Adriatic appeared, disappeared, or transformed.

The Canadian political scientist Emmanuel Brunet-Jailly, the keynote speaker at the conference on borders and administrative legacy, reminded the historians (who are used to studying concrete historical situations) of the importance of the "bird's eye view" and the "longue durée" perspective. Since the beginning of agriculture, borders have been a permanent attribute of human political life. Brunet-Jailly identified two long-term trends: the trend of political fragmentation (there are now more independent states than ever before), and the trends of discipline (societies based on borders in space) and supervision (societies based on the control of the "flows" of people and goods). Due to the development of biometrics, people now carry borders "within themselves".

Are people as "walking borders" really a new phenomenon? The "bird's eye view" can reveal historical structures "from above", but only the "worm's eye view" of

historical case studies can reveal how historical structures actually work. Pieter Judson, a professor at the European University Institute in Florence and the keynote speaker at the conference on identities and identifications, emphasised the importance of case studies for understanding the difference between identification and identities. If historians truly want to understand nationalism and other competing loyalties, they need to concentrate on identifications, not identities. Identities are in fact only narrow categories of people. Identifications are more precise; they are "made" by people themselves in order to negotiate their existence in a complex society. If we boldly develop his advice further, we can entertain a thought that people had been "walking borders" long before the invention of digital biometrics.

The organisers of both conferences decided to disperse the papers to different publications in order to promote the achievements of both conferences in different environments. Our issue contains seven contributions: four papers that were presented at the *Borders and Administrative Legacy* conference, and three from the conference entitled *Identities, Categories of Identification, and Identifications between the Danube, the Alps, and the Adriatic.* Lili Zách, Stipica Grgić, and the author of this editorial dealt with borders "in the field" as well as the borders captured in the official records. Lili Zách investigated the transformation of political space in Ireland and Central Europe in the period after the First World War. The establishment of the borders in the territory of the former Austro-Hungarian Empire has had an interesting impact on the Irish border question. Stipica Grgić offered a profound analysis on the issue of border changes in the Štrigova and Razkrižje micro-region (today divided between Slovenia and Croatia). Marko Zajc, on the other hand, chose the combination of environmental history and border studies approach to analyse two long-term aspects of the border river phenomenon with the example of the Mura River: the relationship between the river and the boundary line, and the relationship between historical structures and border disputes. Scott Moore did not focus on borders, but rather on the issue of the Habsburg imperial legacy: the post-war Austrian schools used programs identical to those from the Habsburg period in order to develop patriotism in students.

The three contributions that were presented at the conference on identities and identifications focused on the period of the late 19th and early 20th century. Igor Vranić chose the Croatian art historian and politician Izidor Kršnjavi as the subject of his interest. He analysed Kršnjavi's interpretation of the role of Croatia in the Imperial (and European) symbolic geography. Étienne Boisserie and Martin Jemelka presented detailed case studies of the Slovak national movement. The former explored the relations between family networks and patriotic activities, while the latter focused on the workers' religious and national identifications and changes in the Ostrava region.

Most of the presentations from both conferences were recorded and are available at our Sistory.si portal as video lectures.

Marko Zajc

SISTORY
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Articles

Lili Zách[*]

Central European Border Settlements and Interwar Ireland: a Transnational Study of the North-Eastern Boundary Bureau and the Boundary Commission

IZVLEČEK

DOGOVORI O SREDNJEEVROPSKIH MEJAH IN IRSKA V OBDOBJU MED VOJNAMA: TRANSNACIONALNA ŠTUDIJA URADA ZA SEVEROVZHODNO MEJO IN MEJNE KOMISIJE

Po koncu prve svetovne vojne so irski nacionalistični krogi zaradi možne delitve Irske zavzeto spremljali rojstvo novih malih neodvisnih držav v vzhodni Srednji Evropi. Iz časopisnih uvodnikov in člankov ter diplomatskih poročil je razvidno, da se je povojna Irska odkrito zanimala za urejanje meja v celinski Evropi, saj je bil razpad Avstro-Ogrske podobno sporen. Namen tega prispevka je raziskati, kako so takratni irski poročevalci dojemali vprašanje urejanja mej v Srednji Evropi, s čimer omogoča vpogled v preoblikovanje političnega prostora na Irskem in v Srednji Evropi. Po kratki predstavitvi ozadja vprašanja irskih meja se prispevek dotakne najpomembnejših točk v zgodovinopisju, povezanih z urejanjem meja v obdobju po prvi svetovni vojni. Podrobno obravnava tudi zgodovino delitve Irske, pri čemer se osredotoča predvsem na Urad za severovzhodno mejo (North-Eastern Boundary Bureau) in Mejno komisijo (Boundary Commission) ter na pomen srednjeevropskih precedensov za njuno delo. Prispevek omogoča tudi vpogled v irsko zanimanje za manjšinsko problematiko v evropskih obmejnih regijah po letu 1925, da bi prikazal navzven usmerjen odnos irskih nacionalistov, celo v zvezi z mejami in manjšinami.

Ključne besede: irska meja, plebisciti, transnacionalna zgodovina, Srednja Evropa, delitev

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ABSTRACT

In the aftermath of the Great War, the birth of new independent small states in East-Central Europe was closely followed in Irish nationalist circles due to the possibility of Partition in Ireland. Newspaper editorials, journal articles and diplomatic accounts illustrate that post-war Ireland had an open attitude toward the settlement of borders on the Continent as the dissolution of the Austro-Hungarian Empire was similarly controversial. This paper aims to investigate how contemporary Irish commentators perceived the question of boundary settlements in Central Europe in order to provide an insight into the transformation of political space in both Ireland and Central Europe. After providing a brief background to the Irish boundary question, this paper touches upon the most important points in historiography with regard to border settlements in the post-World War I era.. It also discusses Irish Partition history in detail, concentrating on the North-Eastern Boundary Bureau (NEBB) and the Boundary Commission, and the importance of Central European precedents in their work. Moreover, this paper also proposes to provide an insight into the Irish interest in the minority problem in European borderland regions after 1925 in order to illustrate the outward-looking attitude to Irish nationalists, even in relation to borders and minorities.

Keywords: Irish border, plebiscites, transnational history, Central Europe, Partition

Introduction

The period from 1919 to 1922 saw the transformation of political order in Ireland, while the right to self-determination and independence remained in the centre of Irish political rhetoric. With the outbreak of the Irish War of Independence and the opening of the Fist Dáil Éireann in January 1919, the relationship between Ireland and Britain deteriorated. Political changes in Ireland were accompanied by personnel changes in the informal Irish diplomatic service; "roaming" Sinn Féin envoys were entrusted with disseminating propaganda on the Continent and gaining recognition for the independent Irish republic. After the signing of the Anglo-Irish Treaty in December 1921, due to opposition to the oath of allegiance required of Dáil members and provisions for ongoing links with Britain, a spilt occurred in the Irish republican movement. The Irish Free State, separate from Northern Ireland (established by the Government of Ireland Act, 1920), was a dominion within the British Empire, with legislative independence. The Treaty only provided a partial achievement and a full Republic was only declared decades later, gaining full formal sovereignty for twenty-six counties in 1949.[1]

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1   Robert Lynch, *Revolutionary Ireland, 1912–25* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2015), 1. Stephen Howe, *Ireland and Empire: Colonial Legacies in Irish History and Culture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 41.

The creation of a Boundary Commission was decided in order to amend the border between the Free State and Northern Ireland, as part of Article 12 in the Treaty: the final border was to be determined "in accordance with the wishes of the inhabitants, so far as may be compatible with economic and geographic conditions […]."[2] As Paul Murray highlighted, the year the Government of Ireland Act partitioned Ireland, territories in other parts of Europe were also being partitioned. They were assigned to the states that laid claim to them as a result of the post-war treaties that radically redrew of the map of Europe.[3] Therefore, this controversy in relation to boundaries prompted an open attitude toward similar precedents on the Continent as the dissolution of the Austro-Hungarian Empire also left border disputes.[4] This paper aims to highlight the significance of Central European border settlements in Irish political discourse with the purpose of illustrating that looking beyond national borders was not irreconcilable with Irish nationalism; on the contrary.

Irish Perceptions of Borders in East-Central Europe After 1918

The last few months of 1918 saw the complete transformation of the multi-cultural Habsburg Central Europe, from a Dual Monarchy into a number of independent small states. Stephen Howe has argued that the struggle for Irish independence was comparable to Czechoslovakia and Hungary "attaining independence from alien rule".[5] Furthermore, he has also claimed that comparing "experiences of conflict, secession and redrawing of boundaries across Europe and beyond" was worth investigating.[6]

The socio-political changes that resulted from the redefined borders in Europe after the Great War were inseparable from the formulation of national identities across Europe. Although the circumstances were different in Ireland and in Central Europe, the question of border revisions in the Danube basin sparked the interest of Irish contemporaries. When historian Patrick Keatinge described Ireland as "a revisionist small state, both in respect of the constitutional relationship with Britain and of partition [that] gave added edge to the Irish attitude of anti-imperialism in the nineteen-twenties and thirties", he identified common ground between Ireland and other small states in Central Europe based on the revision of treaties (the Anglo-Irish

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2   NAI DE 2/304/1, Documents on Irish Foreign Policy [henceforth: DIFP] vol. ii. No. 214, Final text of the Articles of Agreement for a Treaty between Great Britain and Ireland as signed, London, December 6, 1921.

3   Paul Murray, *The Irish Boundary Commission and its Origins 1886–1925* (Dublin: UCD Press, 2011), 146.

4   The name of the state had changed on three occasions; between 16 November 1918 and 21 March 1919 it was called 'Hungarian People's Republic' under the leadership of Mihály Károlyi; the 'Hungarian Soviet Republic' was in existence under Béla Kun between 22 March and 2 August 1919; this was followed by the short-lived 'Hungarian People's Republic', August 1919-February 1920. Then in February 1920, the monarchy (Hungarian Kingdom) was restored, without electing a King but with Admiral Miklós Horthy serving as Governor.

5   Howe, *Ireland and Empire*, 232.

6   Ibid., 237.

Treaty and the Versailles Peace Treaties, respectively).[7] Correspondingly, in more recent historiography, Michael Kennedy has confirmed that interwar Ireland "was siding with the 'revisionist states'", urging the revision of the post-war Paris Peace Treaties and constructing Irish foreign policy as part of the post-Versailles world order.[8]

From the end of October 1918, the Irish press provided much coverage of how the Austrian empire was broken up. The Irish dailies were aware of the fact that the now powerless Austrian Government could not stand in the way of Polish, Hungarian, Czechoslovak and Yugoslav independence.[9] By 2 November 1918, the *Irish Independent* announced: "the disintegration of the Austrian Empire [might] be said to be complete,"[10] granting the independence of northern and southern Slavic people was a touchy subject for Irish nationalists, as their pleas for the same goal were rejected by the great powers late 1918/early 1919. The establishment of an Austrian republic was also noticed in Irish journals and newspapers due to the state's overwhelmingly Catholic traditions. In addition, Irish interest was apparent in articles regarding the political turmoil in independent Hungary as well.

J. J. Lee, who has compared Irish socio-economic and political developments with the case of other small states in his book *Ireland 1912–1985* (1990), has also pointed out the differences between post-war border disputes in Ireland and Central Europe. Lee has emphasised that after the Great War "borders were revised in central and eastern Europe in favour of smaller states. This was precisely what did not happen in Fermanagh and Tyrone."[11] Interestingly, Lee has also argued that "the Free State enjoyed yet a further advantage. It was not the potential victim of irredentist or imperialist ambitions", unlike East-Central European states.[12] And while the Irish Free State had no Banat, no Silesia, no Slovakia, and no Transylvania, Northern Ireland was still the object of irredentist nationalist claims.[13] Therefore, irredentism was a key factor in the context of border-related conflicts, both in Ireland and in the successor states. Joep Leerssen has explained this with the fact that irredentism seemed to be the "logical and almost unavoidable extension" of nationalism in post-war Europe.[14] Similarly, Paul Murray, in a major study of the Irish Boundary Commission, compared the claims of Irish nationalists and Central European irredentists. He concluded that since the 1801 Act of Union was still in effect, in partitioning Ireland, "… the British legislature was establishing a new boundary within part of the United Kingdom

7   Patrick Keatinge, *A Place among the Nations: Issues of Irish Foreign Policy* (Dublin: Institute of Public Administration, 1978), 172.
8   Michael Kennedy, "Chicanery and Candour: The Irish Free State and the Geneva Protocol, 1924-5," I*rish Historical Studies* vol. xxix, No. 115 (May 1995), 377 and 383.
9   "Austrian Empire Broken Up. Emperor's Manifesto. Four Separate States Decreed," *Irish Independent*, October 18, 1918. "Break-Up of Austria," *Freeman's Journal,* October 18, 1918.
10   "Austria's Complete Break Up. Vienna-Budapest Revolutions. Count Tisza Killed. Bosnia Joins Serbia: New Austro-German State. Fleet Given to Jugo-Slavs," *Irish Independent,* November 2, 1918.
11   J. J. Lee, *Ireland 1912–1985: Politics and Society* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 46.
12   Ibid., 78, 79.
13   Ibid.
14   Joep Leerssen, *National Thought in Europe: A Cultural History* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2008), 176.

over which it exercised the same political control as it did over the other parts. The boundary settlements in Central and Eastern Europe, in contrast, were the result of external interference with the territorial integrity of states which found themselves on the losing side in the First World War."[15]

Partition History: the North-East Boundary Bureau and the Boundary Commission

As it has been established in the Introduction, the struggle between unionists and nationalists over the Home Rule question had been part of political debates before the Great War. However, it was the Government of Ireland Act of 1920 that eventually sought to create two states, Northern Ireland and Southern Ireland, and establish two parliaments (the southern parliament envisaged did not materialise and Home Rule, which was granted to both, took effect only in the north).[16] The Anglo-Irish Treaty of 1921 brought further legislation to settle the relationship, allowing the recently formed state of Northern Ireland to opt out of the Irish Free State. In the case of the latter, a Boundary Commission would be established to amend the (presently provisional) border between Northern Ireland (still part of the United Kingdom) and the Irish Free State (gained dominion status). The "Provisional-Government-sponsored" North-Eastern Boundary Bureau (NEBB - October 1922) and then the Boundary Commission (first met in November 1924) were to make a decision "in accordance with the wishes of the inhabitants, so far as may be compatible with economic and geographic conditions."[17] First and foremost, before discussing the cases of European boundary commissions, the Memorandum on the European Precedents for the NEBB declared that: "it must be remembered that in Ireland a boundary has already been drawn through the disputed areas, such as did not exist in Europe. It seems plain that the wishes of the inhabitants on both sides of it are to be taken into account."[18]

In order to support their claim with successful precedents, the NEBB investigated similar boundary settlements in post-war Europe. Director Kevin O'Shiel, researcher Bolton C. Waller, secretary Edward Millington Stephens were those most involved in the process.[19] O'Shiel requested Waller, an expert on European boundary disputes to advise him. Waller, who was in charge of researching international precedents full-time in London, argued that in Ireland a plebiscite was simply unnecessary due to the fact that the wishes of the inhabitants were well known as a result of the elections,

15 Paul Murray, *The Irish Boundary Commission and its Origins 1886–1925* (Dublin: UCD Press, 2011), 299.
16 Ged Martin, "The Origins of Partition," in: *The Irish Border: History, Politics, Culture,* eds. Malcolm Anderson and Eberhard Bort (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1999), 67.
17 Michael Kennedy, *Division and Consensus: The Politics of Cross-Border Relations in Ireland 1925–1969* (Dublin: Institute of Public Administration, 2000), 9. Geoffrey J. Hand, "Introduction," in: *Report of the Irish Boundary Commission 1925* (Shannon: Irish University Press, 1969), viii.
18 UCDA P35b/132 (28), Patrick McGilligan Papers, Memorandum on the European Precedents for the North Eastern Boundary Bureau.
19 Eda Sagarra, *Kevin O'Shiel: Tyrone Nationalist and Irish State-Builder* (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 2013), 201–04.

stressing that "the expense and possible danger of a plebiscite are best avoided."[20] E. M. Stephens, barrister and civil servant, was also required to study "recent European precedents for territorial transfer on the basis of local plebiscites", and to collect data and to intermediate between the Dublin government and nationalist officials in the border areas.[21] Moreover, the Irish trade representative in Berlin at the time, Charles Bewley (later minister to Germany 1933–1939), also furnished the Bureau "with certain particulars regarding Boundary Commissions on the Continent."[22] In particular, Bewley sent reports on the Upper Silesian plebiscite conditions and the Schleswig Commission.

Historian Paul Murray has highlighted the fact that the Bureau had found the plebiscites of the following territories noteworthy: Upper Silesia (March 1921) between Poland and Germany; Schleswig (February-March 1920) between Denmark and Germany, and Klagenfurt/Celovec in south-eastern Carinthia (October 1920) between Austria and the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, in addition to the general border question in Hungary.[23] In these areas, plebiscites, impartially conducted and supervised, were employed as the means of ascertaining the wishes of inhabitants with a view to assigning them to the jurisdiction of their choice.

As far as the border between Austria and Hungary was concerned, Austria successfully claimed Western Hungary (Burgenland, with the exception of Sopron/Oedenburg), and was permitted to occupy these territories on 7 August 1921. In the city of Sopron/Oedenburg a plebiscite (December 1921) decided in favour of staying under the Hungarian state. The plebiscite was attacked by many (non-Magyar) contemporaries, and was later questioned by historians. Throughout the conflict, the Irish press, relying on Reuters cablegrams from Berlin and telegrams from Vienna, echoed the Austrian opinion.[24] Interestingly, there were no references to this particular precedent in the records of the NEBB or the Boundary Commission, despite the large publicity the events attracted in the Irish papers.

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20   Ibid. UCDA P35b/133, North-Eastern Boundary Bureau Final Report, 26 February 1926, by E. M. Stephens, Secretary. UCDA LA1/H/83, Eoin MacNeill Papers, Confidential Memorandum by Kevin O'Shiel entitled "Procedure at Boundary Commission", 1922. UCDA LA1/H/95, Eoin MacNeill Papers, Memorandum by Kevin O'Shiel with covering letter relating to political relations between the Irish Free State and the Irish North-Eastern minority, June 1923. UCDA LA1/H/83, Eoin MacNeill Papers, Kevin O'Shiel – "Boundary Commission and its precedents". UCDA LA1/H/89, Eoin MacNeill Papers, Notes on Procedure of Boundary Commission.

21   NAI DT S4743, DIFP vol. ii, No. 380, Final Report of the North-Eastern Boundary Bureau, E.M. Stephens to Kevin O'Higgins (Dublin), 26 February 1926, accessed September 23, 2015, http://www.difp.ie/docs/1926/Work-of-the-North-Eastern-Boundary-Bureau/716.htm. Andrew Carpenter and Lawrence William White, "Stephens, Edward Millington," *Dictionary of Irish Biography* [henceforth: *DIB*], accessed August 7, 2015, http://dib.cambridge.org/viewReadPage.do?articleId=a8276.

22   NAI FIN/1/2168, National Archives of Ireland, Department of Finance Files, Letter from E. M. Stephens, Secretary of the NEBB to the Secretary, Department of Finance, 26 January 1923.

23   Murray, *The Irish Boundary Commission,* 146, 241 and 247.

24   "Just another War Front. Hungarians Invade Austria," *Irish Independent,* September 7, 1921. "Burgenland Plebiscite. Budapest Claims Big Majority for Hungary in Oedenburg," *Freeman's Journal,* December 19, 1921. "Austrian Objections. Report that Oedenburg is to Go to Hungary Brings Protest," *Freeman's Journal*, December 28, 1921. Jeremy King, "Austria vs. Hungary: Nationhood, Statehood, and Violence since 1867," in: *Nationalitätenkonflikte im 20. Jahrhundert: Ursachen von inter ethnischer Gewalt im europäischen Vergleich [Nationality Conflicts in the 20th Century: Causes of Inter-Ethnic Violence in European Comparison]*, eds. Philipp Ther and Holm Sundhaussen (Berlin: Harrassowitz, 2001), 174, 175.

In the registry of NEBB documents, there was only one reference to Hungarian borders in this context. The file compiled in relation to the northern Hungarian border and the question of the Ruthenian minority was actually a copy of the Czechoslovak memorandum presented at the Paris Peace Conference. Therefore, it reflected the arguments of the Czechoslovak Republic, claiming the territory inhabited by Ruthenians in the north-eastern part of the former Dual Monarchy. The Czechoslovak memorandum stressed that: "the Ruthenians of Hungary, a nation closely related to the Slovaks, live under the same conditions as the Slovaks, that they are in very intimate relation with them, that their union to the Czecho-Slovak Republic would cause no difficulty whatever. 2. This solution would best respond to the political reality and to the principles of justice."[25]

Similarly, other NEBB documents regarding continental precedents such as territorial disputes about the Carinthian Klagenfurt/Celovec area between Austria and Yugoslavia (in favour of Slovene claims as opposed to the demands of the German population), the case of the Bohemian Germans or the general territorial demands of Czechoslovakia were based on the Czech and Yugoslav memoranda, respectively, and presented at Versailles.[26] In consequence, when it came to Irish claims in relation to the north-eastern boundary, there were very few references to Austrian or Hungarian examples, despite the high number of incidents (including the occasional plebiscites) there. Nevertheless, Eda Sagarra has pointed out that the phrasing of Article 12 of the Anglo-Irish Treaty and its interpretation by the Free State is "to be understood in the context of the plebiscitary politics of post-war Central Europe, notably as laid down in the Treaties of Versailles and Trianon", referring to Upper Silesia, Klagenfurt, Burgenland, North Schleswig, and East Prussia.[27] As the Austro-Hungarian Empire was defeated in the Great War, their successors' claims were treated differently by the great powers at and after Versailles than the victorious, newly independent small nations in the region. Therefore, when the Irish commission was looking for a precedent to support Irish nationalist demands, they rather examined the appeals of previously successful small states. Altogether, the very fact that the question of boundaries was in dispute created a greater Irish interest in territorial settlements in Europe.

In post-war Europe, there was no guarantee that the political boundaries were about to reflect ethnic boundaries; indeed, when it came to the boundary issue in Ireland, eventually, no plebiscite was held, despite the research done by the NEBB and the personal experience of, for instance, F. B. Bourdillon, Secretary of Irish Boundary Commission, former member of the Upper Silesian Commission

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25   NAI NEBB/2/1/13, Peace Conference. Czecho-Slovak Delegation, memo No. 6. Problem of the Ruthenians of Hungary. Peace Conference Documents. Czecho-Slovak Delegation.

26   Ibid. NAI NEBB/2/1/12, Peace Conference Document. Jugo-Slav Delegation. The Problem of Celovec (Klagenfurth). NAI NEBB/2/1/10, Peace Conference Documents. Czecho-Slovak Delegation. Problem Touching the Germans in Bohemia. NAI NEBB/2/1/11, The Territorial Claims of the Czecho-Slovak Republic. Peace Conference Document. Czecho-Slovak Delegation. Memoire No. 2. UCDA P35b/132(28), Patrick McGilligan Papers, Memorandum on the European Precedents for the North Eastern Boundary Bureau.

27   Sagarra, *Kevin O'Shiel,* 205.

(1920–22).[28] Bourdillon's interest in the boundary situation on the Continent was well documented; in his letter to E. M. Stephens, dated 15 October 1924, the Irish publicity agent of the Bureau, Hugh A. McCartan, emphasised that Bourdillon "was much interested in the Upper Silesian precedent."[29]

During the interwar years, the possibility of treaty revisions was a frequently discussed topic across Europe, including in Ireland. It was visible that "the Treaty of Versailles was not a heaven-sent document, to be regarded forever as rigid and inviolable. On the contrary," argued the *Irish Press;* "it was – like the 'Treaty' forced on us – a settlement based on compulsion and an attempt to perpetuate the spoils system in its delimitation of frontiers."[30] Echoing de Valera's agenda and ideas about "peaceful revision", placing the Irish question in parallel with other European small nations, the paper claimed: "…We in Ireland have more than an academic interest in this question. Ireland is one of the small nations which for centuries has endured oppression at the hands of powerful neighbouring State. […] Revision and readjustment must come, if there is to be lasting peace in the world […]. There must be provision for changing international treaties or conditions that bear within themselves the seeds of future wars ."[31]

Therefore, Irish newspapers regularly pointed to the Versailles treaties when discussing the prevailing "minorities question" in Central Europe, in parallel with the legacy of the Irish border settlement. The Free State's disappointment with regards the Boundary Commission was undeniable; eventually the existing borders were confirmed on December 3, 1925, after the British Conservative *Morning Post* leaked the planned transfers on November 7, 1925. The report of the Boundary Commission was suppressed and not published until 1969.

Irish Interest in the Minority Problem in Borderland Regions After 1925

The Irish dissatisfaction with the borders in the early 1920s resulted in an active participation in the League of Nations, which was expected to see to the protection of, among others, the northern Irish Catholic minority. This was crucial for the Free State under both *Cumann na nGaedheal*'s William T. Cosgrave and *Fianna Fáil*'s Eamon de Valera (after 1932). Interestingly, although during the interwar years the Irish External Affairs took a close interest in minority problems at Geneva, at the same time, the Department was also keen on adhering to a non-partitionist attitude in relation to Ireland.[32]

28   NAI NEBB/4/5/2, Copy of Letter from Hugh A. McCartan to Stephens, 15 October 1924.
29   Ibid.
30   "Europe's Problems," *Irish Press*, September 26, 1935.
31   Ibid.
32   Gerard Keown, "Creating an Irish Foreign Policy in the 1930s," in: *Irish Foreign Policy 1919–1966: From Independence to Internationalism*, eds. Michael Kennedy and Joseph Morrison Skelly (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2000), 38.

Rogers Brubaker has noted that borderland conflicts in Central Europe after the Great War became "internationalised".[33] For small states, like the Irish Free State, a crucial aspect of League of Nations membership was the organisation's declared role as protecting ethnic and religious minorities. Therefore, when expecting the support of other small nations, it was not surprising when diplomats like the Irish High Commissioner in London (5 February 1929–14 December 1930), Timothy Smiddy, articulated the view that the Irish Free State could be regarded as "a champion of the national interests of small States, as also of minorities".[34]

Between the two world wars, the problematic nature of the boundary question was also highlighted by the aforementioned Bolton C. Waller. In addition to his role as researcher in the NEBB, Waller was also involved in the application procedure of the Free State's admission to the League. He took note of the fact that simultaneous requests were made by Iceland, Latvia, Finland, Lithuania and Hungary as well.[35] Later he became the President of the League of Nations Society of Ireland.[36] In his writings, Waller focused on the role of the League in keeping up peace and suggested, among others, to implement "improved safeguards for minorities."[37] As early as 1922-1923, he claimed that certain segments of the Versailles treaties that redrew boundaries across Europe could be adopted in relation to the Irish boundary as well.[38] Writing in 1925, he argued that it was unworthy of Ireland as a small nation and "out of accord with our traditions and temperament, being as we are a roaming and restless people," to avoid "all entanglements with the rest of the world."[39] He explained this with the fact that "throughout our history we have been concerned with the spread of ideas, and have had an influence out of all proportion to our size or strength."[40] Therefore, argued Waller, the League provided the best opportunity for small nations like Ireland to play a part in the world.[41]

One of the main tasks of the League, Waller found, was to supervise the protection of minority rights.[42] This proved to be problematic, as demonstrated by his article of

33　Rogers Brubaker, *Nationalist Politics and Everyday Ethnicity in a Transylvanian Town* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006), 49.

34　Michael Kennedy, "Smiddy, Timothy Anthony," *DIB*, accessed December 16, 2014, http://dib.cambridge.org/viewReadPage.do?articleId=a8130. Aengus Nolan, *Joseph Walshe: Irish Foreign Policy 1922–1946* (Cork: Mercier Press, 2008), 38.

35　UCDA LA1/H/61, Eoin MacNeill Papers, Typescript report by B.C. Waller on the application of the Irish Free State for admission to the League of Nations. Bolton C. Waller, *Ireland and the League of Nations* (Dublin: Talbot Press, 1925). Bolton C. Waller, *Paths to World Peace* (London: G. Allen & Unwin, 1926). Bolton C. Waller, *Hibernia, or, The Future of Ireland* (London: Dutton, 1928).

36　Michael Kennedy, *Ireland and the League of Nations 1919–1946. International Relations, Diplomacy and Politics* (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 1996), 28.

37　"European Peace. Irishman's Prize Essay," *Irish Independent,* September 16, 1924. NAI DT S4084, DIFP vol. ii, No. 272, Kevin O'Higgins to each member of the Executive Council, enclosing a memorandum on the Boundary Question (C.1987/24) (Confidential), Dublin, 25 September 1924, accessed September 23, 2015, http://www.difp.ie/docs/1924/Boundary-Commission:-possible-offer-to-Northern-Ireland/608.htm.

38　UCDA LA1/H/89, Eoin MacNeill Papers, Typescript memorandum by B.C. Waller on "European precedents for the North-Eastern Boundary Bureau," 1922–1923.

39　Waller, *Ireland and the League of Nations*, 18.

40　Ibid.

41　Ibid., 66.

42　Ibid., 37.

March 1929 in the *Irish Independent*, where Waller declared that the Council faced its "least successful" challenge up to date; dealing with the "complaints and petitions" of certain "aggrieved minorities" including Finland, Romania, Hungary, and the German minority in Upper Silesia.[43] "The problem of minorities in Europe is real and threatening", emphasised Waller, most likely leading to war.[44] The *Cork Examiner* named a possible reason for the negligence of the question to be the fact that "very few older members of the League could honestly declare that they themselves invariably treated their minorities in accordance with the spirit of the guaranteeing Treaty."[45] Indeed, the ethno-linguistic and religious divisions, such as the cases observed by the *Cork Examiner*, were so deeply embedded in certain societies that the presence of the League of could not remedy the situation.[46]

Irish perceptions of the regional minorities in the borderlands, "*outside* the imagined" newly independent nation-states, illustrate the complexity of Central European identities in the face of extreme political changes.[47] The troubling nature of minority issues was frequently discussed in the Irish press in the interwar years. This was visible, among others, in Irish comments on the Sudeten Germans in the Czechoslovak State; the formerly Austrian Catholics in the South Tyrol; and Hungarians along the frontiers of Czechoslovakia, Romania and Yugoslavia.

Conclusion

The importance of Central European precedents within the context of Irish partition and boundary settlement sheds light on a lesser discussed part of Irish nationalist discourse, namely, the outward looking attitude Irish nationalists had in relation to Partition. Therefore, this paper hoped to highlight the significance of the wider international context when investigating the Irish border question in the early interwar years. It aimed to illustrate Irish awareness of the political transformation of Central Europe and territorial settlements after the Great War, with special attention the plebiscites in Upper Silesia and Klagenfurt, also emphasising the significance the League of Nations, particularly after the failure of the Boundary Commission. Consequently, even though the Boundary Commission failed to alter the Irish border, the history of its work should be viewed as part of a larger European narrative.

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43   "Dangers that Threaten World Peace," *Irish Independent,* March 6, 1929.
44   Ibid.
45   "Protection of Minorities," *Cork Examiner,* July 3, 1930.
46   Zara Steiner, *The Lights That Failed. European International History 1919–1933* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 364.
47   Brubaker, *Nationalist Politics*, 46.

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Lili Zách

DOGOVORI O SREDNJEEVROPSKIH MEJAH IN IRSKA V OBDOBJU MED VOJNAMA: TRANSNACIONALNA ŠTUDIJA URADA ZA SEVEROVZHODNO MEJO IN MEJNE KOMISIJE

POVZETEK

Glede na dokumentirano irsko zanimanje za urejanje evropskih meja je namen tega prispevka osvetliti pomen precedensov z ozemlja nekdanje Avstro-Ogrske in njihov vpliv na irsko mejno vprašanje v letih po prvi svetovni vojni. Po podpisu versajskih mirovnih pogodb so bile novozačrtane meje v Srednji Evropi deležne precej pozornosti tudi v irski javnosti in časopisju, ne samo v tamkajšnjih političnih krogih. Prelomni točki v irskem mejnem vprašanju sta predstavljala zakon o vladi Irske (Government of Ireland Act) iz leta 1920, v skladu s katerim naj bi na irskem otoku nastali dve državi, in angleško-irski sporazum (Anglo-Irish Treaty), ki je omogočil novoustanovljeni državi Severni Irski ločitev od Svobodne države Irske. Sčasoma sta bila ustanovljena Urad za severovzhodno mejo (NEBB – oktobra 1922) in pozneje še Mejna komisija (novembra 1924), da bi popravila (prvo začasno) mejo med Severno Irsko in Svobodno državo Irsko v skladu z »željami prebivalcev«.

Za utemeljitev zahtev je Urad za severovzhodno mejo preučil podobne dogovore o mejah v povojni Evropi. Direktor Kevin O'Shiel, raziskovalec Bolton C. Waller in sekretar Edward Millington Stephens so bili ključni akterji pri raziskovanju in odločanju. Poleg tega so bile zelo pomembne tudi osebne izkušnje F. B. Bourdillona, sektretarja Mejne komisije za Irsko, nekdanjega člana Komisije za Gornjo Šlezijo (1920–22), saj je lahko primerjal celinske dogovore z irskimi okoliščinami. Urad za severovzhodno mejo in Mejna komisija sta posvetila precej pozornosti plebiscitom zaradi poudarjenega pomena »želj prebivalcev« tudi v irskem primeru. Zato so se Uradu zdeli pomembni plebisciti na naslednjih ozemljih: v Gornji Šleziji (marec 1921); v Schleswigu (februar-marec 1920); in v Celovcu na jugovzhodu avstrijske Koroške (oktober 1920). Kljub temu pa na Irskem ni bilo plebiscita in tudi meja med Severno Irsko in Svobodno državo Irsko se ni spremenila, saj so bile obstoječe meje potrjene 3. decembra 1925, potem ko je britanski časopis *Morning Post* 7. novembra 1925 razkril načrtovane premike meja. Kljub neuspehu Mejne komisije pa je mogoče ugotoviti, da se vprašanje meja na Irskem ni obravnavalo osamljeno, ampak je bilo del širše evropske zgodbe.

Najpomembnejša posledica Mejne komisije za Irsko je bilo okrepljeno irsko sodelovanje v Društvu narodov glede na vlogo, ki jo je ta organizacija imela v zaščiti etničnih in verskih manjših. Irski nacionalisti so si torej tudi za razpravo o ozemeljskih zahtevah, reviziji in pravicah manjših izbrali širši mednarodni oder, kjer so predstavili svoje zahteve in pogosto razpravljali o drugih dogovorih glede meja na celini. Na splošno je cilj tega prispevka prikazati, kako se je zgolj zaradi dejstva, da je bilo

vprašanje meja sporno, povečalo irsko zanimanje za ozemeljske dogovore v Evropi, kar pomeni, da neodvisna Irska ni bila vase zagledana država, za kakršno je veljala pred tem.

Stipica Grgić[*]

Accepting the Border, Choosing the Border: The Štrigova and Razkrižje Micro-region in the First Half of the 20th Century

IZVLEČEK

SPREJEMANJE MEJE, IZBIRANJE MEJE: ŠTRIGOVA IN RAZKRIŽJE V PRVI POLOVICI 20. STOLETJA

Meja med Slovenijo in Hrvaško na področju Razkrižja in Štrigove je še vedno predmet raznih razprav. Do njene zadnje spremembe je prišlo leta 1946, njen današnji potek pa so oblikovali razni elementi. Članek zato analizira potek te meje v burnem obdobju prve polovice 20. stoletja.

Ključne besede: slovensko-hrvaška meja, Štrigova, Razkrižje, demarkacija, 20. stoletje

ABSTRACT

The border between Slovenia and Croatia in the area of Razkrižje-Štrigova is still a subject of debate. Its last change occurred in 1946 and its present appearance was influenced by various elements. This article will analyze the phenomenon of the emergence of this border in the turbulent times of the first half of the 20th century.

Key words: Slovenia-Croatia border, Štrigova, Razkrižje, demarcation, 20th century

In 1946 a group of individuals, claiming to have the support of the majority of the residents in the former compact Municipality of Štrigova in the north-western part of Međimurje, visited various Yugoslav state institutions in Belgrade.

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Emphasizing transportation, economic, cultural, educational and national reasons, they appealed to the central authorities in order to ensure that their small region, consisting of several settlements, becomes a permanent part of the Federal People's Republic of Slovenia. They claimed that the state institutions were the only relevant factor with the authority to resolve this inter-republic Slovenian-Croatian border conflict and propose a final solution in the era in which the state promoted "brotherhood and unity" and avoided even the smallest possibility of a national conflict.[1] This case study will try to reconstruct what events led to a dispute over the Slovenian-Croatian border in this micro-region.

The article will attempt to emphasize that the nationalizing (Slovenian-Croatian) processes only occurred in that micro-region during the first half of the 20th century, after the Hungarian rule was overthrown, with the further development of local institutions and articulation of political and institutional nationalism on a local level. It will also highlight the importance of various local educational, economic and other social conditions which contributed to the articulation of attitudes of these communities about their (national) belonging and their expressions of reluctance or even resistance after they were placed on – what they considered to be – the "wrong side" of the border. In addition to theoretical literature, the article is based on published and unpublished archival sources and newspapers covering the history of this area in the mentioned period.[2]

Conceptually, this case study relies on Thomas Wilson's and Hastings Donnan's theory of identities along borders. According to Wilson and Donnan, the population living in areas closer to borders can perceive them as "both barriers and opportunities".[3] This article aims to observe how the various aspects of border perceptions influenced the local population and affected the process of their self-determination in terms on their local, national, political, economic and other affiliations.

Reshaping the Borders, Shaping the Territory (1900–1945)

The Municipality of Štrigova was formed in the mid-19th century. It comprised 45 individual villages and hamlets scattered across 9.351 square acres of mountain terrain. The settlements were quite disjointed and had a relatively few number of inhabitants. In 1910 Štrigova itself had only 433 inhabitants and Razkrižje, one of

1 Duško Dimitrijević, *Državne granice nakon sukcesije SFR Jugoslavije* [*State Borders after the succession of the SFR of Yugoslavia*] (Belgrade: Institute of International Politics and Economics, 2012), 399–404.

2 Among other valuable titles, I would like to point out: Peter Pavel Klasinc, *Arhivski dokumenti o dogodkih v Štrigovi in okolici v prvih let po Drugi svetovni vojni* [*Archival documents on events in Štrigova and its surroundings in the first years after the Second World War*] (Ljubljana: Zavod 25. junij, 2008). Although this collection of documents is not without flaws (or agenda), they are still the best source to give us a good insight into the entire Slovene-Croatian border dispute.

3 Thomas M. Wilson and Hastings Donnan, *Border Identities: Nation and State at International Frontiers* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 22.

the other larger settlements in the municipality, numbered only 229 inhabitants.[4] At the time, Štrigova Municipality was a part of Čakovec District, which was under the rule of the Hungarian-based Zala County. The Hungarian government and its policy of repression towards the Slavs, which was, for instance, evident in education, was in fact counterproductive; it slowly shaped the identity of the Slavic population in an undesired direction. In the first decades of the 20th century, the resistance directed towards the efforts of the Hungarian authorities was mostly peaceful. However, after the collapse of Austria-Hungary at the end of 1918, an open revolt occurred. It was fueled by the difficult economic and political situation that came with the last year of the First World War. The Hungarian authorities' decision to send their army to this area was entirely counterproductive. The local Croatian and Slovenian politicians, tempted by the idea of the South Slavic unity, begun seeking help from this newly created South Slavic state.[5] In late December of 1918, Štrigova Municipality became a part of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, following the quick action of the Croatian volunteer corps, who had entered Međimurje and consequently placed it entirely under the jurisdiction of the Zagreb provincial administration. At the 1919 Paris Peace Conference, the right of ethnic self-determination was recognized and thus began the integration of Međimurje (and the neighboring Prekmurje) into the administrative and other systems of the newly formed Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (Yugoslavia).[6]

Following a brief period of belonging to the Zagreb provincial administration (1918–1923), after *oblasts* were formed, Štrigova Municipality, together with the rest of Međimurje, became a part of the Maribor Oblast (1924–1929). Only six years later, the oblasts were abolished and *banovinas*, as the new, more centralized regional units in the era of the Sixth of January dictatorship, were formed. In 1929 the entire Međimurje fell under the Sava Banovina region, which had its seat in Zagreb. However, in 1931 Štrigova Municipality was separated from Čakovec District and the rest of Međimurje and placed under the authority of the Ljubljana-based Drava Banovina and its Ljutomer District.[7] In an attempt to simultaneously build a unified state and nation, especially in the era of the Sixth of January Dictatorship (1929–1935), the Yugoslav government tried to create a new internal map of administrative units, from regional to municipal, in an effort to produce not only a functioning administration, but also a new set of allegiances towards themselves and the concept of integral Yugoslavism which they promoted. The state announced that their boundaries would be formed according to economic

4   *A magyar szent korona országainak 1910. évi népszámlálása. Első rész* (Budapest: Magyar statisztikai közlemények, 1912), 82, 83.
5   Vladimir Kalšan, "Međimurje 1918. i 1919. godine," in: *1918. u hrvatskoj povijesti* [*1918 in Croatian history*], ed. Željko Holjevac (Zagreb: Matica Hrvatska, 2012), 139–53. Vladimir Kapun, *Međimurje 1918* (Čakovec: Zrinski, 1982), 308–28.
6   Kalšan, *Međimurje 1918. i 1919.*, 148. Miroslav Kokolj, *Prekmurski Slovenci: Od narodne osvoboditve do nacistične okupacije 1919–1941* [*Slovenes of Prekmurje: From National Liberation to Nazi Occupation 1919–1941*] (Pomurska Založba: Murska Sobota, 1984), especially 35.
7   Ljubo Boban, *Croatian borders 1918–1993* (Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 1993), 58–60.

and transportation principles, and that former ethnic divisions between South Slavic people will simply disappear.[8] For this purpose, many small settlements were placed under the administration of regional centers of power, under which they had never been before.

