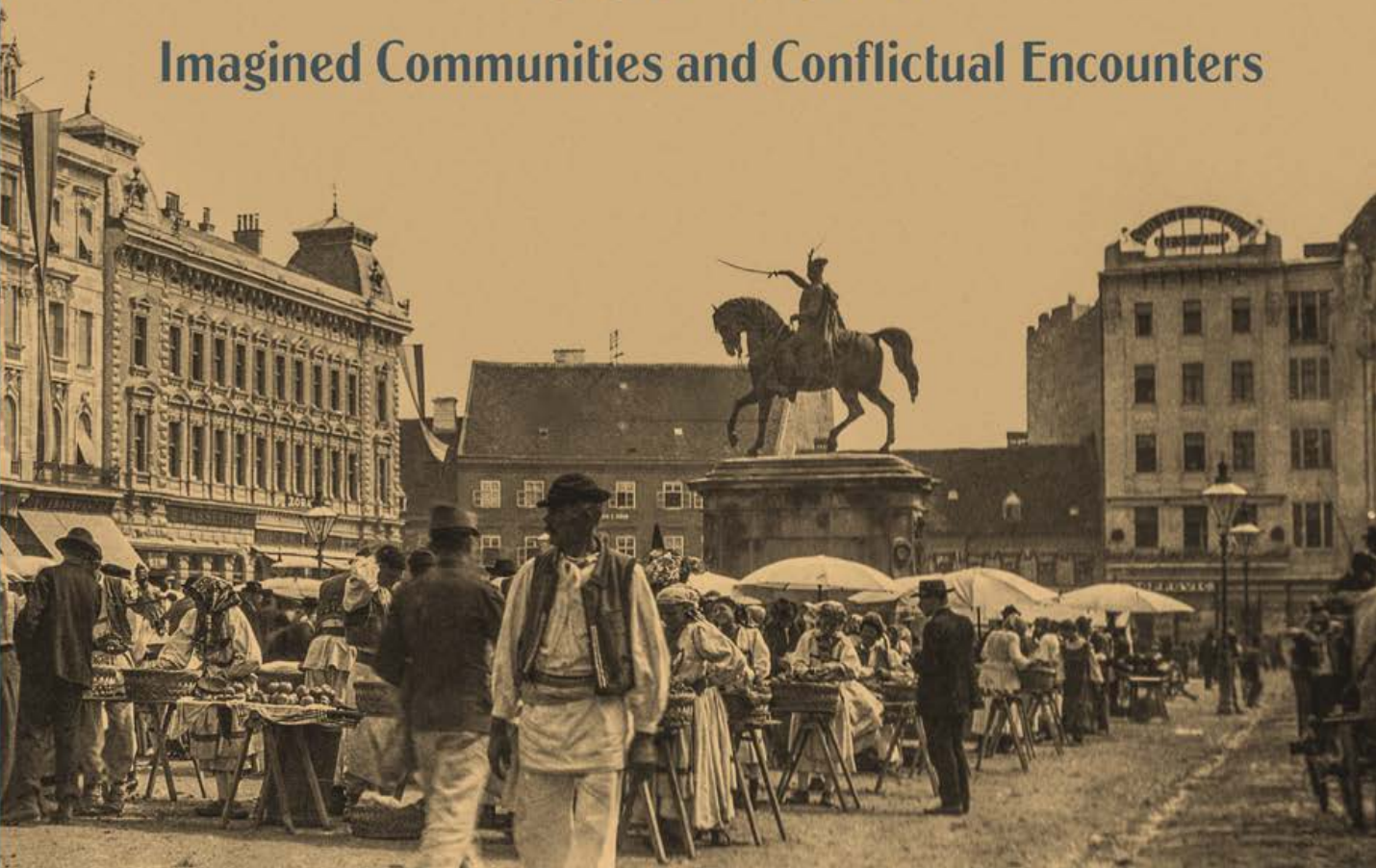


Multicultural Cities of the Habsburg Empire

1880-1914

Imagined Communities and Conflictual Encounters



CATHERINE HOREL



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Note on the Spelling of City Names

The first occurrence of a place gives its name in the various languages, beginning with the name that was most common at the time: for example, Pressburg/Pozsony and ending by the current designation. However, “Bratislava” was not common before 1918 and will therefore not be used. When dealing with the Austrian part of the monarchy, I mostly use the German names (Czernowitz, Lemberg), while for the Hungarian part the Hungarian spelling (Szabadka) comes first. For Trieste (Triest/Trst), I follow the Italian spelling. The transcription of Cyrillic names follows the Serbo-Croatian spelling for South Slavic names, while East Slavic names are transliterated.

Unless otherwise stated, all translations are my own.



Figure 0.1. Map of Austria-Hungary

- Empire of Austria (Cisleithania):
 I. Bohemia; II. Bukovina; III. Carinthia; IV. Carniola; V. Dalmatia; VI. Galicia; VII. Seashore;
 VIII. Lower Austria; IX. Moravia; X. Salzburg; XI. Silesia; XII. Styria; XIII. Tyrol; XIV. Upper Austria;
 XV. Vorarlberg;
- Kingdom of Hungary (Transleithania): XVI. Hungary proper; XVII. Croatia-Slavonia;
- Austrian-Hungarian Condominium: XVIII. Bosnia and Herzegovina

ARTARIA'S EISENBAHNKARTE von ÖSTERREICH-UNGARN V. Neubearbeitung, 1. Auflage 1911.

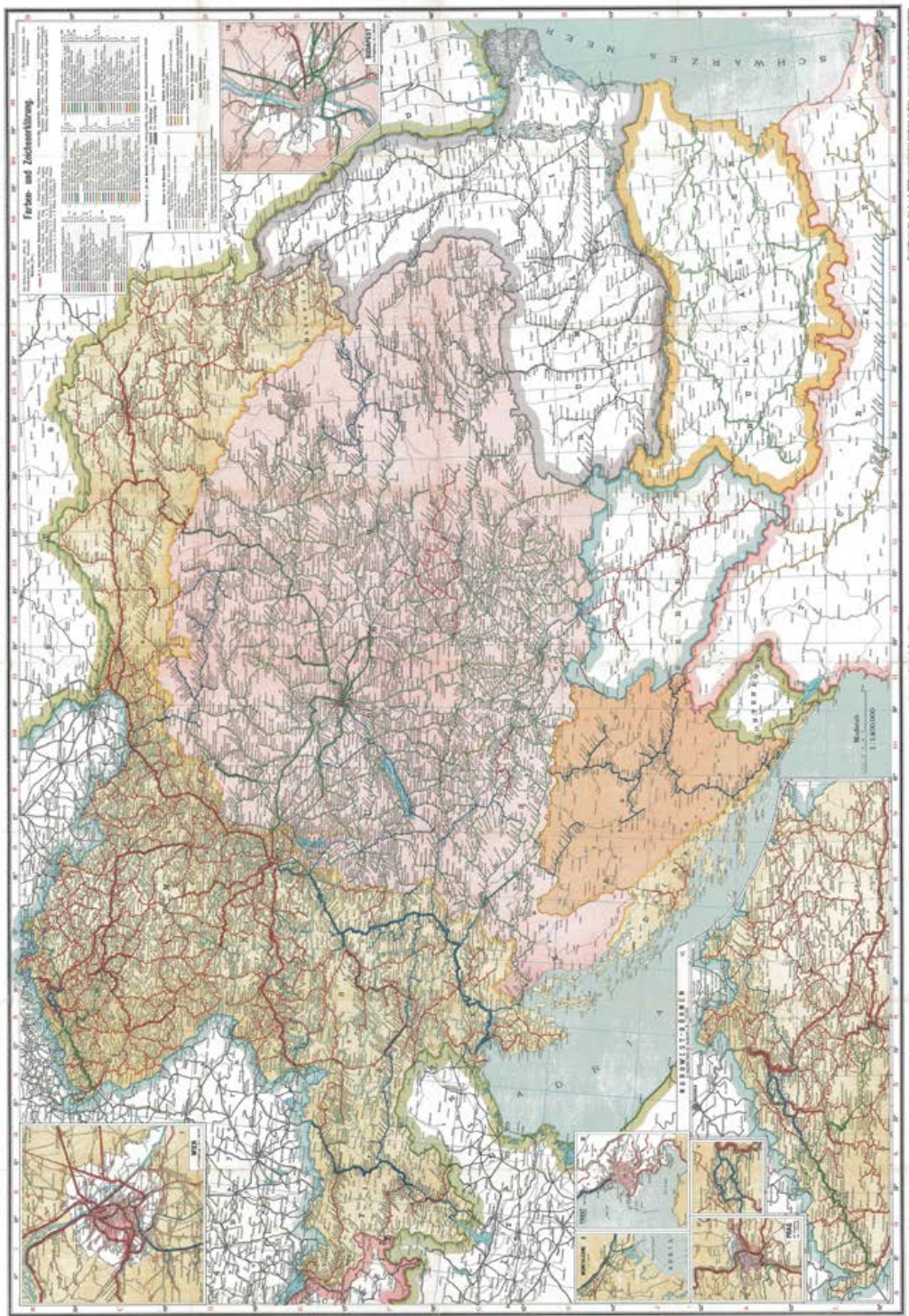


Figure 0.2. Railways map of Austria-Hungary, 1911.
Source: Artaria & Co., Vienna, Wikimedia Commons.

Introduction

The idea for this research project was born out of frustration: in the last ten to fifteen years many studies have been published on Habsburg cities, as well as on urban development, society, and culture in Central, East Central, and Southeastern Europe. Collective volumes of great interest have dealt with the comparative aspects, and many monographs have been published on various individual cities. But no historian has attempted to produce a comparative study on the whole of the Habsburg Empire considered as a common space in which multiculturalism was expressed in the life of its cities.

Indeed, not every city of Austria-Hungary was multicultural, but the empire was in itself a conglomerate of territories with diverse historical traditions and peoples of various faiths and tongues. In contrast to the villages of the countryside, cities were often mixed, especially on the margins of the empire, in places such as Banat, Transylvania, Upper Hungary, and Bucovina, but also at its very center, as the example of Vienna shows. The constitutional era that began in 1867 facilitated mobility: railways, industrialization, and better access to schooling led to migration from nearby villages as well as from further afield. The cities grew and became more diverse with the mixing of languages, confessions, and social classes. The commonly held notion of the unity and diversity of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy can thus be best discussed through the context of the city.