During the Second World War, the territory of predominantly Slovenian Drava Banovina was occupied and divided by the German, Italian and Hungarian forces. After a few months under the Third Reich, Međimurje, including the municipalities of Štrigova and Razkrižje, was from 1941 to mid-1945 reincorporated into the administrative system of the Hungarian Zala County.[9] In that form it welcomed the end of the War in spring of 1945 and the reunification with the Slovenian Ljutomer District in the now reconstructed Socialist Yugoslavia.[10]

All these changes were made without consulting the municipal or other local levels of government. It was clear to the inhabitants of this territory that the real reasons behind the border alterations lay in the changes which happened in the centers of power which surrounded them and claimed this territory. This shows the undemocratic character of the border changing processes in this area, which affected the behavior of the inhabitants and developed the idea of a border as something arbitrary, a line which, for some reason, does not include the area they would choose or approve of.

Štrigova and Razkrižje Municipalities – the People and the Institutions

Frequent border changes produced a shift in self-awareness and border-awareness among the population, as well as a split in terms of identity within the once, at least nominally, homogeneous Štrigova Municipality. The last Hungarian censuses in 1900 and 1910 reveal that a vast majority of Croats populated this area.[11] According to the 1921 census (the only census which asked the Interwar Yugoslavs about their first language), Štrigova Municipality was home to a prevailing number of Croatian speaking population. Out of 6.076 inhabitants in total, 5.952 declared themselves as Croats, while only 96 (less than 1 %) as Slovenes.[12] The next census which shows how people declared themselves in terms of nationality gives us a completely different story. In 1948, the people living in the northern part of the former Municipality of Štrigova, better to say the new Municipality of

8   Laslo Sekelj, "Diktatur und die jugoslawische politische Gemeinschaft – von König Alexander bis Tito," *Autoritäre Regime in Ostmittel- und Südosteuropa 1919–1944* (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh Verlag, 2001), 519.

9   "Opčini Štrigova in Razkrižje pod Madžarsko," *Slovenski dom*, June 25, 1941, 2.

10   Vladimir Kalšan, *Međimurska povijest* [*A history of Međimurje*] (Čakovec: V. Kalšan, 2006), 323, 324.

11   Comp. *A magyar szent korona országainak 1900. évi népszámlálása. Első rész* (Budapest: Magyar statisztikai közlemé-nyek, 1902), 162–65 and *A magyar szent korona országainak 1910*, 82, 83.

12   *Definitivni rezultati popisa stanovništva od 31 Januara 1921 god.* [*Definitive Results of State Census of January 31, 1921*] (Sarajevo: Državna štamparija, 1932), 290, 291.

Razkrižje, which in the meantime became a part of the Slovenian territory, declared themselves predominantly as Slovenes, while the others, who were placed under the rule of the People's Republic of Croatia, declared themselves mostly as Croats.[13] Subsequent censuses tell the same story; between 1921 and 1948 a process of national differentiation occurred.

But we can leave the numbers aside and take a look at the multi-level dispute within the municipal community. It manifested on a local level in economic, cultural and political manner. It should be noted that Štrigova Municipality in that era consisted of a lot of mountain territory and that the central settlement itself had only several hundred residents. The inhabitants of the marginal parts of this municipality, broken into a number of villages and hamlets, due to the terrain configuration, experienced transportation isolation and some had problems when trying to reach Štrigova, the center of the municipality, or Čakovec, the seat of their district.

The dispute between the northern or Razkrižje part of the once unified Štrigova Municipality and its central or south part became more obvious during the 1930s. The inhabitants of Razkrižje and other "northern" settlements clearly resented the efforts of the local teachers and priest who came from Štrigova, and were sent by Zagreb's administrative and ecclesiastical authorities. They accused them of being unable to adjust to local circumstances (language, mentality), but also of "denationalization" of their children. In 1933 they petitioned the Drava Banovina authorities for a teacher who would teach their children in the Slovenian language. Soon, the primary school in Šafarsko near Razkrižje was actually granted this teacher.[14] Furthermore, a few years later, they petitioned even more vigorously for the formation of the new Razkrižje Municipality.[15]

This demand coincided with the efforts of the Drava Banovina authorities. In mid 1930s they started the process of redistribution of municipalities under their jurisdiction. Basically, this process was directed towards the merger of the existing municipalities, thus creating new, larger municipalities, with enough taxpayers to work for the good of the people. The number of municipalities in Drava Banovina decreased from 1069 to 407 in 1937.[16] Despite the proclaimed efforts to create a bigger and more functional local administration, the Drava Banovina authorities decided to dismember the large Štrigova Municipality. In 1937 one part became the new Štrigova Municipality, encompassing two thirds of the previous municipal

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13   According to the 1948 census, In the People's Republic of Slovenia's district Ljutomer local people's committees [mjesni narodni odbor] Globoka (475 Slovenes and only 4 Croats), Razkrižje (1100 Slovenes, 19 Croats) and Veržej (720 Slovenes, 7 Croats), while in People's Republic of Croatia's Čakovec district local liberation committees Sveti Urban (61 Slovenes, 1199 Croats), Štrigova (89 Slovenes, 1823 Croats) and Železna Gora (19 Slovenes, 1140 Croats). – *Konačni rezultati popisa stanovništva od 15 marta 1948 godine: Knjiga IX* [*The final results of the March 15, 1948 census: Book IX*] (Beograd: Savezni statistički zavod, 1954), 351, 405.

14   "Razburjenost na Razkrižju in v Štrigovi," *Slovenski narod*, November 11, 1939, 2.

15   "Štrigova," *Jutro*, October 15, 1937, 7.

16   Gašper Šmid, *Uprava Dravske banovine 1929–1941* [*Drava Banovina Administration 1929-1941*] (Ljubljana: Arhiv Republike Slovenije, 2003), 56, 57.

territory and population. The other, the northern third, seceded from Štrigova and it formed a new municipality - Razkrižje. During the distribution of settlements between Razkrižje and Štrigova, the principle of territorial integrity, according to which every settlement had to belong to one municipality, while a municipality may only be under the authority of one district, and a district under the jurisdiction of a single banovina, was not applied. Surprisingly, almost half of the individual settlements in this redistribution remained literally divided by house numbers between Štrigova and Razkrižje municipalities.[17]

The residents of Štrigova Municipality clearly disliked the actions of their neighbors in the new Razkrižje Municipality. They accused them of intentionally working on their separation from Croatian national territory with the authorities of Drava Banovina. They even cited some examples of arrests and fines sent to the people who declared themselves as Croats.[18] Furthermore, on a practical level, they argued that some of the settlements which were placed under the latter municipality were in fact much closer to Štrigova.[19]

The dispute between the inhabitants of Štrigova and Razkrižje soon moved to the ecclesiastical level. After the separate municipality was formed, the malcontents form Razkrižje and surrounding villages started petitioning for their own parish, separate from Štrigova, and, of course, a Slovenian-speaking parson.[20] The priests from Štrigova, who were responsible for the entire parish, realized that the inhabitants of the newly formed Razkrižje Municipality provided resistance and emphasized that they do not feel they belong to the same (Croatian or "štokavian") culture and language as their neighbors. Furthermore, they decided to suppress these sentiments by insisting even more on the Croatian character of the Štrigova-Razkrižje micro-region.[21]

The Croatian-speaking priests from Štrigova clearly resented the petitioners who sought to establish a new "Slovenian" parish in Razkrižje and publicly refused to teach at the local school in Šafarsko after it replaced Croatian with Slovenian catechisms. The Drava Banovina administration responded in 1940 by ordering the

17   The Municipality of Razkrižje included the villages and hamlets Gibna, Razkrižje, Šafarsko and Veščica, and parts of Jalšovec (house numbers 16-38), Grabrovnik (house numbers: 36a. 104, 105. 110, 112-151), Banfije (home numbers: 1-15. 26, 27, 30, 31, 34, 44-72, 82, 84-128, 131, 150-171) and Robadije (house numbers: 76-138, 148-179, 205-230). Other parts remained under the jurisdiction of Štrigova Municipality. – "Ukaz o spojitvah, razdružitvah in pregrupacijah občin in o spremembah imena in sedeža občin v območju Dravske banovine," *Službeni list Kraljevske banske uprave Dravske banovine*, October 16, 1937, 790.

18   Besides the supporters of the Croatian Peasant Party, the chaplain from Štrigova was also fined several times "for holding patriotic sermons, which was seen by the authorities as spreading of tribal hatred". – "Nasilno sloveniziranje Hrvata u Štrigovi," *Hrvatsko jedinstvo*, June 8, 1940, 2. Such procedures were, to say the least, inconvenient, because during that time (1939–1941) the Croatian Peasant Party was cooperating with the Slovenian People's Party on a national level.

19   "Štrigova," *Jutro*, October 15, 1937, 7.

20   Breda Pogorelec, "Razkrižje," *Jezik in slovstvo* 38, No. 3 (1993): 108–12.

21   In August of 1940, the pupils who attended the Catholic youth course came to Štrigova where they "sang many [Croatian] patriotic songs, to remind everyone that Štrigova belongs to Međimurje and not to Slovenia". Two months later, the choral society Zrinski from Čakovec arrived in Štrigova, where their outdoor performance turned into a great manifestation of Croatian nationhood. – "Razkrižje," *Hrvatsko jedinstvo*, August 24, 1940, 5. "Štrigova," *Hrvatsko jedinstvo*, October 5, 1940, 6.

local teachers to take over catechism teaching in Šafarsko, which was, according to the parishioners, against the law because in the area of their diocese only the bishop could appoint and dismiss religious teachers. The archbishop of Zagreb, Alojzije Stepinac, tried to reconcile the Razkrižje parishioners and the Štrigova priests in 1940/1941 but with little success. The conflict between the Croatian speaking priests and the predominantly Slovenian-speaking parishioners continued for decades, even after a separate Razkrižje parish was formed in 1942.[22]

It seems that the process of national stratification advanced quite a lot in the Štrigova-Razkrižje micro-region due to the introduction of Slovenian school teachers, textbooks and municipal institutions in what was once, at least nominally, a homogeneous community. Perhaps the best indicator of that process were the results of the parliamentary elections. During the elections for the National Assembly in l938, the last major elections prior to the Second World War, a vast majority of the population in the municipality of Razkrižje voted for the Yugoslav Radical Union (YRU), which at the time included the Slovenian People's Party, while in Štrigova most votes went for the United Opposition. i.e. the Croatian Peasant Party.[23] Although some malcontents from the Croatian side disputed these results, saying that "the local candidate of the YRU list was a farmer called I. Šajnović, who declares himself a Croat and is not a member of YRU", this information shows that during the late 1930s in the newly created Razkrižje Municipality most of the locals voted for candidates who supported Slovenian programs, while in Štrigova Municipality a vast majority of people in the same indirect way declared themselves as Croats.[24]

There were several announcements in 1939 and 1940 that during the reorganization of Yugoslav internal borders government will take into account the Štrigova-Razkrižje issue, which will be resolved by placing this micro-region under the jurisdiction of the newly formed Banovina of Croatia. The talks on this "replacement of the territory" between the leaders of the most prominent Slovenian and Croatian parties, Franc Kulovec and Vladko Maček, were intensified in late 1940.[25] However, due to the outbreak of the Second World War this plan never materialized.

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22   Pogorelec, "Razkrižje," 110, 111. Razkrižje parish remained under the administration of the Zagreb archdiocese all the way until 1994. – "Župa Razkrižje Slovenska," *Varaždinske vijesti*, September 14, 1994, 9.

23   During the 1938 elections in the Razkrižje municipality Yugoslav Radical Union got 291 votes, opposition (altogether) – 83. In Štrigova Municipality YRU got 165, Croatian Peasant Party 334 votes. – "Volivni izidi v Sloveniji," *Slovenec*, December 13, 1938, 3.

24   "Nasilno sloveniziranje," 2.

25   Tomaž Ivešić, "Delovanje dr. Franca Kulovca na čelu SLS in ključni dogodki pred vojno," *Časopis za zgodovino in narodopisje* 49, No. 1 (2013): 93, 94.

The Border After the Second World War

The aftermath of the Second World War saw the establishment of the new socialist Yugoslavia. It was supposed to be the state of all the "brethren Yugoslav nations" organized in six "fraternal republics", which were conceptualized as a solution to the national question that the prior, monarchist Yugoslavia never managed to resolve.[26] The border between the newly formed People's Republics' of Slovenia and Croatia remained for the most part the same as the old banovinas border established in 1931. Štrigova and Razkrižje municipalities, along with their newly established local authorities, *local people's committees*, provisionally became a part of Slovenia. The end of the War, especially April and May of 1945, was especially hard for the locals. Many homes and other buildings had to be rebuilt and there was a shortage of basic supplies, which in 1945/1946 forced some locals to fight the authorities and become outlaws.[27]

In the first few critical years after the War, food and other supplies came mostly from the authorities on the Slovenian side, i.e. Maribor and Ljutomer.[28] Only in late 1945 did the Croatian side show some interest in this territory. The central government in Belgrade was well aware of the fact that certain areas were controversial in a manner that it was necessary to resolve which of the Republics they belonged to. In September 1945, the Ministry for the Constitutional Assembly clearly listed the problem of Istria and Štrigova along the Slovenian-Croatian border, where "a strong conflict between individual [Communist Party] executives from Slovenia and Croatia broke out some time ago".[29]

In September 1945, after the agreement between the ministries of the interior of Slovenia and Croatia, the area of the former Municipality of Štrigova was supposed to be transferred to the jurisdiction of SR Croatia. However, the implementation of the decision was postponed because the elections for the local people's committees were in progress, as the new, lowest, forms of self-government, and the authorities were afraid that any change at this point could cause "a negative stimulation to the [Croatian and Slovenian] national question and boost chauvinism".[30]

By the end of October of the same year, the Slovenian and Croatian ministries of the interior published the "Guidelines for the temporary enforcement of border relations in the former Štrigova Municipality", which transferred the villages and hamlets Razkrižje, Šafarsko, Goibina, Robadije, Spornec, Presika, Leskovec, Sveti Urban and Leskovec under the authority of SR Slovenia's Ljutomer Disctrict, while all other settlements in the former Štrigova municipality became a part of the SR

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26 Sabrina P. Ramet, *The Three Yugoslavias: State-Building and Legitimation, 1918–2005* (Washington: Woodrow Wilson Center Press, 2006), 163–65. Boban, *Croatian border*s, 52. § 1-2 of the Constitution of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia (1946), in: *Constitution of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia* [*Ustav Federativne Narodne Republike Jugoslavije*], (s.n.: Belgrade, 1946), 5.
27 Klasinc, *Arhivski*, 221–27, doc. 122.
28 Ibid., 59, 60. doc. 21.
29 Ibid., 28, doc. 6.
30 Ibid., 26, doc. 5.

Croatia's Čakovec District. Furthermore, the "Guidelines" stated that the transfer of people and goods between the two republics should run completely freely and they even created mixed commissions with the aim of resolving issues connected to private property disputes.[31]

The provisional nature of this solution encouraged many inhabitants to raise the question of the final drawing of the border in this area. Some of them clearly stated in their letters and petitions that most of the settlements were more inclined to staying under Slovenia than becoming a part of Croatia. Curiously, some advocates of the Slovenian side declared themselves as Croats and even requested Croatian speaking teachers in their villages (eg. Grabrovnik). Other, pro-Croatian executives resented this idea, saying that the entire former Štrigova Municipality is a part of Međimurje, and Međimurje a constituent part of Croatia.[32]

It is curious to see some signs of national indifference. Some people, although they declared themselves as Croats, were more prone to becoming Slovenes, or were indifferent to active participation in the local Slovenia-Croatia dispute. A large number of them were from the villages even further from the border and more oriented to Croatia.

The Štrigova-Razkrižje micro-region was a territory very dependent on agriculture. That is why the lure of better prices and the vicinity of the Slovenian market (the villages of the micro-region gravitated towards the market in Ljutomer, which was only 3-10 km away, as opposed to the Čakovec market, 22-30 km away) played a significant role in the process of these people's self-determination.[33]

For some of the people living in this border area the concept of "national" dropped down on the list of interests in the economically and politically difficult times after the Second World War – to make way for a better life. For instance, in June 1946, the Croatian authorities attempted to speak to the residents of Štrigova and the surrounding area, in order to assess the situation. They concluded that Slovenian propaganda had an impact on ordinary inhabitants, mostly farmers and small winegrowers, because they used various socio-economic examples. For instance, they pointed out that their wine sells for 60 dinars in Slovenia and 35 dinars in Croatia, and that the Slovenian side could build infrastructure and bring electricity to their households much faster than the Croatian authorities.[34]

At the beginning of April 1946, a big meeting of the local people's committee in Razkrižje was adjourned. Most of the local residents attended and were very interested in the solution for the final demarcation of their area. At this meeting, the people from Razkrižje and its immediate surroundings, led by the president of the local people's committee Simon Kutnjak, protested against the alleged new agreement that was struck between the ministers of the interior of Slovenia and Croatia. According to that deal, which was perhaps only an oral agreement between the two ministers

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31   Ibid., 31, 32, doc. 8.
32   Ibid., 34, doc. 9.
33   Ibid., 92, 141, doc. 43 and 73.
34   CSA, CCLSCC; Calls, box 5, The meeting between the people and the envoy of Varaždin County, June 19, 1946.

(Ivan Maček and Ivan Krajačić), the entire area in question was marked, again only provisionally, as a territory of SR of Croatia.[35] Without the involvement of the central (Yugoslav) state government, Croatian authorities decided to negotiate with their Slovenian counterparts about the "swift return" of these territories under the Croatian authority. The Croatian minister of the interior claimed that the population is almost entirely Croatian and that it represents a unification of Međimurje as a whole, the way it used to be during the Austro-Hungarian period. The Slovenian minister of the interior and the Ljutomer District authorities accepted these claims.[36] The verbal deal was struck, but the transition of authority was followed by something that neither side had previously been able to imagine: the discontent of the people they argued about.

The news about the agreement in 1946 only caused further polarization in the Štrigova-Razkrižje micro-region. Two distinct groups were formed; one advocating that the entire area, or most of it, should become a part of Slovenia. This group enjoyed strong support among the inhabitants, especially in Razkrižje itself. The Slovenian side, led by Simon Kutnjak and Ivan Horvatič, both from Razkrižje, were promising a better life, less taxes and a market (in Ljutomer) more open to the sale of the farmers' products and wine than the one in the Croatian district centre (Čakovec).[37] They also fought against the officials, teachers and priests who were sent from Zagreb, claiming that they were conducting an unwanted linguistic and cultural unification of the population that is almost completely Slovenian.[38]

The other, pro-Croatian side, disagreed with these claims, but was somewhat weaker in its propaganda efforts. It emphasized historical connection of this area to Croatia and even used data from the former census to support this. The Croatian side, led by Josip Alt from Štrigova, pointed out that 98% of the population in the area felt Croatian.[39] But they too underlined the need to respect the will of the people in the new democratic Yugoslavia.

Both sides were supported, at least formally, by various local pro-communist leaders. Furthermore, both sides discredited advocates of the other with unsubstantiated claims of "cooperation with the enemy" during the Second World War, the accumulation of wealth in the first post-war year and other accusations which should have served as a red rag to the authorities of the new socialist Yugoslavia.[40]

Both sides cautiously accused one another of national chauvinism but also emphasized their desire for "fraternal coexistence", not the national dispute with their "brethren". Depending on the standpoint, Slovenian and Croatian police forces, teachers of both nationalities, priests and Ljutomer and Čakovec authorities were also blamed for further incitement of this hatred. Indeed, some procedures of the

35   Klasinc, *Arhivski*, 94, doc. 43.
36   Dimitrijević, *Državne granice*, 407.
37   Klasinc, *Arhivski*, 92, doc. 43.
38   Ibid.
39   Ibid., 73, 91, doc. 30 and 43.
40   Ibid., 122–29, 158–62, doc. 62 and 79.

listed accused parties did not calm the situation. In fact, in 1946 they stirred up the conflict even more.[41]

In their requests, sent to the republican and state authorities, both sides sometimes referred to the Constitution of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia. Its article 12 stated that the National Assembly of Yugoslavia, as its highest legislature, was responsible for the division of territories between the republics. However, the same article explained that any border changes involving the republics were not valid without the consent of each republic.[42] This shows that the writers of the Yugoslav constitution considered the possibility of border changes, and even incorporated some vague and ambiguous mechanisms to ensure that the will of the people is respected.

Although the highest state authorities at first had no intention of interfering, prompted by numerous complaints, at the beginning of August 1946, the National Assembly did react. First they sent letters to the governments of Slovenia and Croatia, asking for a full cooperation in resolving this issue. They asked both governments to form a joint commission which would finally resolve the problem of delimitation in this area "due to the inconvenient tapering that occurred between the local Croatian and Slovene populations". They even suggested a solution, according to which "the territory of the local committees of Razkrižje and Robadije should be placed under the People's Republic of Slovenia, and the rest of the former Municipality of Štrigova under the People's Republic of Croatia".[43] In the following few weeks, while the commission was being formed, the situation escalated even more as the local police arrested some pro-Slovenian protesters.[44]

Towards the Solution

The central government and the National Assembly of the new socialist Yugoslavia could no longer close their eyes to the Štrigova-Razkrižje issue, especially after Kutnjak and Horvatič visited Belgrade in June of 1946, emerging with the credentials of the local people's committees from Jalšovec, Robadije, Razkrižje, Stanetinec, Sveti Urban and Železna Gora, demanding the revision of the Slovenian-Croatian border during multiple audiences with the highest state-executives.[45]

The situation intensified and became more serious. For instance, Simon Kutnjak was arrested shortly after he returned from Belgrade. The Croatian side claimed that he was incarcerated for the economic crimes he had committed as president of Razkrižje's people's committee, while the Slovenian side claimed he was arrested for his agitation.[46] Furthermore, during the summer of 1946, various banners and

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41   Ibid., 151–53, doc. 75.
42   § 12 of the 1946 Constitution, 5.
43   Klasinc, *Arhivski*, 117, doc. 57.
44   Ibid., 127, 152, doc. 62 and 75.
45   Dimitrijević, *Državne granice,* 399–404.
46   Klasinc, *Arhivski*, 151–53, doc. 75.

triumphal arches appeared in the villages, bearing slogans such as "Štrigova is Slovene", "We are Slovenes, and we will stay Slovenes", while during one celebration in Ljutomer, a large number of farmers from Razkrižje and Robadije appeared with a banner saying: "Trieste is Yugoslavia, Razkrižje is Slovenia".[47]

The Yugoslav authorities had to react and resolve this issue as it might have deepened the dispute between their two constituent nations and their republics. Prompted by official complaints, the federal *Control Commission* was sent to examine the Štrigova-Razkrižje border problem. This Commission, which was to decide about the demarcation in the Štrigova-Razkrižje area consisted of three members: Lepa Perović, Pavle Gregorić and Vida Tomšić. Gregorić and Tomšić were actually presidents of the Croatian and Slovenian republican Control Commissions, while Lepa Perović, as the inspector general of the federal Control Commission, had seniority.[48]

The three members of the Commission tried to to objectively determine the Slovenian-Croatian border in this area and offer reconciliation, with the intention of providing the best solution possible for the people. The Commission conducted a multitude of interviews with various citizens, farmers, teachers, common people, etc. They wrote down all the valid and invalid arguments of both sides, who admitted that there were little or no differences in the language, culture and mentality between the inhabitants of Razkrižje and Štrigova. The Croatian side claimed that the commoners were seduced by stories of better life in Slovenia. At the same time they still acknowledged that the inhabitants of Razkrižje, Šafarsko, Gibina, Veščica and Robadije were indeed more linked to Ljutomer, at least in terms of transportation and economy.[49]

Interestingly, when confronted with the direct questions of their national and cultural belonging, some people gave vague answers. For instance, although the commission concluded that the residents of the villages closer to Ljutomer "didn't have a clearly defined national affiliation, and were in many ways (mentality, similar language) closer to Slovenes", the answer to the question of what language residents of Razkrižje should use was: "The same as in Štrigova".[50] Self-declaration on the basis of language shows that the process of nation-building was not completed in this area by 1946. In reality, the people who opted for Slovenia felt that their language was Slovenian, and those who opted for Croatia felt that they spoke and wrote Croatian. In fact, individuals often refused to declare themselves nationally, preferring regional self-awareness. Even when they were directly confronted by the Control Commission about whether they felt as Slovenes or Croats, most of the interviewed residents often argued that they were in fact "Međimurci".[51]

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47   Ibid.
48   Dimitrijević, *Državne granice*, 405.
49   CSA, CCLCC; Calls, box 5, The Control Commission – meeting with the inhabitants in Štrigova, July 26, 1946.
50   Klasinc, *Arhivski*, 150, doc. 75.
51   Ibid., 148, doc. 75.

The most direct interviewees were children. When Croatian authorities asked them what language they would like to learn in their elementary school, the majority voted for Slovenian. "Some of them even said it was because the Croatian language was the language of cows [?]".[52] Furthermore, the attempt to replace Slovene teachers with teachers form Croatia in June 1946 had a disastrous effect. The residents of Razkrižje and the surrounding villages gathered and refused to let new teachers into their schools and also stopped sending their children to school.[53]

The Commission concluded that it was necessary to avoid a deeper national dispute and apathy towards the authorities of socialist Yugoslavia.[54] Their final report concluded that the entire Štrigova-Razkrižje micro-region was historically a part of the Croatian Medimurje and that in the past the inhabitants of this territory used both languages, received and read books and newspapers printed both in Slovenia and Croatia. Nevertheless, they stated that this does not change the fact that in "this moment [1946] one part of the [Štrigova] municipality now declares itself Slovene", especially because young people and women are a predominant factor in siding with Slovenia.[55] They also acknowledged the fact that authorities in this dispute made many errors in terms of handling the situation, while the leaders of both sides, – i.e. Alt, Horvatič and Kutnjak were described as "kulaks" and "nationalists".[56] The Commission concluded that they need to be placed under a close watch and, if possible, removed from their positions. In the meantime, new, reconciling and more responsible faces should accept the leadership of the local people's committees and hold joint meetings with the people living in the area, in order to interpret the benefits of "the politics of brotherhood and unity, and explain how harmful national hatred could be".[57]

Of course, the most important thing was to resolve the border issue. Following discussions in which some maps were drawn, the Commission adopted a temporary solution according to which the northern part, or one third of the disputed territory, should belong to Slovenia, while the southern and western part should belong to Croatia. The border line was described as temporary, subject to further and final direct negotiations between the Slovenian and Croatian sides. It followed the 1937 delineation between the municipalities of Štrigova and Razkrižje for almost its entire course. The Commission clearly identified that this line also served as an ethnic border, since in the north most of the people declared themselves as Slovenes and in the south as Croats. In addition, they were against additional border redrawing, because it could have lead to further border disputes.[58] The final report informed

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52   CSA, CCLCC; Calls, box 5, The Croatian official concluded his report with a statement that this was a clear sign of Slovenian agitation among the pupils and that parents obviously do not pay enough attention to the education of their children. Meeting between the people and the envoy of Varaždin County, June 19, 1946.
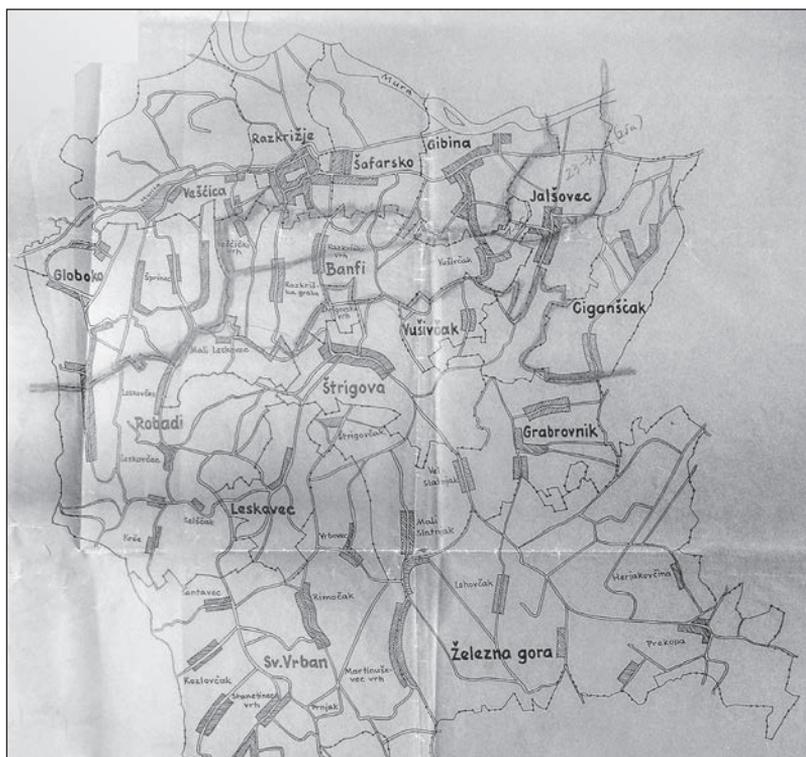53   Dimitrijević, *Državne granice*, 403.
54   Klasinc, *Arhivski*, 150–54, doc. 75.
55   Ibid., 153, doc. 75.
56   Ibid., 152, 162, doc. 75 and 79.
57   Ibid., 153, doc. 75.
58   Ibid., 165, doc. 79.

Undated maps – The Control Commission's attempts to determine the Slovenia-Croatia border (1946), CSA, CCLCC; Calls, box 5.

both sides that after this temporary solution, which they thought could become a permanent one, definitive delimitation between Croatia and Slovenia would be resolved with a special act which would be passed by the National Assembly of Yugoslavia.[59]

At the end of 1946, having accepted that the villages and hamlets Globoka, Veščica, Gibina, Razkrižje, Šafarsko and a greater part of Banfi, become a part of Slovenia, while other settlements in the wide disputed area become a part of Croatia (Grabrovnik, Leskovec, Jalšovec, Sveti Urban, Stanetinec, Mali Leskovec, Robadije, Štrigova, Železna Gora, and a small part of the village Banfi), the Croatian side informed the central Yugoslav government and the federal Slovenian government that it no longer had any territorial disputes with Slovenia. They also stated that it was their opinion that this temporary solution should become the definitive demarcation between the two republics. [60] It is unclear whether Slovenian government gave any similar statement.

Both republics, Croatia and Slovenia, accepted this solution and accepted their exclusive right to install school teachers, police officers and other civil servants in the area that now respectively belonged to Croatia and Slovenia. On the other hand, after some new letters came during the summer of 1946, the federal Control Commission clearly emphasized that it would reject all new redrawing demands, except those requests which resulted from thorough discussions among the relevant district or county authorities (Ljutomer and Maribor on the Slovenian side, Čakovec and Varaždin on the Croatian side). They thought these types of requests "just [serve] to incite chauvinistic hatred and ruin the reputation of the [Yugoslav communist] *people's power*".[61]

In a similar way, in the late 1946, the *Maršalat*, i.e. the office of Josip Broz Tito, rated these demands as products of "reactionary individuals", "former Korošec's people", who sought to sow the seed of national discord between Slovenes and Croats. "With this campaign, they gained popularity among the people, while the [local] representatives of the national authorities – instead of working in the spirit of brotherhood and unity – joined their efforts, while the work on reconstruction and construction [of the state] remained neglected."[62]

Ultimately, after the Control Commission announced this solution, drew the temporary border and insisted on preventing further spread of national hatred, the situation actually calmed down in the Razkrižje-Štrigova area. Indeed, with some exceptions, it seemed that both sides accepted this transitional solution.

In the decades which followed there were some local initiatives from this area which applied for the "correction" of this part of the Slovenia-Croatia border, especially in the last 25 years, after Slovenia and Croatia became independent

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59   Ibid., 159, doc. 78.
60   Ibid., 174, doc. 83.
61   Ibid., 159, doc. 78.
62   Dimitrijević, *Državne granice,* 378.

countries.[63] However, the governments of both Slovenia and Croatia have not shown much interest in becoming involved in the border dispute(s) in this area. Ultimately, the above mentioned temporary solution of the border problem became a permanent solution. It is valid even today and the people who live in this area are well aware of all the positive and negative effects of the border. Nevertheless, most of the institutions which claim responsibilities for this area from both sides of the border agree that cooperation is better than conflict.[64]

Conclusion

The problem of the Slovenian-Croatian border in Međimurje, in today's municipalities of Štrigova and Razkrižje, is more complex than it first appears. We can argue that many factors conditioned the present configuration of the border. One of the most important ones is the constant change of the state borders in this area. From the end of the First World War in 1918 until 1946, the first year after the end of World War II, this whole area was under the Hungarian authorities twice (1918, 1941–1945), three times under Slovenian authority (1924–1929, 1931–1941, 1945–1946), three times under Croatian authority (1918–1924, 1929–1931, 1946), and even under the Third Reich for a few months (1941). This brought instability, especially in an area where people identified themselves differently and national division had not yet been clearly established. However, in the early 20th century, due to the work of some "old" institutions (the Catholic Church, schools), as well as some new institutions (for instance the new Municipality of Razkrižje, established in 1937), the inhabitants became increasingly politically fragmented and they started to notice their differences in terms of language, school and economic preferences. By the summer of 1946, the situation changed again. Harsh post-war years brought economic and political instability and generated the local Štrigova-Razkrižje conflict, which grew into a conflict between the pro-Slovene and pro-Croatian sides. Both sides claimed that they had the support of most of the inhabitants of the Štrigova-Razkrižje micro-region and promised the people a better life if they supported their claims. After a large number of complaints reached the highest state authorities, three members of the federal Control Commission came out to this territory in 1946. They conducted interviews with the residents and in the end they draw a temporary border between the two republics in this area, the border that for the most part followed the 1937 border between the municipalities of Štrigova and Razkrižje. Although the National Assembly later never discussed nor passed the law concerning the Slovene-Croatian border in this area, this line became the national border between the Republic of Slovenia and Republic of Croatia as we know it today.

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63   For instance: Klasinc, *Arhivski*, 184–200, doc. 93–107,
64   Ivica Beti, "Humano preseljenje u Sloveniju?," *Večernji list*, July 9, 2017, 10–13.

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Stipica Grgić

SPREJEMANJE MEJE, IZBIRANJE MEJE: ŠTRIGOVA IN RAZKRIŽJE V PRVI POLOVICI 20. STOLETJA

POVZETEK

Oblikovanje slovensko-hrvaške meje na področju Štrigova–Razkrižje je zgodba o kompleksnosti določanja državnih mej ter o dolgotrajnih učinkih, ki so vodili do njenih današnjih obrisov. Res je mogoče trditi, da je na določanje meje pustilo veliko sled pogosto spreminjanje administrativnih meja na tem področju v preteklosti, saj je samo od leta 1918 pa do leta 1946 področje občine Štrigova, od katere je bil leta 1937 odcepljen del in ustanovljena samostojna občina Razkrižje, z vidika središč, ki so bila zanj pristojna, celo devetkrat zamenjalo pripadnost med danešnjo Madžarsko, Slovenijo in Hrvaško. Poleg tega lahko rečemo, da niti sami prebivalci tega kraja niso imeli popolnoma jasne predstave o svoji nacionalni identiteti ter da so se opredeljevali za prebivalce posameznih naselij ali pa regionalno kot Medžimurci.

Kljub dolgoročnemu delovanju raznih lokalnih institucij, ki so se trudile z nacionalnim profiliranjem prebivalcev (šole, cerkev, občine), je konec druge svetovne vojne temu pretežno agrarnemu kraju prinesel nove težave. Gospodarska in politična nestabilnost je leta 1946 privedla do vse močnejšega profiliranja lokalnega prebivalstva v proslovensko in prohrvaško strujo, ki so se trudile, da bi področje prejšnjih občin Razkrižje in Štrigova spadalo v Slovenijo oziroma Hrvaško. Ker je spor teh dveh taborov vse bolj prerašcal v nacionalni spor, so se v določanje meje vključile osrednje institucije socialistične Jugoslavije. Nadzorna komisija Zvezne skupščine je leta 1946 ustanovila posebno tričlansko komisijo (Lepa Perović, Vida Tomšič, Pavle Gregorić), ki je prišla na teren in po preučitvi vseh argumentov leta 1946 določila mejo, in sicer tako, da je severna tretjina spornega območja pripadla Sloveniji (vasi in zaselki Globoka, Veščica, Gibina, Razkrižje, Šafarsko in del vasi Banfi), preostali del pa je pripadel Hrvaški (vasi in zaselki Grabrovnik, Leskovec, Jalšovec, Sveti Urban, Stanetinec, Mali Leskovec, Robadije, Štrigova, Železna Gora in manjši del vasi Banfi). Ta začasna odločitev nikoli ni bila potrjena, a jo v bistvu še danes sprejemata tako slovenska kot hrvaška stran kot končno mejo dveh suverenih držav na tem področju.

1.01   UDC: 341.222(282.24Mura)"1918/2004"

Marko Zajc*

The Border River Phenomenon: the Example of the River Mura**

IZVLEČEK

FENOMEN MEJNA REKA: PRIMER MURE

Avtor analizira dva vidika dolgega trajanja fenomena mejne reke na primeru reke Mure: a) razmerje med rečno strugo, mejno črto in antropogenimi učinki na reko; b) odkrivanje historičnih struktur skozi perspektivo mejnih sporov. »Zdravorazumsko« razumevanje mejnih rek predpostavlja ujemanje reke in mejne črte. Kljub temu je lahko v pokrajini in v kartografskih reprezentacijah velika razlika med tema dvema elementoma.

Ključne besede: mejne reke, Mura, okoljska zgodovina, rečne regulacije, mejni spori

ABSTRACT

The Author analyses two long-term aspects of the border river phenomenon with the example of the river Mura: a) the relationship between the river bed, the boundaryline, and the anthropogenic effects on the river; b) discovering the historical structures through the perspective of border disputes. The "common sense" ideas about border rivers imply that the river bed and the boundaryline usually match. However, in the actual landscape and cartographic representations, the differences between these elements can be significant.

Key words: Border rivers, River Mura, Environmental History, River regulations, Border Disputes

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Rivers were not invented by people. They are natural phenomena with their own dynamics, and can never be completely controlled. However, border rivers are different: they are social and political concepts that people "assign" to natural rivers. The basic goal of the project entitled "The Border River Phenomenon" has been to explore the relationship between "natural" rivers and the concept of border rivers, using selected examples. According to their classic sociological definition,[1] borders are not a spatial fact with social effects, but a social fact manifesting itself in the space. Borders have a twofold character: they are a consequence of historical and political processes as well as originators of social order.[2] Border rivers are a social fact as well, but they are essentially defined by "natural" rivers. Due to natural fluvial processes (changing river beds, floods, drying up), border rivers function "on their own", "speak for themselves", and their "activities" have social consequences. On the other hand, human activities influence rivers as well. In the article we will analyse two long-term aspects of the border river phenomenon with the example of the river Mura:

a)   the relationship between the river bed, the boundaryline, and the anthropogenic effects on the river;

b)   discovering the historical structures through the perspective of border disputes.

The wider geographical area.
Source: www.google/maps (November 16, 2017).

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1   Georg Simmel, "Der Raum und die räumlichen Ordnungen der Gesellschaft," in: *Grenzsoziologie, die politische Strukturierung des Raumes*, eds. Monika Eigmüller and Georg Vobruba (Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaft, 2006), 22.

2   Monika Eigmüller, "Der duale Character der Grenze. Grenzsoziologie, die politische Strukturierung des Raumes," in: *Grenzsoziologie, die politische Strukturierung des Raumes*, eds. Monika Eigmüller and Georga Vobruba (Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaft, 2006), 55.

The Relationship Between the River Bed, the Boundaryline, and the Anthropogenic Effects on the River

The "commonsense" ideas about border rivers imply that the river bed and the boundaryline usually match. However, in the actual landscape and cartographic representations, the differences between these elements can be significant. The elements are mutually dependent: boundarylines are usually defined on the basis of the river beds. In turn, boundarylines may also influence the river beds (human activities on the river). Due to meandering and erosion, the river does not "stick" to the river bed as "captured" by the cartographers/geodesists in a certain historical moment. Boundarylines may also change due to political/administrative changes.

The proximity of rivers calls for certain human activities. In case of border rivers, these activities become even more complicated: who has the jurisdiction to build there? Who finances the works? Who carries them out? Such activities require communication and coordination between the two entities, separated by the river. We can notice an interesting rule in the interaction between people and rivers: the rivers that are prone to changing their river beds often due to hydrological and geomorphological characteristics (meandering, dead river beds, gravel bars) – which means that they are active "in themselves" – call for a more significant human response than the rivers with relatively stable river beds. In case of border rivers we can underline an additional phenomenon. By changing its river bed often, a border river can cause political problems at the level of the two entities it separates. The regulation of such a river calls for the cooperation of both sides, which involves the coordination of works and expenses. Due to the problems with coordination and financing, the authorities from both sides frequently delay the works at the detriment of the population on both sides of the border. The history of river regulation is also exceedingly significant in the cases where the river has only recently gained the status of a border river. In such cases the history of regulations may be deemed as typical administrative legacy.

The history of the river Mura is truly fascinating – in the sense of environmental history as well as regarding the delimitation of political entities. It is not remarkable in any way that many different disciplines have often focused on Mura and its history: political history, environmental history, various fields of geography, cartography, and hydrology. Due to the hydrological characteristics and lowlands environment, the downstream part of Mura has always kept changing. Mura is a part of the Black Sea drainage basin, a leftbank tributary of the river Drava. It is a snowfed river system and belongs among lowland rivers, characterised by frequent river bed changes on the flood plains, meandering, and frequent floods (the frequency and scope of floods have been anthropogenically reduced by means of several hydroaccumulation dams even before this river reaches Slovenia). In its totality, Mura is 465 kilometres long.

It flows through Slovenia in the total length of 95 kilometres, and the section of the Slovenian "internal" Mura is approximately 33 kilometres long.[3] Mura represents borders in the total distance of 115 km (25 % of the whole river). First it divides Slovenia and Austria between the villages of Ceršak and Petanjci (in the distance of over 33 km); then Slovenia and Croatia between Gibina and Krka (almost 34 km); and finally, Hungary and Croatia in the distance of 48 km between Krka and until it flows into the river Drava.[4] This contribution will focus on three sections: the border river Mura between Slovenia and Austria; the Slovenian "internal" Mura; and the border river Mura between Slovenia and Croatia.

The border river Mura between Slovenia and Austria; the Slovenian "internal" Mura; and the border river Mura between Slovenia and Croatia (contemporary situation).
Source: www.geopedia.si (November 16, 2017).

In the language of political history, Mura's main characteristic could be described as "movement". However, the expression is not precise enough. Throughout its history, Mura has been creating new river beds and branches. Hydrologists describe it as a type of a meandering braided river, whose channel typically consists of a network of small channels. The majority of it does flow through its main river bed, but its diversion results in new main channels, while the old main channels turn into side channels.[5] Mura does not only "move", but keeps changing its form as well. What was the cohabitation of the river and the people like in the circumstances before the modernisation processes? The unpredictable nature of the river impeded any

3   Jožef Novak and Vladimir Vratarič, "Mura nekoč, danes, jutri," in: *14. Mišičev vodarski dan, zbornik referatov* (Maribor: Vodnogospodarski biro, 2003), 119.

4   Simon Balažic, "Meja na Muri," in: *17. Mišičev vodarski dan, zbornik referatov* (Maribor: Vodnogospodarski biro, 2006), 38.

5   Aleš Lesjak, "Mura skozi čas," in: *25. Mišičev vodarski dan, zbornik referatov* (Maribor: Vodnogospodarski biro, 2014), 183–90.

permanent cultivation of the area by the river. For example, between the 15th and the 19th century, a large area of fallow land was created between the towns of Šentilj and Radgona, supposedly resulting predominantly from the untameable nature of the river. By the early modern period, the river Mura had shaped a large island between two of its branches, where the fortified border town of Radgona with its extensive fortification system and two strategically important bridges developed. According to the historian Hozjan, south of Radgona the river kept creating many new branches, and the Josephine maps reveal all sorts of river bed changes.[6] The rate of flow ratio was supposedly, according to the Josephine maps, 40 % of water in the main channel versus 60 % of water in the branch.[7] For centuries, the small Prekmurje region village of Dolnja Bistrica had been developing some distance away from the river bed. However, by the late 18th century Mura captured it into a U-shaped channel.[8] According to hydrologists, in the Middle Ages the river's basin kept changing in case of high water in the north, and Mura even destroyed a few villages in the Apaško polje plains.[9]

In this period, the section of Mura between Radgona and Gibina was a border river, while from Gibina to its mouth it was Hungarian. Regarding the issue at hand, we are especially interested in the fact that any human intervention in the river bed or river banks, no matter how small, was related to the border river political concept. Hydrological literature places the first unsystematic measures addressing the river's water regime management into the 16th century. Their goal was to protect the settlements and allow for the navigation of the river Mura. Since the late Middle Ages, Mura has had the greatest transport potential of all the Styrian rivers. In the early modern period, the centres of rafting on Mura were located in Ernovž, Cmurek, and Radgona. On the Hungarian side, legislation on securing the banks in order to protect the local settlements was already in force in the 17th century. In the first period of early modernisation – the Theresian period – Mura's river bed was surveyed (1753). On the basis of these surveys, a few meanders were shortened and the river banks secured.[10]

In this period, the nascent Habsburg state was mostly interested in managing river navigation rather than in the border function of Mura. The planned river management with the aim of ensuring navigation began in 1770, when a special commission inspected the river bed. The works were overseen by Gabrijel Gruber, a Jesuit from Ljubljana, while the future mathematician Jurij Vega participated in the project as well. The thorough regulation of the river Mura could only be implemented at the section before Radgona.[11] In 1799 the areas by the river were visited by a special bilateral commission with a geometer, which drew up plans to regulate the flow of

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6   Andrej Hozjan, "Reka Mura na Slovenskem v novem veku," *Ekonomska i ekohistorija 9* (2013): 17.
7   Balažic, "Meja na Muri," 40.
8   Hozjan, "Reka Mura," 22.
9   Novak, Vratarič, "Mura nekoč, danes, jutri," 114.
10   Ibid.
11   Hozjan, "Reka Mura," 26.

Mura from Dokležovje to Veržej and Dolnja Bistrica. However, the plans fell through due to the Napoleonic Wars. The Hungarian and Styrian commissioners specified precisely which embankments and channels would be constructed by Styria and which by Hungary (the Zala County). The document summed up by Ivan Zelko reveals that the planned undertaking called for extensive coordination of the two political entities. Styrians were also supposed to carry out the construction in the Hungarian territory and vice versa.[12]

In 1810 the meander near Razkrižje was shortened in order to protect the settlement from the annual floods. In 1822 Mura created a new water channel near Mursko Središče. Thus the bridge found itself on dry land and regulation was necessary in order to steer Mura back to its old river bed. The construction of the Ledava – Krka relief channel and the relocation of the mouth of Krka's tributary Ledava around 1850 were important as well. In the second half of the 19th century, large-scale regulation took place. In 1874 the government in Vienna adopted a decision to finance the regulation of three sections of the river Mura between Graz and Cven (the so-called Hohenburg Regulation 1874 – 1891). The majority of the works took place at the section between Graz and Wildon as well as between Wildon and Radgona.[13] The expenses of the ambitions construction projects were shared by the central government (40 %), the province of Styria (40 %), and the district administrations between Graz and Ljutomer (10 %).[14] During these works (between 1878 and 1879), high water and damage in the sections that had not yet been regulated occurred. The regulation was strengthened and expanded to other sections as well, but the works at the section bordering on Hungary were carried out very sparsely. The reasons for the Hungarian diminished interest in what was then its border river were closely connected with the border status of this section of the river. According to the Slovenski gospodar newspaper, on 8 October 1878 the Styrian Provincial Diet demanded that the government in Vienna persuade the Hungarian government "to take part in the joint regulation of the river Mura at the Styrian-Hungarian border."[15]

In the beginning of the 20th century, the local large estate owners at the Hungarian side of Mura organised themselves and established a river cooperative in Lendava in 1901. The cooperative was supposed to address the water management problems in certain parts of the Zala County. It drew up plans for the regulation of streams and draining of certain areas, but the Zala County did not give its concession for the construction works until as late as 1907. The cooperative was supposed to broaden the river bed of Ledava and maintain the conditions of the following streams: Ledava, Krka, Kobiljski potok, Bukovnica, Libenica, Črnec, Lipnica, and Bogojinski potok. With the dissolution of the Habsburg Monarchy in 1918, the works at the river Mura stopped. Due to the abandonment of maintenance works at the section between Špilj and Radgona (after 1919 the new border between the Republic of Austria and

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12   Ivan Zelko, *Zgodovina Prekmurja. Izbrane razprave in članki* (Murska Sobota: Pomurska založba, 1996), 68.
13   Novak and Vratarič, "Mura nekoč, danes, jutri," 115.
14   *Slovenski gospodar*, October 1, 1874, 345.
15   *Slovenski gospodar*, October 8, 1878, 413.
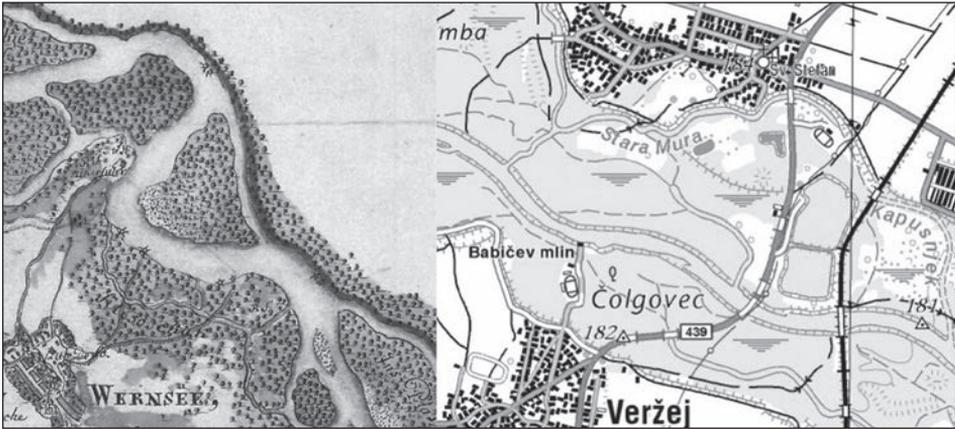
Mura river near Veržej on the First Military Survey map (1763-1787)
and the contemporary situation.
Sources: Rajšp, Vinko et al. (eds.). Slovenija na vojaškem zemljevidu 1763–1787.
Band 6. Ljubljana, 2000; www.geopedia.si (November 16, 2017).

the Kingdom of SHS), certain sections of Mura broadened significantly (up to 200
metres). Due to the neglect of its banks, Mura flooded several times between 1918
and 1926 (Bunčani, Veržej, Dokležovje, Melinci). The interwar period authorities
only undertook the regulation works at the (new) internal section of Mura after the
catastrophic floods.[16] On 12 November 1925, Ledava and Kučnica flooded Murska
Sobota. In just a few hours, the city transformed into a "Prekmurje Venice", and the
homes of almost a third of its citizens were destroyed.[17] Due to the poor state of Mura's
river bed, the Interstate Commission for the Regulation of Mura was established in
Maribor in 1926. It was tasked with managing all of the works at the (border) river.
The states agreed that each of them would restore the extensive embankments on
their respective banks of the border river Mura, while they would share the expenses
for the works required at the river bed itself. The works were concluded in 1937/38,
and since then Mura's rate of flow has increased significantly.[18]

A few fortification works at the (internal) river Mura were carried out in 1928,
while between 1936 and 1938 it was regulated between Sladki vrh and Apače. Despite
everything, the 1938 floods were catastrophic. Mura engulfed more than 40 villages
on both sides, almost flooding the entire Mursko polje plains. In light of this disaster,
the Prekmurje correspondent of the Slovenski gospodar newspaper complained that
the authorities neglected the Prekmurje region, and that Mura should have been
systematically regulated a long time ago. He also underlined that the inhabitants
of Prekmurje could see clearly how Austria assisted the victims of the floods in its

16   Novak and Vratarič, "Mura nekoč, danes, jutri," 116.
17   Darja Kerec, "Prekmurske Benetke leta 1925," *Prispevki za novejšo zgodovino* 51, No. 3 (2011): 26.
18   Novak and Vratarič, "Mura nekoč, danes, jutri," 116.

territory, and that "this certainly does not contribute to national awareness".[19] After these floods, the authorities established an action committee tasked with ensuring a comprehensive protection of the area by constructing embankments along a lengthy section of the river. However, World War II started before any construction works even began. The period of the socialist Yugoslavia was the time of the most significant investments into the water infrastructure in the Pomurje region. We should also mention the construction of the dry relief channel Ledava-Mura, constructed in order to prevent floods in Murska Sobota (the works were initiated in 1948 and completed in 1958). The other tributaries of the river Mura were gradually regulated and dammed as well. In 1966 the regulation of the border river Kučnica began in cooperation with Austria. The expropriation, replacement of land plots, and new definition of the boundaryline were carried out as well.[20] At this point we do not have enough space to list all of the regulation works in this period. In short, by 1985 the river Ledava had been completely regulated (the section bordering on Hungary was not regulated until as late as 1997). Due to occasional flooding (for example in 1972), experts supported the finding that in addition to strengthening the river bank, accumulations and dry reservoirs should be constructed on both sides of the river Mura as well. Until the end of the 1980s, three accumulations (lakes) and a single dry reservoir were constructed on each side of Mura.[21]

By the dissolution of the common state, the Pomurje region had become, in the sense of its watercourses, a completely artificially-regulated landscape with channels, embankments, and artificial lakes that had not existed previously. The secondary river branches and marshes had largely disappeared from the landscape. The estimate that the geographical character of the landscape has changed most profoundly precisely due to watercourse regulation is not an exaggeration. However, human interventions into the nature of the river Mura and its tributaries have also resulted in unforeseen consequences. In the period of the so-called "natural" Mura, the width of the river and its secondary river beds reached up to 1.2 km, but it was narrowed to as little as 60 – 80 metres by means of hydrological interventions. These processes have resulted in a greater speed of the river and a more significant power of erosion. Due to the fortified banks, the erosion power of the river cannot be distributed throughout its bed: instead all of the energy goes toward deepening the river bed.[22] Consequently the groundwater level in the whole Mura drainage basin is decreasing, the groves by the river are drying out, and the drinking water reserves are diminishing.[23] In the study ordered by the Permanent Slovenian-Austrian Commission for Mura, the experts proposed the following measures in 2001: widening the basin of the border river Mura to 200 metres; constructing side branches (or restoring the old ones);

19   *Slovenski gospodar*, June 1, 1938, 7.
20   Novak and Vratarič, "Mura nekoč, danes, jutri," 118, 119.
21   Ibid., 120.
22   Lesjak, "Mura skozi čas," 188.
23   Novak and Vratarič, "Mura nekoč, danes, jutri," 121.

and adding gravel.[24] These measures can thus be interpreted as the very opposite of the interventions in the 19th and 20th century. From the viewpoint of environmental history, the example of Mura is interesting because of the relationship between the river and human interventions in the long run: if repeated attempts had been made to "capture" Mura into a single fortified river bed for more than three centuries (and regulate its unpredictable tributaries), in the last few decades measures have been initiated to undertake a (limited) reconstruction of the pre-regulation conditions.[25]

River Mura between Radgona and Ljutomer, 1872.
Source: G Mayr: Südliches Steyermark. Illyrian, Friaul. Küstenland. Gotha 1872.

According to the findings of hydrologists, after World War II the maintenance and construction works at the basin of the river Mura where it borders on Austria have been most thorough, while they have been less intensive at the river's internal sections and where it borders on Croatia.[26] At the Slovenian-Croatian border, the river is – in comparison with the section bordering on Austria – still quite natural and belongs among moderately altered watercourses, while a few sections at this part of the river have been regulated as well, due to the danger of flooding.[27] The extensive works aimed at systematically regulating the river in the territory of Slovenia were carried out between 1972 and 1990, up to the town of Bakovci. At a part of the river

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24 Norbert Baumann, Štefan Fartek, Rudolf Hornich, Jožef Novak and Oliver Rathschüler, *Načelna vodnogospodarska zasnova za mejno Muro, I. Faza* (Gradec/Graz: Stalna slovensko-avstrijska komisija za Muro, 2001), 5.
25 Ibid., 17.
26 Novak and Vratarič, "Mura nekoč, danes, jutri," 119.
27 Balažic, "Meja na Muri," 40.

Mura, located downstream from Mursko Središće (at the border between Croatia and Slovenia), individual meanders have been separated from the main river bed.[28] The main works (canals) were carried out from the 1960s and until as late as 1990. The works were carried out by Slovenia and Croatia, jointly and in accordance with the 50:50 system, regardless of the cadastral border. Hydrologists should supposedly observe the rule that the left bank is Slovenian and the right bank is Croatian.[29] The Final Award of the Arbitral Tribunal (of 29 June 2017) also quotes a 1967 document mentioning the project of regulating Mura with channels near Hotiza.[30]

Rivers as transnational natural phenomena with their unpredictable "lives" tend to force political entities to engage in long-term cooperation. We have already mentioned the first permanent bilateral commission between Austria and the Kingdom of SHS/Yugoslavia, established in 1926. On 16 December 1954, the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia signed the agreement on the establishment of a permanent bilateral commission for the river Mura, and ratified it in 1956. The commission was tasked with the joint investigation and resolution of water management issues, implementation of measures, and realisation of works at the border section of Mura and its branches due to pollution and drainage of water from the river. After it attained independence, the Republic of Slovenia ratified this agreement in 1993.[31] It is relevant for the contemporary history of the border river Mura that after their independence, Croatia and Slovenia have not formed any dedicated bilateral commissions for this river. However, they did indeed agree (in 1996) to establish a Permanent Slovenian-Croatian Commission for Water Management. The rules on the activities of this Commission were not ratified by the two states until as late as 1998.[32] The sub-commission for Mura operates in the context of this Commission as well.

28   Mitja Brilly , Mojca Šraj, Anja Horvat, Andrej Vidmar and Maja Koprivšek, "Hidrološka študija reke Mure," in: *20. Mišičev vodarski dan 2011, zbornik referatov* (Maribor: Vodnogospodarski biro, 2011), 158.

29   Balažic, "Meja na Muri," 40.

30   "PCA CASE NO. 2012-04 IN THE MATTER OF AN ARBITRATION UNDER THE ARBITRATION AGREE-MENT BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF CROATIA AND THE GOVERNMENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF SLOVENIA, SIGNED ON 4 NOVEMBER 2009 BETWEEN THE REPUBLIC OF CROATIA AND THE REPUBLIC OF SLOVENIA, FINAL AWARD, 29 June 2017," accessed August 5, 2017, https://pcacases.com/web/sendAttach/2172.

31   Aleš Bizjak, "Transboundary Cooperation of the Republic of Slovenia – Obligations, Good Practices and Benefits," *2nd Workshop on Assessing the Water-Food-Energy-Ecoystem Nexus and Benefits of Transboundary Cooperation in the Drina River Basin, Belgrade, 8 – 9 November 2016,"* accessed August 3, 2017, https://www.unece.org/fileadmin/DAM/env/documents/2016/wat/11Nov_08-10_Nexus_2nd-WS_Drinabasin_Belgrade/day_3/ab_UNECE_NEXUS_BELGRADE__Transboundary_Cooperation_091116.pdf.

32   "Uredba o ratifikaciji Pravilnika stalne slovensko-hrvaške komisije za vodno gospodarstvo," *Uradni list Republike Slovenije* 11/1998.

Discovering Historical Structures
Through Border Disputes

How can we "discern" the role and changes of the political structures from the example of border rivers? Documents about border disputes represent an excellent source for analysing the relations between the state structures and the situation "in the field". Border river disputes can drag on for several centuries. In order to solve the current border disputes, it is especially important to understand the rich prehistory (a part of the border rivers' administrative legacy). River border disputes can also "become obsolete" and calm down due to altered circumstances, or can also be created anew as a river acquires the status of a border river.

At the river Mura between the towns of Radgona and Ljutomer, the border between the German part of the Roman Empire or Styria and Hungary had been settled by the middle of the 13th century, in so far as that was possible in the medieval circumstances.[33] In the published medieval sources and older historiography we can find several reports on the river Mura border disputes. A more detailed analysis of these disputes reveals that one of the reasons for the disputes was the combination of this river's twofold role: Mura as a medieval border river (in view of the nature of the river, this border could only possess a zoning character); and Mura as an economic and geographic factor. The first recorded border dispute at the river Mura proves that the medieval actors would also use the natural might of the river for strategic and military purposes. If the border at the river Mura was relatively calm at the turn of the 12th century (at this time permanent settlements were developing there), after 1233 the border disputes reignited for a little while. In that year the Hungarian army invaded Styria, but it soon retreated. Judging from the Hungarian archive resources, Styrians supposedly used the tactics of flooding the river. They dammed the river Mura, and the water flooded several villages on the Hungarian side. The situation was remedied by a Hungarian dignitary who tore down the dam and restored the previous conditions.[34]

In the first half of the 16th century, disputes between the inhabitants of the two river banks would often arise due to Mura's inconstant flow. Tomaž Széchy, a landowner with land holdings in Gornja Lendava and Murska Sobota, attempted to protect his extensive properties in the Prekmurje region by constructing two river beds on his side, steering the flow of Mura towards the Styrian side. There the river started eroding the fertile land and getting closer to the settlements.[35] The Styrian imperial representative contacted the Hungarian feudal landowner, who was unwilling to negotiate. In 1511 the Styrian side decided to implement unilateral measures. It deployed an engineer and his team of workers to the river Mura in order

33 Milko Kos, *Srednjeveški urbarji za Slovenijo, Urbarji Salzburške nadškofije* (Ljubljana: Akademija znanosti in umetnosti, 1939), 12.
34 László Mayer and András Molnár, eds., *Viri za zgodovino Prekmurja 1 / Források a Muravidék történetéhez 1* (Szombathely – Zalaegerszeg: Arhiv županije Vas in Arhiv županije Zala, 2008), 45.
35 Zelko, *Zgodovina Prekmurja*, 65.

to construct a dam that would benefit Styria. After a few days Széchy attacked them, scattering the workers and imprisoning the engineer. Széchy's people strengthened the embankments even further, and due to the rushing river several fields and even a few villages on the right bank of Mura disappeared. When the Styrian provincial government once again sent its commissioners to the river in 1524, Széchy fired on them with cannons and rifles. The Styrian subjects attempted to fortify the river bank on their own, but the "Hungarians" would not allow them to drive stakes into the river. Anton Banffy, owner of land holdings in Dolnja Lendava, would allegedly behave in a similar manner. The disputes continued; various commissions would meet unsuccessfully; but nothing changed in the field. In 1537 Styrians excavated several ditches under military protection in order to prevent Mura from doing so much damage. However, Széchy's successor Aleksij Thurzo ordered that the ditches be buried immediately. Already next year the Hungarian lord once again repaired the embankments to his own benefit. When Styrians attempted to remedy the situation in 1539, armed conflicts broke out, and according to Kovačič "a Hungarian tax collector, who agitated the people, was thrown into the river Mura with his arms and legs bound". The disputes could not be appeased. Bloody skirmishes kept occurring, and year after year "bloody robbery and violence was reported". Nevertheless, towards the end of the 16th century the conflicts gradually cooled down.[36]

According to Kovačič, it could also happen that Mura itself would remedy what "Hungarians took from Styrians unjustly". Towards the end of the 17th century, Mura changed its flow yet again. The inhabitants of the Styrian village of Hrastje acquired a bit of territory that they started using as grazing grounds. In the middle of the 18th century, attempts were made to take away the villagers' right to grazing, and therefore they complained to the provincial authorities. According to the older Slovenian historiography, the border between Hungary and Styria was supposedly settled in 1755, during the Theresian consolidation of the Habsburg Empire, especially in the upper part of the river Mura between Radgona and Mota.[37] The subjects built dams and placed border stones in order to mark the border between the political entities. The latter would often be removed by the river, which kept flooding. However, according to Fran Kovačič, after this regulation major border disputes no longer occurred.[38] In the 19th century, Mura became a "solid" state border for a short time, in 1848 and 1849, when the revolutionary Hungary achieved significant autonomy in its relations with Vienna. This was followed by a reaction from the Habsburg Court.[39] On 11 September 1848, the Habsburg General and Croatian Ban Jelačić invaded Hungary over the river Drava near Varaždin and proceeded into the territory of Zala County, which included the south-eastern part of the Prekmurje region. On the same day the members of the Zala County National Guard burned the bridge over Mura near Lendava. On the basis of the memoirs of a Hungarian National Guard member

36   Fran Kovačič, *Ljutomer, Zgodovina trga in sreza* (Maribor: Zgodovinsko društvo, 1926), 24.
37   Zelko, *Zgodovina Prekmurja,* 68.
38   Kovačič, *Ljutomer,* 25.
39   László Kontler, *Madžarska zgodovina* (Ljubljana: Slovenska matica, 2005), 203.

we can identify the basic characteristics of the bridge that was destroyed by the defenders. The straw ropes, covered in an abundance of tar beforehand, were set on fire. As it was windy, the fire simply "devoured the dry planks and beams".[40]

In the tumultuous times of the establishment of new states in the Central Europe and the formation of new state borders between 1918 and 1920, the status of the border at the river Mura changed a few times. On 12 August 1919, the Army of the Kingdom of SHS occupied the Prekmurje region, and this territory on the left bank of Mura was finally annexed to the Yugoslav state with the Treaty of Trianon (4 June 1920). It is interesting that during the occupation (between August 1919 and June 1920), the border at Mura was not abolished, but rather even strengthened. The passage of the inhabitants of Prekmurje over Mura was only possible with permits. In the autumn of 1920, Prekmurje was still a closed territory, and the Prekmurje press complained that soldiers would not let people cross Mura without the permits that were difficult to obtain.[41] At the same time, the Hungarian authorities attempted to emphasise the significance of the border on the river Mura. On 15 April 1921, the Zala County lodged a complaint against the secession of the territories by the river. They emphasised that Mura was a broad and quick river that separated the villages on both sides "like the Great Wall of China". The inhabitants of the two river banks did not know each other, nor did they cooperate or trade. They also emphasised the fact that there were not any bridges across Mura throughout the whole border, from Radgona to Mursko središče.[42]

The National Government in Ljubljana was well-aware of this. On 13 October 1919, the Commissioner of Social Welfare reported to Ljubljana that the only road connection with Prekmurje was the bridge in Radgona, which, however, now belonged to the Republic of Austria.[43] The Slovenian political elite strived to ensure that the bridge over Mura near Veržej would be built as soon as possible, even though complications kept arising regarding the financing of the construction works.[44] The Veržej bridge was opened solemnly on 23 April 1922.[45] That the opening was related to the former border river status is also proven by the fact that the members of the Yugoslav-Austrian and Yugoslav-Hungarian delimitation commissions were invited to the event.[46]

While the processes of approximation were underway at the former border section of the river Mura, at the new Austrian-Yugoslav border disputes and difficulties with the delimitation kept arising. The new state border at the river Mura between Cmurek and Radgona weighed heavily on the peasants between Drava and Mura. Until the

40 Mayer and Molnár, *Viri za zgodovino Prekmurja 1*, 354.
41 Vanek Šiftar, "Prekmurje 1918–1920," *Časopis za zgodovino in narodopisje* 61, No. 1 (1989): 49.
42 László Mayer and András Molnár, eds., *Viri za zgodovino Prekmurja 2 / Források a Muravidék történetéhez 2* (Szombathely – Zalaegerszeg: Arhiv županije Vas in Arhiv županije Zala, 2008), 330.
43 Peter Ribnikar, ed., *Sejni zapisniki Narodne vlade Slovencev, Hrvatov in Srbov v Ljubljani in Deželnih vlad za Slovenijo 1918–1921, 2. del* (Ljubljana: Arhiv republike Slovenije, 1999), 385.
44 *Slovenec*, February 5, 1922, 2.
45 *Jutro*, April 25, 1922, 2.
46 *Slovenec*, April 19, 1922, 2.
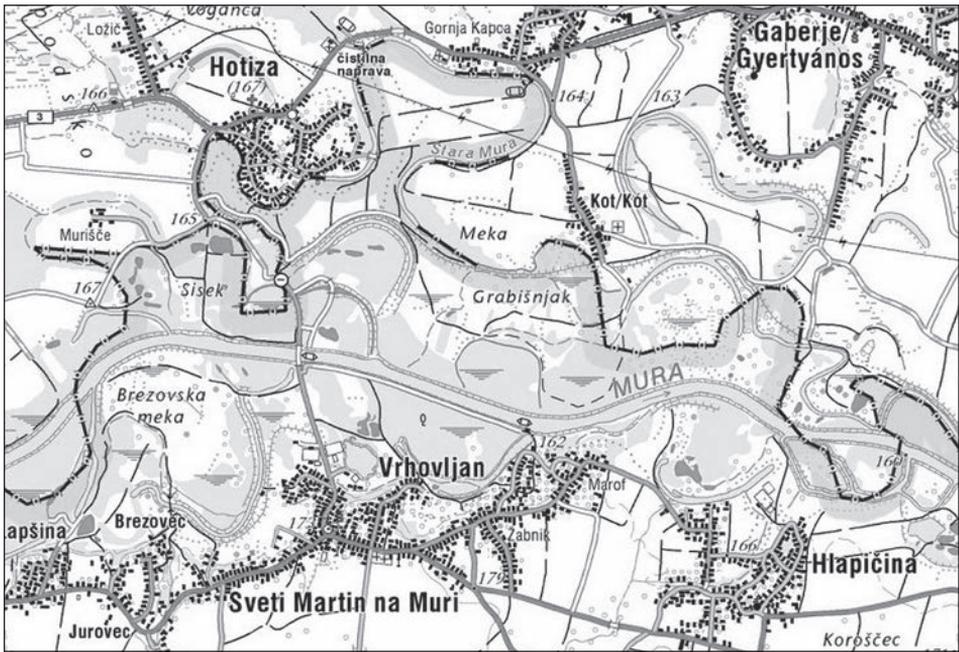
The contemporary situation near Hotiza.
Source: www.geopedia.si (November 16, 2017).

end of 1921, the Yugoslav authorities allowed access to mills and saws at the border river, but in the beginning of 1922 the customs services prohibited the access. After the intervention of the Slovenian Members of Parliament in Belgrade, the access to the aforementioned mills and saws was included in the agreement on the frontier-zone traffic with the Republic of Austria.[47] The paths that the local population could use to cross the border due to economic reasons or in emergencies were specified. Newspapers urged people not to transport prohibited goods across the Mura border: "Should smuggling start occurring at the border, the government will, as it has already threatened, immediately put a stop to the whole frontier-zone traffic. In such a case it would be very difficult to restore the current concessions".[48] The next bridge over Mura, near Radenci, was not open until as late as 1940.[49]

During the period of World War II (1941–45), Prekmurje was reannexed to Hungary, and subsequently (after the Soviet occupation and the arrival of the Yugoslav forces) to Yugoslavia or the People's Republic of Slovenia.[50] The river Mura between Gibina and the triple border with Hungary may have indeed received the status of a border between two Yugoslav federal units (People's Republic of Slovenia

47   Franjo Žebot, "Resnica o mlinih in žagah ob Muri," *Slovenski gospodar*, August 24, 1922, 35.
48   Franjo Žebot, "Mali obmejni promet," *Slovenski gospodar*, December 28, 1922, 53.
49   *Slovenski gospodar*, September 24, 1940, 4.
50   Metka Fujs, "Izhodišča madžarske okupacijske politike v Prekmurju," *Prispevki za novejšo zgodovino* 37, No. 2 (1997): 175–86.

and People's Republic of Croatia). However, no disputes regarding the border at the river Mura took place in the post-war period. It is interesting that the biggest border dispute between Slovenia and Croatia after World War II took place in the vicinity of Mura. The conflict occurred in the former Štrigova municipality, the only part of Međimurje that had been included in the "Slovenian" Drava Banate after the administrative reorganisation of 1929. After 1945, however, this territory was annexed to Croatia. Regardless of the dimensions of the dispute (people would also express their discontent with petitions and gatherings) and the proximity of the villages involved, the river Mura did not play any role in this particular border dispute.[51]

In the period between 1945 and 1991, Mura did not "actively" appear in the international (or inter-republican) disputes. The nature of the border between two Yugoslav federal units did not call for a precise demarcation or division of jurisdiction. However, with the dissolution of Yugoslavia in 1991, the relations in the Slovenia – Mura – Croatia triangle once again became complicated. The problem of the so-called twofold ownership appeared by the Slovenian-Croatian border at the river Mura, which had remained in the background before the emancipation of both of the states involved, even though even in the Yugoslav period there had been differences between the taxation of property in Croatia and Slovenia. In 1992, in the Lendava municipality, 2963 landowners from Croatia owned 805 hectares of land or 3.1 % of the territory. On the other hand, around 800 landowners from the Lendava municipality – most of them from Hotiza – owned land in Croatia as well.[52] Near the Slovenian village of Hotiza, the border between the Slovenian and Croatian cadastre is furthest away from Mura, and therefore the considerable number of land property owners in Croatia is not surprising. The cadastral border between the states follows the river as it was identified by the creators of the Hungarian cadastral measurements in the 19th century. Since then the river has changed its flow considerably, while the cadastral municipality borders have remained in the ongoing administration of both states as the Habsburg administrative legacy.

It is important for the future development of the events that the equalisation of the Slovenian-Croatian border and the cadastral border took place rather late. The border between Slovenia and Croatia might have had an administrative and state-legal character (the Yugoslav republics were defined as "states"). However, in the field the boundaryline was not defined precisely until as late as 1980. In 1980, the legislation on municipalities changed in Slovenia, and now set out that the territories of the municipalities should correspond to the cadastral municipalities. As the border between Slovenia and Croatia had been defined descriptively as the border between the Slovenian and Croatian municipalities, the border between the Slovenian and Croatian cadastres de facto became the Slovenian-Croatian boundaryline. In the first years of independence, Slovenian geodesists underlined that the border according

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51   Zdenko Čepič, "Oris nastajanja slovensko-hrvaške meje po drugi svetovni vojni," in: Zdenko Čepič, Dušan Nećak and Miroslav Stiplovšek, eds., *Mikužev zbornik* (Ljubljana: Oddelek za zgodovino Filozofske fakultete, 1999), 201–16.
52   Borut Belec, "Hrvaška zemljiška posest v občini Lendava kot sestavina mejne problematike," *Dela* 12 (1997): 186.

to cadastral municipalities "will not be functional and prudent", and saw bilateral harmonisation with the assistance of joint commissions as the right way of defining the border.[53]

The discrepancies between the cadastral border and Mura's river bed paved the way for the border incidents near Hotiza in 2006. Despite the multiple attempts at specifying the border between the states (e.g. the efforts of joint commissions between 1993 and 1998 and the so-called "Drnovšek-Račan Agreement" of 2001), the Slovenian-Croatian border at the river Mura in 2006 was just as vague as in 1991.[54] The series of incidents began already in May 2005, when the Croatian authorities confiscated a river Mura ferry, owned by the inhabitants of Hotiza (internet 1). In March 2005, the Croatian side started building a bridge across Mura without any agreement with Slovenia, and did not open it for traffic until as late as the summer of 2006, due to high water. Because of the bridge, the Slovenian authorities protested more than once. According to the opinion of the Slovenian water experts, the bridge worsened the local flood safety.[55]

The considerable flooding potential of the river Mura and the importance of flood protection embankments represented an important environmental and historical factor in this story.[56] In August 2005 Mura flooded, and it turned out that new embankments should be constructed on both banks of the river in order to improve flood safety. However, who would be building in the territory under dispute? Before 1991 it was the Slovenian side that would traditionally build embankments on the left bank of Mura. Slovenian institutions started constructing the embankments, but only in the territory of the Slovenian cadastre.[57] Towards the end of August 2006, the Croatian side started building embankments on the left bank of Mura (in the Croatian cadastre) without asking the Slovenian government for permission. The developments near Hotiza attained significant media dimensions. In Slovenia, the territory around Hotiza suddenly became a matter of national interest. After the meeting of both Prime Ministers in the disputed territory on 2 September 2006, an agreement was reached on the joint construction of embankments at the river Mura, and the issue temporarily vanished from the media. Not for long, though. The border dispute culminated on 13 September 2006, when the Croatian police detained a few Slovenian journalists due to their alleged illegal crossing of the state border. The Slovenian authorities reacted immediately and demonstrated force, deploying a fully-outfitted special police unit at the border.[58] The Slovenian police lined up at the cadastral border and crossed it as well. They dug up the newly-constructed road and brought down two trees on it. This was a road within the borders of the Croatian cadastre, linking the hamlet of

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53 Božo Demšar, "Ureditev državne meje Slovenije s Hrvaško," *Geodetski vestnik* 36, No. 4 (1992): 298–303.

54 *Arbitraža, Vlada Republike Slovenije,* accessed October 10, 2017, http://www.vlada.si/teme_in_projekti/arbitraza/.

55 Balažic, "Meja na Muri," 41.

56 Blaž Komac, Karel Natek and Matija Zorn, *Geografski vidiki poplav v Sloveniji* (Ljubljana: Založba ZRC, 2008), 138.

57 Boris Cipot in Sebastijan Kopušar, "Hotižani: Dež prehitel diplomacijo," *Dnevnik*, August 30, 2006.

58 "Novinarje so pridržali, na meji specialci," *Dnevnik*, September 14, 2006.