The “fight for the city” that took place in the Habsburg Empire in the decades following the Constitutional laws of 1867¹ involved many actors, including state, municipal, ethnic, and confessional groups. The status of a city—belonging either to the Austrian or the Hungarian part of the

1 This refers to the Basic Law of December 21, 1867 (RGBl Nr 142/1867) on the General Rights of Nationals in the Kingdoms and Länder represented in the Reichsrat. The law was one of the six laws enacted by the so called December Constitution (*Dezemberverfassung*) serving for the Cisleithanian half of Austria-Hungary. The acts functioned as the supreme law of the land until the collapse of the empire in 1918.

monarchy—is important when addressing the question of municipal policies. The city council was generally dominated by one national group, a situation that was consequently challenged by one or more of the other groups. Conceptions of the city as a “group of groups,” or more interestingly as an “urban assemblage,” are very useful to our endeavor. Of course, the populations of Habsburg cities were diverse in their languages, religions, cultures, and professions, but the frame in which they were living was very much the same throughout the empire thanks to a remarkable territorial continuity: one could travel from Innsbruck to Czernowitz or Lemberg practically without changing trains or showing personal identification documents. Some populations helped to diffuse this unifying model: the military, civil servants, and, last but not least, the Jews. Nevertheless, there existed many differences between the Austrian and Hungarian parts of the monarchy. This has to be constantly kept in mind, as does the evolution of the political contexts in both parts of the empire, in particular political leaders and groups who did not pursue the same agenda.

For an analysis of the city, the historian must look to concepts formulated in the other social sciences, such as geography, anthropology, and sociology. The “spatial turn” that our discipline has adopted in the last decades was already a tool of reflection for French historians, since their schooling is inseparable from geography and they do not have the same distance from the concept of *Raum* as do German and Austrian scholars. Henri Lefebvre and Michel de Certeau have conceived—of course, each in his own mental frame—a theory of urban space which the historian can use when thinking about the multicultural city. Lefebvre shows how society projects itself on space, not only on the physical ground that constitutes the city but also in perceptions and representations of the urban environment.² Perceived and imagined, the urban space functions as a place that is recognized (*lieu de reconnaissance*) by the inhabitants, who in turn elaborate tactics that lead to its appropriation. Of necessity then, memories are formed. Certeau speaks poetically of the “ghosts of the town” (*les revenants de la ville*) who bring the “silent vitality of urban symbolism.”³

Yet, the city is populated by living people, organized more or less into groups. As David Harvey observes, “Any general theory of the city must somehow relate the social processes in the city to the spatial form which the city

2 Henri Lefebvre, *Le droit à la ville* (Paris: Seuil, 1974), 64.

3 Michel de Certeau, *L'invention du quotidien*, vol. 2. *Habiter, cuisiner* (Paris: Gallimard, 1994), 195.

assumes.”⁴ Actually, each field of the social sciences creates its own theoretical frame of urban studies. Therefore, we must not only think spatially in order to understand how cities functioned in the Habsburg context but also look to interactions among individual people, groups, and the urban space. Sociology helps us to recenter the object of urban studies: we can use here the actor-network theory, which fits relatively well with our purpose, offering a rich heuristic device for studying cities.⁵ Cities are in fact the result of a process of assembling together technical and social aspects.⁶ The difficulty consists in “bridging the gap” between historical processes and urban textures. In approaching the nineteenth century, characterized by accumulation leading to the industrial city, the historian must look for interactions between large social processes and the changing form of cities.⁷ The solution, however incomplete, might be to use the concepts of “global reach,” “space economy,” and “city as a theater.”⁸ The Habsburg Empire in the nineteenth century had a relative globality, and the two other concepts apply as well, for the groups and networks certainly saw the city as a stage on which they tried to affirm their presence. The cities of Austria-Hungary qualify for multidisciplinary urban research because they were multiple objects: they provide what French scholars call *agence-ment*, thanks to their heterogeneous actors and material and social aspects.⁹ The multiple enactments of a city were visible through collective events that were both intensive and extensive at the same time (e.g., celebrations, demonstrations) and gave the location its specific atmosphere.

Thus, the city can be seen as a mental map and as a product of culture. But we must be careful not to make the city only a system of significations, because then we risk creating an artificial relation between signifier/signified that forgets the morphological dimension of the city.¹⁰ In thinking about the perception of the city by its inhabitants, we can accept the four levels of the semiotic analysis proposed by Lefebvre: the discourse of the city formulated in public space; the language of the city made of its particularities; urban language

4 David Harvey, *Social Justice and the City* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2009), 22.

5 Thomas Bender, “Postscript,” in *Urban Assemblages: How Actor-Network Theory Changes Urban Studies*, ed. Ignacio Farias and Thomas Bender (London: Routledge, 2010), 310.

6 Farias and Bender, “Introduction,” in *Urban Assemblages*, 2.

7 Charles Tilly, “History. Notes on Urban Images of Historians,” in *Cities of the Mind: Images and Themes of the City in the Social Sciences*, ed. Lloyd Rodwin and Robert M. Hollister (New York, London: Plenum Press, 1984), 123.

8 *Ibid.*, 126.

9 Farias and Bender, “Introduction,” in *Urban Assemblages*, 14.

10 Lefebvre, *Le droit à la ville*, 70.

with its connotations; and the writing of the city—what is registered and prescribed. All these levels of analysis create the ways citizens use urban space. As a Marxist, Lefebvre sees people forging an urban space that is not imposed upon them by a system.¹¹ According to him: “The city and the *urban* cannot be recomposed from the signs of the city, the *semanthemes* of the *urban*, although the city is a signifying whole. The city is not only a language but also a practice.”¹² The appropriation and contestation of urban space is a phenomenon well known in the Habsburg cities, precisely because of competing visions formed by various groups.¹³

The image of the city in Austria-Hungary was characterized by a range of elements bearing similar features: theaters were often built by the same architects; cafés and hotels bore the same names. This contributed to a model we can speak of as the “urbanography” of Habsburg cities. Indeed, the German language was a strong link throughout the empire. Leisure patterns also brought people together: Istria, Dalmatia, and the Bohemian spas of the monarchy were favorite places of reunion. We can observe uniting and dividing activities in the cities and thus one of the questions to be asked is: was there a trend toward division at end of the monarchy (an end that, of course, nobody seriously thought would be near)? National and confessional conflicts existed, but we must look at them in detail in order to escape from two main simplifying discourses: the idealization of the monarchy as a paradise of understanding and peaceful multiculturalism on the one hand, and the exaggeration of conflict on the other. This book therefore takes a close look at everyday life in the cities: associations, schools, the economy, and municipal politics. The schooling system must be examined through its main aspects: the gymnasiums, the national and the religious schools. The gender issue combines these two elements: thanks to better education, women began to escape from the traditional frame of charity organizations. The emergence of new forms of political expression and mass political parties (social democracy, Catholic parties) and

11 Ibid., 71.

12 Lefebvre, *Writing on Cities* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1996), 143, quoted in Sallie Westwood and John Williams, introduction to *Imagining Cities: Scripts, Signs, Memory* (London, New York: Routledge, 1997), 4.

13 Although in English there is a difference in hierarchy between a “town” and a “city,” to avoid repetition, the two terms are alternatively used throughout the book. This choice is historically justified by the fact that it was during the nineteenth century that many towns discussed here became cities, with some (for example, Arad, Szabadka) still maintaining some characteristics of a town till the end of the century.

the extension of suffrage had a greater impact in cities, where information and people circulated more easily. The press, political rallies, and municipal and regional elections had consequences on everyday life. A change in the mayor's office could have great significance: some mayors remained for decades at the head of a municipality and left a considerable impact on the life of the city.

The arrival of migrants in the cities changed their appearance. Transnational and dynastic names were given to hotels, cafés, schools, and railway stations, and Austrian memorials were erected to strengthen loyalty to the monarchy. Yet, new streets bearing new names were also designed, enabling the authorities to adopt the national discourse: for example, Hungarian heroes of 1848, kings, and ministers were honored as a result of urban planning in Budapest and other cities. The most representative buildings were erected along these streets: these were mainly cultural institutions, and they offered the opportunity to satisfy the national discourse. The construction of memorials, statues, and prestigious edifices was important in the process of building the city's image as associated with one of its national components. Indeed, just as there are "imagined communities" we can also speak of "imagined cities" or an "imagined environment," for people rarely use the entire urban space but are concentrated in their neighborhood and places of reference in the city. As Alev Çinar and Thomas Bender write, "Imaginaries serve urban dwellers by locating the city and themselves in it."¹⁴ They build a cognitive map of the city that "deviates in meaningful ways from the cartographer's map."¹⁵ The city is thus located and continually reproduced through orienting acts of imagination, acts grounded in material space and social practice. All this leads to the concept of the city as a palimpsest: a text that is erased and rewritten by many actors. But at the same time there is also a sense of the permanence of older narratives, buildings, and sites. In the urban space everything is simultaneously present.¹⁶ Therefore, the city is an assemblage, a historical construction of various images that coexist and constitute its heritage, even if once-existing groups have disappeared—a very common phenomenon in East Central Europe. As Aleida Assmann has put it, there is a distinction between "space" (*Raum*) and "site" (*Ort*) that applies to well-known "places of memory." Space

14 Alev Çinar and Thomas Bender, eds., *Urban Imaginaries: Locating the Modern City* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2007), xii.

15 *Ibid.*, xi.

16 Aleida Assmann, "Geschichte findet Stadt," in *Kommunikation, Gedächtnis, Raum: Kulturwissenschaften nach dem Spatial turn*, ed. Moritz Csáky and Christoph Leitgeb (Bielefeld: Transcript, 2009), 18.

is linked to intention, ambition, visions of the future, and can thus be built and instrumentalized. Sites, in contrast, are loaded with history, even if they are ruined and repurposed. They make the city “readable” and enable a study of its *longue durée*.¹⁷ But the city is also a particular kind of landscape (*Stadtlandschaft* in German), which Edward Soja appropriately calls “city space,” an “evocation of panoramic visuality.”¹⁸ Individual and collective memories appropriate these spaces and turn them into the basis of identities (*Identitätsstiftungen*). Memory and architecture are thus linked, but there is a considerable difference here between the use of architecture (*Gebrauch*) and the meaning (*Bedeutung*) assigned to it: in the former category are the landscapes built during the expansion of cities and urban planning projects in the last decades of the nineteenth century; in the latter belong the monuments and memorials as well as “coded squares and street names.”¹⁹

Industrialization and the extension of the railway network changed the face of cities in the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy and accelerated the mobility of citizens. Economic factors played a part in the definition of urban space as well. Urban planning was the result of these modifications. Buildings all over the monarchy were often the work of the same architects and therefore tended to look alike. There were similar theaters, schools, and ring streets. But is it true that all Habsburg cities resembled each other? We must question the signification hidden behind the walls. People on the spot had the impression that their city was unique and assigned different meanings to the buildings, squares, and statues. Civic patriotism equaled the already existing *Landespatriotismus* of the provinces, and many activities were created to unite the citizens of a city (exhibitions, commemorations of local saints and heroes, Habsburg memorials, and dynastic celebrations). These were accompanied by cultural institutions fostering local pride through the production of books and illustrated publications as well as the development of musical and theatrical associations. Overall, cultural development needed actors and structures: organizations (associations) and infrastructure (theater, music hall, schools); finances (from the city authorities or private); professionals (the cultural actors were more and more “experts” specializing in precise types of activities); and last, but

17 Ibid., 16–17.

18 Edward W. Soja, “Foreword,” in *Urban Space and Cityscapes: Perspectives from Modern and Contemporary Culture*, ed. Christoph Lindner (London: Routledge, 2006), xv.