Murišče with the Croatian side. The miniscule settlement with nine inhabitants was caught in the "limbo" of the Slovenian-Croatian dispute. The hamlet has been entered into the Slovenian Register of Spatial Units, but within the Croatian cadastre.[59] The conflict was appeased after the agreement of the Slovenian-Croatian Commission for Water Management of 15 September 2006 on the joint restoration of the high-water embankment Kot-Hotiza on the left bank of Mura.[60]

There is no room here for an additional historical discourse analysis of the dispute. However, a short media analysis of the conflict by the border river Mura in 2006 indicates the importance of the representations of border rivers in various environments. Judging from the Croatian response, Croatia completely equalised the state border with the cadastral border. Meanwhile, for the Slovenian leadership the cadastral border represented merely one of the criteria for defining the borders in the future. While the Croatian media reported on the cadastre as the indisputable border between the states,[61] the Slovenian press would relativise the cadastral border. The correspondent of the Dnevnik newspaper claimed that the disputed territory may well have been a part of the Croatian cadastre, but that it was nevertheless "sovereign Slovenian territory".[62] The Slovenian media would not clarify the complex circumstances by the border river until the dispute escalated extremely and the police forces of both states were staring down the barrels of their guns.[63]

The activities of the permanent inter-state bodies, which usually take place in the background, became inseparable from national interests. Only studying the border river discourse allows for the understanding of the relations at the landscape–politics–ideology level, and it especially has a role in comprehending the mechanisms of nationalist delimitation. Landscape changes (the movement of the river, flooding) call for measures to be implemented by both entities. This is exploited by various political groups that are looking to further their interests, and at the level of ideology and representations various media discourses, involved in the reporting/reflecting on the border dispute, are established. Even the mere choice of words can have a decisive impact on the main message: is this a cadastral border or a state border? In media discourses, however, particularly the outrage and feelings of endangerment tend to come to the forefront. If the Slovenian media were appalled at the Croatian construction projects on the left bank of Mura, then the Croatian media were horrified because of the presence of the Slovenian police in the territory of the Croatian cadastre. On the other hand, the media critical of nationalism and the contemporaneous leadership were indignant at the border disputes in general as well as at the demonstration of

59   "Regulacija Mure izvor nesoglasij," *Dnevnik*, September 15, 2006.
60   "Zapisnik XI. zasedanja Stalne slovensko-hrvaške komisije za vodno gospodarstvo, Ljubljana, 9. in 10. 6. 2015," accessed August 5, 2017, http://gis.arso.gov.si/related/evode/vg_komisije/SLO-CRO_zasedanje%2011_junij%20 2015.pdf.
61   "Balvani na Muri," *Slobodna Dalmacija*, September 15, 2006, accessed August 5, 2017, http://arhiv.slobodnadal-macija.hr/20060915/novosti03.asp.
62   Boris Cipot, "Hrvati so si privoščili še eno provokacijo," *Dnevnik*, August 28, 2006.
63   Marjeta Kralj and Mojca Zorko, "Vrsta pozivov k pomiritvi," *Dnevnik*, September 15, 2006, 4.

force.[64] Meanwhile, the British BBC asked itself (in line with orientalist stereotypes) whether a new war might break out in the Balkans.[65]

The political elites solved the issue by signing the Arbitration Agreement regarding the border in November 2009. Both governments submitted their territorial and maritime disputes to arbitration. The Permanent Court of Arbitration in The Hague was chosen as the arbitral institution.[66] The Court of Arbitration announced its Final Award on 29 June 2017. However, at the time when this contribution was written, Croatia did not acknowledge the Final Award due to the 2015 audio surveillance scandal involving a Slovenian arbitrator. How did the Court of Arbitration solve the border dispute on the river Mura that had escalated in 2006? Generally it adhered to the cadastral border, with the exception of the aforementioned hamlet of Murišče, which went to Slovenia. The Slovenian interpretations of Mura as the Slovenian-Croatian border river were not successful. The Slovenian side counted predominantly on the division of administrative units in the period of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia and the fact that the left bank of Mura had been in the hands of the Slovenian side until as late as 1991.[67]

Conclusion

The "longue durée" border river status indirectly affects the shape and dynamics of the river bed. In the time when Mura represented the border between the Austrian and Hungarian parts of the Habsburg Empire (in various forms ever since the late 18th century), the "internal" Austrian part of the river was regulated, while the section of Mura bordering on Hungary was neglected. In the historical press we can come across several reports on the demands of the Styrian province that the central (Austrian) government in Vienna should demand that Hungary co-finance the regulation works at the border river Mura (the today's Slovenian "internal" Mura). At the same time, the Hungarian side took its own initiatives to regulate the river and its tributaries. After 1918, a different dynamics became noticeable. The section of the river at the Yugoslav-Austrian border was well-maintained (joint commission after 1926), while its internal part between Styria and Prekmurje was neglected (i.e., works would only be initiated after catastrophic floods). In the period after World War II, the section of Mura bordering on Austria was still the best-maintained part of the river, while significant improvement of regulation works was also noticeable at the internal Mura and at the section bordering on Croatia, as the border between the republics did not impede them. As Mura moved from the cadastral borders, the leftbank flood

64   Ali H. Žerdin: "Napeti petelini," *MLADINA.SI,* September 21, 2006, accessed August 5, 2017, http://www.mladina.si/92602/napeti-petelini/.
65   *STA: BBC: Hotiza povod za nov konflikt na Balkanu? (September 18, 2006),* accessed August 5, 2017, https://www.sta.si/1088579/bbc-hotiza-povod-za-nov-konflikt-na-balkanu-18-9.
66   Marko Zajc, "The Slovenian-Croatian Border: History, Representations, Inventions," *Acta Histriae* 23, No. 3 (2015): 502.
67   PCA CASE NO. 2012-04, 125.

protection embankments were also constructed in the territory of Croatian cadastral municipalities, for example near Hotiza and Petišovci. Until 1991 the rule was that both states had to take care of their respective banks, regardless of the location of the cadastral border. However, since the border in the area of Hotiza had not been defined, after the emancipation of Slovenia and Croatia conflicts arose with regard to the administrative jurisdiction.

Who, then, is responsible for the 2006 border dispute? The answer is simple: the river Mura, which has its own life and refuses to stick to its river bed. The history of border disputes points out the difficult relationship between the river in the landscape and the borders. All the sections of Mura that we have analysed in this contribution had the status of a border river in certain periods of time. From the longue durée perspective, we can establish that the border disputes by the river Mura took place in two periods: in the Middle Ages / early modern period; and in the contemporary history. Could we propose a hypothesis that border disputes tend to arise when the constellations of the political spaces and borders are not specified? Our findings do support this, even though this interaction cannot be completely proved. However, we can definitely underline the significant importance of administrative legacy. We can also apply the concept of phantom borders, i.e. borders that no longer exist, yet continue to structure the political and actual space.[68] Administrative legacy also includes the types of historical layers of the border that activate in a certain sociopolitical contexts and function in a phantom manner.

For the borders in the Slovenian space, the administrative legacy of cadastral municipalities is the most significant.[69] The smallest territorial units of the state, set out by the Habsburg officials and geometers in the early 19th century in order to allow for tax exploitation and the exertion of general control over the state's territory, are still alive. The former river beds, marked on cadastral maps, possess a strong "phantom" potential, which can activate itself in the appropriate political situation. In case of Mura, this happened during the dissolution of Yugoslavia and formation of two independent countries. The administrative legacy of the cadastral municipalities, which had merely possessed a "boring" technical character before 1991, suddenly became a "hot" political (and ideological) instrument afterwards.[70]

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68 Béatrice von Hirschhausen, Hannes Grandits, Claudia Kraft and Dietmar Müller, "Phantomgrenzen im ostlichen Evropa, Eine wissenschaftliche Positionierung," in: Béatrice von Hirschhausen, Hannes Grandits, Claudia Kraft, Dietmar Müller and Thomas Serrier, eds., *Phantomgrenzen, Räumen und Akteure in der Zeit neu denken* (Göttingen: Wallstein Verlag, 2015), 7–13.

69 Peter Ribnikar, "Zemljiški kataster kot vir za zgodovino," *Zgodovinski časopis* 36, No. 4 (1982): 334.

70 Marko Zajc, "Phantom and Possessed Borders," *Conference Borders and Administrative Legacy, Ljubljana, 24. – 26. 11. 2016,* accessed August 5, 2017, http://www.sistory.si/11686/37233.

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Marko Zajc

FENOMEN MEJNA REKA: PRIMER MURE

POVZETEK

Avtor analizira dva vidika dolgega trajanja fenomena mejne reke na primeru reke Mure: a) razmerje med rečno strugo, mejno črto in antropogenimi učinki na reko; b) odkrivanje historičnih struktur skozi perspektivo mejnih sporov. »Zdravorazumsko« razumevanje mejnih rek predpostavlja ujemanje reke in mejne črte. Kljub temu je lahko v pokrajini in v kartografskih reprezentacijah velika razlika med tema dvema elementoma. Vsi odseki reke Mure, ki jih analiziramo v članku, so imeli v določenih obdobjih status mejne reke. Status mejne reke dolgem trajanju posredno vpliva na obliko in dinamiko rečne struge. Nekdanje rečne struge, ki so »ujete« v katastrskih mapah, imajo velik »fantomski« potencial, ki se lahko aktivira v pravem političnem trenutku. V primeru Mure se je to zgodilo z razpadom Jugoslavije in vzpostavitvijo dveh neodvisnih držav.

Scott O. Moore[*]

An Emperor by a Different Name: School Commemoration in Habsburg Austria and the Second Austrian Republic

IZVLEČEK

CESAR Z DRUGAČNIM IMENOM: ŠOLSKE SLOVESNOSTI V HABSBURŠKI AVSTRIJI IN DRUGI AVSTRIJSKI REPUBLIKI

Članek proučuje povezavo med šolskimi proslavami, s katerimi so v poznem obdobju habsburške Avstrije izražali domoljubje, in podobnimi proslavami v drugi avstrijski republiki. Podobno kot v drugih državah je bilo javno šolstvo tudi v habsburški Avstriji sredstvo za domoljubno vzgojo. Eden najočitnejših primerov je bila vsakoletna slovesnost ob cesarjevem rojstnem dnevu. Med takimi slovesnostmi so morali učenci šol v Habsburški monarhiji recitirati domoljubno poezijo, prepevati domoljubne pesmi in poslušati govore o vrlinah svojega monarha. Čeprav teh slovesnosti po koncu monarhije ni bilo več, članek razkriva, da so se v povojni Avstriji pojavile v drugačni, nekoliko posebni obliki.

Čeprav je Avstrija po padcu monarhije poskušala ustvariti identiteto, ki bi bila neodvisna od imperialne preteklosti, je zapuščina imperialističnih slovesnosti in državotvornih dejavnosti še naprej vplivala na avstrijsko dojemanje domoljubnih proslav. Ta zapuščina je bila močna zlasti po drugi svetovni vojni. V prispevku je z doslej neraziskanimi govori, programi in organizacijskimi gradivi z avstrijskih šolskih proslav po letu 1945 in podobnimi viri iz habsburškega obdobja prikazano, da so avstrijske šole po vojni za spodbujanje domoljubja pri učencih uporabljale programe, enake tistim iz habsburškega obdobja. Ta pregled ponazarja vpliv imperialne birokracije na njeno zapuščino in moč nezavednega birokratskega spomina, ki se lahko tudi po premikih mej in razpadih držav ohrani skozi generacije. To nam pomaga pri razumevanju mejnega spomina v Srednji Evropi in izboljša naše razumevanje spomina v državah po spremembah ustave in obsega ozemlja.

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ABSTRACT

This paper examines the connections between patriotic school celebrations in late-Habsburg Austria and similar celebrations in the Second Austrian Republic. Similar to other states, Habsburg Austria utilized public schools as a vehicle for patriotic education. One of the most obvious examples of this fact were the annual commemorations of the emperor's birth. During these commemorations, schools across the Habsburg Monarchy would have students recite patriotic poems, sing patriotic songs, and listen to speeches detailing the virtues of their monarch. While these commemorations ended with the Monarchy, this paper illustrates that these events experienced a curious afterlife in postwar Austria.

Even though Austria attempted to craft an identity independent of its former imperial past when the Monarchy collapsed, the legacy of imperial commemoration and state-building continued to influence the way Austria conceptualized patriotic celebration. This legacy was especially strong after World War II. Using previously unexamined speeches, programs, and organizational materials from Austrian school celebrations after 1945, along with similar sources from the Habsburg period, this paper will show that postwar Austrian schools used programs identical to those from the Habsburg period to develop the patriotism of students. This examination illustrates the legacy of the imperial administration on its remnants and the power of unconscious bureaucratic memory which can survive generations after border change and state collapse. As a result, it helps to develop our understanding of border memory in Central Europe and enhances our understanding of memory in states after changes to its constitution and lands.

Key words: Habsburg Austria, Second Austrian Republic, school commemorations, Emperor, President

In its final decades, the Dual Monarchy of Austria-Hungary crafted a series of public commemorations and celebrations aimed at enhancing the patriotism of its citizens. These events took several forms, including parades, the construction of monuments honoring Austrian historical figures, and the celebration of anniversaries and state holidays. Often, these events occurred in schools or with the participation from schoolchildren, a practice common throughout Europe and the United States. As public education became a standard feature of the modern state in the nineteenth century, governments quickly realized that schools could do more than simply educate children. They could also be used to shape how children conceptualized their government, their state, and their culture. In Austria-Hungary, these school events sought to create a sense of cohesion and belonging among the Monarchy's diverse

population. In order to accomplish this task, Habsburg civic education relied heavily on teaching the history of the Monarchy in a way that emphasized the shared sacrifices and struggles of its peoples and by crafting an Austrian identity that was supranational and imperial in nature. This identity asserted that anyone who lived in and was loyal to the Habsburg Monarchy could rightful consider himself as Austrian.

Efforts of this kind were an essential part of patriotic development in the Monarchy, aimed at stressing the unity and cohesion of the multinational state, arguing that its diversity was a strength, not a weakness. The works of Pieter Judson and Tara Zahra make clear that nationalists attempted to use education as a tool of nationalization, while also demonstrating that national identity was not as rigidly formed as earlier scholarship assumed. Instead, there was a substantial amount of ambivalence and indifference toward national identity.[1] The fluidity of identity meant that there was space for the Habsburg state to develop the loyalty of its subjects, and as Judson recently argued, Habsburg officials aggressively crafted and developed their image in an effort to accomplish this task.[2] As a result of these conditions, it is natural that these officials would use public schools to develop an Austrian identity that could transcend national division.

Obviously, loyalty to the monarch, Franz Joseph, was essential to this identity. He, and the Habsburg dynasty as a whole, provided the connective thread which bound the state together. Because of this, Habsburg schools utilized every opportunity to celebrate the monarch and commemorate his achievements. One of the most common ways by which schools accomplished this goal was through school events held in the emperor's honor. As the Upper Austrian Provincial schoolboard noted throughout its reports in the 1880s, these events provided an ideal opportunity to strengthen "the loyalty, unbreakable attachment, and love of the fatherland and exalted dynasty."[3] Celebrations honoring Franz Joseph were held in every school across the Monarchy, regardless of region or the nationality of its students and in spite of the Monarchy's federalized education system, the format of these events were similar throughout the Austrian half of the state.[4] The consistency of these celebrations resulted from the guidance provided by the Ministry of Religion and Education, which supervised Austrian schools, as well as a general consensus regarding the structure of school

1　Pieter M. Judson, *Guardians of the Nation: Activists on the Language Frontiers of Imperial Austria* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2006), 19–65. Tara Zahra, *Kidnapped Souls: National Indifference and the Battle for Children in the Bohemian Lands, 1900–1948* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2008), 13–79. For further discussion of this national indifference and the efforts of nationalists, see Jeremy King, *Budweisers into Czechs and Germans: A Local History of Bohemian Politics, 1848–1948* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002). Keely Stauter-Halsted, *The Nation in the Village: The Genesis of Peasant National Identity in Austrian Poland, 1848–1914* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2001).

2　Pieter M. Judson, *The Habsburg Empire: A New History* (Cambridge: The Belknap Press, 2016), 4–8.

3　OÖLA, LSR, box 22, Jahreshauptbericht für Mittelschulen in Oberösterreich, 1884. OÖLA, LSR, box 23, Jahreshauptbericht für Mittelschulen in Oberösterreich, 1887.

4　For more on the organization of Austrian schools, see Peter Urbanitsch, "Österreichs Schulen: Organisatorischer und struktureller Wandel 1848 bis 1914," in: *Kindheit und Schule im Ersten Weltkrieg*, Hannes Stekl, Christa Hämmerle, Ernst Bruckmüller, eds. (Vienna: New Academic Press, 2016), 45–73.

ceremonies.[5] The commemorations of Franz Joseph and his contributions to Austria-Hungary sought to create a sense of unity among a diverse state. They also provided a template for the future Austrian Republic to follow decades after the Monarchy collapsed.

As Austrians emerged from the carnage of the Second World War, desperate to develop an Austrian identity that would allow them to distance themselves from the war, Nazism, and radical German nationalism, Austrian schools began to celebrate the presidents of the new (Second) Austrian Republic. The structure of these celebrations possessed a surprising degree of similarity to the commemorations of the Habsburg emperor half a century earlier. The continuity of such events speaks to the potentially unconscious legacy of Habsburg commemoration in postwar Austria and illustrates the power of administrative memory even after states collapse.

Before continuing, it is important to discuss the parameters of this paper. Considering the size and diversity of the Habsburg Monarchy, it would be impossible to provide a comprehensive discussion of school events in all of Austria-Hungary. The nature of the Compromise of 1867, which created the Dual Monarchy contribute to this constraint. Since the Compromise divided the Habsburg Monarchy into two nearly sovereign states, education policy differed in Austria and Hungary. Because of this fact, and due to this paper's interest in the influence of school events on the Austrian Republic, I will only be discussing schools from the parts of the Dual Monarchy that became the Austrian Republic. Additionally, in exploring the legacy of Habsburg school celebrations, this paper will look specifically at the early years of the Second Republic. It will rely on existing scholarship when discussing the First Republic and the period of the *Anschluss*.

Beginning in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, Austrian schools held several events commemorating Franz Joseph and the Monarchy throughout the year. The nature of these celebrations varied from year to year, marking the anniversary of significant events in the state's history or celebrating major milestones of the monarch or dynasty. Such commemorations included the 600th anniversary of Rudolf I's acquisition of Austria, the centennial of Joseph II's birth, or the centennial of the victories over Napoleon.[6] Each year, schools would have at least two patriotic celebrations, one for the emperor's name day and another for the empresses' name day. By the end of Franz Joseph's reign, it was also common for schools to commemorate the anniversary of his ascension to the throne on December 2, 1848. The decision to

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5   Comparing the celebrations described by the school boards of Upper Austria, Lower Austria, Styria, Moravia, and Bohemia reflects this consistency. For such a comparison, see *Jahresbericht über das k.k. akademisches Gymnasium in Wien für das Schuljahr 1868–1869* (Vienna: Verlag des k.k. akademischen Gymnasiums, 1869), 50. OÖLA, LSR, box 76, doc. 1599, discussing schools in Perg. OÖLA, LSR, box 76, Jahreshauptbericht über die allgemeinen Volks- und Bürgerschulen und die Bildungsanstalten für Lehrer- und Lehrerinnen in Steiermark, 1906; *Programm des kaiserl. königl. Gymnasiums in Olmütz am Schlusse des Schuljahres 1901* (Olmütz: Franz Slawiks Buchdruckerei, 1901), 59. AHMP, SVZ, NAD 1042, Německá škola chlapecká v Karlíně, Palackého 33 Karton: Kronika, 1877, October 4, 1877.

6   For example WStLA, SSR, 2.2.2.3.101.B51, Schulchronik – Schule St. Stefan, entry for April 24, 1879. WStLA, SSR, 2.2.2.3.203.B51, Schulchronik – Holzhausergasse, entry for December 27, 1881. WStLA, SSR, 2.2.2.3.506. B51, Schulchronik – Einsiedlergasse, entry for May 26, 1909.

honor the monarchs on their name day, which corresponded to the feast day of the saint sharing their name, rather than the monarch's birthday, resulted from logistical realities. Franz Joseph was born on August 18, Empress Elisabeth on December 24. Since schools were not in session on either of these dates, it was difficult to organize school events at these times.

The Ministry of Religion and Education, responsible for crafting Austrian educational policy, established the general guidelines for school celebrations, deciding how many events would be held in the school year and setting the dates for each. Local and provincial school boards were then responsible for facilitating their implementation.[7] Individual schools then organized their events, which took place during normal school hours. While the school boards provided general guidelines for organizing such commemorations, each school created its own programs. Reflecting the continued influence of religion over Austrian society, each celebration began with a religious service. Considering Austria's protection of religious tolerance, students attended this service at their individual house of worship. Catholics attended mass at their parish church, Protestants had services at the church of their denomination, and Jews either attended a synagogue or went to the home of their rabbi if their local Jewish population was too small to have a synagogue.[8]

After these services, students met in the main hall or gymnasium of the school. The room would be decorated with at least the Austrian flag and a picture or bust of the emperor. Typically schools would also use flowers, bunting, and other decorations to create a "festive" environment.[9] Often these decorations could be quite elaborate. For example, in an event honoring Franz Joseph's visit to Linz in 1903, the Collegium Petrinum Gymnasium lined the road to the school with the black and yellow flags of the Habsburg dynasty and decorated the school's main hall with oil paintings of every Habsburg emperor from Rudolf I to Joseph I, complete with the individual mottos of each ruler.[10] Besides students, these events included the faculty of the school and parents. Local, provincial, and sometimes state-level dignitaries joined the celebration, by invitation, and typically offered speeches. These speeches were given along with student readings of patriotic poems and the singing of patriotic songs. The event ended with the signing of the Austrian *Volkshymne* and well-wishes offered in the name of the emperor.[11]

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7   For example ÖStA, AVA, MKU, f. 4189, memorandum from the Ministry of Religion and Education, 6196-1886. Plans developed by the Vienna city council for celebrations of Franz Joseph's seventieth birthday further illustrate this coordination. Municipal and Provincial Archives of Vienna, 3.1.5.5.A62.2, 70. Geburtstag Kaiser FJ I 1900 0818, Fest-Ordnung, 6944/1900.

8   AStL, B0019, Disziplinar-Vorschriften für die Schüler des k.k. Staats-Gymnasiums Linz, 1872, 14, 15; Disziplinar-Vorschriften für die Schüler des k.k. Staats-Gymnasiums Linz, 1881, 15, 16.

9   When writing about the various school celebrations, most year-end reports from schools made some comment about the room being "festively decorated," often with detailed descriptions of those decorations. See for example AStL, B0027, Dreizehnter Jahresbericht des bischöflichen Privat-Gymnasiums am "Collegium Petrinum," 1910, 43. WStLA, Stadtschulrat, SSR, 2.2.2.3.1601, Schulchronik – Abelegasse, entry for October 4, 1900.

10   AStL, B0027, Kollegium Petrinum (1898–1918), Sechster Jahresbericht des bischöflichen Privat-Gymnasiums am "Collegium Petrinum" in Urfahr für das Schuljahr 1902/03, 4-6.

11   WStLA, SSR, 2.2.2.3.402, Schulchronik - Hauptschule für Mädchen, Vierter Bezirk, Graf Starhemberggasse,

Speakers at these events had control over their individual speeches, but they always reflected on the importance of the day and reinforced the value of patriotism and loyalty. The consistency of speeches from school to school and from speaker to speaker reflects the existence of a general consensus regarding the history of Austria-Hungary and the qualities of Franz Joseph. This consistency also reflected the fact that local leaders often received suggested themes for their speeches. For example, in 1908, for Franz Joseph's sixtieth jubilee, Mayor Karl Lueger of Vienna distributed sample speeches for his representatives to give. It was clear he only intended for minor changes to be made to these remarks.[12]

In general, the speeches honoring Franz Joseph asserted that the emperor was a model of ideal leadership. They praised him for his piety and virtue, offering examples from his life as proof of these qualities. In particular, speeches often described "his faith and sense of duty," along with his tireless work ethic and dedication.[13] This dedication gained even more resonance as speakers reflected on the personal tragedies Franz Joseph suffered. They lamented the execution of his brother, Maximilian, in Mexico; the death of his son Rudolph; and the assassination of his wife, Elisabeth. Yet in spite of these personal challenges, Franz Joseph focused only on the welfare of Austria.[14] Considering these remarks were given in schools, speakers often used Franz Joseph's support for education as evidence of this concern. They rarely missed an opportunity to describe his patronage of schools and his support for the arts and sciences.[15]

By reflecting on his devotion to his family, as well as his country, Franz Joseph embodied the paternalistic ideal of nineteenth century kingship. He became, in the words of one teacher, a "faithful father to all of his subjects."[16] Another speech given in 1900 at a Viennese elementary school developed this concept further, describing Franz Joseph as a noble "father of his country (*Landesvater*)" who "over the long years always showed concern for the welfare and happiness of his peoples." This concern earned the "complete love and steadfast (*unerschütterlich*) loyalty" of his peoples. As evidence of this concern, one only need look to his deep concern for the poor, his patronage of schools and hospitals, and his tireless efforts to reform the Austrian government. It also reminded listeners of the shared moments of "happiness and joy as well as grief and sorrow" which bound the monarch and the peoples of Austria.[17]

The speeches given at these celebrations were reinforced through other media in Austrian society. Individuals could purchase the same pictures and busts schools displayed, biographies of Franz Joseph written to commemorate jubilees and

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entries for November 11, 1887; May 12, 1888; January 15, 1891; July 14, 1900. 2.2.2.3.203.B51, Schulchronik – Holzhausergasse, entries for November 10, 1877; November 30, 1880; December 27, 1882; July 14, 1900; SSR, 2.2.2.3.506.B51, Schulchronik – Einsiedlergasse, entry for October 4, 1910.

12 WStLA, KBK, 3.1.5.5.A63.4, Sample speech distributed by Mayor Karl Lueger, Document 16500.

13 WStLA, SSR, Materialien-Schulveranstaltungen (uncollected materials), Festrede by Franziska Wolf.

14 WStLA, SSR, 2.2.2.3.203.B51, Schulchronik – Holzhausergasse, entry for December 2, 1898.

15 *Jahresbericht über das k.k. akademisches Gymnasium in Wien für das Schuljahr 1870–1871* (Vienna: Verlag des k.k. akademischen Gymnasiums, 1871), 82.

16 WStLA, SSR, 2.2.2.3.102.B51, Schulchronik – Pfarrhauptschule Heiligenkreuzerhof, Band 1, entry for December 2, 1873.

17 WStLA, SSR, 2.2.2.3.907.B51, Schulchronik – Liechtensteinstrasse, Band 1, entry for July 14, 1900.

anniversaries reiterated the themes of the speeches given in schools, and as Daniel Unowsky points out, individuals could even buy marzipan likenesses of the emperor.[18] By the end of his life, Franz Joseph became a symbol of unity, piety, devotion and good leadership. The commemoration of the monarch continued after Franz Joseph's death, but obviously ended when the Monarchy collapsed in 1918.[19] As the new Austrian state transcended from being part of a large, multinational empire into an independent republic, it had to reconcile its imperial past and craft a new sense of identity. This process was long and difficult.

During the interwar period, Austrian identity remained in flux and poorly formed. Considering the state's imperial legacy, this is hardly surprising. As nationalism developed in Central Europe in the late nineteenth century, few argued that an Austrian nation existed. Austrian identity was, by necessity, supranational and imperial. One was Austrian because one lived in the Habsburg Monarchy. By this logic, a Czech-speaker living in Bohemia was just as Austrian as a German-speaker living in Styria.[20] As a result, most Austrians who lived in the Austrian Republic after World War I considered themselves to be members of the German nation, though not members of the German nation-state. The fact that many called the new state the Republic of German-Austria (much to the frustration of the Allied powers), and the fact that there was strong support for eventual union with Germany reflects this reality.[21]

While many of Austria's interwar leaders supported the possibility of joining Germany, the treaties which ended World War I made this an impossibility. As a result, as Heidemarie Uhl and Albert Reiterer note, the First Republic was "the state no one wanted", lacking broad support from the general population and even among its own leaders.[22] Not only did many Austrians doubt the economic vitality of the new state, few considered themselves to be members of an Austrian nation. As a result, the new republic was left to try to create an Austrian national identity among lingering questions of Austria's German character.[23]

Austrian leaders attempted to achieve this goal by distancing Austria from its Habsburg past. In the early years of the republic, the commemorations and celebrations typical to the Monarchy gave way to a state eager to align society to a mindset that reflected the socialist and democratic principles of the republic's founders.[24] Furthermore, in recognition of the fact that most Austrians identified as

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18 Daniel L. Unowsky, *The Pomp and Politics of Patriotism: Imperial Celebrations in Habsburg Austria, 1848–1916* (West Lafayette, IN: Purdue University Press, 2005), 105–44.

19 For examples of the celebrations of Emperor Karl I, see WStLA, SSR, 2.2.2.3.604.B51, Schulchronik – Sonnenuhrgasse, Band 2, entry for November 3, 1917; Municipal and Provincial Archives of Vienna, SSR, 2.2.2.3.1601.B51, Schulchronik – Abelegasse, Entries for November 3, 1917, November 21, 1917.

20 Albert F. Reiterer, *Nation und Nationalbewusstsein in Österreich* (Vienna: VWGÖ, 1988), 36.

21 Franz Mathis, "1,000 Years of Austria and Austrian Identity: Founding Myths," in: *Austrian Historical Memory and National Identity*, eds. Günter Bischof and Anton Pelinka, (New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 1997), 22.

22 Heidemarie Uhl, *Zwischen Versöhnung und Verstörung: Eine Kontroverse um Österreichs historische Identität fünfzig Jahre nach dem Anschluß* (Vienna: Böhlau Verlag, 1988), 52. Reiterer, *Nation und Nationalbewusstsein in Österreich,* 56.

23 Uhl, *Zwischen Versöhnung und Verstörung*, 46.

24 For an overview of these efforts, see Douglas Patrick Campbell, "The Shadow of the Habsburgs: Memory and Na-

members of the German nation, the leaders of the First Republic attempted to forge a sense of "Austrianess" that embraced German national culture while simultaneously emphasizing Austria's unique contribution to that culture.[25]

These efforts intensified as the republic fell under the conservative, authoritarian control of Engelbert Dollfuß. Even though Dollfuß' regime vigorously supported Austria's independence from Germany, it continued to distance Austrian identity from its imperial history. Rather than relying on Austria's Habsburg legacy, Dollfuß promoted an Austrian identity based on the fusion of traditional German culture and Catholic Christianity. Under Dollfuß, educators presented the Austrian nation as the final "bulwark" of German culture, its only defense against the barbarizing influence of the Prussian dominated German state.[26] Whole school celebrations utilized images from the Habsburg past, they became symbols of Austria's contribution to German culture, not a celebration of its imperial legacy.[27]

The Austrian national identity promoted by Dollfuß' regime put it in direct conflict with the radical, pro-union German nationalism of the National Socialists who were becoming a strong voice in Austrian politics. When the Nazi regime in Germany engineered the annexation of Austria in 1938, it was obviously this latter group that became the dominant voice in Austrian political culture. Once union was achieved, the Nazi regime made every effort to expunge Austria's sense of cultural and political distinction within German speaking Europe.[28] This new government even went so far as to change the name of the former Austrian state to *Ostmark*, a vague connection to Austria's medieval origins, and all public commemorations and celebrations honored Adolf Hitler, the Nazi regime, and the German nation. Germany's defeat in the Second World War provided a second attempt for Austria to craft a unique national identity.

As scholars like Heidemarie Uhl have long noted, the desire to obscure the role of many Austrians in the Third Reich helped bolster the establishment of an Austrian national identity distinct from German nationalism. In Uhl's words, the Second Austrian Republic was founded as "the antithesis to the *Anschluß* and to National Socialism."[29] Embracing its Habsburg past, though detached from its imperial

tional Identity in Austrian Politics and Education, 1918–1955" (Ph.D. diss., The University of Maryland, College Park, 2006), 1–201. While the new Austrian state sought to distance itself from its Habsburg past, it nevertheless maintained much of the governmental structure and bureaucracy that existed in Habsburg Austria. This bureaucratic legacy was typical to the monarchy's successor states. See Pieter M. Judson, "'Where Our Commonality is Necessary…': Rethinking the End of the Habsburg Monarchy," *Austrian History Yearbook* 48 (April 2017): 12.

25   Reiterer, *Nation und Nationalbewusstsein in Österreich*, 37.

26   Walter Wiltschegg, *Österreich – der Zweite Deutsche Staat? Der nationale Gedanke in der Ersten Republik* (Graz: Leopold Stockerverlag, 1992), 152–56.

27   Ibid., 213, 214.

28   For more on the development of this struggle, see John C. Swanson, *The Remnants of the Habsburg Monarchy: The Shaping of Modern Austria and Hungary, 1918–1922* (New York: East European Monographs, 2001), 13–41. For more on the impact of World War II on shaping Austrian national identity after 1938, see Bruce F. Pauley, *Hitler and the Forgotten Nazis: A History of Austrian National Socialism* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1981), 216–29. Evan Burr Bukey, *Hitler's Austria: Popular Sentiment in the Nazi Era, 1938–1945* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000), 155–234.

29   Uhl, *Zwischen Versöhnung und Verstörung*, 81. A similar notion is made in Reiterer, *Nation und Nationalbewusstsein in*

connotations and without any desire for a Habsburg restoration, helped in this process. After the Second World War, Austria's political and cultural leaders began promoting the artists, musicians, and historical figures from the Habsburg past in order to craft an Austria identity separate and distinct from German national culture.[30] This allowed for the legacy of imperial celebration to resurface in the years following the Second World War, and established a curious continuity between civic education in Habsburg Austria and that of Austria in the Second Republic. It appears that school events for Franz Joseph created a template for celebrating the republic and its leaders.

School celebrations held in 1950 to honor President Karl Renner mirrored those held half a century earlier for Emperor Franz Joseph. Renner had been a major figure in Austrian politics for decades. Before the First World War, he was a leader of the Social Democratic Party and he became Austria's first chancellor when the Monarchy collapsed. In 1945, he established a provisional government and became the first president of the Second Republic. Both contemporaries and historians credit Renner for helping to ensure Austria's relatively benign treatment by the Allies. These celebrations reflected the important role that Renner played in Austrian society.

The itinerary of the celebrations were almost identical to those held for Franz Joseph, even including some of the same patriotic songs and poems.[31] As with celebrations for the emperor, those for Karl Renner included speeches about his life and his service to Austria. The descriptions of Renner and his life offer striking and obvious parallels with those of Franz Joseph. Speakers described Renner as a consummate statesman, dedicated to the peace and stability of Europe. They reflected on Renner's tireless service to Austria and credited him with "the reestablishment of Austria" after World War II. They also praised Renner's dedication to the arts and sciences.[32] As with Franz Joseph, Karl Renner embodied the ideal of good governance. In many ways the only major difference between the celebrations was the fact that events to honor Renner ended with a signing of the *Bundeshymne*, the national anthem of the Austrian republic, rather than the *Volkshymne*.

On June 21, 1951, schools held an almost identical celebration for President Theodor Körner's birthday.[33] Körner was the second president of the Second Republic, serving from 1951 until he died in 1957. He was also the first post-war mayor of Vienna, serving from 1945-1950, responsible for supervising the capital's postwar recovery. Speeches honoring Körner utilized familiar themes: drawing attention to his military

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Österreich, 57. Anton Pelinka, "Taboos and Self-Deception: The Second Republic's Reconstruction of History," in: *Austrian Historical Memory*, 96–101.

30 Reiterer, *Nation und Nationalbewusstsein in Österreich,* 55. See also, Campbell, "The Shadow of the Habsburgs: Memory and National Identity in Austrian Politics and Education, 1918–1955," 413–601. Peter Thaler, *The Ambivalence of Identity: The Austrian Experience of Nation-Building in a Modern Society* (West Lafayette, IN: Purdue University Press, 2001).

31 *Renner-Feier, November 27, 1950*, WStLA, SSR, Materialien-Schulveranstaltungen (uncollected materials).

32 Ibid. *Renner-Feier*, Allg. Öffentliche Volks- und Hauptschule für Mädchen, 18. Bezirk, WStLA, SSR, Materialien-Schulveranstaltungen (uncollected materials).

33 Theodor Körner was the second president of the Second Republic, serving from 1951 until he died in 1957. He was also the first post-war mayor of Vienna, serving from 1945-1950. All contents of this footnote is said in the text, this note should be deleted.

service during World War I and praising his efforts to rebuild Austria when he was elected mayor of Vienna in 1945. Speakers also reflected on Körner's deep interest in improving the lives of the citizens of Vienna, evidenced by the schools, parks, and youth organizations established when he was mayor. Similar to those honoring Franz Joseph, speakers also discussed Körner's personal life, especially his devotion to his home and his family. This dedication not only reflected his personal virtue, it also provided a foundation for his dedication to the people of Austria.[34]

The parallels between these speeches and those honoring Franz Joseph are obvious. Speakers wanted to emphasize the fact that Austria was a state led by pious, dedicated leaders who devoted their lives to the state and to the people of Austria. This emphasis speaks to the unconscious legacy of Habsburg commemoration. The notion that Habsburg leaders were stewards of the state and benevolent rulers was essential to Austrian civic education before the First World War, and these leadership tropes persisted in the Second Republic. As Austria emerged from the carnage of the Second World War, the biographies of its postwar presidents helped to create an image of a state led by similar stewards. Such celebrations reflected the assertion that Austria's new republic had the good fortune to be led by just, honorable leaders, interested only in peace and in the development of the state, just like the Monarchy in the time of the Habsburgs. These celebrations formed a crucial bridge between Austria's past and present as it transitioned to the Second Republic.

Ultimately, celebrations of Austria's presidents tapered off in favor of explicitly republican national holidays after the signing of the state treaty of 1955. The state treaty ended Allied occupation of Austria and established an Austrian state neutral in the Cold War competition between the United States and the Soviet Union. As Austria developed a prosperous democratic society, schools celebrated Austria's new role in the world. These efforts included commemorating the state treaty itself as well as Austrian Flag Day.[35] In spite of these changes, the initial commemoration of Austria's postwar presidents speak to the power of administrative legacies, which can provide a template for notions of patriotism, civic education, and sense of self that can persist even after states collapse. It would be interesting to see if similar legacies exist in other parts of the former Habsburg Monarchy and to see how such ideas shaped these successor states as well.

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34 *Feier für Theodor Körners Angelobung*, WStLA, SSR, Materialien-Schulveranstaltungen (uncollected materials).

35 Mementos and programs for these events can be found throughout the WStLA, SSR, Materialien-Schulveranstaltungen (uncollected materials).

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- OÖLA – Oberösterreichisches Landesarchiv, Linz [Upper Austrian Provincial Archives, Linz]:
  – LSR – Landesschulrat.
- ÖStA – Österreichisches Staatsarchiv [Austrian State Archives]:
  – AVA: MKU, Allgemeines Verwaltungsarchiv: Ministerium für Kultus und Unterricht.
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  – KBK – Kleine Bestände: Kaiserhaus.
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Scott O. Moore

CESAR Z DRUGAČNIM IMENOM: ŠOLSKE SLOVESNOSTI V HABSBURŠKI AVSTRIJI IN DRUGI AVSTRIJSKI REPUBLIKI

POVZETEK

Domoljubne proslave so bile ob koncu devetnajstega stoletja v avstrijskih šolah pomemben del javnega izobraževanja. Habsburški uradniki so upali, da bodo pri državljanih spodbudile lojalnost in oblikovale skupen pogled na preteklost Habsburške monarhije. Ključni del teh prizadevanja so bili dogodki, ki so obeleževali življenje habsburškega cesarja. Desetletja po padcu monarhije so šole organizirale podobne dogodke v čast avstrijskih predsednikov, ki so delovali v prvi dekadi po drugi svetovni vojni. Podobnosti med temi dogodki pričajo o moči birokratske zapuščine, ki lahko preživi padce vlad in razpade držav.

Konec devetnajstega in začetek dvajsetega stoletja je cislajtanijsko (tj. avstrijsko) ministrstvo za religijo in šolstvo določilo parametre za proslave v avstrijskih šolah, pokrajinska in lokalna šolska vodstva pa so določila strukturo teh dogodkov. Navkljub tej decentralizirani ureditvi so si bili dogodki v avstrijski polovici Avstro-Ogrske med seboj osupljivo podobni. Proslave so se začele z verskim obredom, ki so mu sledili petje domoljubnih pesmi, recitiranje domoljubne poezije in govori, ki so poudarjali pomembnost dogodka. Cesarja Franca Jožefa so govorniki počastili tako, da so ga predstavili kot utelešenje dobrega vladarja ter ga hvalili kot zvestega zaščitnika monarhije in ljudstva. Po smrti Franca Jožefa leta 1916 so šole podobne dogodke prirejale za Cesarja Karla I vse do razpada monarhije leta 1918.

Konec monarhije in nastanek (prve) avstrijske republike sta spremenila značaj javnih slovesnosti v Avstriji. Zaradi želje po ločitvi prve republike od Habsburške monarhije so želeli avstrijski voditelji poudariti socialistične in demokratične ideale

njenih snovalcev. Ko je kancler Engelbert Dollfuß leta 1933 postal avtokratski vladar Avstrije, so šolske proslave znova prilagodili in v njih poudarjali tradicionalno nemško, katoliško kulturo, ki jo je podpiral nov režim. Po priključitvi Avstrije k Nemčiji marca 1938 so šole častile Hitlerja in nacistično vizijo nemškega naroda.

Povojna vlada je nato zaradi burnih in uničujočih dogodkov v Avstriji med letoma 1918 in 1945 želela razviti in izraziti avstrijsko identiteto, ki bi Avstrijo in Avstrijce odmaknila od omenjenih izkustev. Šolske proslave v čast avstrijskega predsednika so neposredno po koncu druge svetovne vojne postale orodje, s katerim je država skušala doseči tovrstne cilje. Pri načrtovanju takih dogodkov so se šole vrnile k organizaciji proslav, kot so jih v Habsburški monarhiji prirejali v čast Francu Jožefu. Z uporabo strukture, enake tisti s proslav v imperiju, so želele poudariti vodstvene sposobnosti predsednika Karla Rennerja in predsednika Theodorja Körnerja, tako da so oba slavile kot utelešenje dobrega vladanja in močnega vodstva. Jezik teh prireditev je popolnoma spominjal na tistega, ki so ga uporabljali za opisovanje Cesarja Franca Jožefa. Čeprav so se dogodki v čast avstrijskega predsednika sčasoma umaknili novim državnim praznikom, se zdi, da je bil v obdobju tik po vojni institucionalni spomin javnih slovesnosti za Avstrijo sredstvo spoprijemanja s posledicami vojne in vzpostavljanja povojne avstrijske identitete.

Igor Vranić*

The Problem of Top-down Empire Building – the Last Kronprinzenwerk Volume on Croatia-Slavonia

IZVLEČEK

TEŽAVA HIERARHIČNEGA USTROJA CESARSTVA – ZADNJI ZVEZEK ENCIKLOPEDIJE KRONPRINZENWERK, KI OBRAVNAVA KRALJEVINO HRVAŠKO IN SLAVONIJO

Avtor preučuje zadnji zvezek enciklopedije Kronprinzenwerk, ki obravnava Kraljevino Hrvaško in Slavonijo, v luči interakcij med procesi oblikovanja cesarstva in oblikovanja naroda oz. načine, kako so se pričakovanja imperija glede enciklopedije Kronprinzenwerk razlikovala od končnega izdelka lokalnih strokovnjakov. Posebna pozornost je namenjena uredniku zvezka Izidorju Kršnjaviju in njegovi uredniški politiki, pa tudi podobi Hrvaške in Slavonije in hrvaškim notranjim javnim razpravam, ki so potekale med urejanjem enciklopedije Kronprinzenwerk, ter političnim učinkom, ki jih je prinesel njen izid.

Ključne besede: oblikovanje cesarstva, nacionalizem, Habsburška monarhija, Kronprinzenwerk, Kršnjavi

ABSTRACT

The author examines the last volume of the Kronprinzenwerk on Croatia-Slavonia in the context of the interaction between empire- and nation-building processes, that is, the ways in which imperial expectations of the Kronprinzenwerk differed from the final product done by the local experts. Special emphasis is put on the volume's editor, Izidor Kršnjavi

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and his editorial policy as well as on the image of Croatia-Slavonia and internal Croatian public debates which occurred during the editorial process of the Kronprinzenwerk and its political implications.

Keywords: empire-building, nationalism, Habsburg Monarchy, Kronprinzenwerk, Kršnjavi

Introduction

The Austro-Hungarian Empire in Word and Picture (Die *österreichisch-ungarische* Monarchie in Wort und Bild – also known as *Kronprinzenwerk)* was initiated by Crown Prince Rudolf in 1884. Contributions were mostly of folkloristic character describing and depicting each region's customs, architecture, nature, geology, botany, etc. The idea behind the whole work was to represent the ethnic, cultural and linguistic diversity of the Habsburg Monarchy. The Monarchy was presented as a state that transformed individual cultures into a new common culture from which all cultures profited. The implicit argument of the series was that the Monarchy had always been culturally and linguistically heterogeneous, so none of the ethnic groups can claim exclusive right to the territories.[1] Regina Bendix rightly noticed that the *Kronprinzenwerk* symbolically "wanted to undermine the idea of territorial exclusivity for individual ethnicities," but failed to notice "the close connection between nationalism and essentialized cultural representation."[2] The *Kronprinzenwerk* was part of the imperial cosmopolitan state's response to increasing nationalisms throughout the Monarchy. The *Kronprinzenwerk* was published between 1885 and 1902 in 24 volumes with contributions from more than 400 authors and with 4,500 illustrations. There were two editions of the *Kronprinzenwerk* – Austrian and Hungarian. While the Austrian edition enjoyed commercial success, the Hungarian edition did not find a market, probably because the cultural policy it represented was not supported and advertised by the political circles in Hungary.[3]

The last volume of *Kronprinzenwerk* was on Croatia and Slavonia, with Izidor Kršnjavi as its editor. Kršnjavi had been educated in Vienna in the 1860s as an art historian and painter. During his studies, Kršnjavi was largely influenced by Viennese liberal circles and especially by his professor Rudolf von Eitelberger.[4] After returning to Croatia, Kršnjavi started teaching at the newly opened Zagreb University and

1   Matthew Rampley, *The Vienna School of Art History: Empire and the Politics of Scholarship, 1847–1918* (State College: Penn State Press, 2013), 83.

2   Regina Bendix, "Ethnology, Cultural Reification, and the Dynamics of Difference in the Kronprinzenwerk," in: *Creating the Other - Ethnic Conflict and Nationalism in Habsburg Central Europe*, ed. Nancy M. Wingfield (New York and Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2003), 154, 159.

3   Ibid., 150.

4   For an excellent discussion on the mid-nineteenth century Viennese liberalism see Jonathan Kwan, *Liberalism and the Habsburg Monarchy, 1861–1895* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013).

became an important member of the People's Party under the leadership of the new Ban Khuen Hedervary during the 1880s. From 1891 to 1896, Kršnjavi held the position of Minister of Religious Affairs and Education. He was forced to resign after a group of students burned the Hungarian flag during Emperor Franz Joseph's visit to Zagreb in 1895. After his resignation, Kršnjavi continued teaching at the Zagreb University and remained one of the proponents of Dualism up until 1906 when he joined the Croatian Party of Right.

The main intent of my article is to briefly outline the last volume of the *Kronprinzenwerk* and the editorial ideas behind it, namely to present Croatia as a region of the Western cultural circle with a specific territory and culture. Special emphasis shall be placed on the ideological discrepancy seemingly apparent between the original project formulation and the content of the volume under research. Finally, I want to point out some of the key issues in the internal Croatian debates regarding the last volume of the *Kronprinzenwerk.*

Croatia and Slavonia in the *Kronprinzenwerk*

The last volume on Croatia and Slavonia was published in 1902. It was divided into four parts – history, people, culture and descriptions of particular towns and regions. The history section was divided into three parts – history of antiquity, history of national rulers and the Arpad dynasty, and history of the Anjou dynasty until the beginning of the modern period. As an addition to this history overview, there was a special article on church relations with the Serbian population. The section "people" consisted of three articles discussing the old folk religion, family relations and housing, folk crafts, and folk music. The section dealing with culture discusses Croatian and Serbian literature, and Croatian art and education. The last section gives brief descriptions of the land, namely ones of economic relations; forestry and hunting; regions of Primorje (Littoral region of the northern Adriatic), Lika, Turopolje, Zagorje, Podravina, Slavonia, Posavina and Sriem; cities of Zagreb, Senj, Žumberak/Sichelburg, Požega, Osijek/Esseg; and natural wonders such as the Plitvice lakes, the Kalnik hill, and the granite hills of Moslavina.

In general, Kršnjavi's introduction was a brief, poetic geographical description of the land. The country was described and illustrated as small picturesque towns which lacked modernization. Kršnjavi praised the role of the Habsburgs in modernizing these places by introducing railways and sewer systems. Such argumentation was typical for all of the *Kronprinzenwerk* volumes – all regions and crownlands were inhabited with various groups of people that peacefully coexisted with the Habsburgs who served as legal protectors and who worked to modernize the less developed regions. Kršnjavi used geographical specificities such as the Sava and Drava rivers, hills and karst in order to create a separate character of Croatia and Slavonia distinct from Dalmatia. In his view, geographical conditions were also reflected in people's

characters depending on the geographical conditions of where they lived. He divided the people of Croatia into five groups based on region – Zagorje (Northern Croatia), Posavina (people around the Sava river), Podravina (North-eastern Croatia), Lika (the former Military Border), and the Serbs, although they inhabited all the regions.

People from Zagorje were portrayed as blond, of medium height with bright eyes and strongly developed feelings for the respect of the law and justice. They were well organized and would easily rebel if someone did not respect their rights. In order to support this claim, Kršnjavi cited various peasant rebellions from the region and interpreted them as fights against breaches of the law. Contrary to the Croatians from Zagorje, Croatians from Podravina and the Posavina region were portrayed as dark-haired, easy-going and emotional. Croats from Lika were presented as tall, strong, resilient, traditional and unwilling to adapt to novelties. They were also presented as working in the forests outside their hometowns where they would earn money to support their families back at home.[5]

These regional stereotypes were more picturesque and provisional, rather than racial. The most notorious racial stereotype of the region is probably the one developed during the First World War by the Serbian geographer Jovan Cvijić in which he claimed the Dinaric race was comprised of barbaric Highlanders and more civilized Lowlanders.[6] One of the reasons for such difference was political. While Cvijić's Balkanist discourse tried to prove differences between peoples of the Balkans and the Western world, Kršnjavi sought to present Croats from various regions as possessing the same culture as its Western counterparts, mostly with regard to "civilization" as it related to respect for laws and an organized state.

Kršnjavi portrayed the Serbs in Croatia similarly to the Croats, as sharing common folk traditions and language, but separated by their usage of the Cyrillic script and the Orthodox religion. In Kršnjavi's view, the difference between Catholicism and Orthodoxy was not only theological, but also cultural:

> "It is not the dogmatic nuances that should be considered as the point of division, but more probably it is the centuries long membership in two different cultural circles, to western Catholic and to Greek eastern orthodox, that separate the Croats and the Serbs, despite using the same language."[7]

By making such a division, Kršnjavi implied that the Croats belong to the nations of the West, possessing their own culture and history, while the Serbs were grouped with the barbarian nations of the East, lacking culture and history. Nevertheless, one of the advantages of traditional Serbian lifestyle was

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5   Izidor Kršnjavi, "Einleitung," in: *Die Österreichisch-Ungarische Monarchie in Wort und Bild - Croatien und Slavonien, Vol. 24*, ed. Izidor Kršnjavi (Wien: Druck und Verlag der kaiserlich-königlichen Hof- und Staatsdruckerei, 1902), 11, 12.

6   Danijel Džino, "Subverting Braudel in Dalmatia: Religion, Landscape and Cultural Mediation in the Hinterland of the Eastern Adriatic," in: *Across the Corrupting Sea – Post-Braudelian Approaches to the Ancient Eastern Mediterranean,* eds. Cavan Concannon and Lindsey A. Mazurek (Dorchester: Routledge, 2016).

7   Kršnjavi, "Einleitung," 13.

its preservation of folk poetry, songs and crafts, contrary to "more cultural" Croatians that had been exposed to foreign cultural forms because of their participation in the intellectual life of the West.

Although the Croats differed among themselves regionally, Kršnjavi also claimed that they shared common characteristics – honesty, reliability, religiosity, compassion and morality. In Kršnjavi's view, such unique and traditional Croatian virtues, along with membership in the Hungarian kingdom, were the main reasons why the Croatian population had kept its political and national individuality, despite unfavorable geographical conditions.

The next article of the volume dealing with the earliest history of the Croatian lands up until the middle ages was written by Kršnjavi's former student and colleague, Ćiro Truhelka. His main aim was to pinpoint that the Croatian territories were part of cultural Europe since ancient times without temporal disruptions, even though they were not inhabited by the Croats. He constructed such continuity through similarities between Croatian Neolithic archeological findings, their Western counterparts that were replaced by Illyrian and Celtic cultures, and, finally, by connecting these territories to the Roman Empire.[8] Although he did not explicitly state it, Truhelka's incorporation of the Roman Empire to his argument was probably meant to prove the affiliation of the Croatian territories to, what was considered at the time, the last common culture of Europe. Even though the Croats did not inhabit the land at that time, being a part of cultural Europe could be proven on various levels by continuity of ornaments or architectural forms that the Croats could have adopted from the domestic population and used further after their migration to the region. The fact that they were intellectually capable of learning such complex knowledge, should also have secured their place among the cultural nations. Such a view opposed the one that argued that the Croats had arrived in the completely empty and desolated region of Dalmatia (there is a metaphor of Dalmatia as an empty house) expressed by the first professional Croatian historian, Franjo Rački, which was adopted by the majority of historians. While Truhelka wanted to show continuity and membership in the cultural sphere of the Roman Empire, Rački wanted to show how the Croats had migrated to an empty territory, so that no other nation could claim those territories.

The next article in the volume, *The Time of National Rulers and the Rule of the Arpads* by Kršnjavi, was highly criticized. Kršnjavi gave a very brief description of Croatian history during the reign of the national rulers and the Arpad dynasty. Interestingly, he gave only slightly more space to the Croatian duke, Zdeslav, who ruled for only two years (878-879) with the help of Byzantium, and fell as a victim of a conspiracy. In Kršnjavi's view, Zdeslav was an important ruler because

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8   Ćiro Truhelka, "Urgeschichte und Römische Zeit," in: *Die Österreichisch-Ungarische Monarchie in Wort und Bild – Croatien und Slavonien,* 15–27.

he practically managed to unify all of Croatia, even if it was still theoretically divided. Under Zdeslav's rule, Dalmatian coastal towns stopped paying a tribute to Byzantium, however they continued to pay a lower tax as a sign of Byzantium's sovereignty.[9] Most likely, Kršnjavi's intention was to point out the importance of ruling a territory even if it was still nominally under another power, as well as Croatian historical rights to the Dalmatian coastal towns which were subjects of dispute between Croatian and Italian national activists.

Ironically, Kršnjavi was attacked for writing separate histories of Croatia and Dalmatia for the *Kronprinzenwerk*, although the majority of his historical article deals exclusively with the Croatian medieval history in Dalmatia. It would have been impossible for Kršnjavi, or anyone else, to write on early Croatian medieval history without discussing Dalmatia since there was almost no documentation for such an endeavor. If anything, Kršnjavi should have been "accused" of only writing the history of Dalmatia and for omitting the rest of Croatia. Generally, Kršnjavi presented Dalmatia as an integral part of the Croatian Kingdom. It remains unclear whether the Austrian and Hungarian editorial boards were aware of Kršnjavi's editorial strategy or not, or whether they just lacked interest since his was the last volume of the series.

The last part of the historical section was written by Ivan Bojničić and provided an overview of Croatian history from the late middle ages until contemporary times. The article lacked interpretation and consisted only of brief chronological data. Bojničić did not even interpret the conspiracy from the mid-seventeenth century of Nikola Šubić Zrinski and Fran Krsto Frankopan against the emperor as a struggle for independence, which was one of the favorite arguments of anti-Austrian Croatian national activists. Nevertheless, Bojničić did reproduce a few politically correct messages on the last two pages of the article. First, he stated: "Modern Croatia stands on the side of historical rights and is, however, under the rule of all those factors through which it secured natural development of national individuality."[10] Since Bojničić held anti-Hungarian stances, he probably used the phrase "all those factors" as a compromise with the editorial board and Kršnjavi. According to this view, he presented Croatia as an autonomous unit which had managed to develop and preserve its national character/identity because it was part of larger state formations with Austria and Hungary. Bojničić also tackled the problematic nature of Croatia's union with Hungary in the following away. In his view the Triune Kingdom formed a political community with Hungary, but that it constituted a separate territory and population:

"The realms of Croatia, Slavonia and Dalmatia constitute together with Hungary and its adjoining lands one and the same political community (Gemeinsamkeit),

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9   Izidor Kršnjavi, "Der Zeit der Nationalen Herrscher und die Herrschaft der Arpaden," in: *Die Österreichisch-Ungarische Monarchie in Wort und Bild - Croatien und Slavonien,* 34.

10   Ivan Bojničić, "Von den Anjou bis zur Neuzeit," in: *Die Österreichisch-Ungarische Monarchie in Wort und Bild – Croatien und Slavonien,* 82.

however Croatia-Slavonia possesses a distinct territory, and its inhabitants are one political nation."[11]

Such reasoning presupposed that the entire population of Croatia-Slavonia, regardless of nationality, formed a political nation that is itself supra-national and that consisted of various national and cultural elements. This view more broadly corresponds to the main argument of the *Kronprinzenwerk*, that the population of the Monarchy also constituted one political nation composed of various elements. Interestingly, Bojničić omitted Dalmatia from his claim that Croatia-Slavonia has its own territory and population, yet he was not attacked in the daily press even though this argument had been made against Kršnjavi. It is also unclear from Bojničić's line whether he considered the population of Dalmatia to be a member of "one political nation" or not.

Finally, Bojničić concludes that Hungary wants the reunification of Croatia with Dalmatia (which was a crownland of the Austrian half of the Dual Monarchy), and that Croatian culture developed recently due to dualism as well as because of the Croatian-Hungarian compromise. Interestingly, the first claim managed to be approved by the Hungarian editorial board, although Hungary was probably the last one to fight for the incorporation of Dalmatia into Croatia, especially under Croatia's conditions. Even if such unification was debated, it is more likely that Dalmatia would have to be incorporated into Hungary as a separate crownland with its own administration. The second argument, that of the recent development of Croatian culture, was probably suggested, or maybe even imposed by Kršnjavi, since contemporary Croatia needed to be presented as a successful result of Ban Khuen Hedervary's modernization program, especially since Kršnjavi had been the key figure in Hedervary's failed pacification and modernization project related to cultural matters. Despite the fact that Hedervary was still in power at the time of publishing the *Kronprinzenwerk*, such argumentation was probably intended to show Kršnjavi's loyalty to the Ban and the People's Party; it was obvious to both the domestic and international public that Hedervary's project was much different from what he wanted to present.

Kršnjavi similarly argued further in the *Kronprinzenwerk,* in the article *Croatian Art,* that recent artistic developments were a result of strengthening Croatian political individuality.[12] He implicitly suggested that this development was a result of the Croatian-Hungarian compromise and the rule of Ban Khuen Hedervary. Paradoxically, Khuen Hederevary's project to pacify Croatia had been more successful in the realm of politics, since he had managed to weaken the opposition, than in the cultural realm. Although the development of Croatian art needed to present Croatia as a more or less autonomous land of the Crown of Saint Stephen, Croatian and Yugoslav identities had also developed and had been further strengthened through art during this period.

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11   Ibid., 83.
12   Izidor Kršnjavi, "Die Croatische Kunst," in: *Die Österreichisch-Ungarische Monarchie in Wort und Bild – Croatien und Slavonien*, 152.

The leader of Croatian artists, Vlaho Bukovac, had been adamant in his request for a separate pavilion for Croatian artists at the Millennial exhibition in Budapest in 1896. Similarly, a group of Croatian artists had refused to exhibit in the Hungarian pavilion during the Rome exhibition in 1911 after the Hungarian government refused to allow a separate entrance to the Croatian part of the pavilion. In the end they had actually exhibited their works in the Kingdom of Serbia's pavilion. Contrary to Khuen Hedervary's expectations, the development of Croatian art did not tie Croatia more closely to Hungary or to the Monarchy, but further developed cultural and political differences. Although Kršnjavi tried to present the development of Croatian art as a sign of Croatia's political individuality, it seems he did it only for political reasons. In one of his public lectures in 1896, Kršnjavi analyzed the preconditions for the development of art and came to a diametrically opposite conclusion. He argued that art develops from patriotic or religious feelings, without the influence of political systems.

> "...one question imposes itself: what is the source of great art? Is it in the political situation of a country? Is it in social relations? Arts and crafts flourished in the most absolutist states of antiquity, as well as in the freest lands of all ages – like in Egypt, Rome, and the East. Social relations had no influence… Slavery in Egypt had the same impact as freedom and wealth in America… One of the greatest and most important sources is religion… The second source is patriotism. Whichever statesmen wants to elevate the people on a higher level of culture, must advocate for art and crafts. The one that ennobles needs will also enlarge them, but greater needs are also a sign of higher civilization."[13]

None of the afore-mentioned arguments by Kršnjavi can be considered to have been his strict conviction since he used both for specific audiences. The first argument was used to present Croatian culture as a result of political individuality to the international audience, while the second argument was used for the domestic public. Kršnjavi's lecture needed to show to a domestic audience that art continues to develop, regardless of political circumstances, and that Croatia developed its art because of national and religious sentiments, despite unfavorable historical circumstances. Nevertheless, as we can see from the conclusion in the previous quotation, art needs to be constantly maintained and improved in order to continue confirming the nation's participation in Western civilization. Both examples show us how Kršnjavi had no problems in adjusting his discourse to specific situations and how he consciously added hidden political messages to such discourse, even if expressing opposing opinions on the same matter.

Returning to the article, Kršnjavi continued by giving a brief overview of Croatian art from the middle ages until his time. Again, his main concern was to show Croatian art to be a part of Western culture. Again, his discussion of Croatian medieval history of art cited only religious art from Dalmatia, which served Kršnjavi well to prove

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13   "Upliv Umjetnosti Na Obrt (Predavanje G. Dr. Ize Kršnjavoga)," *Narodne Novine* 223 (1896), 3.

Croatian participation in Western Christianity and Western culture. Similarly, the article dealing with various cultural and scholarly institutions needed to prove that Croatia had reached that phase of civilization where it could autonomously manage its past and present like other Western nations. Kršnjavi also implicitly praised himself in the article while presenting contemporary Croatian artists who studied in the Crafts school in Zagreb and later continued their studies abroad with the help of the local government. Similarly, he provided an illustration in the volume of his former ministerial headquarters, which he had restored.

Public Debates Regarding the *Kronprinzenwerk*

Kršnjavi's introduction caused bitter criticism from many Croatian nationalists, since he stated at the outset that Croatia and Dalmatia were two separate geographical units. In his view, Croatia and Slavonia were part of the Danube region, while Dalmatia was a part of the Mediterranean.

"Croatia, Slavonia and by state right appurtenant Dalmatia form in a geographical sense two completely different units. Contemporary Croatia and Slavonia belong to the Danube region … while the coast with Dalmatia and the islands belongs to the Adriatic … The main rivers of the land, as natural traffic links, do not separate Croatia and Slavonia from Hungary, but connect them together with thousand-year-old joys and sorrows. Mountains that stretch from West to East, connect the land with the Central European alpine world so that namely contemporary Croatia is closely geographically linked to Styria and Carniola up to Carinthia."[14]

Dinko Politeo criticized Kršnjavi's division of Croatia and Dalmatia based on these different geographical characteristics. In Politeo's view geographical characteristics did not influence the unity of the land, but only its human influence upon it. Therefore, he argued that Kršnjavi and other political opponents were implicitly responsible for Croatia's territorial division.

"But geography did not prevent us from being a unified and free state. Does geography prevent it nowadays? No, it is being prevented by the sad destiny of the times, it is being prevented by people such as Doctor Kršnjavi. If all of us Croats had our stances, we would all be free and unified despite Velebit [mountain that separates the coast from inlands], as we already were."[15]

It is obvious that Politeo could not divide concepts of geographical and political unity, and therefore tried to point out the logical inconsistencies of Kršnjavi's argument that Croatia shared a geographical unity with Hungary and Slovenia. In Politeo's view, the geographical unity of Croatia and Slovenia should lead to the creation of a joint

14   Kršnjavi, "Einleitung."
15   Dinko Politeo, "Na Obranu Hrvatske Proti Isi Kršnjavomu," *Obzor* 194 (1900).

political body. Since Kršnjavi did not draw such a conclusion, Politeo accused him of working in the interests of Hungarians.

> "But Doctor Kršnjavi does not derive what he should – all the consequences out of his theory. He stops there, where the system requires it. He admits that Croatia is geographically connected with Styria and Carinthia, but does not proceed further. That fact should lead him to form a folk and political community of Croats and Slovenes. But Doctor Kršnjavi knows that those in Budapest do not want it, so he does not even mention Slovenians. Our newest and most modern historian knows to stop where he needs to."[16]

Politeo also criticized Vlaho Bukovac's allegorical picture at the beginning of the volume depicting Hungary and Croatia as two women. He was dissatisfied because Croatia was depicted as the weaker woman being hugged by a stronger one, namely Hungary. Interestingly, he did not attack Bukovac for painting such a picture, but only Kršnjavi for publishing it. Bukovac had probably accepted the commission only out of financial interest since he was the one who had made the ultimatum that Croatian artists must exhibit in a separate pavilion from Hungarian ones (the pavilion whose surrounding area was covered by that soil imported from Croatia) for the Millennial exhibition in Budapest in 1896.

> "Fascicule [the volume of Kronprinzenwerk] starts with an allegorical painting by Vlaho Bukovac that depicts Hungary and Croatia. There are two women above whom the crown of Saint Stephen is levitating. Hungary is a proud woman being held full of dignity, whereas Croatia is a soft and cuddly woman, swimming in joy because Hungary hugged her, took her under her aegis and protection, and shook her hand. It is probable that this picture agrees with a particular system, but it does not agree with history, national thought, and Croatian honor."[17]

Since the woman representing Croatia was depicted with the herald of the Triune kingdom, Politeo attacked Kršnjavi for omitting Dalmatia from the volume. It is interesting to note that Istria was not a subject of discussion regarding the possible unification of Croatian territories among Croatian national activists. Also, Kršnjavi did not refer to Istria in the volume and no one attacked him because of it.

> "The woman representing Croatia is recognized by the herald of the Triune kingdom. If that is so, why does the volume not deal with the whole Triune kingdom, but only with Croatia and Slavonia? This is a contradiction which cannot be patched up, unless we proclaim a principle that science and books must sacrifice truth to every political system."[18]

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16   Ibid.
17   Ibid.
18   Ibid.

Vlaho Bukovac – Allegorie: Hungaria und Croatia.
Source: *Die Österreichisch-Ungarische Monarchie in Wort und Bild – Croatien und Slavonien*, vol. 24
(Wien: Druck und Verlag der kaiserlich-königlichen Hof- und Staatsdruckerei, 1902), 3.

Another point of controversy was Kršnjavi's short note in the *Kronprinzenwerk* about Croatian relations to Dalmatia in which he stated that Croatia and Dalmatia are parts of the same Kingdom, although under the current political division they were being separately represented. He explicitly stated that this note should be included in both the Austrian and Hungarian editions and this tells us that he probably worried that the Hungarian editorial board would try to misinterpret the Hungarian translation of the volume in favor of a more Hungarian version. The main dispute between Politeo and Kršnjavi was Dalmatia's place in the Croatian state right tradition. While Kršnjavi argued that Dalmatia was currently under Austrian administration, although Croatian by state right, Politeo claimed that Dalmatian representation in the Austrian Reichsrat was contrary to state right which he considered interrupted.

"Doctor Kršnjavi justifies in one footnote a monstrosity and states that Dalmatia is considered by contemporary state right as a Kingdom represented in the Reichsrat. Is it possible to change state right from day to day? Croatian state right in Dalmatia exists and has lived since the Croatian state was established. The fact that Dalmatia is being represented in the Reichsrat is contrary to the state right… Dalmatia is, anyway, an integral part of Croatia since the Croatian state's existence, and that is way before the Hungarian one. The Croatian state is established in Dalmatia and Croatian kings were crowned by the crown as the

kings of a powerful, Christian and cultural state, even back in the times when Magyars were just arriving to Europe."[19]

The majority of nationalist activists in the nineteenth century were concerned with proving and pointing out Croatia's historical legal rights. It was a reflection of the social mindscape that a nation capable of proving that its historical rights were older was more legitimate and this justified its current political claims. Also, if historical rights were successfully proven by nineteenth century standards, the nation would be considered as an "historical people" and proved its right to an autonomous or independent political existence.[20] The most severe academic debates from the late nineteenth century among Croatian and Hungarian historians centered on this question of historical rights. In one letter from 1872, Bishop Josip Juraj Strossmayer, patron of various national associations and one of the most prominent exponents of the Yugoslav idea, had directly advised historian Franjo Rački. "In a similar discussion, please point out our historical rights as much as you can, Hungarians are terrified of it. It is a sign that they are weak in this field, so we should point it out as much as we can."[21]

The first quarrel regarding the *Kronprinzenwerk* came in 1899 when Kršnjavi asked Ivan Bojničić, the director of the State Archives, to write an overview of early medieval Croatian history up to year 1102. Bojničić naturally repeated the Croatian nationalist version of the story based on the *Pacta Conventa* regarding the Croatian unification with Hungary in 1102. Bojničić stated that Croatia willfully joined the Hungarian Kingdom in contrast to the Hungarian version of the story which claimed the Croatian Kingdom was occupied by force. The problem arose when Bojničić refused to make corrections regarding his claims about the unification of the Hungarian and Croatian Kingdoms for the Hungarian edition of the *Kronprinzenwerk*. Kršnjavi then asked Vjekoslav Klaić, professor of history at the University of Zagreb, to write a new overview, but Klaić immediately refused. Nevertheless, Bojničić wrote an overview of the period of Anjou rule in the Kingdom of Croatia, as we have seen previously. After Bojničić's and Klaić's rejections, Kršnjavi decided to write the overview himself. In his overview, as we have seen, Kršnjavi presented both a Croatian and a Hungarian

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19   Politeo, "Na Obranu Hrvatske Proti Isi Kršnjavomu."

20   Another problematic issue in such turn-of-the-century debates was the one of Croatian medieval statehood. Without going too far into medieval political relations, my aim is to briefly point out how 19th century activists politicized the concept of Croatia's medieval statehood. Croatian statehood was used in political debates to present the early medieval Duchy of Croatia as a modern and independent democratic state practicing its sovereignty. Such views differ radically from the claims of modern historiography. Recently Mladen Ančić's study showed that in fact the early medieval Duchy of Croatia had very little space for independent decision-making in both the political and religious spheres since it was controlled by the Franks and was a part of a larger imperial state formation known as the Imperium Christianum. Also, most decisions in medieval Croatia had been made by the ruler and a narrow circle of military and administrative elites. Such political relations had been far from the democratic vision that national activists expressed. For further discussion see Mladen Ančić, "Franački I Langobardski Utjecaji Pri Stvaranju I Oblikovanju Hrvatske Kneževine," *Starohrvatska Prosvjeta* 43, No. 3 (2016): 217–38.

21   Mladen Ančić, "Kako Danas Čitati Studije Franje Račkoga?," in: *Nutarnje Stanje Hrvatske Prije XII. Stoljeća*, by Franjo Rački (Zagreb: Golden Marketing – Tehnička knjiga, 2009), XIV.

version of the unification, and left it up to the readers to decide which version was more plausible.[22] Kršnjavi argued that there were numerous interpretations, each with political implications, so he simply provided an overview of the documents for the period before 1102.[23]

Even before the *Kronprinzenwerk* was published, Kršnjavi was attacked by the *Obzor* journal. Since Kršnjavi was not a professional historian, an anonymous writer attacked him as a dilettante and claimed he was working in favor of the Hungarian editorial board. Alois Mertens from the *Agramer Tagblatt* also accused Kršnjavi working for the interests of the Hungarian committee and for asking Bojničić to make corrections in his article.[24]

"Is Doctor Kršnjavi, who is not a historian, capable of his assignment? … What our answer would be can easily be understood by rumors that are being transmitted – that Doctor Kršnjavi is mature for political requirements of the Hungarian editorial board."[25]

Kršnjavi answered that he was a professional historian, and specifically a historian of culture. He also stated that he used a scholarly methodology by working with sources and field studies. Kršnjavi continued his defense by stating that his article underwent two anonymous peer reviews by Croatian historians and that the peer reviewers were not affiliated with the Hungarian committee. In general, Kršnjavi did not consider history to consist of politics and diplomacy, but of various other aspects which he tried to include as much as possible, especially cultural topics.

"I consider on the basis of "feelings of scientific freedom" that as a professor of history of culture at a Croatian university, I am not only allowed to deal with Croatian history, but that it is also my duty. Please be patient and you will see that I have been working hard with the sources and with the personal observation of monuments in Dalmatia. It was not my intention to write a poor summary from Klaić's and Smičkilas' historical books."[26]

Obzor was probably informed of the nature of Kršnjavi's work by either Bojničić or Klaić, both of whom rejected Kršnjavi's suggestions. We can make such a supposition since the anonymous writer explicitly stated the reason why Kršnjavi posed a threat to Croatian national interests – the nature of the unification of the two kingdoms in 1102. Also, in his afore-mentioned response, Kršnjavi had mocked about Klaić's and Smičiklas' overviews of Croatian history as he considered one of them was most likely standing behind the press campaign.

22   Vlasta Švoger, "Izidor Kršnjavi U Listovima Na Njemačkom Jeziku Na Prijelazu Iz 19. U 20. Stoljeće," in: *Iso Kršnjavi – Veliki Utemeljitelj*, eds. Ivana Mance and Zlatko Matijević (Zagreb: Institut za povijest umjetnosti/ Hrvatski institut za povijest, 2015), 122.

23   Ibid., 124. This kind of methodology, which presupposes that documents can "speak", is still visible in a section of Croatian historiography.

24   Alois Mertens, "Kroatien im Kronprinzenwerke," *Agramer Tagblatt* 203 (1899).

25   "Patvorenje Povijesti," *Obzor* 204 (1899).

26   "Vrlo Štovani Gospodine Uredniče," *Obzor* 208 (1899).

The anonymous author in *Obzor* continued to explain how the topic is important for contemporary politics and state relations with Hungary, as well as for the role history plays in such debates. Although the author accused Kršnjavi of agreeing to present Croatia as occupied by king Coloman, the accusation later proved false because Kršnjavi presented both interpretations. Nevertheless, it is obvious that the idea of someone writing history against national interests and daily politics was completely alien to the author of the article, and probably even more so to the average readers of the daily press.

> "There are various points of disagreement among our and Hungarian historians, but this one is fundamental for our state-legal relations. Every time until now when there were disputes among our historians and Hungarian ones, regardless of the matter, our historians always triumphed, either because of their knowledge, or because they had truth on their side. If the rumors are true, Doctor Kršnjavi has failed and agreed with the Hungarian committee to represent the matter as if Coloman had conquered Croatia."[27]

Ivan Ružić similarly criticized Kršnjavi for not writing history from the Croatian perspective. To increase the persuasiveness of his argument, Ružić used an example of a Hungarian historian who "supported" the Croatian side. In his reply, Kršnjavi answered that such scholarship is a political issue and has nothing to do with history, nor it is the job of historians to deal with. The job of a historian, in Kršnjavi's view, was to "grasp the historical truth without taking into consideration the consequences of daily politics."[28] This approach obviously confused the general public which was used more to a nationally biased history in the service of daily politics. The best illustration of such a mindscape is shown in an honest question by Josip Pasarić who asked Kršnjavi in the *Agramer Zeitung* whether he stood on the Croatian or Hungarian side. Kršnjavi answered that he did not know a Croatian or a Hungarian side when it came to history, but only the authority of the sources.[29] On the other hand, Kršnjavi's view of sources "speaking for themselves" and requiring no interpretation, was typical for the nineteenth century historians trying to write an objective history. Politeo similarly, criticized Kršnjavi for writing history that suited Hungarian requests. His main concern was to prove that Croatia and Hungary had always been separate states, as well as to point out that the writing of history was an inevitable part of national identity.

> "Croatia was always a state separated from the Hungarian state, and it will continue to be so despite Kršnjavi's history. He can present history, or even better: create new history in a way [Buda]Pest ordered it; but he does not erase the real history with it, and even less, national consciousness…"[30]

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27   "Patvorenje povijesti."
28   Izidor Kršnjavi, "König Koloman an der Tagesordnung," *Agramer Zeitung* 215 (1899), 1, 2.
29   Ibid., 1.
30   Politeo, "Na Obranu Hrvatske Proti Isi Kršnjavomu."

Since history was important to forming national consciousness, Politeo suggested that a special board should have been organized for the *Kronprinzenwerk* volume on Croatia, consisting only of Croats, since the Hungarian editorial board would inevitably present Croatia as subordinate to Hungary. Such nationalist views presupposed that the history of a country could only be written by its native members, while others who tried to deal with the same issues were all perceived as potential enemies of the nation with hidden intentions. In such a social constellation, Kršnjavi was seen as an enemy since he was cooperating with the adversary Hungarian editorial board. It is interesting to note that the Viennese editorial board was usually omitted from these debates, as if it had no power in editorial policy and was seen as an ally in the political struggle against the Hungarians.

Conclusion

It is interesting to note that the articles in the *Kronprinzenwerk* were written in the impersonal form and without the names of authors, who were instead only mentioned in the table of contents. The main purpose of such a style and form was to provide the illusion of coherent and objective knowledge which could not be disputed. The *Kronprinzenwerk* volume on Croatia was meant to serve as a kind of encyclopedia which could provide universal and objective knowledge to a foreign audience, although it remains unclear who the expected audience was. Since the *Kronprinzenwerk* was only published in German and Hungarian, the work could only be read by native speakers or people who had achieved higher than average education. The other issues, besides linguistics, were semantic ones because the work transmitted complex messages through various literary and artistic forms. Therefore, potential readers needed to have a certain prior knowledge and a scholarly apparatus in order to fully understand the *Kronprinzenwerk* and its implied messages. For this reason, it seems that even if an average individual with knowledge of German or Hungarian could read the work, they would most likely not be able to understand its implications, and would read it mostly out of curiosity, or simply because the volume dealt with their crownland. Most probably the *Kronprinzenwerk* was intended for a narrow group of elites such as state bureaucrats, politicians and academics in order to be a repository of useful knowledge, and something more fulfilling than simply cherishing the multicultural empire. Such knowledge could be later used to govern people or engage in political and academic debates. The work clearly projected imperial power and was part of the empire-building project. This imperial power aspect was partly reflected in the fact that the crownlands could not, and did not, oppose being represented in the work. They could only try to negotiate the character of their region's portrayal, or particular authors could secretly express their own views in the work and hope the editorial boards would not reject it.

The *Kronprinzenwerk* unintentionally also became part of a nation-building process, despite originally being intended for empire-building, while denying rights of territorial exclusivity for any particular group. Instead of just mapping the heterogeneous empire, it also created stereotypical representations of particular groups. One of the main reasons for this was a lack of imperial personnel needed to complete the whole project. Instead, various experts and artists were hired from particular crownlands who expressed views not necessarily compatible with the imperial ones. It remains an open question of how much control editorial boards managed to exert over contributions to the volumes because of the sheer number of contributions they received and a lack of knowledge on specific crownlands. Considering the limited audience which could use the products from the project, it seems high expenditures did not justify the initial intentions of having the major artists and intellectuals from these crownlands contribute to the volumes. The *Kronprinzenwerk* illustrates how empire and nation worked hand in hand. Although the *Kronprinzenwerk* legitimated the empire by its fostering of the various regions and cultures, it also fostered the growing identities of those regions and cultures.

The *Kronprinzenwerk* and its ideas were quite outdated by the time the project reached completion with the volume on Croatia and Slavonia in 1902, and would have been better suited for the mid-nineteenth century. Nevertheless, it fit Kršnjavi's imperial worldview and his idea of dealing with politics by other means perfectly. As we have seen from the Croatian case, the *Kronprinzenwerk* did not manage to present differences as virtue, but deepened them further. Although Kršnjavi might not have supported the *Kronprinzenwerk* in every way, he probably used his political opportunism once more in accepting the editorial role in order to have control of Croatia's presentation to the foreign public. Although the volume on Croatia was probably of no political importance to the highest decision-making elites of the Monarchy, Kršnjavi nevertheless managed in his political intentions, though different from the initial idea of the *Kronprinzenwerk,* to present Croatia and Slavonia (and implicitly Dalmatia) as an autonomous and separate crownland (state) with its own independent institutions, culture and territory.

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Igor Vranić

TEŽAVA HIERARHIČNEGA USTROJA CESARSTVA – ZADNJI ZVEZEK ENCIKLOPEDIJE *KRONPRINZENWERK*, KI OBRAVNAVA KRALJEVINO HRVAŠKO IN SLAVONIJO

POVZETEK

Članek obravnava zadnji zvezek enciklopedije Avstro-ogrska monarhija v besedi in podobi (*The Austro-Hungarian Empire in Word and Picture* oz. *Die österreichisch-ungarische Monarchie in Wort und Bild*), znane tudi pod imenom Kronprinzenwerk, ki jo je dal leta 1884 izdelati prestolonaslednik Rudolf. Čeprav je bila prvotna ideja celotnega dela predstaviti etnično, kulturno in jezikovno raznolikost Habsburške monarhije, avtor opozarja na spremembe v zadnjem zvezku. Za razliko od prvotne ideje o zavračanju pravic teritorialne ekskluzivnosti za posamezne skupine, zadnji zvezek predstavlja Hrvaško kot avtonomno kronsko domeno z jasno opredeljenimi ozemljem, kulturo in institucijami. Čeprav je bil glavni cilj takih imperialnih projektov boj proti naglo porajajočim se nacionalizmom, so tovrstni podvigi hkrati ustvarili prostor za razprave o nacionalizmu in nacionalistih.

Glavni namen mojega članka je na kratko predstaviti zadnji zvezek enciklopedije *Kronprinzenwerk* in njegove uredniške ideje, ki so formulirane tako, da je Hrvaška predstavljena kot regija zahodnega kulturnega območja s specifičnim ozemljem in kulturo. Avtor posveča posebno pozornost uredniku zadnjega zvezka Izidorju Kršnjaviju in njegovim uredniškim načelom kot načinu vodenja politike z drugačnimi sredstvi. Kljub Kršnjavijevemu prizadevanju, da bi Hrvaško predstavil kot avtonomno regijo s posebnim ozemljem in kulturo, je s svojimi članki v enciklopediji Kronprinzenwerk o srednjeveški Hrvaški in njeni zvezi s Kraljevino Ogrsko leta 1102 nehote sprožil burno javno in akademsko razpravo.