19 Peter Stachel, “Stadtpläne als politische Zeichensysteme: Symbolische Einschreibungen in den öffentlichen Raum” in *Die Besetzung des öffentlichen Raums: Politische Plätze, Denkmäler und Straßennamen im europäischen Vergleich*, ed. Rudolf Jaworski and Peter Stachel (Berlin: Frank & Timme, 2007), 18.

not least, autonomy of the initiatives.²⁰ But some of these initiatives reached beyond the local level, with the ambition of profiling the city as a “metropolis.” That is why modernization had a double effect: on the one hand, it was used in a discursive way to enhance the development of the city by stimulating competition between the various communities, yet on the other hand it could lead to the fragmentation and separation of the groups if the competition evolved into conflict. In some extreme cases, modernization could meet with opposition and resistance from conservatives inside the same community.

Relations between the city and the surrounding countryside were complex. In many cases the hinterland was populated with a national group other than the one prevailing in the city. Fluidity characterized the relations between rural and urban space: many suburbs still looked like villages and were a rural appendix to the city. Modernization and industrialization generated migration. The city represented the opportunity for education and work and was for the peasants a new and attractive world. Workers’ districts appeared, which were often dominated by a specific national group (for example, Czechs in Prague’s industrial districts, or Slovenes in Trieste). Thanks to the development of the railways the cities came closer to each other; this brought again more mobility but also competition between cities that evolved into a formal and informal hierarchy. Love/hate relationships developed between towns and larger cities, with the former being “would-be cities.” Emulation was mixed with jealousy and sometimes obsessive parochialism. Would-be cities may have had a vision of future greatness, but that vision was often stymied by on-the-ground resistance and reluctance.²¹ Some groups felt disadvantaged and rushed into a competition over progress. Models were found in Vienna but also outside of the monarchy, thus making architects crucial actors; their profession was institutionalized at the same time thanks to the creation of polytechnic high schools.

In industrial cities, railways and other infrastructure projects were new markers of the urban landscape: towns sought to attract the attention of decision makers in order to be included in the network. The extension of the railroads helped to reduce distances in time and space. But space was both diminished and expanded. Suburbs developed around cities.²² Some cities were

20 Reinhard Kannonier and Helmut Konrad, “Eliten, Konflikte und Symbole,” in *Urbane Eliten und kultureller Wandel: Bologna-Linz-Leipzig-Ljubljana*, ed. Christian Gerbel et al. (Vienna: Verlag für Gesellschaftskritik, 1996), 15.

21 David Bell and Mark Jayne, *Small Cities: Urban Experience Beyond the Metropolis* (London: Routledge, 2006), 1.

22 Wolfgang Schivelbusch, *The Railway Journey: The Industrialization of Space and Time in the 19th Century* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), 35.

drawn nearer to major urban centers. This connection with other big cities and with the metropolises of the empire was a challenge. Municipal authorities engaged in fierce competition against possible rivals. Arguments for competition were predominant in the press of all cities, mobilizing municipalities to achieve better infrastructure and to encourage more associations and cultural institutions. Therefore, it is not surprising to see that institutions developed in many cities at the same time or were created to imitate those in neighboring cities. The competition took place not only at the cultural level but also at the level of urban planning and technical progress. Nevertheless, it is true that education and culture always had a higher meaning: the prestige of a city lay in the number of its schools and its dynamic cultural life, which was represented in the first place by the theater. Art and culture had to demonstrate that the town was keeping up with the zeitgeist. Education was not the only preoccupation (many cities pretended to be a “*Schulstadt*”); the fine arts and music were also taken care of. The achievement of this objective was the responsibility not only of the associations; the municipality was expected to play a role as well.

Democratization of the state (universal male suffrage was introduced in Austria in 1907; in the cities the electoral census was constantly enlarged) made the city a political stage, and the town council was consequently the scene of political struggles, culminating at the time of the elections. This climate was made tense not only by contests among parties (Liberals, Christian Socials, and Socialists in Austria; Liberals, Independents, and Socialists in Hungary) but also in terms of national conflict. Leaders of national groups sought to gain visibility in the urban space by opening “national houses” and by demanding participation in political decision-making in the town hall.

The present research is devoted to twelve cities spread along the arc of a circle running through the empire: Brünn (Brno) and Pozsony (Pressburg, today Bratislava) in the west; Lemberg (Lwów, L’viv) and Czernowitz (Cernăuți, Černivci) in the north; Nagyvárad (Oradea), Arad, and Temesvár (Temeschburg, Timișoara, Temišvar) in the east; and Szabadka (Maria Theresiopel, Subotica), Sarajevo, Zagreb (Agram, Záhgráb), Fiume (Rijeka) and Trieste (Triest, Trst) in the south. Four of the cities belonged to the Austrian part, known as Cisleithania (Brünn, Lemberg, Czernowitz, and Trieste) and seven to the Hungarian part, known as Transleithania (Arad, Pozsony, Nagyvárad, Temesvár, Szabadka, Fiume, and Zagreb). Sarajevo, as the capital of Bosnia and Herzegovina, was administered by the common Ministry of Finance. There are two reasons for the disproportionate number of cities from the Kingdom

of Hungary in this list. The first is historical: after the Ottoman occupation of these regions from the sixteenth to the beginning of the eighteenth century, the Habsburgs reconquered them by implementing a policy of colonization and militarization. The creation of the military border (*Militärgrenze*) gave birth to multicultural settlements where the local population (mainly Orthodox Romanians and Serbs) was mixed with newcomers (Germans) and relocated former inhabitants (Hungarians). The second reason lies in the absence of comparative studies on the Hungarian part of the monarchy. Most recent works focus on the Austrian part and seem to ignore Transleithania. In Hungary as well, researchers have difficulty working on the history of cities that no longer belong to the national territory. The research on Pozsony, for example, is mainly done by Slovak historians and tends to focus more on the German than the Hungarian past. But, fortunately, there are some exceptions, such as the work by Gábor Czoch on Pozsony²³ and Kassa (Kaschau, Košice).²⁴ The smaller cities have yet to find historians able to go beyond the local frame. Recently, there have been some attempts at bridging this gap by focusing on the politics of education in a transnational scope, such as the ambitious work of Joachim von Puttkamer.²⁵ Cultural institutions such as theaters have been studied by Philipp Ther in a monograph as well as in a collection of essays;²⁶ another recent work explored “national houses” and associations all over the empire and in comparison with other countries.²⁷

These twelve cities are also mid-sized. It was a deliberate choice to avoid the capitals (Vienna, Budapest, and Prague), about which there is already a great deal of work, including my own on Budapest.²⁸ The cities in this book are selected from those ranging from 50,000 to 200,000 inhabitants according

23 See the collective Gábor Czoch, Aranka Kocsis, and Árpád Tóth, eds., *Fejezetek Pozsony történetéből magyar és szlovák szemmel* [Pozsony's past in Hungarian and Slovak eyes] (Pozsony: Kalligram, 2003).

24 Gábor Czoch, *“A városok szíverei”: Tanulmányok Kassáról és a reformkori városokról* [“Cities are heart vessels”: Studies on Kassa and cities of the age of reform] (Pozsony: Kalligram, 2009).

25 Joachim von Puttkamer, *Schulalltag und nationale Integration in Ungarn: Slowaken, Rumänen und Siebenbürger Sachsen in der Auseinandersetzung mit der ungarischen Staatsidee, 1867–1914* (Munich: Oldenbourg, 2003).

26 Philipp Ther, *In der Mitte der Gesellschaft: Operntheater in Zentraleuropa 1815–1914* (Vienna: Oldenbourg, 2006); and Sven Oliver Müller, Philipp Ther, Jutta Toelle, and Gesa zur Nieden, eds., *Oper im Wandel der Gesellschaft: Kulturtransfers und Netzwerke des Musiktheaters im modernen Europa* (Vienna: Böhlau, 2010).

27 Peter Haslinger, Heidi Hein-Kircher, and Rudolf Jaworski, eds., *Heimstätten der Nation: Ostmitteleuropäische Vereins- und Gesellschaftshäuser im transnationalen Vergleich* (Marburg: Herder-Institut, 2013).

28 Catherine Horel, *Histoire de Budapest* (Paris: Fayard, 1999).

to the 1910 census. The lower figure is the limit under which some institutions were absent from urban areas; therefore, smaller cities do not allow us to measure the functioning of a multicultural society. The population range reflects the distinction between provincial capitals and “middle” towns (*Mittelstädte*).²⁹ The selection of cities was also guided by the necessity to consider every nationality of the empire: so we have Germans (Brünn, Pozsony, Temesvár, and Sarajevo), Czechs (Brünn), Hungarians (Pozsony, Temesvár, Arad, Nagyvárad, Szabadka, and Fiume), Poles (Lemberg and Czernowitz), Ruthenians (Lemberg and Czernowitz), Romanians (Czernowitz, Temesvár, Arad, and Nagyvárad), Serbs (Szabadka and Sarajevo), Croats (Fiume, Sarajevo, Zagreb, and Trieste), Italians (Trieste and Fiume), and Slovenes (Trieste). The diversity is the same concerning the confessions: Jews and Catholics were present in every city; Greek Catholics (Lemberg and Nagyvárad), Protestants (Sarajevo, Pozsony, Temesvár, Arad, Nagyvárad, and Trieste), Orthodox (Sarajevo, Czernowitz, Arad, and Temesvár), and Muslims (Sarajevo) in only some of them. National categories do not necessarily match up with religious ones; we find national groups divided among two or three confessional communities and, inversely, multiple nationalities within one religious group.

The methodology used to cover such a field of research has to include not only history but also geographical and anthropological approaches, as well as literature and art history. Statistics were the starting point of the research; some of their results are presented in the appendix. Sources published by the cities themselves were considered, together with municipal council debates and other government inquiries and reports. There is also a considerable amount of publications issued by local associations. These sources are important for understanding how the city communicated and chose to present itself. Local scholars and historians produced quite a lot of books at the turn of the century that show their perceptions of the city as a melting pot, either by deploring or exalting this phenomenon. Analysis of discourse constitutes a part of the work dedicated to the image of the city. All of these cities had a daily press, sometimes in more than one language. Some even had a satirical press. The newspapers are one of the main sources used for this research: they reveal, hide, or exaggerate the conflicts taking place in the town. Depending on their national, confessional, or political affiliation, they

29 Hannes Stekl and Hans Heiss, “Klein und Mittelstädtische Lebenswelten,” in *Die Habsburgermonarchie 1848–1918*, vol. 9/1/1, *Soziale Strukturen: Von der feudal-agrarischen zur bürgerlich-industriellen Gesellschaft; Lebens- und Arbeitswelten in der industriellen Revolution*, ed. Helmut Rumpler and Peter Urbanitsch (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2010), 561–619.

produce a discourse that has to be constantly questioned and compared with that used by their counterparts.