Martin Jemelka[*]

Being a Modern Christian and Worker in the Czechoslovak National State (1918–1938)[1]

IZVLEČEK

POLOŽAJ SODOBNEGA KRISTJANA IN DELAVCA V ČEŠKOSLOVAŠKI REPUBLIKI (1918–1938)

Oktobra 1918 je z razglasitvijo nove Češkoslovaške republike prišlo do revolucionarnih sprememb ne le na političnem, družbenem, gospodarskem in kulturnem področju, temveč tudi v verskem življenju v državi. Nova Češkoslovaška nacionalna cerkev, ki so jo ustanovili trinajst mesecev pozneje, je združevala narodno usmeritev, reformirano cerkveno gibanje, teološki modernizem, husitsko in reformacijsko tradicijo ter nasprotovanje Katoliški cerkvi, katere ugled je bil dokončno omajan v prvi svetovni vojni. Novoustanovljeno Češkoslovaško cerkev so podpirali različni organi, poleg tega pa je veljala kot ustrezna izbira za dobrega češkoslovaškega državljana, predvsem delavca. Obenem je sprožila udi nasilno gibanje za spreobrnitev (1921, 1930) in številne lokalne konflikte (v 20. letih prejšnjega stoletja). Članek se osredotoča na versko in narodno opredelitev delavcev ter na spremembe v današnji Ostravski regiji – industrijski regiji (središču češkoslovaške težke industrije), ki se razprostira po etnični meji in je talilni lonec številnih narodov (Čehov, Slovakov, Poljakov, Nemcev in Judov). V njem bomo analizirali interakcije med družbenimi razredi ter versko in narodno opredelitvijo delavcev. Poskušali bomo pojasniti proces spreobrnitve ter motivacijo zanjo v različnih cerkvah. Posebno pozornost bomo posvetili spreobrnitvam med pripadniki delavskega razreda v 20. in 30. letih prejšnjega stoletja. Analiza bo temeljila na protokolih spreobrnitve, dokumentih o popisih prebivalstva iz leta 1921 in leta 1930 ter na cerkvenih listinah Rimskokatoliške in Češkoslovaške cerkve.

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Ključne besede: Delavci, Češkoslovaška cerkev, gibanje za spreobrnitev, Ostravska regija, 1918–1938

ABSTRACT

The declaration of the new Czechoslovak national state in October 1918 brought revolutionary changes not only to the political, social, economic and cultural scene, but also to the religious life of the country. The new Czechoslovak national church created thirteen months later combined national orientation, the reformed clerical movement, theological modernism, the Hussite and reformation tradition and protest against the Catholic Church, definitively discredited in World War I. The newly established Czechoslovak Church received support from various authorities and was seen as the proper option for the good Czechoslovak citizen, primarily the worker. At the same time, it produced a violent conversion movement (1921, 1930) and many local conflicts (1920s). The paper will focus on the workers' religious and national identification and changes in today's Ostrava region – an industrial region (the centre of Czechoslovak heavy industry) situated on the ethnic borderline and in the melting pot of many nationalities (Czechs, Slovaks, Poles, Germans and Jews). It will analyse the interactions between class and the religious and national identification of workers. It will try to clarify the process and the motivation to convert between different churches. Special attention will be given to conversions among the working class population in the 1920s and 1930s. This analysis will be based on conversion protocols, census documents from 1921 and 1930 and ecclesiastical files of the Roman Catholic and Czechoslovak church.

Keywords: Workers, Czechoslovak Church, Conversion Movement, Region of Ostrava, 1918–1938

I.

The process of constituting the Czechoslovak Republic at the end of October 1918 was to be, in the minds of its founders headed by the future President Tomáš Garrigue Masaryk (1850–1937, in office 1918–1935), an act of *national revolution*.[2] The national revolution was to be closely followed by a *social revolution*, emphasising the demands of land reform and the socialisation of large industrial enterprises. While the social revolution broke down as a half-hearted land reform to the detriment of great church

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2   For the Czech sociologist and political philosopher T. G. Masaryk, by the end of the 1890's the religious issue (*Moderní člověk a náboženství* [*Modern Man and Religion*], 1896) and the social issue (*Otázka sociální* [*The Social Issue*], 1898) were already the most prominent contemporary tasks that needed to be addressed outside the confessional bounds of the traditional churches, as both Catholicism and Protestantism were, in his opinion, beyond reform, not to mention the Russian orthodoxy. For Masaryk, as the supporter of Palacký's concept of Czech history with its heyday during the time of the Czech Reformation in the 15th and 16th centuries, the Czech issue (*Česká otázka* [*The Czech Issue*], 1895) was then primarily a religious concern, which failed to be resolved due to the reformatory inconsistence of the Czech Protestant churches and the Catholic anti-modernism.

and noble landowners (1923–1926), and large enterprises were eventually socialised in a completely different political setting as late as in October 1945, the national revolution gave birth to a multi-national and multi-confessional Czechoslovak State. It was dominated by the Czechoslovak nation[3] with the prevailing denomination being Roman Catholic, and took the form established in 1918–1920 until March 1939.[4] An integral part of the national and social revolution after 1918 was to be a *religious revolution* under the slogans of the modernisation and democratisation of Czech Catholicism, its departure from Rome and Vienna and the accomplishment of the Czech reformation and anti-clerical tradition represented by Jan Hus (1369–1415), Petr Chelčický (1390–1460), Jan Amos Komenský (1592–1670), Karel Havlíček-Borovský (1821–1856) and Masaryk. This fact was omitted in Czech historiography until it was brought to light again by foreign researchers led by Martin Schulz Wessel (2011).[5] The key driving force behind the religious revolution were the Czech Roman Catholic clerics who had joined the Jednota katolického duchovenstva československého [Union of Czechoslovak Catholic Clergy] (1918) which followed up on the activities of the prohibited Jednota katolickeho duchovenstva [Union of Catholic Clergy] (1902–1907). With the exception of bishops, the Union associated Czech Catholic clergy at all hierarchical levels, predominantly supporters of Czech nationalism, believers in Christian socialism and sympathisers of Marxist socialism.[6]

Besides the independent Czechoslovak State and the failing socialisation, the revolutionary events and ethos of October 1918 gave rise to another revolutionary

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3   The historical roots of the ahistorical concept of the Czechoslovak nation and language (referred to as Czechoslovakism) must be sought as early as in the 19th century. It was not until World War One, however, that it became the ideology of the emerging Czechoslovak state, calling upon the assertions of the national revivalists František Palacký (1798–1876) and Ján Kollár (1793–1852) concerning the historical unity between the Czech and Slovak nation. With the establishment of the Czechoslovak Republic, Czechoslovakism became the state doctrine incorporated into the Constitution (1920), which accelerated the emancipation of the Slovak nation but hindered its full national and political self-realisation. The key critic of Czechoslovakism in the interwar period was the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. Even today, several tens of thousands of Czech exiles all over the world claim allegiance to the Czechoslovak nation and language. For details, see e.g. Jan Galandauer, "Čechoslovakismus v proměnách času: od národotvorné tendence k integrační ideologii," [Czechoslovakism and Its Changes in the Course of Time: From a Nation-creating Trend to the Ideology of Integration] *Historie a vojenství: časopis Historického ústavu Armády České republiky* 47, No. 2 (1998): 33–52.

4   *Československá vlastivěda. Řada II: Národopis* [*Czechoslovak History and Geography. Series II: Ethnography*] (Praha: Sfinx, Bohumil Janda, 1936), 99: In 1930 Czechoslovakia had a population of 14 479 565, 9 668 770 of whom declared themselves Czechoslovak nationals (66.8 %), 3 231 688 German nationals (22.3 %), 691 923 Hungarian nationals (4.8 %), 549 169 Russian and Ruthenian nationals (3.8 %), 186 642 Jewish nationals (1.3 %), 81 737 Polish nationals (0.6 %) and 49 636 (0.3 %) other nationalities. The most popular was the Roman Catholic Church (74.8 % of the Czechoslovak population); Evangelic (Protestant) churches comprised 10 %, the Czechoslovak Church 5.1 %, the Greek Catholic Church 3.9 %, the Russian Orthodox Church 0.6 % and the Israelites 1.1 % of the population. 4.5 % of the Czechoslovak population followed no religion or belonged to marginal religious communities.

5   Martin Schulze Wessel, *Revolution und religiöser Dissens: Der römisch-katholische und der russisch-ortodoxe Klerus als Träger religiösen Wandels in den böhmischen Ländern und in Russland 1848–1922* [*Revolution and Religious Dissent: The Roman Catholic Church and Russian Orthodox Clerics as Bearers of Religious Change in the Czech Lands and Russia 1848–1922*] (München: Oldenbourg, 2011), 1–26.

6   On the social status and ideological profile of the Czech clergy prior to World War One, see biographies of pro-reform Catholic clerics, e.g. Jaroslav Hrdlička, *Život a dílo prof. Františka Kováře: příběh patriarchy a učence* [*The Life and Work of Prof. František Kovář: The Story of a Patriarch and Scholar*] (Brno: L. Marek, 2007). Oskar Malý, *Můj životopis: vzpomínky spoluzakladatele Církve československé (husitské)* [*The Story of My Life: Memories of a Co-Founder of the Czechoslovak (Hussite) Church*] (Brno: Brněnská diecéze Církve československé husitské, 2009), etc.

project – the national *Czechoslovak Church*. It was established, after thirteen months of agitation, conceptual inconsistencies and conflicts with the Roman Catholic hierarchy, at the beginning of January 1920. The new church, the establishment of which was initiated by several dozen lower-ranking Czech clerics, was primarily supposed to be the Czech national church, free of Roman Catholic paternalism. It was to be a democratic church as regards hierarchical structures (elected clerics, a combination of the episcopalian and presbyterian principles), tolerant in dogmatic matters (a symbiosis of the tradition of the eastern Slavic Christianity and western reformation) and modern in terms of its ritual practice and law (national liturgical language,[7] voluntary attendance at services, liberalisation of the celibate and divorce,[8] cremation). It should have been a platform from which to eliminate the decades of antagonism between Czech nationalism and the Danubian version of ultramontane Catholicism, sharply hierarchised in social and nationality terms. It must be mentioned, however, that the Czech clergy were not alone as regards similar pro-reform efforts among the former Austro-Hungarian nations – in March 1920, for instance, a petition organised by 83 Croatian priests called upon the Zagreb archbishop to democratise and nationalise the Roman Catholic church in Croatia.[9] In the minds of its founders,[10] the Czechoslovak Church had the potential to address most of Czech Christian society that did not want to break away from institutionalised Christianity and at the same time desired to leave Danubian Catholicism, discredited by the controversies between the aristocratized hierarchy connected with the House of Habsburg and ordinary clerics mostly from the rural areas, characterised by the prevailing Czech language and social instability. The 1910 and 1921 censuses showed that the Roman Catholic Church lost 1 388 000 worshippers in the Czech lands, of which 523 232 (or 37.7 %) found their institutional asylum in the newly constituted Czechoslovak Church in 1921. It must be noted, however, that more than 60 % of the inhabitants of the Czech lands who had left the Roman Catholic Church remained non-believers.[11]

While most historical works dedicated to topics relating to the Czechoslovak Church were based on the biographies of its representatives, the histories of specific communities or its constitutive phase (M. Schulze Wessel), topics relating to social history have so far been voiced only very rarely. This paper primarily explores the

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7   Schulze Wessel, *Revolution und religiöser Dissens*, 158: Schulze linked the importance of national liturgical language in the Czech environment with Czech society's frustration over failing language regulations (1897–1898) by Prime Minister Kazimír Badeni.

8   Hugh McLeod, *Sekularizace v západní Evropě (1848–1914)* [*Secularisation in Western Europe, 1848–1914*] (Brno: Centrum pro stadium demokracie a kultury, 2008), 142–53: Also in the environment of Czech pro-reform Catholicism, as in the case of German Catholicism (Deutschkatolizismus) or Old Catholicism (Altkatholizismus), the call to liberalise the celibate was a fundamental part of the modernisation programme aiming to promote the middle estate model of liberal morals among the priesthood.

9   Schulze Wessel, *Revolution und religiöser Dissens*, 142.

10   The most often mentioned founders include Karel Farský (1880–1927), the first patriarch of the Czechoslovak Church; Bohumil Zahradník-Brodský (1862–1939), the author of the questionnaire survey in December 1918; Ferdinand Stibor (1869–1956), a Silesian priest and later the bishop of the Silesian dioceses; and Matěj Pavlík (1879–1942) who eventually aligned with the Russian Orthodox church.

11   Milan Kučera, *Populace České republiky 1918–1991* [*Population of the Czech Republic*] (Praha: Česká demografická společnost, Sociologický ústav Akademie věd ČR, 1994), 12.

question of how the majority of the Czech (Czechoslovak) public, i.e. the working class,[12] responded to the establishment and activities of the Czechoslovak Church, especially in a region with such an extremely high concentration of heavy industry and the industrial working class.[13] To what extent, and in which respects, was the pro-reform church programme stemming from Czech nationalism and Catholic modernism attractive for workers and what mobilising potential did it have in the working class environment, which was rife with post-war national and social struggles? The crucial question posed by this paper is then the stability of the newly gained identity of a Czechoslovak Christian in the working-class environment, including its criticism from organisations with a rival world view and from experts (sociology of religion).

II.

The Czechoslovak Church, which obtained state approval in September 1920, found most response in larger cities, industrial regions and several rural areas in Moravia, Eastern Silesia and in Central and Eastern Bohemia, most of which were linked to the activities of pro-reform chaplains and catechists. In mid-February 1921, 5.2 % of the population of the Czech lands claimed affiliation to the new national church community. Nine years later, in December 1930, 7.3 % (779 672 people)[14] declared themselves members of the Czechoslovak Church. This was when the Church went through its constitutive stage, during which it experienced a theological crisis resulting in the secession of a number of worshippers and the establishment of the Czech Orthodox Church under the jurisdiction of the Serbian Orthodox Church, headed by bishop Gorazd (Matěj Pavlík).[15] In the early 1920s, the Church also faced a series of legal conflicts with the Roman Catholic Church, whose churches and chapels it acquired – often with the tacit approval of the local authorities – in the boroughs with a prevalence of members of the Czechoslovak Church.[16] The hunger riots and

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12 Ibid., 14: As regards the social structure of the Czech population, the working class made up 54.5 % of the Czech population in 1921 and 60.4 % in 1930.

13 Jiřík et al., *Dějiny Ostravy* [*History of Ostrava*] (Ostrava: Sfinga, 1993), 312, 313: In 1930 the working class prevailed in the economically active part of population, with 64.9 % in the so-called Great Ostrava region and with 74.7 % in the Slezská Ostrava judicial district.

14 Kučera, *Populace České republiky*, 12.

15 Josef Tomeš et al., *Český biografický slovník XX. století, I. díl: A–J* [*Czech Biographical Dictionary of the 20th Century; Vol. I: A–J*] (*Praha and Litomyšl: Petr Meissner and Paseka, 1999*), 371. Matěj Pavlík / Bishop Gorazd (St. Gorazd II) is an emblematic figure in the Czech history of religion in the 1st half of the 20th century: a Catholic priest, psychologist and chaplain of the psychiatric hospital in Kroměříž, he was ousted from the Roman Catholic church on 3 September 1920, following which he joined the Czechoslovak Church, from which he was ostracised on 21 June 1924 after being consecrated as a bishop in Beograd (25 September 1921) and after a mission among the North American Czechoslovaks. Gorazd's work, the Czech Orthodox Church under the Serbian and Constantinopolitan jurisdiction, was dissolved after the men behind the assassination attempt on Heydrich (27 May 1942) were found in the Orthodox cathedral in Prague. Bishop Gorazd was executed on 4 September 1942 and canonised by the Orthodox Church in September 1987.

16 Pavel Marek, "Zápas o vlastnictví kostelů po vzniku Československa," [Struggle for the Ownership of Churches af-

demonstrations of collective justice in the final months of World War One then found a response in outbreaks of local violence. The political stabilisation and increasing legal awareness of the young Czechoslovak State, which saw a moderate weakening of the anti-Catholic tendencies of the post-revolutionary period, led to the restitution of Catholic churches, rectories and churchyards in the mid-1920s. The Czechoslovak Church thus faced the need to build its own confessional infrastructure. Building churches was a constant financial burden, which gradually phased down the initial revolutionary ethos of the national church, especially as the church, in its opinion, failed to advocate an appropriate position as regards the state subsidy policy towards the church.[17] When the Czechoslovak Church was forced to change its name to the Czech-Moravian Church after the establishment of the Protectorate Böhmen und Mähren, it had more than 200 churches and up to a million worshippers amongst the workers and lower middle class, led by teachers and lower-ranking state officials for whom joining the national church during the early Protectorate was often a form of tacit resistance against the occupation regime.

The idea of national, social and religious revolution resonated particularly strongly in the region of Ostrava (also called Ostravsko), the centre of the Czechoslovak coal, iron, steel and heavy chemical industries. In the district of Slezská Ostrava, situated in the region, 26.6 % of the local population declared affiliation to the Czechoslovak Church in 1921.[18] This region, situated in a black coal basin near the Czechoslovak–German–Polish state border, was also on the Czech–German–Polish language border and on the border between areas that were traditionally Catholic and Lutheran but had a strong Jewish presence. From the end of the 19th century, Ostravsko underwent a period of national and social turmoil,[19] exacerbated especially by the tense circumstances during World War One, when Ostrava's heavy industry was thoroughly militarised. The post-war establishment of the national Czechoslovak Church in Ostravsko came at a time when the people's referendum was being prepared in the boroughs between Ostrava and Těšín along the border river Olza (28 July 1920), together with the separation of the Czech-speaking enclave of Hlučín from Germany

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ter the Establishment of Czechoslovakia] *Moderní dějiny: časopis pro dějiny 19. a 20. století / Modern History: Journal for the History of the 19th and 20th Century* 23 (2015): 89–126.

17   ZAO, Olomouc branch, Diecézní rada Církve československé Ostrava [Diocesan Council of the Czechoslovak Church in Ostrava] (1915)1922–1964 (DR CČS OV) collection, f. 8, inv. no. 184, 1930: In 1930, for instance, when 5.1 % of the Czechoslovak population were members of the Czechoslovak Church, the state subsidy to fund the operation of the church was 4 200 000 Kc (4.2 %) of the total allocated subsidy of 101 000 000 Kc (the Roman Catholic church received 70.4 % of the total state subsidy with a 74.8 % representation in the Czechoslovak population). The Czechoslovak Church officials considered the state subsidy to be wholly inconsistent with the cultural and, especially, national importance of the church community.

18   Martin Jemelka, "Sociálnědemokratické bezvěrecké hnutí na meziválečném Ostravsku," [Social Democratic Movement of Non-Believers in the Interwar Ostrava Region] *Ostrava: sborník k dějinám Ostravy a Ostravska* 26 (2012): 163.

19   Karel Jiřík, "Vítkovice – nejvíce germanizovaná obec v Předlitavsku," [Vítkovice – the Most Germanised Village in Cisleithania] *Ostrava: příspěvky k dějinám a současnosti Ostravy a Ostravska* 21 (2003): 162–96: The drastic Germanisation of the local Slavic workers was infamous in Vítkovice (today Ostrava-Vítkovice), a company town controlled by Vítkovické Iron Works, one of the most important Cisleithanian weapons industry enterprises during World War One, together with the Škoda arms factory in Pilsen. In no other village did the German population grow so quickly to the detriment of the original Slavic population as in Vítkovice.

and its accession to the Czechoslovak State (4 February 1920). It was also a time of rising social tension caused by the post-war crisis in the coal and heavy machinery industry and the requirement to socialise Ostrava's heavy industry, accompanied by the forced departure of many Poles to the neighbouring and newly emerging Polish state.[20] For instance, in the mining village of Michálkovice, a suburb of Ostrava, where supporters of the Czechoslovak Church made up 60.5 % of the local population in 1921,[21] the post-war anger of the frustrated workers broke out with the same intensity in street riots against the expelled Catholic priest who allegedly showed favouritism to Poles, and also against German and Polish mine engineers.[22]

Radvanice ve Slezsku, a neighbouring suburban miners' borough which now lies within the city of Ostrava, almost 40 % of whose inhabitants lived in three worker colonies in 1921, became the cradle of the Czechoslovak Church in Northern Moravia and Czech Silesia.[23] The very first community of the Czechoslovak Church in Radvanice ve Slezsku was established in January 1920, just one week after the founding synod in Prague held on 8 January 1920,[24] during the culmination of the border conflict around Těšín and at a time of unceasing pressure from the left-wing Social Democrats to socialise the enterprises. The national and social tension, which tended to result in a violent response to the strife, also had an impact on the confessional conflicts which affected many boroughs in the region in the weeks following the establishment of the local community of the Czechoslovak Church in Radvanice ve Slezsku. The violent seizure of several Roman Catholic churches and accusations that several clerics had shown favouritism to Poles led to violence and bloodshed, especially in the villages of Michálkovice, Heřmanice and Radvanice, mostly inhabited by the working class.[25] "Not even the Austrian Army was able to break away from the enemy during World War One as quickly as the crusaders of Radvanice retreated from the cathedral door when faced with the Czechoslovak miners. The bravest ones could even be seen jumping across the ditches and ploughed fields and seeking salvation in their escape", wrote the church magazine entitled *Palcát [Mace]* on the Catholics' unsuccessful attempt to reclaim the Roman Catholic church in Radvanice ve Slezsku on 5 January 1921, which had been illegally seized by worshippers of the Czechoslovak church. They had laboriously collected the funds to build it, at the time still as Roman Catholics.[26]

20 Václav Sekera, "Náboženské přesuny na Ostravsku," [Religious Conversions in the Ostrava Region] *Sociální problémy: revue pro sociální theorii a praksi* 2, No. 1 (1932): 8.

21 Jemelka, "Sociálnědemokratické bezvěrecké hnutí," 163.

22 Ludmila Turecká, "Kronika," [The Chronicle] in: *Lidé z kolonií vyprávějí své dějiny* [*People from the Colonies Tell Their History*], ed. Martin Jemelka (Ostrava: Repronis, 2009), 118–22.

23 Martin Jemelka, "Resumé," [Summary] in: *Ostravské dělnické kolonie II: závodní kolonie kamenouhelných dolů a koksoven ve slezské části Ostravy* [*Ostrava's Worker Colonies II: Factory Colonies of Coal Mines and Coke Plants in the Silesian Part of Ostrava*], ed. Martin Jemelka (Ostrava: Ostravská univerzita v Ostravě, 2012), 723.

24 Antonín Barcuch, "Počátky československé církve (husitské) v Radvanicích," [Origins of the Czechoslovak (Hussite) Church in Radvanice] *Těšínsko: vlastivědný časopis Český Těšín* 48, No. 3 (2005): 23.

25 Marek, "Zápas o vlastnictví," 124.

26 *Palcát: Týdeník národní církve československé diecéze ostravské* [*Mace: The Weekly of the National Czechoslovak Church, Ostrava Dioceses*] 8, No. 39, September 29, 1929.

The "red" priest Ferdinand Stibor (1869–1956), formerly a Catholic (1894) and later a Czechoslovak priest (1920), bishop (1922–1950) and eventually vice-patriarch of the Czech-Moravian Church (1942–1945), one of the four signatories of the founding deed of the Czechoslovak Church,[27] became the charismatic leader of the dramatic establishment of communities of the Czechoslovak Church in Ostravsko. Stibor's personality as a Czech nationalist and provincial cleric with a considerable degree of social empathy raised awareness of the national, social and religious conflicts in the early 1920s as the most important social issue of the largest industrial region in the Czechoslovak State. When Stibor became the fist priest of the workers' vicarage in Radvanice ve Slezsku, part of the Těšín General Vicarage of the Wroclaw dioceses, in 1908, he was the only priest in the Czech part of the Wroclaw Archbishopric who conducted the parish agenda, including birth, marriage and death records, in Czech. Ostrava's workers never forgot that he was the only cleric to reject the forced contribution from his wage to wartime loans during World War One. And he gained even more sympathy among the working class through his marriage with the parish cook Žofie (1919), with whom he had a legitimised son Ferdinand Rudolf (1910) and Břetislav (1920).[28] Stibor also helped the Jednota katolického duchovenstva československého, from which the Czechoslovak Church stemmed, gain considerable support among Ostrava's workers. Its stately structure may have easily reminded them of a trade union, and its struggle for the social emancipation of the Czech workers' class struggle.[29]

It was to Stibor's credit that as early as in the first post-war census, 63.7 % of the inhabitants of Radvanice ve Slezsku declared their affiliation to the Czechoslovak Church, and in the three neighbouring Silesian villages, Heřmanice, Kunčičky and Michálkovice, it was more than 30 %. It took a further nine years before the Czechoslovak Church also established itself in the more urbanised Moravian villages in an area which now forms part of Ostrava. Its members made up more than 20 % of the population in seven Moravian villages, today also part of Ostrava.[30] While in 1921–1930 the number of worshippers of the Czechoslovak Church radially grew towards Radvanice ve Slezsku in geographical terms, the actual quantities varied a lot during the 1920s. The primary factor was the national and social composition of population, where the percentage of worshippers of the Czechoslovak Church fell as national and social heterogeneity increased. Another key role in this process was

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27   František Maria Hník, *Za lepší církví: Dušezpytná studie o příčinách přestupů do Církve československé* [*For a Better Church: A Soul Research Study on the Causes of Conversions to the Czechoslovak Church*] (Praha: Ústřední rada Československé církve v Praze, 1930), 231–33: *The Provolání, kterým byla 11. ledna 1920 prohlášena v denním tisku a s kazatelny chrámu sv. Mikuláše v Praze samostatná československá církev* [*The Manifest which declared the independent Czechoslovak Church in the daily press and from the pulpit of St. Nicholas church in Prague on 11 January 1920*] was signed by B. Zahradník-Brodský, priest in Ouběnice and trade union councillor at the Ministry of Education and National Awareness, ThDr. K. Farský, secondary school teacher of religion in Pilsen, G. Procházka, priest in Jenišovice, near Turnov, and F. Stibor, priest in Radvanice ve Slezsku.

28   *Masarykův slovník naučný: lidová encyklopedie všeobecných znalostí, VI. díl* [*Masaryk's Encyclopedia: People's Encyclopedia of General Knowledge. Vol. VI*] (Praha: Československý kompas, 1932), 967.

29   Schulze Wessel, *Revolution und religiöser Dissens*, 126: The author was probably the first to notice these substantial connotations.

30   Jemelka, "Sociálnědemokratické bezvěrecké hnutí," 163.

the new church's ability to fulfil the pastoral needs of the worshippers – this is the only explanation for why in Radvanice alone, the Czechoslovak Church lost 20 % of its worshippers, who joined the Roman Catholic community after the renewal of the Roman Catholic vicarage in 1925 or, more importantly, became ceased to be affiliated to any church.[31] The observation made by Czechoslovak sociologists of that period, that post-war conversions to the Czechoslovak Church were for many of its worshippers only a short stopover on the way to agnosticism, was far from irrelevant.[32]

It was not only in Ostravsko, where 22.8 % inhabitants of the Moravská Ostrava district and up to one third of the population of the Slezská Ostrava district changed their denomination in 1921–1930,[33] that the Czechoslovak Church was especially attractive to the Czech lower classes, primarily the working class and so-called iron farmers (villagers working in industry). It offered them an opportunity to settle the national and confessional rivalry of the preceding decades with the challenges of modern industrial society.[34] According to a declaration on the rally to mark the 10th anniversary of the foundation of the Czechoslovak Church, held at Masarykovo Sq. in Moravská Ostrava on 5 July 1930, workers comprised up to 80 % of all the 60 000 worshippers in the Silesian dioceses.[35] The question of how the Czechoslovak working class's affinity with the Czechoslovak Church originated was also answered by a questionnaire survey at the end of 1929 before the 10th anniversary of the establishment of the Church (1930) carried out among the readers of Český *zápas* [*Czech Struggle*], its official periodical. The questionnaires were filled in by 625 worshippers answering a variety of questions about the reasons why they had joined the Czechoslovak Church and how they felt about its development so far.[36] There were only 12 responses from Ostravsko (in contrast to the far greater response from the Kladno region, another mining region in Central Bohemia), which was probably linked with the competition between Český *zápas* as the periodical for Czech worshippers and *Palcát* as the periodical for those from the Ostrava (or Moravian-Silesian) dioceses. However, a long letter was attached – and published at the end of the survey – from Hulváky, a working quarter of Ostrava shadowed by the Vítkovice iron works, whose author provided an intimate insight into the broad range of reasons for joining the Czechoslovak Church.[37]

31 AMO, ŘK FÚ v Radvanicích collection, inv. no. 1–2, Kniha přijatých do církve a odpadlých 1908–1933, 1923–1933.
32 Sekera, "Náboženské přesuny," 6, 7, 16, 25.
33 Jemelka, "Sociálnědemokratické bezvěrecké hnutí," 162, 163. Sekera, "Náboženské přesuny," 10.
34 Martin Jemelka, "Religious Life in an Industrial Town: The Example of Ostrava, 1850–1950," *The Hungarian Historical Review: Acta Historica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae – New Series* 3 (2014): 883–85.
35 ZAO, Olomouc branch, DR ČČS OV collection, f. 8, inv. no. 184, 5. 7. 1930: The rally held on 5 July 1930, to mark the anniversary of the martyr death of Jan Hus (+ 5 July 1415), with a ceremonial oath of allegiance to the Czechoslovak Republic and the progressive national Czechoslovak Church, was perhaps the most important interwar demonstration of the Czechoslovak Church's worshippers in the Ostravsko region. The Declaration proclaimed at the manifestation called for lay schools, the separation of church from the state and the abolition of the patronage right over churches. Its main purpose, however, was to proclaim the Church's solidarity with the Czechoslovak state and its hard-achieved independence.
36 Hník, *Za lepší církví*, 49–54.
37 Ibid., 235–37.

The key motivation for this 69-year-old female respondent to convert in April 1925 was the use of Czech liturgical language and the emotional impact that liturgy had in the national language: "During the service I could hear the cleric [Author's note: this was Bishop F. Stibor] praying nicely in Czech, I could understand everything. [...] When he started his spiritual address, I went forward right up to the altar as I did not want to miss a word of what he said [...] I told my husband how much I liked a service held in Czech so that everyone can join the cleric in prayer all the way through the holy mass."[38] For 68 other working-class respondents in industry and farming across the Czech lands, the prevailing reasons for leaving the Roman Catholic Church, besides the national liturgical language, related to the wrong it had done to the Czech nation, Germanisation, the legitimisation of the Hapsburg State and the war atrocities.[39] They also mentioned the lack of confessional tolerance, the Church's dogmatic and authoritative approach, fees charged for liturgical acts, the practice of confession,[40] superstition and general inconsistency between the doctrine promoted by the Church and its practices. Other reasons that made the Czechoslovak Church so attractive, besides the language aspect, included its reformism, modernism, sympathy with the converted Catholic clerics, Catholic agitation and, most importantly, the freedom of conscience, which was based primarily on a non-dogmatic approach to the Christian message. The survey, for instance, showed that most of the respondents were opposed to the traditional teaching of the Holy Trinity. The worker respondents claimed that it was easier to be a conscious Czech, a modern Christian and proletarian in the community of the Czechoslovak Church than it was in the Roman Catholic Church. "I also convinced my daughters to convert even with my grandchildren, and the whole family of 14 people converted to the Czechoslovak Church," stated the female respondent from Hulváky, a working class village.[41]

The dynamism of the confessional mobility in the Czech lands in the 1920s and 1930s, and the fluctuation in the number of followers of the Czechoslovak Church, are evidenced in many resources, primarily in the census statistics[42] and Roman Catholic books on changes in denomination (liber conversiones / mutationis religionis / apostatarum). In Radvanice ve Slezsku alone, more people returned to the Roman Catholic Church in the mid-1920s than left the Church for whatever reason.[43]

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38   Ibid., 236, 237.
39   On the schizophrenic dual role of army clerics during World War One, acting both as spiritual pastors and military ideologists, see e.g. a convincing paper by Matthias Rettenwander, *Der Krieg als Seelsorge: Katholische Kirche und Volksfrömmigkeit in Tirol im Ersten Weltkrieg* [*War as Care for the Soul: The Catholic Church and Folk Devotion in Tirol during World War One*] (Innsbruck: Universitätsverlag Wagner, 2005), 159.
40   On the traditional antipathy of male worshippers to the practice of confession, see e.g. McLeod, *Sekularizace*, 142–53.
41   Hník, *Za lepší církví*, 237.
42   Sekera, "Náboženské přesuny," 1–5.
43   AMO, ŘK FÚ v Radvanicích collection, inv. no. 1–2, Kniha přijatých do církve a odpadlých 1908–1933, 1923–1933. Barcuch, "Počátky československé církve," 23. While Radvanice ve Slezsku had 7095 inhabitants in 1921, 1455 of whom declared affinity to the Roman Catholic Church (20.5 %) and 4516 to the Czechoslovak Church (63.6 %); in 1930 this proportion in the population of 8136 was 2899 (35.6 %) to 3727 (45.8 %). Compared with 1921, Roman Catholic numbers increased by 15.1% while the worshippers of the Czechoslovak Church dropped by 17.8 %.

And the years 1921 and 1930, when the numbers of those leaving the Catholic Church not only in Radvanice ve Slezsku were the highest, were also census years in the Czechoslovak Republic and the culmination of the anti-Catholic campaign which was also proactively exacerbated by the non-believer organisations of the Social Democrats[44] and Communists, in addition to the Czechoslovak Church. If the Czechoslovak Church benefited from the post-war revolutionary ethos of the national reckoning with Danubian Catholicism, it profited only briefly during the constitutive years of the Czechoslovak Republic. And while it offered its worshippers teaching which was tolerant in dogmatic matters and included many modernist impulses, such as voluntary attendance at services and confession, liberalisation of marital issues and cremation, in the industrial working class environment it met with nothing more than limited interest in theological topics.

Although Ostrava's workers sympathised with the resignation from priesthood privileges such as confessional secrecy, celibacy and clerical vestments and uniforms, and were enthusiastic about the use of Czech language in liturgical matters, they remained indifferent as regards the theological disputes between the Protestant sympathisers and Orthodox traditionalists during the constitutive years. As the hierarchs of the Czechoslovak Church soon protested, the appointment of workers as members of the councils of elders, on the contrary, brought forth the tension of political party strife and class rivalry into the life of the local communities – conflicts between the worshippers and councils of elders on one side, and the clerics or religious teachers on the other side, became a constant phenomenon faced by the new church community in Ostrava region.[45] Neither did workers abstain from the obligatory criticism of the attitude shown to property in the new church, whose clerics eventually strove for the same thing as their Roman Catholic predecessors – a reputable social status and the financial stability of a cleric paid by the state.[46] Full identification with the message of the Czechoslovak Church was hampered by many practical obstacles, whether related to Christian ministry (attendance at services) or social status and consensual family tradition, all the more so when joining a new church community was not the result of an inner conversion but generally a mere administrative act of switching allegiance from the Roman Catholic Church to the Czechoslovak Church.

44   Martin Jemelka, "The Social Democratic Atheist Movement in Interwar Ostravsko," in: *Secularization and the Working Class: The Czech Lands and Central Europe in the 19th Century*, eds. Lukáš Fasora, Jiří Hanuš and Jiří Malíř (Eugene, Oregon: Wipf and Stock Publishers, Pickwick Publications, 2011), 174–92.

45   ZAO, Olomouc branch, DR CČS OV collection, f. 8, inv. no. 184, 6. 9. 1935, 1938: As an example, the village of Michálkovice, neighbouring Radvanice ve Slezsku, can be mentioned as a place where none of the four clerics of the Czechoslovak Church prior to 1939 left under ordinary circumstances. The forced departure in 1938 of the problematic and probably also immature priest Auer, who was favoured mostly by the female worshippers, was not, symptomatically, ascribed to his moral deficiency, but to the German nationality ("*the rebellious German nature*"). He was not helped even by his successful campaign to build the organ in the cathedral. The fact that it was delivered by the German company Rieger, although cheaper than their Czech competitors, was probably fatal for Auer on the eve of the Munich Agreement.

46   ZAO, Olomouc branch, DR CČS OV collection, f. 5, inv. no. 82, Uchazeči o duchovní a učitelskou službu v CČS (1926–1937).

III.

While the ideologists of the Czechoslovak Church praised its numbers of followers, however far this was from the original assumption of the entire Czech (Czechoslovak) nation converting to a new national church, soon after 1930 the Czech sociology of religion inquired into the reasons why the newly acquired identity was so fragile and the confessional mobility of the worshippers of the Czechoslovak Church had increased, a fact which the hierarchs of the Czechoslovak Church really did not like to admit.[47] The lack of inner conversion and the administrative nature of the conversion, the political rise of national, and the superficiality of anti-clerical, topics and theological flexibility which opened the door for members of other denominations to teach religion, agreeable to the spiritists[48] as well as non-believers, and primarily the prevalence of nationalism, liberalism and Marxism over its own religious issues, rendered, according to sociologists, the Czechoslovak Church unable to offer its worshippers the enduring identity of national Christianity.[49] Even that supporter of North American unitarism, T. G. Masaryk, to whom the Czechoslovak Church constantly referred, was sceptical enough to mention, in its early days, that denominations do not emerge through a decision made by several hundred clerics to abolish celibacy.[50] Those whose approach to the Czechoslovak Church was critical included not only the Roman Catholic Church[51] but also the Evangelical Church of Czech Brethren and non-believer organisations: while for the Czech Evangelical Church, the Czechoslovak Church was only a half-baked pro-reform mutation of Catholicism, the non-believer Social Democrats openly referred to it as *"an old business under a new name"*.[52] Many critical prognoses turned out to be visionary – the Czechoslovak Church had over a million worshippers in 1950, but since the 1950s has outstripped all the others as the church community that is dying out the

47　ZAO, Olomouc branch, DR CČS OV collection, f. 8, inv. no. 184: As early as in 1935, the priest Bražina wrote a letter to Stibor the bishop, a fellow converted Roman Catholic priest, in which he complained about "the Church's move to the defensive". "The flame of enthusiasm in the Church has died away", reported Bražina who ascribed the restoration of Catholic devotion in Michálkovice to the underappreciation of the ministry by the emerging generation of Czechoslovak priests.

48　On the symbiosis between spiritism and Czechoslovakism, see Martin Jemelka, "Brüderliche Treffen zum Lesen des Evangeliums: die erste Generation des schlesischen Spiritismus (1897–1919)," [Fraternal Meeting for the Reading of the Gospel: the First Generation of Silesian Spiritism] *Zeitschrift für Religions- und Geistesgeschichte* 69, No. 4 (2017).

49　Sekera, "Náboženské přesuny," 6–16.

50　Antonín Klimek, *Boj o hrad I.: Hrad a pětka 1918–1926* [*The Struggle for the Castle I.: The Castle and the Five*] (Praha: Panevropa 1996), 30, 31.

51　Hník, *Za lepší církví*, 9–25: The establishment of the Czechoslovak Church was sharply criticised by the important Czech historian and probably Masaryk's most influential ideological opponent, Josef Pekař (1870–1937), according to whom the constitution of a new national church in the vicinity of what were mostly Catholic Hungarians, Poles and Austrians seriously tarnished the international prestige of the young Czechoslovak state. Pekař's argument was quite unique in the Czech environment, given its European perspective.

52　Jemelka, "The Social Democratic," 177.

quickest,[53] not to mention the mass affinity of the Czechoslovak clerics with state socialism, which went beyond the borders of collaborationism.[54]

Compared with the Roman Catholic Church, the Czechoslovak Church lagged behind also in the programmatic development of social topics and social ministry, as it paid more attention developing its own organisation. Building up the Church provided new employment opportunities at all levels, including organ players and teachers of religion, especially because in the exchange of generations around the year 1930 the new clerics often recruited from among pauperised teachers or state employees seeking an opportunity for a quick career growth, stable income and social status in the young church. As regards the struggle against the economic crisis, the Czechoslovak Church confined itself to traditional charity methods, as it began to build a network of community charities as late as in the middle of 1928.[55] In the struggle against unemployment, unlike the Roman Catholic Church, it could not rely on a permanent alliance with any political party or a trade union organisation. In the greater Ostrava region with 60 000 believers, of which 80 % were working class and voters of Social Democracy or National Socialists, it was an especially painful handicap, of which the heads of the Silesian dioceses were well aware.[56] In the face of the actual economic crisis, identification with the Czechoslovak Church was a much more fragile process for the Czech working class than it was for Roman Catholic workers. There are cases from early 1930s from the industrialised region of Ostrava that are evidence of exclusion of Czechoslovak worshippers among the unemployed affected by the economic crisis, or of patients in state hospitals with obligatorily monastic staff.[57]

What also turned out as problematic in the long-term perspective was the resignation from apostolate among other than Czechoslovak nationalities. In 1930 when the Czechoslovak Church had 779 762 members in the Czech lands, only 1284 of its worshippers (0.2 %) were not members of the Czechoslovak nation.[58] Even a mission among its own members of the Czechoslovak nation, the Slovaks, was no very successful, as their reserved attitude to the project of a national church reflected many Czecho-Slovak resentments, mainly the animosity of the traditional part of the Slovak public towards the perception of modernism and reform of Catholicism by Czech nationalists. Only 11 495 Slovaks (0.35 % of the Slovak population) declared affinity to the Czechoslovak Church in 1930.[59]

53 Erika Kadlecová, "Z výsledků výzkumu religiozity dospělých v Severomoravském kraji," [From the Results of Research on Religiosity of Adults in the North Moravian Region] *Sociologický časopis* 1 (1965): 146.