The “biography of the town,” to borrow a term (*városbiográfia*) from Hungarian historian Gábor Gyáni,³⁰ is written in many languages and is characterized by discontinuity. It is an attempt at combining urban anthropology with concepts from the most recent historical research on memory, identity, and discourse analysis. The concept of urban biography was initiated in the 1960s but was slow to come across the Iron Curtain, mainly because the disciplines involved, such as sociology, were disregarded by the communist regimes. Its main scope was first the metropolises and capital cities, but it has now reached smaller cities. The narrative of the city that composes its “biography” covers various dimensions and topographical scales.

There is little new material on some of the cities studied here, and the existing studies are often one-sided and nationally biased. In contrast, other recent works have a mythicized view of Habsburg cities, emphasizing the multicultural past as a paradise lost. In the Habsburg cities, a “cultural hybridity” predominated—a term that is generally associated with postcolonial and Third World studies—from which resulted cultural coding through the use of languages and spaces in the city (e.g., “national” cafés and recreational sites). Indeed, one can discuss the attribution of the term “hybrid” to describe the Habsburg Monarchy during the constitutional era. James Shedel argues that this model has more to do with the *Gesamtstaat*, as it functioned before the reforms of Maria Theresia and Joseph II, who progressively transformed the monarchy into a *Rechtsstaat* sanctioning the development of minority people, first culturally and then politically.³¹ Still, much of the literary writing after 1918 and even more after 1945 speaks of nostalgia for a place that both world wars and the totalitarian regimes destroyed. Many members of the communities in these once multicultural cities were exterminated, displaced, expelled, or pushed beyond the new borders; the remaining citizens were soon overwhelmed by newcomers who had no experience of the multicultural past of the city. This completely changed the identity of the city. That older, multicultural identity is now in the process of being rediscovered, but this often goes along with mythmaking and artificial reconstruction.

30 Gábor Gyáni, “A városbiográfia és a mikrotörténet,” in *Várostörténet, helytörténet: Elmélet és módszertan*, Tanulmányok Pécs Történetéből no. 14 (Pécs: Pécs Története Alapítvány, 2003), 19–28.

31 James Shedel, “The Elusive Fatherland: Dynasty, State, Identity, and the Kronprinzenwerk,” in *In-szenierungen des kollektiven Gedächtnisses, Eigenbilder, Fremdbilder*, ed. Moritz Csáky and Klaus Zeyringer (Innsbruck: Studienverlag, 2002), 73.

Most of the latest works focus on the Bohemian Lands, Galicia, Bucovina, and Lemberg. Jeremy King did pioneering research on how the Bohemian town of Budweis/České Budějovice grew increasingly polarized between Germans and Czechs.³² The work of Börries Kuzmany explored the multiculturalism of Galicia through a case study of Brody.³³ The group of literature historians around Andrea Corbea-Hoisie has devoted several books to Bucovina and Czernowitz in particular. Markian Prokopovych published a very good study on Lemberg.³⁴ The Center for Urban History of East Central Europe in L'viv has encouraged young researchers from inside and outside the region to work on a multidisciplinary and transnational basis.³⁵ The center's director, Harald Binder, has himself written extensively on Lemberg.³⁶ Historians in the local universities also do a great deal of research on the history of their cities, sometimes in a very original way; examples include the anthropologists around Smaranda Vultur in Timișoara,³⁷ or the historian Lukaš Fasora in Brno,³⁸ who has written excellent books on various aspects of the political life of the city. Others concentrate their work on specific communities or groups in large cities, for example Marina Cattaruzza on workers³⁹ and Tullia Catalan on Jews,⁴⁰ both in Trieste. On Fiume, most of the research deals with the afterwar period.⁴¹

32 Jeremy King, *Budweisers into Czechs and Germans: A Local History of Bohemian Politics, 1848–1948* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002).

33 Börries Kuzmany, *Brody: Eine galizische Grenzstadt im langen 19. Jahrhundert* (Vienna: Böhlau, 2011).

34 Markian Prokopovych, *Habsburg Lemberg: Architecture, Public Space and Politics in the Galician Capital, 1772–1914* (West Lafayette: Purdue University Press, 2009).

35 *Center for Urban History*, <http://www.lvivcenter.org/>. Due to the war in Ukraine, the Center has now a research project focusing on “Documenting experiences of war” and organized several events on the recovery of the urban fabric.

36 See for example Harald Binder, “Making and Defending a Polish Town: ‘Lwów’ (Lemberg), 1848–1914,” *Austrian History Yearbook* 34 (2003): 57–81.

37 *Scene de viață: Memorie și diversitate culturală; Timișoara 1900–1945* [Life scenes: Memories and cultural diversity] (Timișoara: Polirom, 2001).

38 See for example Lukaš Fasora, *Svobodný občan ve svobodné obci? Občanské elity a občeni samospráva města Brna 1851–1914* [Free citizen in a free city? Municipal elites and municipal administration in the city of Brno] (Brno, Matica moravská, 2007).

39 Marina Cattaruzza, *Socialismo adriatico: La socialdemocrazia di lingua italiana nei territori costieri della monarchia asburgica 1888–1915* (Manduria: Lacaita, 2001). German translation: *Sozialisten an der Adria: Plurinationale Arbeiterbewegung in der Habsburgermonarchie*, Schriften des Italienisch-Deutschen Historischen Instituts in Trient, 24 (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 2011).

40 Tullia Catalan, *La Comunità ebraica di Trieste (1781–1914): Politica, società e cultura* (Trieste: Lint, 2000).

41 See, for example, Dominique Kirchner Reill, *The Fiume Crisis: Life in the Wake of the Habsburg Empire* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2020).

The term “multiculturalism” was not used by contemporaries of the Habsburg Monarchy. I am therefore conscious that I use a somewhat anachronistic term to define the multilingual, multiconfessional society of the cities I deal with. Multicultural means here the coexistence of various levels of cultural identification based mainly on language and religion. The city is multicultural when groups gathering along these different affiliations are visible and audible in the landscape. The concept of the empire was framed by its territorial definition and by the ruling dynasty. Its inhabitants were to become citizens only after the enactment of the Constitutional laws of December 1867. The territories of the empire were either hereditary possessions of the Crown (*Kronländer*) with their historical rights, or provinces ruled by Vienna or Budapest. The diversity of tongues and confessions was considered under the terms of “peoples” (*Völker*) or “ethnic group” (*Volksstamm*); the whole was conceived as a “multinational state” (*Vielvölkerstaat*). In his book about the Habsburg Empire, Pieter Judson discusses the use of the term “nationality” by historians and suggests instead that we should continue speaking of “groups.” Indeed, nationality was not a category but a commodity of language and, of course, an element of political discourse at the same time. It was thus a construction and was not relevant for daily practice. In this respect Judson is right in pointing to the fact that conflicts broke out between nationalists and not between “nationalities,” thus they did not involve an entire people.⁴² The mobility of some groups was characteristic: military, bureaucrats, merchants, and students enabled transfers and exchanges. Before 1867, self-identification was defined by religion and territorial belonging, what is generally called the “patriotism of the land” (*Landespatritismus*), that is the attachment to “small homelands.” The culture that characterized the empire was thus fragmented, moving and fluid between groups and territories.⁴³ People had multiple identities that were superseded by a dynastic loyalty composed of shared symbols and historical references. The emperor and king addressed them as “My peoples,” ignoring the category of “citizens” that would have been a recognition of the political nature of society.

The central authorities emphasized diversity as a positive particularity of the monarchy. The endeavor of Crown Prince Rudolph to publish the series *Die österreichisch-ungarische Monarchie in Wort und Bild* was clearly an expression

42 Pieter M. Judson, *The Habsburg Empire: A New History* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2016), 270.

43 For an analysis of this question, see Johannes Feichtinger and Gary B. Cohen, *Understanding Multiculturalism: The Habsburg Central European Experience*, *Austrian and Habsburg Studies* 17 (New York and Oxford: Berghahn, 2014).

of the wish to show unity through diversity.⁴⁴ Journalists, academics, and scientists were commissioned to write about the peculiarities, beauties, and productions of the empire and its populations. The concept behind this enterprise was obvious: Austria-Hungary exists thanks to the dynasty, the peoples, and the institutions (army, bureaucracy, churches). The collection was supposed to illustrate these abstractions and to enhance the qualities of each territory. Most volumes actually appeared after Rudolph's death in 1889; the last one came out in 1902. Volumes were dedicated to each land, either one or several according to its size and historical significance for the monarchy. Following the zeitgeist, the ethnographical approach played a great part; this emphasized the ethnic plurality of the empire by showing each nationality on equal terms. The backward provinces were considered in a paternalistic tone, and colonialism is certainly not absent from the volumes dealing with Bucovina and Bosnia-Herzegovina.⁴⁵ But in insisting on diversity, the volumes also helped reify differences and justify national identification. The Austrian initiative led to the publication by the Hungarian government of a similar collection on the occasion of the millennium celebration of 1896.⁴⁶ The Hungarian Academy of Sciences directed the work. The celebration of Francis Joseph's jubilee in 1898 gave the opportunity to launch a new publication aimed at putting forward the unity of the monarchy. It was sold through subscription and advertised in the press as a "literary memorial to our emperor" (*literarisches Kaiser-Denkmal*). Titled *Unsere Monarchie*,⁴⁷ the series edited by Julius Laurenčić was more popular and less scholarly than the *Kronprinzenwerk*, and was translated into Czech (*Náše monarchie*), Polish (*Nasza monarchia*), and Italian (*La nostra monarchia*). Since the Hungarians were at the same time publishing their own collection regarding only Transleithania, this one focused on Cisleithania. On the eve of World War I, another popular edition was launched in the same spirit by Sigmund Schneider. The term "Vaterland" in the title explicitly referred to Austria as a dynastic entity that was supposed to infuse patriotism in everyone.⁴⁸

44 See Christiane Zintzen, *Die österreichisch-ungarische Monarchie in Wort und Bild: Aus dem Kronprinzenwerk Erzherzog Rudolf* (Vienna: Böhlau, 1999).

45 *Die österreichisch-ungarische Monarchie in Wort und Bild: Die Bukowina*, vol. 8 (Vienna, 1899); *Bosnien und Herzegowina*, vol. 22 (Vienna, 1901).

46 *Magyarország vármegyéi és városai* [Counties and Cities of Hungary] (Budapest, Athenaeum, 1896–1902).

47 Julius Laurenčić, ed., *Unsere Monarchie: Die österreichischen Kronländer zur Zeit des fünfzigjährigen Regierungsjubiläums Sr. k. u. Apost. Maj. Franz Joseph I.* (Vienna: Szelinski, 1897–1898).

48 Sigmund Schneider, ed., *Mein Österreich, mein Heimatland: Illustrierte Volks- und Vaterlandskunde des Österreichischen Kaiserstaates* (Vienna: Verlag für vaterländische Literatur, 1914).

Until 1867, the Habsburg Monarchy was a pluricultural entity characterized in the cities by coexisting groups generally defined according to their places of religious worship. Linguistic practices were fluid and not necessarily ascribed to a national identification. The Constitutional laws of 1867 changed patterns of life by “inventing” citizens. They were free from then on to create associations, political parties, and newspapers. But the authorities recognized only the rights of individuals and not groups. The self-identification of the citizen as a member of a nationality was indeed possible but remained in the range of a linguistic declaration and thus was not a political definition. This is what enabled people to move from one group to another following personal or professional choices, and to assimilate into another linguistic community without abandoning entirely their native tongue, thereby adding an extra layer to their identity.

National discourse had progressed in the empire since the beginning of the nineteenth century, focusing on language and the construction of a national culture distinct from others. The revolution of 1848 proved to be a social and national movement with calls for national unity (Germans, Italians), secession (Hungarians), and federalism on the basis of territorial autonomy (Bohemian Lands). As soon as they were allowed to do so, leaders of national movements began to organize their actions along the lines of ethnic and linguistic identification. Pieter Judson places the imperial structures at the center of his investigation. He argues that the empire after 1867 created the frame for the development of nationalist politics by giving the possibility to deploy the rhetoric and practices of “nationalization.”⁴⁹ Considering that most territories were crown lands with historical rights and representation (diets), the empire could indeed foster national definition together with dynastic loyalty; furthermore, it recognized other peoples, making the concept of nationhood an element of identification that was not incompatible with Austrian patriotism. Moreover, the new form of constitutional imperial rule found its justification in the ability to promote the development of the constituent nations.⁵⁰ A dialogue was thus established that gave each of the protagonists their coherence.

49 Judson, *The Habsburg Empire*, 9. Considering the Habsburg Monarchy from the point of view of the center and not the nationalities was already the preoccupation of French historians Victor-Lucien Tapié, Jean Bérenger, Jean-Paul Bled and even more Bernard Michel. In his books, Michel always stressed the capacity of the imperial structures to reinvent themselves and look for solutions; in this respect Michel echoed Gary Cohen in his interpretation of the empire as a laboratory of original experiences.

50 *Ibid.*, 270.

The cities were places where these activities came into being: schools, associations, libraries, theaters, and press became increasingly multicultural, which means that the cultural offerings no longer centered on the language of the majority and/or dominant group. Identification with a territory was increasingly challenged by identification to a nationality that went beyond it. Here, the difference between Austria and Hungary is of particular relevance: Austria was conceived as a dynastic state made of territories “belonging” to it; Hungary, in contrast, had been since its medieval origins a centralized state that did not recognize provincial autonomy, except for the Kingdom of Croatia-Slavonia, with which it was united since 1102, and Transylvania, which was considered part of the Hungarian kingdom but was composed of three different nations represented at the Diet (Hungarians, Szeklers [*Székelys*], and Saxons). This explains partly why the Hungarians had less difficulty defining and imposing a Hungarian national identity on the whole country, while the Austrians’ identity was subsumed in dynastic loyalty. Many cities acquired a national symbolic signification associated with one of its constituent groups. This led naturally to competition and conflict in the public space. But polyethnic cities were more or less spared this identification with one nationality, as shown in the example of Czernowitz.⁵¹

The purpose of this book is to explore this phenomenon in order to question it. First, I ask if it is datable. This is why I start in 1880 and not in 1867: the laws on general schooling had no noticeable effect until the first generation reached adult age. Most of the associative structure really began to be active after 1870 and grew even more at the turn of the century; this is also true for political parties. Many authors now identify 1880 as a turning point in the accentuation of national tensions, but this also goes along with other phenomenon such as urban growth, municipal autonomy, the emergence of mass parties, and the extension of the railway network.⁵² As we will see, the chronology is important and contrasted from one territory to another; the trend is neither general nor simultaneous. There are moments of conflict and moments of cohesion; national tension alternates with common participation. This book therefore refutes the teleological view of Austria-Hungary as doomed by the

51 Harald Heppner, “Hauptstadt im südöstlichen Europa—eine Zusammenfassung,” in *Hauptstädte zwischen Save, Bosporus und Dnjepr*, ed. Harald Heppner (Vienna: Böhlau, 1998), 217.

52 Gary B. Cohen, “Neither Absolutism nor Anarchy: New Narratives on Society and Government in Late Imperial Austria,” *Austrian History Yearbook* 29, no. 1 (1998): 53. See also Nancy M. Wingfield, *Flag Wars and Stone Saints: How the Bohemian Lands Became Czech* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2007), 7. More recently this is also argued by Pieter Judson, *The Habsburg Empire*.

national contest. There were still many spaces of communion for the people on both sides of the Leitha. Resistance against national identification in a given territory came both from the other (non-national) groups, and from the central authorities. The balance between center and periphery is of great significance for this topic: the most diverse cities were indeed on the margins of the empire and therefore far away from Vienna and Budapest. Here I might ask if there was a “distance dependency”: the farther the city, the worse the conflict? Or, on the contrary, were tensions higher in cities nearer to Vienna or Budapest?

Another point of inquiry regarding the interaction between a city’s groups is its size. Were the various groups of a city better able to understand each other if the city was small or big? Did a larger number of groups (more than two) neutralize each other? Industrialization and accelerating urbanization played a decisive role in the growth of a city and affected the composition of its population by changing some of its patterns. Therefore, the city was indeed a closed world, but at the same time it became more and more open and linked with the environment; local patterns met global trends inside and outside the monarchy. In the Habsburg Empire identification was determined by language and confession. But the definition used in the statistics in both parts of the monarchy was different, as were some of the categories employed in the inquiries. In Cisleithania, people were asked about the language of daily use (*Umgangssprache*). This could mean that the authorities wanted to preserve the domination of the majority over the cities, for example Germans in Brünn, Poles in Lemberg, and Italians in Trieste. But this could also reveal the need to simplify identification because the authorities were well aware of the mixed nature of some families where more than one language was used. By laying stress on the daily language the authorities privileged the outside world without interfering in private life. Yet, one could certainly “use” more than one language in the course of one day. Nevertheless, the linguistic profile of the cities indeed evolved and, in some cases, completely changed. This was often a question of choice and pragmatism; but it was not irreversible, as shown in the postwar statistics of some towns. In Transleithania, in contrast, the statistical forms asked about the mother tongue (*Muttersprache*, or in Hungarian *anyanyelv*), and so seem to have focused more on the domestic frame. But they also gave the possibility (this was the last question on the form) to declare other languages. This enabled crossover statistics that are unfortunately not available for Austria. For the cities, this gives the opportunity to create graphs showing the real polyglossia of the inhabitants and to determine the actual level of communication between various groups.

The languages determined for each territory were the “usual language of the country” (*landesübliche Sprache*) and therefore were not the same all over the empire. On the whole, eleven languages were recognized throughout Austria-Hungary: German, Hungarian, Czech, Slovak, Italian, Polish, Ruthenian (Ukrainian), Romanian, Slovene, Serbian, and Croatian. The last two were often combined as “Serbo-Croatian” or “Serbian and/or Croatian.” The language of the Roma (Romani) was not considered “*landesüblich*” because it was spoken by this group only. It is sometimes found in Hungarian statistics but without consistency. For the same reason, Yiddish was not taken into account because it was assumed to be a jargon, on the one hand, and used only by Jews, on the other hand. Despite the efforts and protests of Bucovinian and Galician Jews, Yiddish was never considered eligible; moreover, it was opposed by assimilated Jews as well as by Zionists.

The declaration of language might have been subject to calculation, pragmatism, and pressure. Religious feelings, in contrast, can hardly be discussed. Self-identification through faith preceded national definitions. We will therefore use confessional statistics to complement linguistic ones. Mixed marriages and conversions were still rare and did not radically change the face of the city. In contrast to language declaration, a person was not susceptible to oscillate from one confession to another: the converts did not come back to the original confession. National discourse did certainly instrumentalize the confessions by trying to associate them with one nation. Religious disputes that arose in some cities had a national rather than theological background. The ecclesiastical hierarchy and the lower clergy did not always have the same conceptions; they too were caught between the lines of national conflicts. Anti-Semitism had in some cases a strong national flavor: Jews were accused by the minority (Czechs, Slovenes, Ruthenians) of siding with the majority (Germans, Italians, Poles); but they were sometimes also denied membership in the leading German group, or, although more rarely, in the Hungarian and Italian nationalities. Competition over places of religious worship and visibility in public space followed the national discourse. This was also true of Judaism as soon as Zionism appeared in Galicia and Bucovina. The transnational charity organizations were also penetrated more and more by national tensions.

Cities were places where wealth coexisted with poverty, so class and social status meant a lot for one’s situation in urban areas. Following a Marxist analysis, we could argue that the national struggle was nothing more than a desire to achieve better economic conditions and to compete with the necessarily richer elite. The refusal of the new Social Democratic parties to adopt the

national discourse could be an element of this approach. The national discourse not only attempted political participation but also sought to share the benefits of industrialization. Wealthy people began to donate their fortune for precise national goals, but others still gave to nationally neutral institutions or individuals. The arguments of the nationalists were not explicitly based on economic terms; these were formulated by the socialists, who in turn did not want to address people according to their national belonging but according to their social status as workers. Participation was much more a question of power-sharing than of money. The nobility was still a model to be achieved, and in some countries like Hungary and Poland (Galicia) it was also considered to represent the essence of the nation. The aristocracy delivered a transnational discourse important for the dynasty. Ennoblement was a deliberate strategy of the Habsburgs and of Francis Joseph in particular: it created solidarity with the throne. A military career was another option to avoid becoming involved in the national discourse. In each town the garrison represented the transnational values of the empire through obedience to the sovereign. For young peasants it was their first and only contact with the city and with men professing other faiths and languages.

The commerce and industry chambers of each city remained transnational; “money has no nationality” was the motto of those whose interests laid more on prosperity for their businesses than on the language of the workforce. In many cities the workers did belong to different nationalities, an argument again used by the Social Democrats to refrain from entering the national fight. What was at stake was embourgeoisement (*Verbürgerlichung* in German, *polgárosodás* in Hungarian) through education and political participation. One could choose to achieve this by integrating into the main group or by adopting the language and culture of the other, competing group(s) within the city. Leading positions could be acquired on many levels. Access to instruction and growing mobility multiplied the opportunities even for groups that had previously been excluded from society (Slovenes, Slovaks, and Ruthenians). In these cases, teachers and priests were the professions that helped achieve status on the one hand and propagate national discourse on the other. The extension of male suffrage in Austria in 1907 gave an impetus to national as well as to socialist expression; but the decision not to implement it in Hungary definitely blocked democratization in Transleithania. The democratic transformation of the monarchy went in two apparently opposite directions: it strengthened the national discourse of all groups and worsened the conflicts between them. The attempts at achieving a compromise in Moravia in 1905 and in Bucovina

in 1910 actually partitioned these provinces along ethno-linguistic lines. But it also gave the Socialists and other politicians the opportunity to formulate federalist projects that aimed at solving the national questions. The centrifugal forces could still be controlled and joined to the transnational frame of the empire. More worrying was the imbalance between Austria and Hungary in this respect, with the latter being focused on the Hungarian national project and less democratic—but consequently less troubled—than Austria, as well as the external factors threatening the monarchy with irredentism (Italy, Romania, and Serbia).