54 Jaroslav Hrdlička, *Patriarcha Dr. Miroslav Novák: život mezi svastikou a rudou hvězdou* [*Patriarch Dr. Miroslav Novák: Life between the Swastika and Red Star*] (Brno: L. Marek, 2010), 75 ff. Hrdlička, *Život a dílo*, 313 ff.

55 ZAO, branch Olomouc, DR CČS OV collection, f. 8, inv. no. 184, 18. 6. 1928.

56 ZAO, branch Olomouc, DR CČS OV collection, f. 8, inv. no. 184, 17. 1. 1930, 5. 7. 1930.

57 ZAO, branch Olomouc, DR CČS OV collection, f. 8, inv. no. 184.

58 Albrecht, *Statistik der deutschen Katholiken*, 44, 53: In the Moravian-Silesian land with a population of 3 565 010 and 160 968 members of the Czechoslovak Church, only 189 Germans, 137 Poles, 56 Hungarians and 17 other people were not of Czechoslovak nationality.

59 Vladimír Srb, *Obyvateľstvo Slovenska* [*Slovak Population*] (Bratislava: Infostat – Inštitút informatiky a štatistiky, Výs-

It seems that besides the *social revolution* agenda, it was also the project of *religious revolution* that broke down in interwar Czechoslovakia, unless we consider this to have been fulfilled by Czech Protestant churches merging to form the Evangelical Church of Czech Brethren,[60] or by the increase in the number of non-believers, from 718 000 in 1921 (7.2 %) to 834 000 in 1930 (7.8 %) in the Czech lands.[61] The reason for the short-lived success and early ideological depletion of the Czechoslovak Church actually lies in its slavish symbiosis with Czech nationalism, distant with members of nations other than the artificially established Czechoslovak nation and ignoring the universal ambitions of western Christianity. It was also one reason why only few members of nations other than Czechoslovak found their refuge in the Czechoslovak Church. In the end, the Czechoslovak Church was a religious project of Czech nationalism and a religious chapter in the national state programme, rather than an attempt at rehabilitating Christianity and implementing a reform programme stemming from the efforts of several dozen Roman Catholic clerics. With the involvement of many Czechoslovak clerics in the structures of the Czechoslovak State under state socialism (1948–1989) and with the Roman Catholic reforms of the Second Vatican Council (1962–1965), this project was definitely doomed. The response to the Second Vatican Council and the rising ecumenical movement of the 1960s led to a definite dogmatic inclination towards western Protestantism, and the response to the state-socialism-based alternative to modernism was a lasting obedient attitude to the regime, comparable with the corruption of Soviet Orthodoxy. The ambition of appealing to the working echelons of the Czechoslovak society with a modern interpretation of the Christian message was forgotten after the coup in February 1948.

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  – ŘK FÚ – Římsko-katolický farní úřad v Radvanicích [Roman Catholic Parish in Radvanice].

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kumné demografické centrum, 2002), 11.

60 *Ustavující generální sněm českobratrské církve evangelické konaný v Praze 17. a 18. prosince 1918* [*Founding General Synod of the Evangelical Church of Czech Brethren, Held in Prague on 17 and 18 December 1918*] (Praha: Synodní výbor Českobratrské církve evangelické, 1919), 1–59: The Evangelical Church of Czech Brethren, today the most numerous Protestant denomination in the Czech Republic with 51 936 members in 2011, was established in a merger of Evangelical communities of the Augsburg and Helvetian confession which were Czech in nationality at the General Synod in December 1918. The union of approx. 250 thousand Czech Evangelical worshippers was not joined by the Augsburg and Helvetian communities which were of German or Polish nationality and smaller Evangelical churches claiming the tradition of the Unity of the Brethren or stemming from the activities of the originally North American missionaries from the end of 19th century.

61 Kučera, *Populace České republiky*, 12.

- ZAO – Zemský archiv v Opavě [Regional Archives in Opava]:
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Martin Jemelka

POLOŽAJ SODOBNEGA KRISTJANA IN DELAVCA V ČEŠKOSLOVAŠKI REPUBLIKI (1918–1938)

POVZETEK

Državna revolucija, ki je privedla do neodvisne Češkoslovaške republike (1918), ter socialna revolucija, s katero se je češko ozemlje dokončno preobrazilo v industrijsko in podeželsko regijo, sta vključevali tudi versko revolucijo, ki so jo vodili nekateri češki katoliški duhovniki. Njihove zahteve po demokratizaciji, liberalizaciji in nacionalizaciji češkega katolištva so se utelesile v obliki Češkoslovaške cerkve (1920), doživele pa močan odziv, zlasti v industrializiranih predelih na Češkem, predvsem v Ostravski regiji, ki leži na češko-nemško-poljski jezikovni, etnični in verski meji. Kljub mnogim ideološkim in osebnim krizam se je leta 1930, po desetletju obstoja Češkoslovaške cerkve, za njene pripadnike opredelilo 7,8 % češkoslovaških prebivalcev, predvsem iz srednjega in delavskega razreda, ki sta jih pritegnili dogmatska strpnost in teološka prilagodljivost. Čeprav se je Češkoslovaška cerkev predstavljala kot eden od stebrov češkoslovaške narodne identitete in je bila ponosna na vse več vernikov, katerih število je doseglo vrhunec leta 1950, ko jih je bilo približno milijon, je med prvo generacijo njenih pripadnikov prišlo do dinamične spremembe, zaradi česar so se verniki oddaljili od izvirnega koncepta, po katerem naj bi se celoten češkoslovaški narod spreobrnil in pridružil novi »državni in progresivni cerkvi«. Sociologi tistega časa so napovedali, da bo protikatolištvo živelo le kratek čas. Pomanjkanje dobro pripravljenega socialnega programa se je za delavce izkazalo kot problematično, težava pa je bila tudi ta, da cerkev ni imela stabilnega političnega partnerja in ni bila sposobna nasloviti pripadnikov drugih narodov v Češkoslovaški republiki razen Čehov. Skupaj z neuspehom programa socialne revolucije, ki so ga komunisti prevzeli sicer šele leta 1948, je čez čas razpadel tudi projekt Češkoslovaške cerkve. Slednja je s tem postala verska skupnost, ki je v Češkoslovaški republiki v obdobju po 50. letih prejšnjega stoletja najhitreje izginila.

Etienne Boisserie*

Family Networks and the "Generational Key" in the Renewed Approaches of Social Questioning of the Slovak Elite at the Beginning of the 20ᵗʰ Century

IZVLEČEK

DRUŽINSKE VEZI IN »GENERACIJSKI KLJUČ« V PRENOVLJENIH PRISTOPIH K DRUŽBENEMU VREDNOTENJU SLOVAŠKE ELITE NA ZAČETKU 20. STOLETJA

Do devetdesetih let 19. stoletja so večino javnih zadev glede slovaških elit urejali v majhnem mestu Turčiansky Svätý Martin v okraju Turiec v skladu z dolgoročnim programom, zasnovanim leta 1861, ki se je z uporabo klasičnega pristopa iz 2. polovice štiridesetih let 19. stoletja osredotočal predvsem na jezik in državno individualnost Slovakov v odnosu z Madžari in Čehi.

V začetku 20. stoletja je prišlo do preobrata, ki je korenito spremenil glavno os javnih in družbenih dejavnosti v okolju izobraženih Slovakov. Ta preobrat je sovpadal z nastopom nove generacije, na katero so vplivale osebne izkušnje, pridobljene v tujem okolju med študijem v imperiju, posebno na češkem ozemlju, pa tudi v tujini. Pri tem so imele velik vpliv tudi dolgotrajne družinske vezi in lokalna oziroma regionalna solidarnost. Članek preučuje, kako in v kakšnem obsegu so ti dejavniki korenito prenovili pristop k družbeni refleksiji v večinoma slovaških okrajih v Kraljevini Ogrski v prvem desetletju 20. stoletja.

Ključne besede: Slovaška, kulturna zgodovina, Kraljevini Ogrska, češko-slovaška vzajemnost

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ABSTRACT

Until the 1890s, most public affairs surrounding the Slovak elites were managed from the small town of Turčianský Svätý Martin in the Turiec County, based on a long-lasting programme drawn up in 1861 that was mainly focused, in a classical approach from the late 1840s, on the language and national individuality of the Slovaks vis-à-vis both Hungarians and Czechs.

A shift occurred in the early 1900s, having since deeply modified the main axis of the public and social activities in the educated Slovak milieu. This shift coincided with an emerging new generation influenced by a foreign experience observed personally during their studies in the Empire, especially in the Czech Lands, and sometimes abroad. Furthermore, it was based on long-standing family ties and local/regional solidarities. This paper studies the manner and extent to which these factors renewed the approach of social reflection in mostly Slovak Counties of the Kingdom of Hungary in the first decade of the 20th century.

Keywords: Slovakia, cultural history, Kingdom of Hungary, Czech-Slovak mutuality

Social and family relationships in the Slovak patriotic milieu in the second half of the 19th century have not yet been studied methodically through an approach combining the kinship dimension and "generation dynamics".

The notion of "kinship fronts", as used by Giovanni Levi, is fruitful in both its dimensions: the first links families in the sense of non-co-resident groups with kinship ties, relations by marriage or the emerging fictional kinship relations. The second dimension, which is vertical, is comprised of "clienteles, protections and loyalty networks" which explain the behaviours and strategies of families or individuals from a historical perspective, keeping in mind that each family nucleus acts in a composite social network. The notion helps document the hypothesis of deep continuity in the Slovak patriotic milieu and its local and regional dimensions. It also enables the observation of the diversification and transformation of patriotic activities, all from the cultural and literary sphere to the sphere of politics in the wider sense, including the economy and education.

The "generation" question is observed by keeping in mind the limits of an overly strict approach as highlighted by Jean-Pierre Azéma,[1] and we refer rather to what can be called an "ideological system" defined as "what belongs to all and is the dominating question of the moment, the question that emerges during the 'period of receptiveness' and formation." It must be underlined that "philosophical answers and political stances can be diverging or contradictory, but they nevertheless form a system."[2] The cohort as such is insufficient; many singularities have to be taken into

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1   Jean-Pierre Azéma, "La clef générationnelle," [The generational key] *Vingtième Siècle*, 22 (1989): 3–10.
2   Michel Winock, *L'Effet de génération. Une brève histoire des intellectuels français* [The generational effect. A brief history of French intellectuals] (Paris: Thierry Marchaisse, 2011), 11.

account, such as references to different founding events and social profiles. It has to be approached cautiously, but it does offer keys to analyse the divisions and dynamics of this milieu.[3]

Having set aside the kinship dimension in its quantitative aspects, we will here insist mainly on two aspects: the first one is the evolution of networks from the geographical point of view, and the second one is the turn of generations, i.e. the pillars and tools of the new approach that can be observed from the mid-1890s until the middle of the following decade.

The Genesis of the Intellectual Shift

Towards a Geographical Extension

One of the weaknesses of a cultural and voluntary action lies in its narrow geographical base. This action was historically based in three small counties at the north of the Kingdom (Liptov, Orava, and Turiec) and connected with the mid-sized cities in the surrounding counties. The main patriotic activities were concentrated in this area, especially in Martin, with the Slovak National Party or SNS (founded in 1871), the press (mostly one daily and one monthly newspaper that can be considered as the sole political and cultural papers), and the main non-confessional associations.

The leading position of Martin was challenged in the 1890s. This challenge came from networks built and developed in Prague and Vienna, where a handful of Slovak students had organized themselves in small groups and had been developing connections and solidarities for about a decade. Coming mostly from the Orava-Liptov-Turiec triangle, they were inspired by what is usually called "the spirit of Martin" [*Martinský duch*]. Some others were from what is called "Western Slovakia"[4], where connections with Vienna and South Moravia were more frequent. The region, which was less influenced by the "historical core" of the movement and more connected to non-Hungarian parts of the monarchy, had already been organized based on the economic proximity and agricultural networks. Moreover, it was one of the regions active in creating cooperatives in the mid-century period and was close to Pressburg, where active upper-middle class Slovak patriots worked mostly as lawyers, organizing critics of the "conservative" or "old" centre, i.e. Martin. To name but two of those involved in what Pavol Blaho later called "the Awakening of the West"[5]: Jozef Dérer and Miloš Štefanovič, who were both lawyers in Bratislava and close friends. Although they had connections with the Party in Martin, they both developed harsh

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3　　Jean-François Sirinelli, "*Génération et histoire politique*," [Generations and political history] *Vingtième Siècle*, 22 (1989): 71.

4　　In the narrow sense of the word, "Western Slovakia" is the region located to the North-West of Bratislava, extending to the border with Moravia. In the broader sense, it refers to the long strip of land situated between the two rivers of Váh and Moravia.

5　　SNA, BA, of. Blaho, carton (c.) 76, inv. č. (No.) 2059.

criticism towards what is frequently referred to as the "old" centre", especially the latter of the two, who is seen as *enfant terrible* of the Slovak politics.[6]

Both of them are also interesting as representatives of what can be considered in hindsight as the transitional generation or "the intermediate outside-Martin generation", embedded between a classical, language-focused approach to the national question and its further development. Both men belonged to families involved in the main cultural and political events, including the voluntary actions from the 1840s to the 1850s. Miloš Štefanovič was one of the most prominent figures of this generation. His patriotic pedigree was irreproachable: his father Samuel was one of the 22 members of the Permanent National Committee founded after the adoption of the 1861 Memorandum in Martin.[7] The importance of Miloš Štefanovič in patriotic action relied on the two-fold long-standing family involvement in it – the manner in which he challenged the options adopted in the 1870s and the manner in which he shook the entire patriotic landscape. This is also a clue to the increasing role of the Western counties, including Pressburg, in the Slovak politics at the beginning of the 1890s. Miloš Štefanovič was a lawyer working in the city from 1887, having started his career at Dula's office in Martin. He was highly esteemed and one of the "four stars" of the Slovak lawyers, alongside the Mudroň brothers and Štefan Fajnor.[8]

Both Jozef and Miloš took in young people coming to Pressburg in the 1890s, and both were in touch with the Viennese and Moravian activists and openly challenged the classical mode of action.

The Hlas and Its Impact

The 1890s were a time of renewal instigated by critics of the passive politics which was initiated in the 1870s. The most important impetus for the renewal of political action in the broader sense of the word was the creation of the *Hlas* review in 1898. *Hlas* attracted and brought together a new generation. Critical of Martin, this generation was headed by two former figures of the voluntary milieu of Vienna and Prague in the preceding decade, i.e. Pavol Blaho and Vavro Šrobár. Both were medics, the first from the West, the second from Liptov; both were born in 1867; the first studied in Vienna, the second in Prague; and both either founded or led the most representative Slovak students' associations in the respective cities: the "Národ" in Vienna, and the "Detvan"

6　About Miloš Štefanovič and his role in redefining the Slovak national programme, see Milan Podrimavský, *Slovenská národná strana v druhej polovici 19. storočia* [The Slovak National Party in the second half of the 19th century] (Bratislava: SAV, 1983).

7　See *Slovenské národné zhromaždenie v Turčianskom Sv. Martine 1861* [The 1861 Slovak national assembly of Turčiansky Svätý Martin] (T. S. Martin: Matica slovenská, 1941). František Bokes, *Dokumenty k slovenskému národnému hnutia, I* [Documents on the Slovak National Movement. 1st volume] (Bratislava: SAV, 1962), 323.

8　Ivan Thurzo, *Medzi vrchmi a na rovine* [Between the hills and in the plains] (Bratislava: Tatran, 1987), 51. About Fajnor and his role as a lawyer, see also Štefan Janšák, *Život Štefana Fajnora* [Life of Štefan Fajnor] (Bratislava: Biblioteka, 1935), 172–75.

in Prague.[9] Both men were brought up in the classical conservative atmosphere of the late 1870s and the early 1880s.[10] As Anton Štefánek later pointed out about Šrobár, "when he arrived in Prague, […] he was a nationalist in the old meaning of the term. He read the *Národnie Noviny* [National journal], admired Hurban-Vajansky's poetry and the Russophile trend, and read Russian writers extensively, mainly Tolstoy". Both Blaho and Šrobár though were deeply influenced by the political transformations they observed in Vienna and Prague respectively, particularly by the emergence of the "progressive" current in the Czech Lands: a more radical, nationally and socially focused trend in the Czech politics that challenged the classical "activist" orientation of the still dominant Young-Czech elite.[11]

Some of their early "political" activities were linked to the Detvan association created in 1882. Nevertheless, until the end of the 1890s, Detvan was dominated by "the spirit of Martin" [*Martinský duch*] and reluctant to support the idea of a review that would challenge the official politics of Martin.[12]

The *Hlas* was published after quite a long period of preparation. It had initially been conceived in 1896. In Šrobár's words, its "aim was to shake the youth so that they could shake the people."[13] Personal and financial problems delayed its publication, which took place only in 1898. Besides Šrobár and Blaho, the *Hlas* involved the young Fedor Houdek (born in 1877) whose position in the business families of the Liptov is well known.[14] Šrobár had no doubt as to the significance of this creation. In a long letter to Žigmund Pauliny-Tóth, who belonged to one of Martin's most important Slovak families and headed the first Slovak bank – the Tatra banka – at the time, he was quite clear on that point: "I think we are opening a new era in Slovakia, a new period of awakening, a new era of the Slovak life reformation. But, for now, it is still far away."[15]

The main target of those called "hlasists" was "Štúrism", named after Ľudovít Štúr, who codified the Slovak language. Combined with the mighty Russophilia that impregnated the Slovak movement, "Štúrism" was considered an ideology that led to a weakening of political and cultural action and to sterile conservatism. Because of it, the "really practical" and "concrete" work was forgotten for years, if not decades,

9   About Národ, see SNA, of. Blaho, c. 76, No. 2038. About the Detvan, see LA SNK, Martin, C 1438.

10   LA SNK, 42 X 22, "Šrobár a jeho doba."

11   Jiří Kořalka, *Češi v habsburské říši a v Evropě 1815–1914* [The Czechs in the Habsburg Empire and in Europe] (Prague: Argo, 1996). Jan Křen, *Konfliktní společenství. Češi a Němci 1780–1918* [Conflicting Societies. Czechs and Germans 1780-1918] (Prague: Academia, 1990). In English, see Bruce M. Garver, *The Young Czech Party 1874–1901. The Emergence of a Multi-party System* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1978).

12   "Z korešpondencie predsaviteľov českého a slovenského národného hnutia na prelome 19. a 20. storočia," [From the correspondence between Czech and Slovak national movement at the turn of the 20th century] *Historický časopis*, 17 (1969): 270–84.

13   LA SNK, 37 BB 11.

14   Fedor Houdek's mother was a Makovický, a member of one of the most influential families in the Slovak business environment of the Liptov County. – See Zdenko Ďuriška, *Medzi mlynmi a bankami. Dejiny rodu Makovickovcov* [Between mills and banks. The history of the Makovický family] (Martin: SGHS, 2007). He studied at the Prague Academy of Commerce between 1894 and 1897 and was a member of the "Detvan". He then returned to Liptov to work in his father's firm and at the Credit bank [Úverná banka] of Ružomberok.

15   LA SNK, A 1505, Šrobár to Pauliny-Tóth, 13 June 1898.

and the Slovak mainstream gradually moved away from the people. This people's dimension of politics had to be reintroduced in any kind of activities under the motto of "concrete small social work", which was adapted from the Czech Lands; it implied the education and information campaigns, creation of cultural or educational associations on a very local basis, and spreading of technical and scientific knowledge among people. The *Hlas* was also a weapon against renouncement, with the political passivity of the SNS being analysed as such.[16] When assessing the preceding decade in 1908, Šrobár underlined that, "at that time, there was absolutely no autonomous political movement in Slovakia. The Slovak intelligentsia was declining year by year as the cruel Hungarian liberal regime had pushed it out of public politics and restricted it to the private sphere. Between the Slovak intelligentsia and the Slovak people, an unbridgeable rift was growing; people had lost their leaders, and their leaders had lost the battle. [...] Some were certain that our liberation would come from the East, others assured with the same certainty that it would come from the West, from the dynasty. This had only one consequence on the Slovak life: it fell asleep".

At the turn of the century and a few more years afterwards, the hlasists worked along another new trend in the Slovak intelligentsia, the Catholics[17], in order to develop what was called "concrete small social work". This was the Slovak version of the Czech "small work", which mostly consisted of evening lectures and conferences, and establishment of cultural and educational associations and cooperatives, especially in the rural milieu. Despite the ambitious aims, a low level of professionalism in the editing board remained a problem and so did the lack of fervour as well as the passivity. Houdek openly expressed his deepest concern regarding the overall evolution of the Slovak activist landscape in a letter sent to Masaryk in November of 1901. "As a careful observer of our [Slovak] life, you certainly did not miss a sad fact: those who came back to Slovakia with the best ideas in their heart and full of moral fervour fell into lethargy, into moral and physical laziness. Some of them fell more slowly, others more rapidly. Slovakia looks like a fairy-tale castle where princes come to undo the spell but are bewitched themselves and remain prisoners."[18]

In the same letter, he deeply regretted Šrobár's "disappointing" attitude during the last months and his disagreements with Blaho that weighed on the *Hlas* action. Houdek also stated that the "awakening work" too often fell on the individuals' shoulders, more than on the organized groups.[19] This assessment was in many ways confirmed by Šrobár himself who, one year later, wrote to Masaryk: "Blaho let [the *Hlas*] fall, as he said, because of the lack of co-workers. The real reason though is that during the last period, the *Hlas* sailed into the waters of the clericals and, as

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16   Vavro Šrobár, "Počiatky slovenského obrodenia," [The beginnings of the Slovak awakening] in: *Sborník slovenskej mládeže*, [Slovak youth collection] 1909, 141.

17   R. Holec, *Tragédia v Černovej a slovenská spoločnosť* [The Tragedy of Černová and Slovak society] (Martin: Matica slovenská, 1997), 21–24.

18   Fedor Houdek to Masaryk, 4 November 1901, in: Jan Rychlík, ed., K*orespondence T. G. Masaryk – slovenští veřejní činitelé* [Correspondence T. G. Masaryk – Slovak public activists] (Prague: Masarykův ústav AV ČR, 2007), 73.

19   Ibid., 74.

a consequence, the youth educated in the spirit of the Czech realism turned away from him [Šrobár]."[20] In addition, the administration of the review was something of a mess, subscriptions went partly unpaid and distribution remained poor.[21] The *Hlas* finally died out in 1904. In many respects, it suffered the same problems as the ones that affected all political and publishing activities of the Slovak patriots: personal misunderstandings and rivalries, but mainly dilettantism. If we consider its content and impact, the *Hlas* can nevertheless be assumed to having shaken up the entire landscape and become the centre of an in-depth renewal that melded a generation of young men born mostly in the late 1870s and early 1880s – a renewal that lasted until the eve of the war, after which that same generation took up the torch and founded a new review called *Prúdy,* explicitly referring to the *Hlas.*

New Local Dynamics at the Eve of the 20ᵗʰ Century

At the turn of the century, the geographical balance in the Slovak politics slightly changed. The emergence of new cities and regions started to act as a counterweight to Martin's influence. This was especially the case in Western Slovakia and the cities of Skalica, Myjava, Senica and Pressburg, and of Liptovský Mikuláš and Ružomberok in the Liptov. Some more isolated cities also (re-)emerged, such as Trnava, Nové Mesto nad Váhom and Tisovec, where the leading figures or families organized the "Slovak national life".

The pillar of this renewal was the education, which applied to various fields where issues regarding peasants and the youth were important.

Health was one of the main concerns: "the fight against alcoholism goes hand in hand with the emancipating economic fight", underlined Blaho in the already mentioned booklet "The Awakening of the West".[22] The 1901 establishment of an "abstinent circle" in Blaho's city of Skalica was a small local event, even if the "circle" was able to rely on as few as 80 members during its first year of activity. Nevertheless, the network slowly grew. The year 1904 saw the first peak of education activities in the West, including conferences about alcoholism and dairy farming, and more than 20 conferences on other local or global economic questions and various topics of popular education, as well as the amateur theatre, which was an important and already developed part of the inclusive work on a local basis. This dynamic spread to agricultural cooperatives, from the Skalica cooperative to smaller structures in the surrounding areas. At the same time, small municipal libraries were opened, sometimes in private houses, and sometimes with the help of the Slovak catholic clergy that played an important role in the West. The third important step, as far as

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20   Šrobár to Masaryk, 16 December 1902. – Rychlík, ed., *Korespondence*, 81, 82.
21   SNA, of. Blaho, c. 52, No. 1706 to 1708. Subscription is a long-standing problem of the review. See for instance Šrobár to Masaryk, 16 December 1902. – Rychlík, ed., *Korespondence*, 81, 82.
22   SNA, of. Blaho, c. 76, No. 2059, 15.

the West was concerned, was the opening of the House of the Peasant on the main Skalica square in 1905. The House, which was initiated by Blaho, soon transformed Skalica into the capital city of the Slovak peasantry.[23] Skalica became the place of the "Peasants' congress", an event that, each year from 1906 onwards, lasted for three or four days and was filled with conferences on health, technical progress, and political and economic education. An important part of it was devoted to joint activities (and notably cautiously prepared lunches and walks). As time went by, the core of participants to this congress expanded, gradually including new activists attracted by what was becoming a proper challenge for the "old centre", i.e. Martin.

In the mid-1900s, Western Slovakia's dynamic also relied on Pressburg's renewed place in the overall patriotic landscape. The quite diverse city had a centre that blended the old families from the patriotic milieu and outsiders coming mostly from the surrounding Western counties. The old Štefanovič, Dérer, and another lawyer, Štefan Fajnor,[24] went on to help in building and strengthening this network. Their sons and daughters, and some of their close friends (Anton Štefánek and Milan Ivanka for instance) carried on their work, alongside the leading Catholic priests such as Ferdinand Juriga[25] and a handful of young social democrats. They were all born in the period between 1876 and 1884. Famously, Jozef Dérer's son, Ivan, who was introduced into politics through the Catholic circles which, as he explained in his unpublished memoirs, "had somehow built a close contact with the mass of people like nobody had before"[26], benefited from the aura of his father, his closeness to the Štefanovič family (he was about to marry one of Štefanovič's daughters) and a good relationships with the Fajnors. At that time, Štefanovič was at the top of his reputation, and had gone to Martin to head the Tatra banka, which was facing huge financial difficulties. As such, this unusual choice brought by an "outsider" to the Martin milieu was one of the clues to a new balance in the movement.

The diversification of the Slovak press was another clue. It came from the Catholic initiatives but also from some of the prominent business families of the Liptov County (mainly the Stodolas and the Makovickýs), who financed the main projects. The classical scheme was the following: the contestations or new options were financed and supported by the elders and organized by the youth. Such press was far from being professional and many projects failed due to persistent dilettantism and regional or personal rivalries combined with weak readership. The financial weakness and dependency on a number of influential families who also had to keep a balanced position between the "old" and the "new" was a constant problem. Despite these weaknesses, the failed experience in the press business helped strengthen certain networks of the young generation who challenged the still-leading centre of Martin.

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23   SNA, of. Blaho, c. 47, No. 1559-1590.

24   About the Fajnors and their importance in the second half of the 19th century, see for instance Štefan Janšák, *Život Štefana Fajnora* [The Life of Štefan Fajnor] (Bratislava: Biblioteka, 1933).

25   About Juriga and his implication in Slovak politics at that time, see mostly Miroslav Pekník, ed., *Ferdinand Juriga. Ľudový smer slovenskej politiky* [Ferdinand Juriga. The populist direction of Slovak politics] (Bratislava: Veda, 2009).

26   LA SNK, 85 C 33.

For their part, both Blaho and Hodža gradually forged new tools to be utilised in the lower- and middle-class Slovak peasantry. Milan Hodža was one of the youngest active leaders in the very early 20th century. He was born in 1878 in Sučany, just a few kilometres from Martin, and belonged to the famous Hodža family; his great-uncle was one of the three Captains of the 1848 Slovak uprising and a long-time friend of Ľudovít Štúr. Milan was also the son of Sučany's pastor, and, as such, an important figure in Turiec's religious and cultural life. He studied in Kolozsvár and Budapest and soon started to pay great attention to the "national question".[27] His first public activities were in journalism as he contributed to the Slovenské listy and Hlas. In 1900, he became editor-in-chief of Slovenský denník and relatively soon started to focus more on the politics rather than journalism. Despite the deeply ambiguous positions, he mostly considered the old strategy of the Slovak National Party (SNS) a failure that left the Slovak people unable to face the Magyarization process. Influenced by the Czech "small work", he openly considered that the SNS did not pay enough attention to social and economic quest, therefore causing severe stagnation. In his opinion, the "peasant question" was the one that had to be urgently resolved and, like Blaho, he paid huge attention to the situation of peasants. However, unlike Blaho, Hodža strove to remain in touch with the SNS and Martin in order to be elected into the party's councils and to share the burden within them.[28] Moreover, in 1903, he created the Slovenský týždenník weekly, which became an influential paper spreading agrarianism, taking advantage of the passing of the Hlas the following year. Active and skilful, Hodža was elected to the Parliament in Budapest in 1906. Building on this success, he strengthened his position in the party and pushed for the introduction of an "agrarian" chapter in its programme.[29]

The building of agrarianism in Slovakia was a showcase of its internal tensions and divisions.[30] The "agrarian" movement of Skalica, and as such Blaho, were sharply criticized by the SNS, which considered Blaho to excessively challenge its authority due to the movement's own actions. Hodža took advantage of these tensions, notably in a meeting of the SNS Council in 1908, where he sought the introduction of his own projects.[31] Hodža's ambitions suited the need of the SNS to weaken Blaho's positions and indirectly the positions held by some of those who helped him build the alternatives outside of Martin's moral *imperium*. The SNS favoured Hodža's strategy,[32] and he was soon able to organize a Congress of the Slovak peasants in Budapest in 1908.[33] Although the Czech model remained an inspiration, efforts were divided

27   About that period, see the apologetic chapter written by Ivan Thurzo. – Ivan Thurzo and Alena Bartlová, *Slovenský Perikles* [The Slovak Pericles] (Bratislava: VSSS, 2008).

28   SNA, f. SNS, Kniha zápisníc.

29   Ľubomír Lipták, dir., *Politické strany na Slovensku (1860–1989)* [The political Parties in Slovakia (1860–1989)] (Bratislava: Archa, 1992), 43.

30   Vladimír Zuberec, "*Formovanie slovenského národného hnutia v rokoch 1900–1918,*" [The formation of the Slovak national movement, 1900–1918] Historický časopis, 20 (1972): 205–46.

31   SNA, f. SNS, Kniha zápisníc, 83, 84.

32   SNA, f. SNS, Kniha zápisníc, 74.

33   Milan Podrimavský, "Organizácia Slovenskej národnej strany v rokoch 1900–1914," [The organization of the SNS in the years 1900–1914] *Historický časopis*, 25 (1977): 193, 194.

along a line that separated groups according to geographical (West *vs* Martin) and generational lineages. It is also worth noting that the geographical factor could be compared with the type of family connections that were at stake. The competition in projects for an economic organization of the Slovak peasantry became less aggressive at the eve of the 1910s. The founding of the Central Cooperative [Ústredné *družstvo,* ÚD] in 1912 ended this second phase of agrarianism.[34] At that moment, the old Blaho–Hodža tensions eased because of the emergence of new divisions mostly involving young Catholic priests. The ÚD had gathered first-rank activists of agrarianism for a decade – Blaho, Hodža –, as well as Kornel Stodola from the business group of Liptov, Skalica's priest Ľudovít Okánik (also Blaho's brother-in-law), Milan Ivanka, one of the few Slovaks who managed to be elected to the Budapest Parliament,[35] as well as Anton Štefánek, who had long been following the first circle.[36] The creation of the ÚD was an important step that strengthened the existing networks and stimulated the independent economic coordination of the Slovak rural milieu.

This new organization was comprised of two clearly identifiable generations: the first openly challenged the SNS strategy, the impasse of which it saw as it grew up. It was made up of men born between 1865 and 1875. Some of them did not live in Martin or even Turiec and they shared their first political experiences in the large cities of Cisleithania, Prague and especially Vienna. The second generation included men born in the 1880s, who were often high up in the patriotic movement and based in its most important centres. They had benefited from the transformation of the industrial and business environment enabled by the economic rise of the Kingdom of Hungary during the "liberal" period. Those young men combined the high-level education, dynamic family networks and experience acquired abroad, where their "elders" surrounded them. The same type of social composition can be found in other fields that developed at the same time, such as the banking system.[37] This structure was based on the dynamics of the Liptov, where the Stodolas and mainly the Makovickýs were found at the very centre of a dense family network built over two generations.[38]

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34   Samuel Cambel, *Štátnik a národnohospodár Milan Hodža 1878–1944* [Statesman and economist Milan Hodža. 1878–1944] (Bratislava: Veda, 2001).

35   M. Ivanka (1876–1950) was born in 1876 in T. S. Martin in a small noble family of the Turiec. After finishing school in Martin, he studied law in Budapest and returned to Martin to work in Pavol Mudroň and Matúš Dula's office. In 1904, he moved to Trnava to open his own practice and married the grand-daughter of Michal Miloslav Hodža. He belonged to the so-called "realist" fraction of the Slovak intelligentsia promoting the "small work". He played an active part in creating the *Hospodárska banka* [Economic bank], and helped in some Slovak candidates' campaigns in Western Slovakia. He was therefore elected to the Parliament in Budapest to represent Pezinok (in the suburb of Pressburg) in 1907 (election cancelled the following year as Ivanka was sentenced to a year's imprisonment for anti-Hungarian activities).

36   Anton Štefánek (1877–1964) was the son of a shoemaker from Záhorie in Western Slovakia. As a young boy, he lived in Vienna where he frequented the "Tatran" and the "Národ" circles. He maintained strong connections with the liberals of the *Hlas* and created the *Slovenský obzor* in Budapest in 1907 along with M. Hodža and J. Ruman. In the following years he became editor of the *Ľudové noviny* (1908-1910) in Skalica where he worked with Pavol Blaho, whom he met during the "Tatran" period in Vienna. He finally started to work as editor of Hodža's *Slovenský denník*.

37   About the banking system, see mostly Štefan Horváth and Ján Valach, eds., *Peňažníctvo na Slovensku do roku 1918* [Finances in Slovakia until 1918] (Bratislava: VTEL, 1975). Recently Roman Holec, *Tatra banka v zrkadle dejín* [The Tatra bank in the mirror of history] (Bratislava: AEP, 2007).

38   Z. Ďuriška, *Medzi mlynmi.* For another type of family network, see also Zdenko Ďuriška, *Pálkovci. Príbeh rodu garbi-arských podnikateľov z Liptova* [The Pálkos. History of a Liptov tanneries family] (Martin: SGHS, 2013).

Another type of initiative favoured the strengthening of the above links among activists, i.e. the care for renewing relations with the Czech Lands. We will mention only two of the main topics. The more "ritual" one is the Luhačovice meetings that, under the aegis of the Czech association Českoslovanská *jednota* [Czechoslav Unity][39], gathered Slovaks and Czechs each year in a small thermal city of Southern Moravia, where Blaho worked for years during each summer. It was based on old relations created earlier in the Czech Lands. Julius Markovič, for instance, who headed the Popular bank [Ľudová *banka*] in Nové Mesto nad Váhom, played a crucial role in attracting the Czech counterparts and businessmen.[40] Beyond their crucial role in the renewal of Czech-Slovak relations,[41] the Luhačovice meetings favoured the development of exchanges – mostly from Slovakia to the Czech Lands.[42] The more long-term-oriented new dimension of it was constant help in sending young Slovak students who were poor or not allowed to study in the Kingdom of Hungary to the Czech Lands. Blaho was one of the most active go-betweens of those exchanges that also broadly involved "Western" activists like Dérer, Ivanka and Bella.[43] The relative success of these initiatives can also be observed through the proposals of the Czechs to receive the young Slovaks.[44] Despite all the efforts they deployed over those years, the Slovak activists faced low financial capacities of the *Jednota* and of their own resources.[45] To a certain extent, the positive atmosphere surrounding this help for young students ended in 1912–1913.

Overcoming the Lasting Obstacles Within the Slovak Social Politics: *Prúdy* and the Prudists

All these evolutions had an impact on the national movement activities around 1910, as it diversified, with clearer diverging options appearing and the new divisions becoming more politically orientated and less dependent on regional differences, yet it still built on a generational and confessional factor – the latter being more important that the former.[46] Like the *Hlas* at the end of the 19th century, this new step was mainly the result of the obvious lasting deficiencies in the extension of political and social education and the will showed by a handful of young men to overcome them.

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39   About the creation of the Jednota and its role in this initiative, see Michal Stehlík, *Češi a Slováci 1882–1914. Nezřetelnost*
     společné cesty [Czechs and Slovaks 1882–1914. The indistinct nature of common paths] (Prague: Togga, 2009).
40   LA SNK, 42 I 327, p. 2.
41   SNA, of. Houdek, c. 5, II/3, No. 160, Taborský to Houdek, Prague, 10 April 1908.
42   Rudolf Pilat and Josef Rotnágl to Fedor Houdek, Prague, 12 July 1912 (SNA, of. Houdek, c. 5, II/3, No. 160). The
     Jednota regularly acted as a go-between (see for instance letter of Rotnágl to Houdek, Prague, 2 May 1913. – Ibid.).
43   With M. M. Bella for instance, see, SNA, of. Blaho, c. 4, No. 78, 15 October 1913. With Dérer, see ibid., c. 5, No. 134,
     letters from September to December 1910.
44   SNA, of. Blaho, c. 33, No. 1434. See also Rotnágl to Šrobár, Prague, 11 November 1912 (SNA, of. Šrobár, c. 5, No. 337).
45   Rotnágl and Ivan Klima to Houdek, Prague, 2 December 1911 (SNA, of. Houdek, c. 5, II/3, No. 160) and Rotnágl
     to Houdek, Prague, 17 September 1911. – Ibid..
46   As an illustration of this deep political fracture, see the correspondence between Ivan Dérer and Pavol Blaho in 1911
     (SNA, of. Blaho, c. 4, No. 734) and between Šrobár and Štefanek the following year (SNA, of Šrobár, c. 5, No. 295).

At the end of the decade, learning from *Hlas*'s experience and failures, a fledgling Committee of the Slovak youth decided to publish a review called *Prúdy,* where young patriots from prominent families played the leading role.[47] Two of them, whose paths were archetypal of the generation who took up the hlasist torch, illustrated a deep link between the new and the old generation; they also grew up in a perfectly patriotic milieu and their fathers experienced both changes and limitations in the Slovak politics. Many of them were Lutherans who matured at a time when efforts to financially strengthen the business and voluntary milieu were somehow more efficient. The first of them was Ivan Markovič, born in 1888. He was the son of Julius, a man who financed the SNS and activities connected to it and who was convicted in the notorious "Nitra trial" of 1902.[48] The second, Juraj Slávik, was also a young man born in 1890. He was the son of Ján, Zvolen's pastor, who was discreetly critical of Martin and expressed his satisfaction at how the hlasists "set the nation in motion", despite some reserves he had regarding the harsh anticlericalism evident in some of its main representatives.[49] As a clear evidence of the evolution that occurred in the 1900s, the Czechs were active participants in the *Prúdy.*[50]

Most of its editorial board agreed with the old hlasist message and the two generations melded and reinforced the dynamics. In his correspondence, Ivan Markovič summed up two important elements of the situation: firstly, the heritage of the *Hlas* and Šrobár; and secondly, the remaining problem of a narrow social and cultural base: "We observed that links inside the youth are weak, that we do not really know each other and that few people know us, and when we want to talk together, we have no place to do it."[51] His description of *Prúdy*'s aims recalls those of the *Hlas*: "It will have two functions: publicizing the spiritual fruits of the youth's work and informing the youth on events, trends and opinions in the Slovak life […] in economics, in politics and also in literature, arts and science."[52] He explained that the review should "reflect the spiritual life of the Slovak youth",[53] prepare "fighting issues"[54] and also welcome elder fighters, as long as they challenge the conservative policy of Martin. In that respect, Markovič vehemently defends Šrobár's contribution to the review in interesting terms that show the respect he earned in the young generation: "Šrobár's article testifies that *Prúdy* would like to make space for any opinion, and even for the

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47 Marián Hronský, "K politickému profilu generácie okolo časopisu Prúdy (Prúdistov) (1910–1914)," [About the political profile of the generation around the review Prúdy (1909–1914)] *Historický časopis*, 23 (1975): 509–31.