Segregation must have played a role in the cities, but in this book I wish to question its nature: was it social, religious, or national? Urbanization and the development of industry in urban areas indeed had an impact on places of residence. Workers' settlements were created in some of them, inducing social segregation. City centers were inhabited by elites, merchants, and craftsmen. On the main square of the town there were inevitably one or two palaces belonging to the aristocrats who had their land in the near countryside, as well as the archbishop's or bishop's palace. New factories were installed in the suburbs where the workers came to live. But in some cases they also came from the neighboring villages, so that the transition between rural and urban ways of life was quickened and reduced, men and women belonging for a certain time to both societies. In the cities of Austria-Hungary, there was very often a national and religious difference between city inhabitants and the rural population. Most cities had been peopled by German, Italian, or Polish burghers, then Jews; in contrast, the countryside was home to another nationality sometimes belonging also to another faith (Czechs, Slovenes, Croats, Ruthenians, Romanians, or Serbs). In these confessionally mixed cities, each community gathered around its places of worship, the largest one having its place of worship on the main square or next to it. Building a new church or synagogue was therefore a demonstration of the importance acquired in the town by one community. No real ghetto existed anymore in the Habsburg Empire in the nineteenth century, but many cities bore the traces of former "Jewish" streets and had ancient synagogues testifying to the continuity of Jewish settlement in the monarchy. At the time of the emancipation of 1867, Jews had already spread in all parts of the cities. A Jewish quarter like *Leopoldstadt* in Vienna, the seventh and eighth districts of Budapest, or *Josefov* in Prague, did not exist in the smaller cities where Jews lived side by side with their Christian neighbors. The most progressive Jews were concerned not to be identified with their orthodox coreligionists and separated from them by building a liberal

(*neologue* in Hungary) synagogue. Generally, the elite of the town tended to impede the arrival of too many newcomers, who might change the balance of power inside the city council and the face of the city as a whole. Interestingly, they partly failed to achieve this goal because of the plurality of factors that made this trend irresistible. That is why we can really speak of a “struggle” for the city in some cases: this struggle reached all fields, from the municipality to urban planning, culture, and entertainment. Segregation, happening then at the level of social practices and activities, became increasingly national.

Multiculturalism in the Habsburg cities is also very much linked to discourses of identity. We will try to determine if the citizens, perceiving indeed their city as multicultural, identified themselves with one or more cultures. Perceptions and reception are the most difficult elements to be defined by historians, because we lack enough sources to determine how the people perceived the messages sent by national groups, on the one side, and by the central authorities and the dynasty, on the other. It is not easy to prove if they reacted according to these perceptions. Attendance at celebrations, demonstrations, signing of petitions, letters to the press, and electoral participation are indications of how people interpreted the messages.

Memory is also a key component in discourses of identity that were constructed after the demise of the Habsburg Monarchy. Already before 1918 there was a competition between memories of national pasts and Habsburg memories. But the latter were also constructed. The memorials erected in the cities bear witness to this competition and reveal the coexistence of dynastic loyalty along with national pride. Hence it seems that both perspectives did not necessarily exclude each other. National discourse was adopted neither spontaneously nor quickly. People could not immediately adhere to imagined and distant historical moments; the essentialism of the nation, as diffused by the nationalist leaders at the end of the nineteenth century, must not mislead our analysis of the perceptions of the contemporaries. More than “imagined,” the community that was to become a nation was constructed using historical memories and symbols of a mythic past. This past was shown as static but leading to a glorious future, whereas the society of the last decades of the nineteenth century was extremely mobile and dynamic. Multiple identities could coexist without generating conflict, and they could not be ascribed to national categories only. In this respect the multicultural city is a paradigm of this evolution and an analytical tool as well. It offers a concentration of actors and institutions that are the vectors of discourses and the animators of society. Each city thus becomes a laboratory for historical inquiry.

I first began to work on this research as a guest professor at the University of Vienna during the winter term of 2004–2005. My seminar on “Metropolen im Donauraum” was a discovery for the students as well as for myself. I went beyond the already well-known cases of Vienna, Budapest, and Prague and chose to dedicate my teaching to the smaller cities: the students had the opportunity to give papers on Ljubljana or Bratislava, or to focus on one particular group (Czechs in Vienna, or Jews in multiple cities). Following this, I continued to teach this topic in Paris, and then in Budapest at the Central European University in 2012 and 2013. In the meantime, I had started to do field research as well as library work: this was possible thanks to two grants I was awarded, first from IAS-Collegium Budapest in 2007–2008 and then from the Plaschka Stipendium (ÖAD-Austrian Agency for International Cooperation in Education & Research) in 2010–2011; it was extended to another year in 2011–2012. From Budapest and Vienna, I then had the possibility to travel to the various cities to complete the research. Since I did not intend to write a separate monograph on each city, which would have taken another ten years, there is no archival material but only printed primary sources such as contemporary press and published works.

Here I would like to thank all the friends, colleagues, and institutions who helped me throughout this journey into the world of multicultural cities. I am grateful to those who by their remarks, questions, and critiques sustained my reflection. Judging by the great interest caused by my teaching and lectures, I was comforted by the opportunity to research and the relevance of the topic. I was able to publish some of my first results in edited volumes and journals and also presented them at conferences, especially on urban history but also on Germanic studies (*Germanistik*), where I was able to discuss my methodology and my approach. This is how the present book came into being. I am very pleased that it is coming out with CEU Press because it is probably one of the best places to publish such a comparative study. My warm gratitude goes to Krisztina Kós and then to Emily Poznanski as well as to Péter Inkei who showed interest and welcomed the manuscript, and particularly to József Litkei who has brought the book to its final realization.

Midsized Cities in Austria-Hungary

MUNICIPAL LAW IN AUSTRIA AND HUNGARY AND THE STATUS OF CITIES

The characteristics of territories in the Habsburg Empire determined the status of the cities we are concerned with. Most were regional capitals, if not the capital of a hereditary crown land, like Zagreb, or capitals of more recently acquired provinces, like Czernowitz in Bucovina or Sarajevo in Bosnia-Herzegovina. They were designated as “*Landeshauptstadt*.” This designation was not without controversy, as in the context of the rivalry between Cracow and Lemberg for supremacy over Galicia, with the former city, once the royal seat and place of burial of the Polish kings, resenting the latter being designated as the official capital of the province. In the new regulations enacted in the empire after the revolution of 1848, city autonomy was strictly controlled. A new category was created in 1850: the statutory towns (*Statutarstadt*), whose administration was distinct from the provincial assembly (diet or *Landtag*). Trieste had a peculiar status because it was at the same time a statutory town and crown land: therefore, its municipal assembly also had the attribution of a Diet.¹ In 1850, the other statutory town of this study was Brünn. In the 1860s and 1870s, Czernowitz and Lemberg were added to the list.² In each of these cities, the mayor was elected by the town council, but the nomination was to be confirmed by imperial decree.

The system was different in Hungary. In the 1860s, the limitations imposed after the suppression of the 1848–49 war of independence to free municipal life were progressively lifted and autonomous administration of the territories

1 Joseph Redlich, *Verfassung und Verfassungsorganisation der Städte*, Schriften des Vereins für Socialpolitik 122, vol. 6 (Leipzig, 1907), 135.

2 Jiří Klabouch, “Die Lokverwaltung in Cisleithanien,” in *Die Habsburgermonarchie 1848–1918*, vol. 2 *Verwaltung und Rechtswesen*, ed. Adam Wandruszka and Peter Urbanitsch (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1975), 289.

was gradually implemented, giving the burghers more space to develop social and political activities. In this respect cities became important actors of territorial administration. Politics concentrated in cities where the municipality became a polarized body. Therefore, relations between communal and provincial bodies were a source of conflict. One reason for this conflict, as Gary Cohen points out, was that governors and imperial administrators belonged to the old elite. They were often aristocrats who responded to the new political forces with complaints about the growing autonomy given to the representative bodies.³ Toward the end of the nineteenth century, all communes were put on the same administrative level; towns, marketplaces, and villages were considered equal in this respect. Only the statutory towns remained apart. This situation raised problems when the expanding towns swallowed their suburbs; nevertheless, the authorities encouraged this trend for obvious reasons of rationality and economy.

The other cities of our study belonged to the category of “royal free city,” but neither the term “royal” nor “free” was more than an allusion to their historical status. These places belonged to the group of privileged cities that had existed since the Middle Ages in Austria and the Bohemian lands as well as in Hungary and Croatia; they had been founded under German law, most of them following Magdeburg law. This also explains why their burghers were mainly German-speaking people, having been invited by the sovereigns to settle in the towns as merchants and craftsmen. The renewed colonization of the south of Hungary after the territory was reconquered from the Ottoman Empire during the seventeenth century was achieved following the same pattern: German colonists were installed in towns as well as in villages. The most famous example of this imperial strategy was the city of Temesvár in Banat.⁴ Since the colonization was done under the name of the (Catholic) emperor, in principle neither Protestants nor Jews were allowed to settle in these territories where the local inhabitants belonged to the Orthodox Christian faith.

In Hungary, the most important reform of local administration was achieved through Act XXII/1886, which concerned communes and was enacted on the same day as the law on the municipalities. These laws came after Act XLII/1870, the first attempt at simplifying the diversity of situations inherited from the Middle Ages. The Kingdom of Hungary (not including

3 Cohen, “Neither Absolutism nor Anarchy,” 53.

4 On Banat, see the remarkable dissertation by Benjamin Landais, “Nation, privilèges et ethnicité à l’époque des Lumières: L’intégration de la société banataise dans la monarchie habsbourgeoise au XVIII^e siècle,” (Strasbourg University-ELTE Budapest, 2013).

Croatia) was composed of forty-nine Hungarian and eight Transylvanian counties (*megye*), five Szekler (*Székely* in Hungarian)⁵ seats, one Hungarian and two Szekler territories, five Hungarian districts, nine Saxon seats and two royal regions (*fundus regius*). Following the conclusion of the Hungarian-Croatian compromise (*Nagodba*) in 1868, Fiume became a separate body (*corpus separatum*) of the kingdom and constituted its only access to the sea. It had its own municipal regulation, similarly to the capital Budapest (which emerged as a city after the towns of Buda, Óbuda, and Pest were united in 1873). The cities under scrutiny in this research enjoyed—apart from Fiume—the status of “royal free town.” The 1886 law merged many of the territories, seats, and regions into new counties: there were from then on sixty-three counties and twenty-four cities with municipal law instead of the seventy-one counties before.⁶ In 1907, the number of these cities was raised to twenty-five.⁷ Municipal jurisdiction was overseen by the Ministry of Interior, which seemingly restricted the autonomy of the cities—a fact that could be interpreted as evidence of centralization, which was indeed the intention of the Hungarian government. Yet, as will be demonstrated, this was true only at a superficial level. In social and economic terms, the cities were able to elaborate real initiatives and administer their income; they had authority over urban planning, education, culture, health, water, electricity, and gas supplies. In their modernizing efforts they could obtain the support of the central authorities but also struggle and oppose them in order to achieve their goals.

The local administration of Croatia-Slavonia shows substantial differences with Hungary: the structure here was also based on the counties, which were reorganized in 1870 following the Hungarian-Croatian Compromise of 1868, and twice again in 1874 and 1886. The last transformation was the consequence of the demilitarization of the military border (*Militärgrenze*). In 1895, Zagreb was separated from the county administration, together with three other cities (Varasd/Warasdin/Varaždin, Eszék/Essek/Osijek, and Zimony/Semlin/

5 The Szeklers constitute a people who were originally Hungarian as they arrived in the Carpathian Basin at the same time as the Hungarian tribes. They were assigned a border territory and employed by the first Hungarian kings as guards and mercenaries. The autonomy of their lands was confirmed in 1699 when Transylvania was reintegrated into the empire.

6 Károly Vörös, “Die Munizipalverwaltung in Ungarn im Zeitalter des Dualismus,” in *Die Habsburgermonarchie 1848–1918*, vol. 7/2, *Verfassung und Parlamentarismus: Die regionalen Repräsentativkörperschaften*, ed. Helmut Rumpler and Peter Urbanitsch (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2000), 2367.

7 George Barany, “Ungarns Verwaltung,” in *Die Habsburgermonarchie 1848–1918*, vol. 2, *Verwaltung und Rechtswesen*, 429. The city that was added to this category is Miskolc.

Zemun), and put under the direct jurisdiction of the local government.⁸ This change gave the communes an organization similar to the system in force in Hungary as well as in Austria: the city was consequently an autonomous body ruled by a municipal assembly that elected the mayor for a six-year mandate.

Sarajevo had its own municipal status that reflects the changing situation of the town after the Austro-Hungarian occupation of 1878. Bosnia-Herzegovina was administered by the common Ministry of Finance,⁹ and the municipality was organized more or less following the Austrian pattern. The main difference here is that the balance between the populations was enforced by law, a practice that was not recognized in other territories of the empire where national conflicts had paralyzed the provincial assembly (e.g., Moravia and Bucovina) until the beginning of the twentieth century. The municipal status that came into effect in 1884 created a town council of twenty-four members divided between the confessions of the town: twelve Muslims, six Orthodox (Serbs), three Catholics (Croats) and three Jews. The office of mayor was reserved for a Muslim, but the deputy mayors were Christians. One-third of the council was nominated by the local government (civilian and military), and two-thirds were elected by the male tax-paying citizens above 24 years of age. Among the voters were all Austro-Hungarian civil servants, which enabled the authorities to control the vote and did not allow the expression of social and national discontent.¹⁰

All over the empire, communal citizenship followed the same rule: each citizen had to be registered in a specific commune to establish residence (*Heimatzuständigkeit*), and registration in two or more communes was not permitted. Once registered, the person was eligible to receive municipal social benefits. *Heimatzuständigkeit* could be changed theoretically if one moved to a new place of residence but in this case the previous registration had to be annulled. Yet in practice, changing residence was a more complicated matter. One could live in Vienna for decades but still belong to his or her place of birth or origin. This registration enables us to refine the statistical approach when trying to define the profile of the city: the more dynamic the city, the more attractive it was for migrants from the countryside. In most cities of

8 Hodimir Sirotković, "Die Verwaltung im Königreich Kroatien und Slawonien 1848–1918," in *Die Habsburgermonarchie 1848–1918*, vol. 2, *Verwaltung und Rechtswesen*, 493.

9 The Compromise of 1867 between Austria and Hungary established three common ministries: Defense, Foreign Affairs, and Finance.

10 Catherine Horel, "Sarajevo autrichienne: Une nouvelle multiculturalité," in 1908, *l'annexion de la Bosnie-Herzégovine, cent ans après*, ed. Catherine Horel (Brussels: Peter Lang, 2011), 232.

the empire, the percentage of people who were not born there and therefore not considered citizens is an indication not only of mobility but also of the absence of civic participation. The right of residence (*Heimatrecht*) could be acquired through birth and marriage or granted by the municipality. After the citizenship act of 1863, however, municipalities tended to restrain the granting of citizenship to recent migrants because of the fear, among other factors, that this would strain the city funds available for social welfare policies. Civil servants of the state were treated differently, they were granted citizenship and suffrage immediately after they were placed in a given city. Also, as soon as a man was subject to taxes, he could gain the right to vote in local municipal elections, even if he was not a citizen and remained registered (*heimatberechtigt*) in another commune. The wealth of a city was therefore measured by the number of its taxpayers. In this respect Lemberg was one of the poorest cities of Cisleithania, with only 8.4 percent of its residents paying taxes in 1910. As a comparison, 14.9 percent of Trieste residents were taxpayers and 15.4 percent in Brünn.¹¹ The massive drift away from the land had severe consequences: as people migrated to cities, their rural communes became impoverished, but they could not obtain citizenship in the cities where they had settled. Theoretically, one could gain citizenship after a ten-year residence in the same commune, but this was nearly impossible for workers who constantly moved from one place to another.¹² The discrepancy between the registered residence and the real domicile of a steadily growing part of the population was a constant difficulty for the authorities. They reacted most of the time by taking measures to expel less-rooted people who had come to the city in search of work, mainly day workers employed in the factories.

TWELVE CITIES OF AUSTRIA-HUNGARY: TWELVE DIFFERENT SITUATIONS AND MANY SIMILARITIES

A look at the figures of the 1910 census immediately reveals the gap between Austria and Hungary in terms of urban settlement, as the cities of Cisleithania were generally more densely populated than those in Transleithania. The reasons for this difference were geographical as well as historical. The Kingdom of Hungary included the Great Plain (*Alföld*), where market towns and “plain

11 The wealthiest city, Vienna, had a taxpayer base of 17.2 percent of its residents. William H. Hubbard, “Der Wachstumsprozess in den österreichischen Gross-Städten 1868–1910,” *Kölner Zeitschrift für Soziologie und Sozialpsychologie*, Sonderheft 16 (1972): 406.

12 Klabouch, “Die Lokverwaltung in Cisleithanien,” 300.

cities” (*mezőváros*) dominated the landscape. These regions were occupied by the Ottomans from the middle of the sixteenth century to the end of the seventeenth; they were thus cut off from the urban development that took place in other parts of the empire. Some towns of the plain were permanently ruined. Others survived as settlements and centers of trade, but often with a change in the regional significance due to changes in trade routes and general European trends in agricultural production and trade.¹³ The cities started to grow again after these territories were reconquered at the beginning of the eighteenth century. In Transylvania, Saxon and Szekler seats, and Hungarian counties had a greater density but remained small in size because the local administration structures were extremely compartmentalized and prevented the rise of bigger towns. The centralization of Hungary also prevented the creation of regional units comparable to the hereditary lands of Austria; the counties were small, and their scope for administrative autonomy was repeatedly restricted by the government. This also explains why there was greater rivalry between cities in Hungary: many of them were competing for regional supremacy.

Table 1.1. City population in Transleithania, 1869 and 1910¹⁴

City	1869 population	1910 population
Budapest	270,685	880,371
Szabadka (Mariatheresiopel, Subotica)	56,323	94,610
Szeged	70,179	118,328
Zagreb (Agram, Zágráb)	19,857	79,038
Pozsony (Pressburg, Bratislava)	46,540	78,223
Debrecen	46,111	92,729
Temesvár (Temeschburg, Temišvar, Timișoara)	32,223	72,555
Nagyvárad (Grosswardein, Oradea)	28,698	64,169
Arad	32,725	63,166
Fiume (Rijeka)	17,884	49,806

Most of these cities were county seats, except for Szabadka, located in Bács-Bodrog county, whose capital was Zombor (Sombor). The situation of Fiume was also particular because it had at the same time the status of a city and

13 Vera Bácskai, *Városok Magyarországon az iparosodás előtt* (Budapest: Osiris, 2002), 59–60.

14 For more detailed statistical data, see the appendix. The present figures are taken from *Magyar statisztikai évkönyv* [Hungarian statistical annual], Budapest, 1874; and from Ernő Deák, *Das Städtewesen der Länder der ungarischen Krone (1780–1918)*, vol. 2 (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1989).

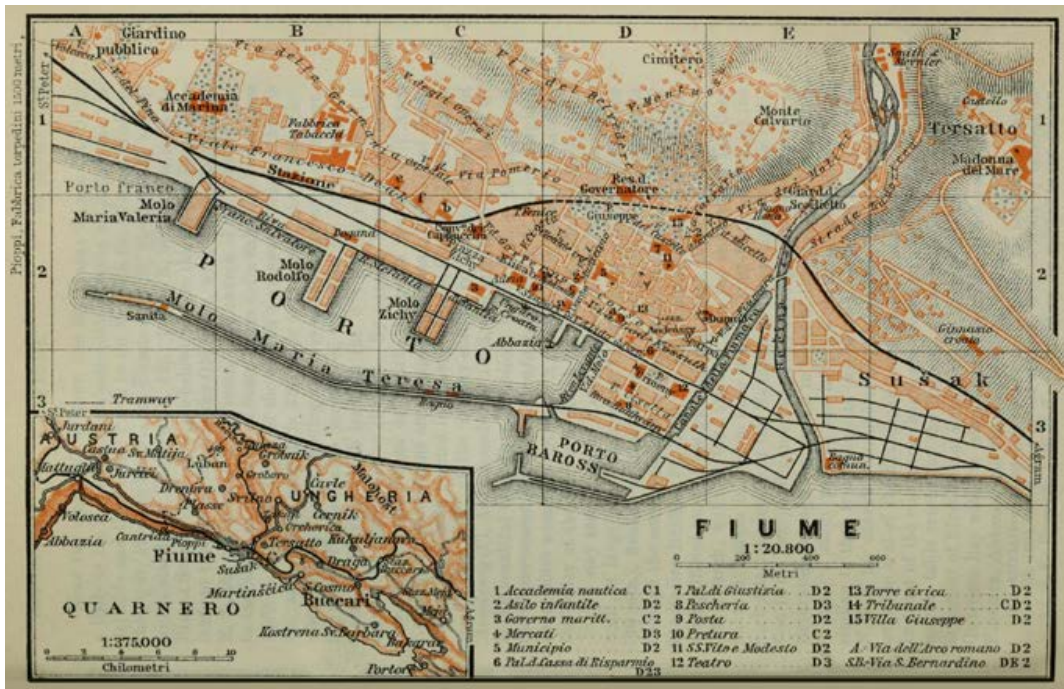


Figure 1.1. Map of Fiume, 1911. Source: Karl Baedeker, *Austria-Hungary: With excursions to Cetinje, Belgrade, and Bucharest; Handbook for travellers* (Leipzig: K. Baedeker, 1911), 536.

a territory (in a similar way as Trieste was for Austria): the so-called *corpus separatum* inside of the Croatian county of Modrus-Fiume.