48 Julius Markovič, *Nitriansky politický trestný proces: politická úvaha* [The Nitra political trial: political reflexion] (Turč. Sv. Martin, 1903).

49 LA SNK, 5 A 15, letter, 6 May 1910 to Jur Janoška.

50 Namely Bohdan Pavlů, Czech hlasist who studied law in Prague, Vienna and Budapest, became a journalist and worked for the *Slovenský týždenník* [The Slovak weekly] between 1905 and 1910, for *Čas* [Time] between 1907 and 1910, and then for the Czech *Národní listy* [National Letters]. The other important Czech was František Votruba. Born near Tábor in southern Bohemia, he worked in Slovakia in the 1900s where he made contact with young Slovak writers. From 1911 onwards, he was responsible for the section "Slovenské věci" [Slovak affairs] of the Čas (about Votruba, see *Votrubov sborník* [Votruba's collection] (Bratislava, 1954), 107–61).

51 LA SNK, A 970, Markovič to Neckar, 24 September 1909.

52 Ibid.

53 Ibid., 14 October 1909.

54 Ibid., 15 January 1910.

opinions of the elders [at that time Šrobár was 43 years old], as long as they relate to the youth, its work and its role. […] Šrobár is an unquestionable spiritual tree of the Slovak awakening. For this reason, his opinions have to be taken into account."[55]

This question of the youth, which was of central significance at that time, brought all efforts together. Although this initiative was more elite-focused, it carefully resounded in all types of social politics and education activities during the following years. It was consciously devoted to underlining the impact of those actions and the manner in which its influence was spreading. Štefánek summed up the difference by using the classical Martin orientation: "Here, it was not only about diverging opinions or differences in work methods in general. It was not only what we call the fight of the youth against the eldest … but a fundamental transformation in political and working methods …"[56] In order to help this transformation, shares in *Prúdy* were offered from April 1910 in order to create a consortium to provide aid for the review and establish the "Prúdy's Library" collection of popular and scientific booklets.[57]

This was also when the first project for a Slovak "daily" newspaper actually succeeded. Interestingly, the initiative was a genuine blend of different generations that have previously been discussed. Hodža's first attempts failed due to inexperience, weak resources and narrow audience. After his election in 1906, the need for a daily paper that would spread political information emerged. The human and financial context in many ways facilitated the project. Amongst others, Hodža, Bella, Ivan Daxner, Šrobár, Ľudovít Medvecký, and Fedor Houdek took part in the final meeting of 21 November 1909 in Vrútky. The editorial board was to be headed by Hodža and Štefánek.[58] The strength of Liptov capital in the project is attested to by the fact that Šrobár, Peter Makovický, and Houdek led the consortium, all of them drawing on their Liptov business networks. These publishing initiatives lasted long enough to structure the political debate until the breakout of war. Besides the already mentioned activists, various circles with the same background were strengthened by these initiatives, as were their experience, networks and ability to shake up the old SNS. However, the latter remained dominant and almost unchallenged as the structure that was to unite "the different orientations of the nation".

Apart from a few exceptions, all of the main figures had fathers or forefathers who were members of the main cultural associations, very frequently board members, and a huge majority of them were subscribers to the main Slovak press editions, shareholders or guarantors in their publishing houses, shareholders in Slovak banks or holders of reciprocal stakes in their businesses. Many of their fathers were famous in the milieu because of their involvement as lawyers, bank founders, businessmen or Lutheran clergymen.[59] Some of them personally benefitted from marrying into important families, like Jozef Gregor-Tajovský for instance. Belonging to the

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55　Ibid., 17 March 1910.
56　LA SNK, 42 X 22.
57　LA SNK, A 970, Markovič and Pavlů to Neckar, 4 April 1910.
58　SNA, of. Houdek, c. 32, No. 215/3.
59　See Ľudovít Šenšel, *Pätdesiat rokov Tranoscia. 1898–1948* [50 years of Tranoscius] (Liptovský Mikuláš, 1948), 14.

prominent and aspiring young Prudists, he was a talented writer who married Anna Lilgová (known as Gregorová in Slovak literary history), the daughter of an influential family belonging to Martin's Slovak bourgeoisie,[60] and played a decisive role in the evolution of the new party programme in 1913.

In conclusion, there are three points that should be highlighted. Firstly, the transformation of the action and ideological references in the active fraction of the patriotic movement included a shift in its geographical centres and external influences – mostly from the Czech Lands. It is worth noting that, save for a few exceptions, none of them originated from Martin. This is a first clue to the decreasing influence of the city and its institutions in favour of the neighbouring cities in the Liptov area and Western Slovakia. Secondly, challenging the classical politics of Martin did not necessarily mean breaking with its heritage. Most of the young activists simply could not conceive acting without at least a tacit agreement from the "capital city", i.e. Martin; in the first part of the 1910s, they even accumulated enough influence and support to join its structures and eventually play a decisive part in drawing up its renewed programme in 1913. This inclusion in party politics is partly due to the idea in which unity had to prevail in an otherwise unfavourable cultural and political atmosphere. In many cases, newcomers used the same tools as their elders in the mid-1890s. Finally, the relationships they developed with their Czech counterparts – as they obviously benefited from their stays in Prague – created some common solidarities that allowed easier cooperation during the First World War and enabled them to play a leading role in the internal shift towards the Czechoslovak project in 1918. This shift was accelerated by the war, the growing contestation of the Party's passive position, and political opportunity. Moreover, those involved in the *Hlas* and their "heirs" at the *Prúdy* took a firm lead in the Slovak politics at the end of 1918, as five out of 15 members of the first provisional Slovak government of December 1918 belonged to the *Hlas* first editorial board, while a handful of others were involved in the *Prúdy* and various circles active in the "small social work", including the cooperatives or support to Slovak youth. Most of these men, who steeped in the history and contradictions of patriotic action, would become the backbone of (Czecho-)Slovak politics throughout the interwar period. The depth of their connections as well as their shared "Hungarian period" history, solidarities and hatred are one of the many keys that can help observe the first Czechoslovak Republic and the Slovak role therein.

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60   See Hana Gregorová, *Spomienky* [Memories] (Bratislava: Tatran, 1979). To go deeper on this aspect, see another illustration in: Ján Hrušovský, *Starý Martin v živote a ľudoch* [Old Martin in its life and people] (Martin, 1947) [New edition: *Obrázky starého Martina* [Images of the old Martin], (Martin: Matica slovenská, 2010)].

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Etienne Boisserie

DRUŽINSKE VEZI IN »GENERACIJSKI KLJUČ« V PRENOVLJENIH PRISTOPIH K DRUŽBENEMU VREDNOTENJU SLOVAŠKE ELITE NA ZAČETKU 20. STOLETJA

POVZETEK

Članek preučuje del evolucije, do katere je prišlo v slovaškem patriotskem okolju ob koncu 19. in na začetku 20. stoletja. Opaziti je mogoče intelektualni preobrat, ki po eni strani temelji na geografski razširitvi dejavnosti mladih slovaških patriotov in po drugi strani na vplivu revije *Hlas* (1898–1904), na katero so imeli močan vpliv novinci, ki so študirali v avstrijskem delu Avstro-ogrske monarhije. Ta proces je tik pred 20. stoletjem privedel do nove dinamike, a je bil na koncu neuspešen predvsem zaradi trajnih vrzeli v slovaški družbeni politiki.

Nova generacija, ki je bila pod velikim vplivom zapuščine revije *Hlas*, je skušala te vrzeli premostiti z novimi povezavami med različnimi regijami, ki so bile vključene v patriotsko gibanje, in njihovimi glavnimi člani, ter ustvariti orodja za oblikovanje prenovljene vizije družbenih potreb na Slovaškem. Zdi se, da so bile ožja družina in prijateljske vezi enako učinkovite kot v prejšnjih desetletjih, ko so prav tako krepile vezi med aktivisti. Kljub temu se je tik pred 1. svetovno vojno slovaško patriotsko okolje soočalo s težavami pri izvedbi družbenega in nacionalnega programa.

Reviews and Reports

Rolf Wörsdörfer: Vom »Westfälischen Slowenen« zum »Gastarbeiter«. Slowenische Deutschland-Migrationen im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert.
Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh Verlag, 2017, 491 strani

Knjiga Rolfa Wörsdörferja, docenta na Tehnični univerzi v Darmstadtu in raziskovalnega sodelavca Inštituta za raziskovanje vzhodne in jugovzhodne Evrope v Regensburgu,[1] je celovit in metodološko-analitično moderno zasnovan oris zgodovine slovenskih priseljencev, ki so v času od zadnjih desetletij 19. stoletja do druge svetovne vojne iskali in našli delo v rudarskih in (v manjši meri) industrijskih naseljih v Porurju, ter slovenskih delavcev (»Gastarbeiterjev«), ki so se v šestdesetih in sedemdesetih letih 20. stoletja zaposlovali v avtomobilskih tovarnah na Bavarskem (zlasti v Ingolstadtu). Wörsdörfer obravnava slovenske migracije v Nemčijo v več kot stoletnem časovnem loku, od, kot pravi, »prve dokazane prisotnosti slovenskega rudarja v porurskem rudniku« leta 1872 do zaustavitve zaposlovanja delavcev iz držav, ki niso bile članice Evropske gospodarske skupnosti, v času t. i. naftne krize leta 1973, v središču njegove pozornosti pa je obdobje dobrih sedmih desetletij, ki ločijo obisk predsednika slovenskega izvršnega sveta Staneta Kavčiča na Bavarskem maja leta 1972 od pettedenskega potovanja Janeza Evangelista Kreka po Porurju in njegovih vestfalskih pisem leta 1899.

Avtor uvodoma, čeprav so viri o priseljevanju rudarjev iz s Slovenci poseljenih dežel v Porurje v sedemdesetih in osemdesetih letih 19. stoletja skromni, kratko oriše gospodarske razmere na slovenskem podeželju in v zasavskih premogovnikih v zadnjih desetletjih 19. stoletja in začetke slovenskih migracij v Porurje, nato pa podrobneje prikaže ne le regionalni, prevladujoče podeželski izvor migrantov, razloge za njihov odhod od doma, njihovo pot v Porurje in njihovo tamkajšnjo poselitev, temveč tudi

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[1]	Leta 2004 je že objavil obsežno in odmevno monografijo *Krisenherd Adria 1915–1955, Konstruktion der Artikulation der Nationalen im italienisch-jugoslawischen Grenzraum* (Padeborn: Ferdinand Schönigverlag, 2004).

njihovo marsikdaj težavno vključevanje v novo okolje, njihove družinske razmere in poročne strategije, njihove identitetne zadrege, razlike med generacijami glede jezikovnih praks (ohranjanje slovenščine in sprejemanje nemščine), pripravljenost na stapljanje z nemško govorečo večino in njihovo organiziranje, ki je imelo prevladujoč katoliški pečat. Priseljenci iz rudarskih področij in socialdemokrati so bili med Slovenci v Porurju pač v manjšini, toda tudi katoliški cerkveni vpliv je v novem, industrijskem okolju postopoma slabel, kar naj bi med drugim kazali prestopanje v protestantsko vero in mešani katoliško-protestantski zakoni, ki so skupaj s sekularizacijskimi težnjami med delavstvom povzročali skrbi katoliški duhovščini.

Wörsdörfer je kar dve obširni poglavji posvetil društvenemu življenju slovenskih priseljencev v Porurju. Pri tem je slikovito predstavil njihove simbole, domoljubne, kulturne, športne in izobraževalne aktivnosti ter narodno, naddržavno naravo bratovščin sv. Barbare in sv. rožnega venca, ki so v času weimarske republike združevale vse, ki so se priznavali h katoliški veri in Slovencem ne glede na njihovo izvorno (jugoslovansko, avstrijsko ali italijansko) državno pripadnost. Kot piše Wörsdörfer, slovenska društva v času med obema vojnama niso tako hitro razpadla, kot menijo nekateri raziskovalci, postopno upadanje dejavnosti slovenskih društev od srede dvajsetih let dalje pa je sovpadalo s propadanjem združenj rudarskih in metalurških delavcev drugod v Porurju. Do začetka prve svetovne vojne naglo rastočo skupnost slovenskih delavcev naj bi sicer med vojno in neposredno po njej oslabili njihovo vračanje v izvorno domovino in njihove selitve po Evropi, česar naravni prirastek in slovenskemu poreklu mnogokrat že precej odtujena druga generacija »vestfalskih Slovencev« nista več mogla nadomestiti.

Med slovenskimi in jugoslovanskimi društvi v Porurju so najdlje neprekinjeno delovala že omenjena katoliška društva sv. Barbare in sv. rožnega venca, ki so združevala slovenske rudarje in industrijske delavce ne glede na izvorno državno pripadnost, od začetka tridesetih let pa so postajala vse pomembnejša tudi društva, ki sta jih podpirala Beograd in jugoslovanski konzulat, ta pa so se v Dravski banovini povezovala z liberalci. Avtor v zvezi s tem podrobneje predstavlja delovanje »faliranega študenta in rudarja« Pavla Bolhe, ki je v povezavi z jugoslovanskim konzulatom in s podporo jugoslovanske vlade sodeloval pri organiziranju jugoslovanskih društev in Slovence spodbujal k vključevanju vanje, kar je sprva povzročalo konkurenčna nasprotja med slovenskimi (katoliškimi) in (liberalneje, celo laicistično usmerjenimi) jugoslovanskimi društvi, v tridesetih letih pa vseeno privedlo tudi do njihovega nekje bolj, drugje manj uspešnega sodelovanja v okviru skupne krovne organizacije. Porurski Slovenci so bili slabše vključeni v socialnodemokratska združenja, čeprav so se ponekod udeleževali sindikalnih stavk in drugih delavskih protestnih akcij. Slovenske rudarje in delavce pa sta poskušala v tridesetih letih pritegniti tudi avstrijski Volksbund in Vseavstrijska-nemška interesna skupnost, kar jima je ponekod v času gospodarske krize in po vzponu nacionalsocialistov na oblast, čeprav očitno ne v večjem številu, tudi uspelo. Jugoslovanska država po Wörsdörferjevem mnenju po-rurskih Slovencev pač ni posebej podpirala in jugoslovanske oblasti so z iz Nemčije

izgnanimi delavci, ki so se vrnili domov, kot piše, tudi slabo ravnale, medtem ko sta navedeni organizaciji Slovencem, ki so se jima pridružili, pomagale pri pridobivanju nemškega državljanstva, del priseljencev prve generacije pa se je tudi še nostalgično spominjal stare Avstrije. Toda kot je razvidno iz podpoglavja o Porurskih Slovencih in nacionalsocialističnem režimu, se porurski Slovenci druge generacije po vzponu nacionalsocialistov na oblast vseeno niso v večjem številu vključevali v nacistične organizacije, tisti, ki so se, pa so se večinoma »brez hrupa«, različno prožno in različno imuni za nacionalsocialistične vplive prilagajali novonastalim družbenim in političnim razmeram.

Po Wörsdörferju, so podjetniki slovenske delavce, ki naj bi bili večinoma pripravljeni spoštovati pravila in se obnašati »neopazno«, v glavnem cenili. Po prvi svetovni vojni je kljub strogim postopkom in predpisom kar nekaj tisoč Slovencev poskušalo pridobiti nemško državljanstvo, nekateri pripadniki druge generacije priseljencev pa so med obema vojnama že težili tudi k ambicioznejši družbeni uveljavitvi, pri čemer so izgubljali stik z maternim jezikom in izvorno kulturo. Kaplanu Tensudernu v Gladbecku je uspelo za slovenske otroke šele po desetletjih prizadevanj organizirati pouk slovenščine, jugoslovanske oblasti pa so v Porurje šele v tridesetih letih poslale primerne učitelje in druge strokovnjake, kar je bilo za nekatere otroke slovenskih staršev še pravočasno, za mnoge pa že prepozno. Kdor je pač prišel v Porurje okoli leta 1900, ni povzročal posebnega hrupa v svoj ali slovenski prid, pravi Wörsdörfer, in Slovenci naj bi se v tem pogledu tudi pred drugo svetovno vojno razlikovali od »divjih« Poljakov in »pretepaških« Čehov. Vseeno pa naj bi v nemškem zgodovinopisju prisotna slika o »neopaznih« Slovencih vsaj za čas med obema vojnama ne bila povsem točna. V policijskih in županskih poročilih v dvajsetih in tridesetih letih naj bi se tako (tudi) o Slovencih kar množile negativne sodbe, pri čemer pa naj bi se te nanašale predvsem na posameznike ali družine, ki naj bi bili izgnani ali pa bi jim oblasti odrekle nemško državljanstvo.

Če so bile pomembne prelomnice v razvoju skupnosti slovenskih priseljencev v Porurju prva svetovna vojna, gospodarska kriza leta 1929 in začetek druge svetovne vojne, pa je povsem novo obdobje v slovenskih delavskih migracijah v Nemčijo nastopilo po drugi svetovni vojni. Wörsdörfer je v drugem delu knjige tako najprej orisal prva povojna leta, ko je bilo dotedanje slovenske vestfalske »izkušnje« konec in se je del v Nemčiji živečih Slovencev odločil za povratek domov, del (do leta 1970 okoli 3700) pa za prevzem nemškega državljanstva. Posebej se je ustavil pri prosilcih za azil in prebežnikih iz Jugoslavije, ki so v Nemčijo prihajali ne le neposredno po komunističnem prevzemu oblasti, temveč tudi v petdesetih in šestdesetih letih, delo pa so poleg na Bavarskem zlasti sprva ponovno najlažje našli v porurskih rudnikih in tovarnah. V zvezi s tem je predstavil tudi postopke za podeljevanje azila in pridobitev nemškega državljanstva ter legalno in ilegalno zaposlovanje v šestdesetih letih. V drugi polovici šestdesetih let 20. stoletja, po t. i. gospodarski reformi v Jugoslaviji, odpiranju njenih meja in nemško-jugoslovanskem sporazumu o zaposlovanju jugoslovanskih delavcev, pa je v jugoslovanskem in slovenskem priseljevanju iskalcev dela v Nemčiji

že nastopilo novo obdobje, ko se je migrantski tok usmeril predvsem v središča bavarske oz. južnonemške avtomobilske industrije. Pri tem večinski del slovenskih iskalcev dela ni več prihajal iz Štajerske in Kranjske kot v predhodnem obdobju, temveč predvsem iz Prekmurja, njihov cilj pa so bila zlasti avtomobilska podjetja Auto Union in Audi NSU v Ingolstadtu. Avtor je zato zaposlovanju slovenskih delavcev v obeh podjetjih ter njihovim delovnim in življenjskim razmeram v Ingolstadtu namenil kar dve obsežni poglavji, v katerih je predstavil tudi njihov ženski del (»delo v rudnikih je bilo predvsem moška zadeva«, posredniki migrantske delovne sile pa so od konca šestdesetih let dalje »rekrutirali« tudi mlade delavke) in opozoril na njihove stanovanjske razmere in socialne probleme (alkoholizem, zdravstvene težave, poškodbe pri delu). V zadnjem delu knjige je prikazal še vključevanje slovenskih delavcev v sindikate, njihovo sodelovanje v sindikalnih bojih in njihove mednarodne stike, posebno poglavje pa posvetil njihovemu društvenemu življenju in njihovi povezanosti z domovino. Pri tem je zelo zanimivo opozoril na podobnosti in razlike med obema slovenskima migrantskima skupnostma, »vestfalsko« in povojno »bavarsko«, v politični kulturi, nacionalni občutljivosti, socialni samozavesti in tudi v odnosu starih in novih priseljencev do večinskega nemško govorečega okolja, izvorne domovine in slovenske narodnosti.

Wörsdörfer je svoje delo utemeljil na obsežnih arhivskih raziskavah v Nemčiji in Sloveniji ter na odličnem poznavanju ne le nemške in druge tuje, temveč tudi slovenske zgodovinopisne literature, pri čemer se je z dosedanjimi trditvami nekaterih nemških in slovenskih raziskovalcev mestoma polemično razšel. V kratkem prikazu je seveda mogoče opozoriti le na nekatera najpomembnejša v knjigi obravnavana vprašanja, pozoren bralec, ki jo bo vzel v roke, pa bo v njej našel še mnogo več, saj vsega v kratkem vsebinskem povzetku ni mogoče zajeti. Zato lahko le upamo, da bo Inštitutu za izseljenstvo ZRC SAZU uspelo s pobudo za prevod Wörsdörferjeve knjige v slovenščino. Wörsdörferjeva knjiga o slovenskih migracijah v Nemčijo v 19. in 20. stoletju bo nedvomno ne le nepogrešljiva opora pri nadaljnjih raziskavah zgodovine slovenskega izseljevanja v Nemčijo in Zahodno Evropo v zadnjem stoletju in pol, temveč tudi pri raziskovanju sodobnih migracij, saj so številna vprašanja, o katerih govori in na katera opozarja, že nekaj časa znova zelo aktualna. Hkrati pa je in bo nadvse zanimivo branje za vse, ki jih zanimata zgodovina slovenskega izseljevanja in sodobna migrantska problematika.

Peter Vodopivec
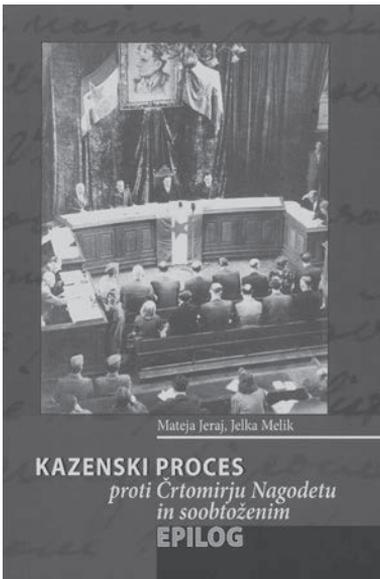
Mateja Jeraj in Jelka Melik: Kazenski proces proti Črtomirju Nagodetu in soobtoženim – epilog.
Ljubljana: Arhiv Republike Slovenije 2017, 254 strani

T. i. Nagodetov proces je bil – kot je znano – prvi med povojnimi političnimi procesi v Sloveniji, ki so ga – po predhodnih sodnih procesih proti nemškim častnikom, sodelavcem okupacijskih oblasti ter nasprotnikom partizanstva in komunizma – komunistične oblasti uprizorile proti predvojnim in medvojnim zaveznikom in simpatizerjem. Jedro obtoženih protidržavne dejavnosti in vohunjenja so predstavljali pripadniki skupine Črtomirja Nagodeta, ki je bila januarja 1942 izključena iz Osvobodilne fronte, priključili pa so jim še svobodomiselne izobražence, ki so bili v vojnem času sicer protiokupatorsko usmerjeni ali celo privrženci partizanskega odpora, vendar so se s komunistično politiko in voditelji že med vojno ali neposredno po njej razšli. Za slovenski komunistični vrh, ki je sojenje zrežiral, je bil Nagodetov proces simbolen obračun s predvojno svobodomiselno in demokratično inteligenco, ki je tudi v povojnih razmerah vztrajala pri zahtevi po spoštovanju načel politične demokracije in pluralizma, bil pa naj bi tudi nedvoumno svarilo nasprotnikom in kritikom komunističnega režima iz vrst starih političnih strank.

Dr. Mateja Jeraj in dr. Jelka Melik sta že leta 2015 izdali obsežno monografijo o kazenskem procesu proti Črtomirju Nagodetu in soobtoženim, v kateri sta predstavili obtožene in obsojene, razčlenili in orisali politično ozadje ter okoliščine in potek procesa, prikazali jugoslovansko predvojno in povojno kazensko zakonodajo ter objavili sodno gradivo, sodbo in domnevno dokazno gradivo tožilstva. Prvo knjigo sta sklenili z objavo obsodbe in s strnjenimi opozorili na življenjsko usodo obsojenih po prihodu iz zapora, medtem ko sta svojo novo knjigo posvetili »epilogu« procesa: tj. skoraj štiri desetletja trajajočim prizadevanjem obsojenih in njihovih svojcev, znancev ter prijateljev za sodno rehabilitacijo, ki se je – ob dobesedno nerazumljivem odporu političnih voditeljev, tožilcev in sodnikov več generacij – končala šele leta 1991 z razveljavitvijo sodbe brez rehabilitacije. To dolgo, mukotrpno pot od prvih vlog za omilitev in izbris kazni sredi petdesetih let preteklega stoletja do odločitve Temeljnega sodišča v Ljubljani leta 1991, da razveljavi sodbo iz leta 1947, sta ponazorili z dokumenti pravosodnih in političnih organov, ustanov, društev in posameznikov, hkrati pa tudi s pričevanji in izjavami obsojenih, njihovih zasliševalcev in v organizacijo procesa vpletenih politikov ter z zapisi publicistov, novinarjev in

kulturnih ustvarjalcev, ki so se pogovarjali z obsojenimi in opozarjali na politično naravo procesa.

V nasprotju z dahavskimi procesi, ki so že v šestdesetih in sedemdesetih letih preteklega stoletja vzbudili javno pozornost, politike pa prisilili k razpravljanju o odgovornosti zanje in o tem, kako to odgovornost opredeliti, je – kot opozarjata avtorici – o Nagodetovem procesu (vsaj v javnosti) še vse do osemdesetih let vladal molk. Skoraj vsi obsojeni so bili sicer že v letih 1948–1954 pogojno izpuščeni, tako da je kazen v celoti prestal le na sedem let zapora obsojeni geodet Bogdan Stare, medtem ko je leta 1954 zadnji iz zapora prišel znani ekonomist in pravnik Ljubo Sirc. Nekateri obsojeni so že v prvem desetletju po procesu neuspešno vlagali prošnje za omilitev in izbris kazni, profesor Boris Furlan leta 1956 celo za rehabilitacijo, obsojeni Leon Kavčnik pa že leta 1963 tudi pobudo za zaščito zakonitosti pri Vrhovnem sodišču v Ljubljani, ki jo je slovensko javno tožilstvo zavrnilo kot neutemeljeno. Avtorici sta prvo javno kritično omembo Nagodetovega procesa zasledili v intervjuju Janeza Stergarja z Leonom Kavčnikom v reviji *Tabor* leta 1971, v osemdesetih letih pa se je zanimanje za proces in usodo obsojenih s kritičnim prikazom povojnega sodstva in omembo Nagodetovega procesa v tedniku *Teleks*, z objavljenimi intervjuji z Angelo Vode in Leonom Kavčnikom, z zapleti ob nameri *Nove revije*, da objavi članek Ljube Sirca, ter s »formalno zahtevo« odvetnika Draga Demšarja, Odbora za obrambo svobode misli v Beogradu in Predsedstva Univerzitetnega komiteja Zveze mladine za obnovo procesa še povečalo in 14. novembra 1987 je o zahtevah po obnovi procesa razpravljal Svet za varstvo ustavne ureditve SR Slovenije. Vseeno je Javno tožilstvo še leta 1988 birokratsko zavrnilo prošnjo 91-letnega Leona Kavčnika, naj mu končno posreduje sodbo procesa iz leta 1947, ki jo, čeprav obsojen, ni nikoli prejel, in ga pozvalo, naj vloži »pobudo za eventuelno obnovo postopka« javnemu tožilcu. Ta pa je njegovo prošnjo prav tako zavrnil s kafkajansko cinično ugotovijo, da obsojeni v svoji »pobudi ne navaja, da bi obstajala pravomočna sodba«, in ne omenja »novih dejstev in dokazov«.

Osrednji poglavji knjige, ki prikazujeta prizadevanja obsojenih, njihovih podpornikov in prijateljev ter raznih organizacij in združenj za obnovo Nagodetovega procesa in rehabilitacijo obsojenih, hkrati pa stališča Sveta za varstvo človekovih pravic, Komisije za varstvo ustavnosti in zakonitosti ter raznih drugih slovenskih političnih forumov, sta dobesedno pretresljivo branje. Avtorici sta si, kot pravita, tudi tu »vzeli le pravico do vezne besede« in sta dolgo pot do razveljavitve obtožnice in obsodbe prikazali predvsem z objavo dokumentov. Ti nazorno razkrivajo sprenevedajoča se stališča odločujočih slovenskih politikov, njihovih uradnikov, članov pristojnih komisij in forumov, ki celo v času, ko sta se Jugoslavija in njen politični sistem že približevala h koncu, slovenski politični prostor pa se je že demokratiziral, niso bili pripravljeni obsoditi povojnih političnih procesov in rehabilitirati njihovih žrtev ter so se le počasi prilagajali novim političnim razmeram in osvobajali politične vzorce ter predstave, ki so dolga leta prevladovali.

Vse povedano velja tudi za sodišča in tožilce, ki so pobude za obnovitev Nagode-tovega procesa vse do preobrata v slovenski politiki leta 1990 zavračali z neživljenjskimi pravniškimi formalizmi, ne da bi pokazali kakršnokoli voljo za stvarnejši pretres povojnih sodnih praks in njihovega političnega ozadja. Avtorici sicer v tretjem poglavju knjige zanimivo prikažeta razvoj kazenskega prava in kazenskega sodstva v Jugoslaviji v času od leta 1947 do leta 1991 ter opozarjata na njuno postopno spreminjanje proti manj represivni kazenski zakonodaji in kaznovalni politiki, vendar obenem jasno pokažeta, da zakonodajne spremembe in spremembe v organizaciji sodišč in tožilstev same po sebi niso onemogočile politične zlorabe prava in sodstva za obračunavanje s političnimi nasprotniki, ki se je nadaljevalo vse do osemdesetih let, hkrati pa tudi niso pospešile kritičnejšega odnosa vodilnih politikov do povojnega zlorabljanja sodstva in njihove pripravljenosti za popravo storjenih krivic. Iz četrtega poglavja knjige je celo razvidno, da so slovenski politiki, sodniki in tožilci na pogovorih in sestankih, na katerih so razpravljali o dahavskih in drugih povojnih procesih, tudi v sedemdesetih in osemdesetih letih razmišljali predvsem o tem, kako povojno slovensko politično vodstvo in sodstvo razbremeniti odgovornosti za t. i. montirane procese in kako Zvezo komunistov obvarovati pred političnimi posledicami javnega razkrivanja politične instrumentalizacije sodstva, medtem ko niso tako rekoč nobene pozornosti namenili posledicam političnega sojenja za obsojene in njihovim tragičnim življenjskim usodam.

Knjiga, kot rečeno, temelji na dokumentih, ki, kot avtorici posebej poudarjata, ponovno prepričljivo opozarjajo na »izjemen, nenadomestljiv pomen arhivskega gradiva«. In prav to gradivo je, čeprav so osrednja tema knjige Nagodetov in drugi povojni politični procesi ter dolgoletna prizadevanja obsojenih za popravo storjenih krivic, nadvse povedno in žalostno ogledalo političnega obzorja in ravnanja slovenskih političnih elit ter formalistične, v strokovnem pogledu nesamozavestne, nesamostojne pravne in sodne prakse slovenskih pravnikov, sodišč in tožilstev vse do začetka devetdesetih let preteklega stoletja. Skratka: stvarna, z vso strokovno akribijo napisana in natančno dokumentirana knjiga, ki si zasluži vso pozornost.

Peter Vodopivec

Borders and Administrative Legacy,
Ljubljana, 24–26 November 2016

The international conference *Borders and Administrative Legacy* was organised by the Institute of Contemporary History and the Department of History of the Faculty of Arts, University of Ljubljana, and was held at the National Museum of Contemporary History. Although the three-day conference was organised by historians, the event was not limited to the history of borders, their transformation through time, and their demarcation purposes. According to the head of the conference, Marko Zajc, the aim of the event was to "critically assess the methodological and conceptual power of the concepts of phantom borders and administrative legacy, and to subject it to theoretical and empirical historical research".

The first day of the conference started with the opening remarks by the Director of the Institute of Contemporary History, Damijan Guštin, and the Director of the National Museum of Contemporary History, Kaja Širok. The organiser and the principal investigator of the project *The Phenomenon of Border Rivers*, Marko Zajc, gave the introduction lecture bearing the title *Phantom and Possessed Borders*. The metaphor of the phantom borders – the historical borders that lost their political meaning some time ago, but still reappear in different social and political conditions – is already established in the theory of borders. In his lecture, Zajc suggested that, following the same spirit, another metaphor could be added – possessed borders. The expression can be used for political borders possessed by the "historical phantom".

The keynote speaker on the first day was Emmanuel Brunet-Jailly, Professor of Public Policy at the University of Victoria. He is the principal investigator of the project *Borders in Globalization* and the chief editor of both the *Journal of Borderland Studies* and the *Canadian-American Public Policy*. He presented the lecture, a part of his research project that is still in progress, on the functioning of the borders, how they are woven into the local and global, cultural, economic, and political life, and on the appearance and disappearance of borders, and the techniques to achieve their permanence.

The first panel, *Administrative Legacy as Imperial Legacy*, featured three lectures about borders before and after the fall of the empires. Irina Marin presented a cross-border comparison of rural uprising along the frontier between Austria-Hungary, Tsarist Russia and the new Balkan states, Romania, Bulgaria, and Serbia. The Millet System and its legacy in the post-imperial Turkey was the topic of Elif Becan's lecture. In this panel, the issues of identities and nation-building were unavoidable. Harrison King presented the more recent border engineering following the ethnic key in the Post-Soviet states, and the phantom of Bolshevik borders in the South Caucasus.

The panel called *Living "on" the Border, Living "under" the Border* focused more on people living on the borderlines. Hrvoje Čapo researched criminal behaviour data on the Croatian Military Frontier. Bojana D. Savić presented insights into the chronicle

Ta'rîh-i Vak'a-ı Hayret-nümâ-yı Belgrad ve Sırbistan, written around 1870, and its value as a source for studying borderland society. In the same panel, Machteld Venken presented the edited volume of *Borderland Studies Meets Child Studies: A European Encounter* dated 2017.

As the name alludes, the panel *Constructing Provincial Borders, Making Future State Borders* focused on how the formation of state borders was influenced by past provincial borders. The first three presenters concentrated on the provincial borders between the Slovenian-Croatian border of today. Filip Čuček started with the Austro-Hungarian period and the regulation of the Styrian-Croatian border. Stipica Grgić continued with borderland micro-regions of Štrigova and Razkrižje between 1910 and 1953. Aleš Gabrič concluded the panel with the post–World War II period and the topic of changing the border in the region near Gradin. The final presentation of the day was Ekaterina Mizrokhi's lecture on the phantom border of Berlin after the fall of the Iron Curtain.

On the second day, the keynote speaker was Bernhard Struck, Associate Professor in Modern European History and the Founding Director of the Institute for Transnational and Spatial History at the University of St Andrews. The lecture bearing the promising title *Travels in Lotharingia OR What if … Napoleon had spoken Esperanto? A spatial, long-term analysis of the inner Empire and its legacies (including zinc, code, and small (very small) territory)* did not disappoint. Struck analysed the consequences of the breakdown of Napoleon's Empire, the rise of new phantom and political borders, and how the Empire's administrative legacies affected the future states.

Bernhard Struck mentioned the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth as a long-term consequence of the fallen Napoleon's Empire. It became a phantom border, which was analysed in greater detail by Catherine Gibson. Lili Zách talked about how the Irish nationalist circles saw new border settlements after the Great War. She focused on how the work of the North-Eastern Boundary Bureau and the Boundary Commission was influenced by European precedents. In his talk, Shay Rozen focused on the Baha'i's aspect of the Israeli–Syrian border, which was established during and after the First World War as the product of British and French negotiations. Staying on the desert topic, Magnus Halsnes researched the development of the political and administration borders between Jordan and Saudi Arabia. He pointed out that the fragments of the old frontier between the nomadic and sedentary places remained included in the administrative divisions of the new states.

Moving from the desert to the waters, the leitmotiv of the next panel were border rivers. The phenomenon of border rivers was initially approached from a more geographical point of view. Matija Zorn presented a paper made in collaboration with Drago Kladnik, which explored border rivers as a type of natural borders that are globally often transformed into political borders. Rok Ciglič (in paper collaboration with Mateja Breg Valjavec and Matija Zorn) pointed out the issue of administrative demarcation of the rivers. By analysing historical maps of certain Slovenian border

rivers, they demonstrated how much the rivers can change their courses. Using the Detroit River border as an example, Ramya Swayamprakash demonstrated how a political border can be seen as an infrastructure and what new analytic ground it opens when seen as such. Matjaž Geršič presented a project on the conceptualisation of natural borders. Through a comparison of cognitive maps drawn by people from different parts of Slovenia and the former provincial maps, it was established that rivers are the most enduring delimiting markers.

In the last panel of the second day, the focus was on the administrative legacy. In terms of establishing contemporary borders, the administrative legacy is fundamental for their legitimisation. Vanni D'Alessio lectured on the legacies of administrative borders in Rijeka and the Upper Adriatic, and on how they affected the creation of new political units. Scott Moore discussed different kinds of administrative legacy. Through patriotic celebrations in the Imperial and the Republican Austria, he showed how bureaucratic memory can survive long after borders and states change.

The last day of the conference started with a presentation by Alexandru Lesanu on the case of Transnistria and the issue of being an unrecognised state in the global economy, with all of its trade being practically illegal. For the demarcation of the eventual phantom border in the Primorje–Gorski Kotar County, Petar Bagarić analysed the contemporary election results at the municipal level. At the conclusion of the panel, Jasper Klomp discussed the case of the Oder–Neisse Line as the Polish–German border in 1990, and how politicians chose different administrative legacies for the legitimisation of different parts of the border.

Nataša Sardžoska focused on the border artwork of Tanja Ostojič, a Serbian artist who expatriated to Berlin during the wars in the former Yugoslavia. She questioned the purpose of mapping the borders in today's world, which has become so culturally liminal. From an anthropologic perspective, Raluca Mateoc presented boundaries as identification factors, using the example of the Turks and the Tatars. In the identification processes, it is necessary to consider both the spatial and the social boundaries that divide social groups. The lengthy, but educational and interesting conference came to a close with the concluding remarks by the head organiser Marko Zajc.

In conclusion, I would like to paraphrase the sentence from the beginning, on the aim of the conference: The methodological and the conceptual power of the concepts of the phantom borders and the administrative legacy was evaluated interdisciplinarily, critically, and employing a variety of approaches. Although border studies are not a novelty in the Slovenian research circles, the studies in this field remain unsystematic. The conference was a great opportunity to gain insight into the state of the global border studies, and to popularise the subject itself.

The conference was filmed by SIstory – History of Slovenia and is available at: http://www.sistory.si/11686/37178.
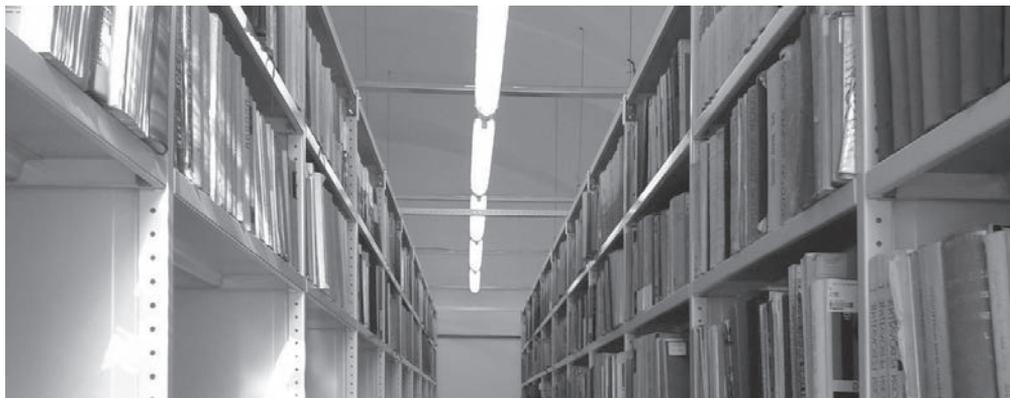
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