The other cities had a more stable and historical status as county seats: Pozsony, Temesvár, and Arad were the seats of counties with the same names (respectively Pozsony, Temes, and Arad); Nagyvárad was the seat of Bihar county. As mentioned above, Zagreb was the historical capital of the Triune Kingdom of Croatia-Slavonia-Dalmatia. It had been made a free royal city by the Hungarian king Béla IV (1242), and its role as the administrative and political capital of the country was confirmed by Maria Theresa after the War of the Austrian Succession in 1755.¹⁵ The different parts of the city (Kaptol, Gradec, and their respective suburbs) were united in 1850. Zagreb gained a new role after the conclusion of the 1868 Hungarian-Croatian compromise, and in 1895 it was put under the direct jurisdiction of the local Croatian government.

The historical significance of each city was further underlined by administrative and religious functions: many were the seat of an archbishopric or a bishopric. A Romanian Orthodox bishop resided in Arad, while Nagyvárad had both Roman Catholic and Greek Catholic Romanian bishops. Temesvár

¹⁵ Drago Roksandić, "Izlazak izvan zidina" [Going outside of the walls], in *Povijest grada Zagreba*, vol. 1, *Od prethistorije do 1918* (Zagreb: Novi Liber, 2012), 229.



Figure 1.2. Map of Zagreb, 1911. Source: Karl Baedeker, *Austria-Hungary: With excursions to Cetinje, Belgrade, and Bucharest; Handbook for travellers* (Leipzig: K. Baedeker, 1911), 533.

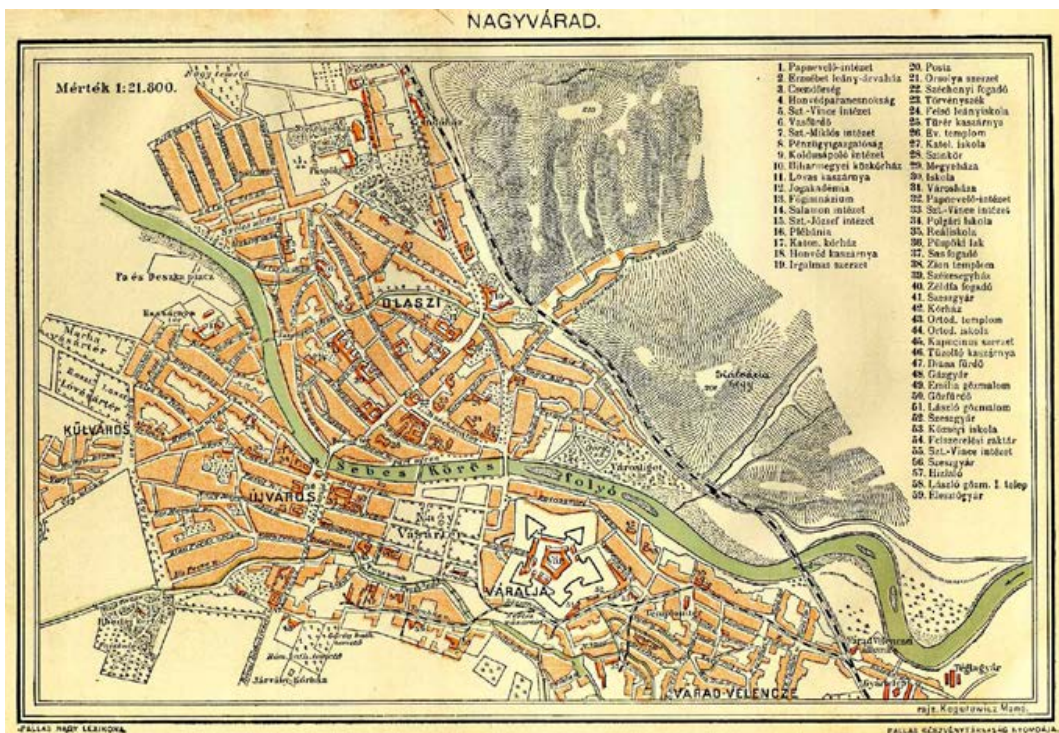


Figure 1.3. Map of Nagyvárad, 1897. Source: *A Pallas nagy lexikona*, vol. 16 (Budapest: Pallas Irodalmi és Nyomdai Rt., 1897).

was the residence of the Catholic bishop of Csanád diocese and of a Serbian Orthodox bishop. Pozsony had a Catholic bishop. Neither Szabadka nor Fiume were the seats of religious authorities. Finally, Zagreb, thanks to its historical standing as a capital that had not been occupied by the Ottomans, was the seat of an archbishopric.

The importance of each town lay in its historical, strategic, and political roles, the presence of administrative and religious functions, and its economic relevance. Historical legacy was extremely meaningful for Pozsony, which was seat of the Hungarian Diet until 1848 and formal capital of the country after the Ottoman occupation; it was thus the coronation place for the Habsburgs as soon as they became kings of Hungary.

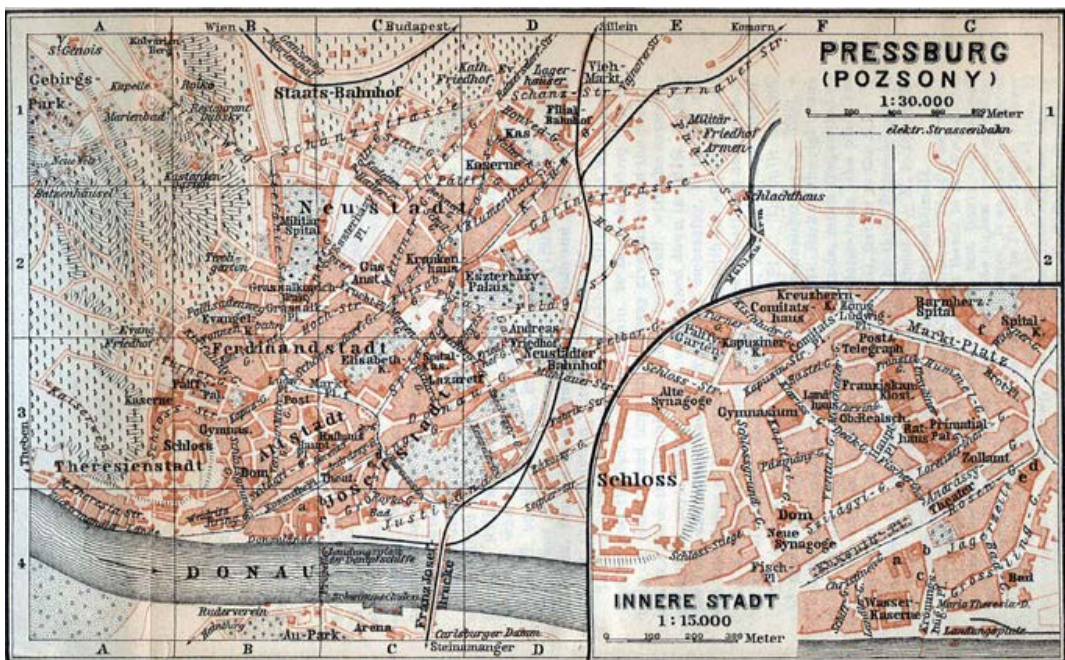


Figure 1.4. Map of Pozsony, 1911. Source: Karl Baedeker, *Austria-Hungary: With excursions to Cetinje, Belgrade, and Bucharest; Handbook for travellers* (Leipzig: K. Baedeker, 1911), 441.

Arad was assigned an important military role. The citadel had once been the last fortress before the Banat military border, and the city had been on the forefront of the War of Independence of 1848–1849, when the Hungarian *Honvéd* had defended it until the last days of fighting. It consequently faced reprisals after the end of the conflict and was the place where the rebellious officers known as the “thirteen martyrs” were executed on October 6, 1849.

As the capital of Banat, Temesvár was also strategically significant: it had the strongest imperial garrison, together with Pozsony, and its fortifications were razed only at the end of the nineteenth century. In this respect, the

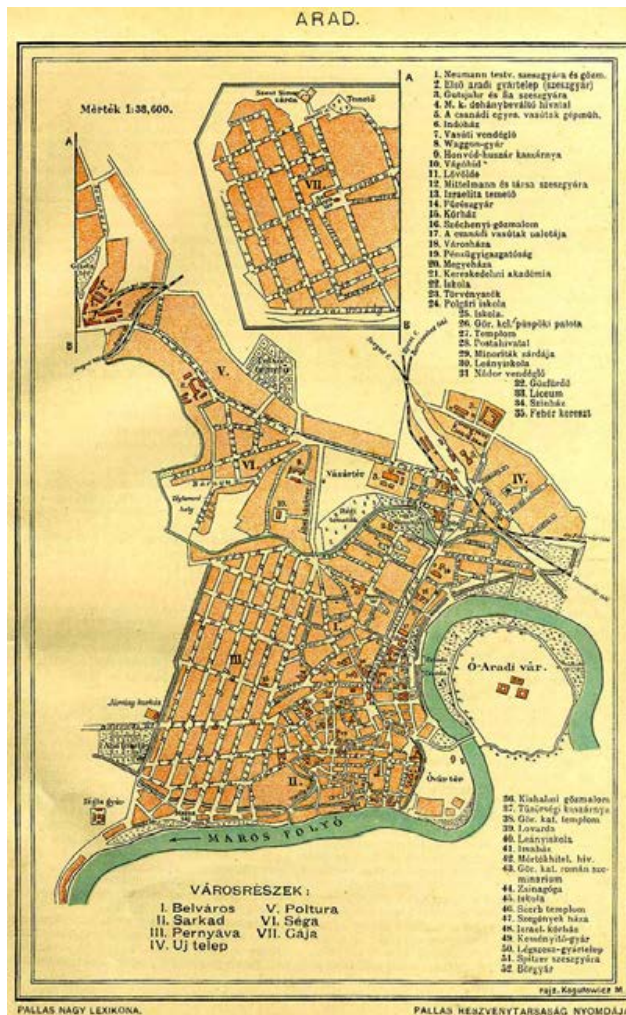


Figure 1.5. Map of Arad, 1893. Source: *A Pallas nagy lexikona*, vol. 1 (Budapest: Pallas Irodalmi és Nyomdai Rt., 1893).

Hungarians saw it as an Austrian stronghold that had to be conquered from a national point of view, diminishing the signs of the German presence.

Fiume was the only point of access to the sea for the Hungarian kingdom and thus of strategic, economic, and political relevance. The development of the city was considered of high importance by the Hungarian government. Therefore, it was one of the cities that had the fastest growth of population from 1869 to 1910.

The significance of Zagreb need not be demonstrated as it was already the capital of the Triune Kingdom of Croatia-Slavonia-Dalmatia. After the 1868 Compromise, the Croats invested the city even more with a new significance, in an effort to reaffirm its position vis-à-vis Budapest. In contrast, Szabadka is an interesting case: it possessed none of the elements of the other cities but was nevertheless one of the biggest in Hungary in terms of population.

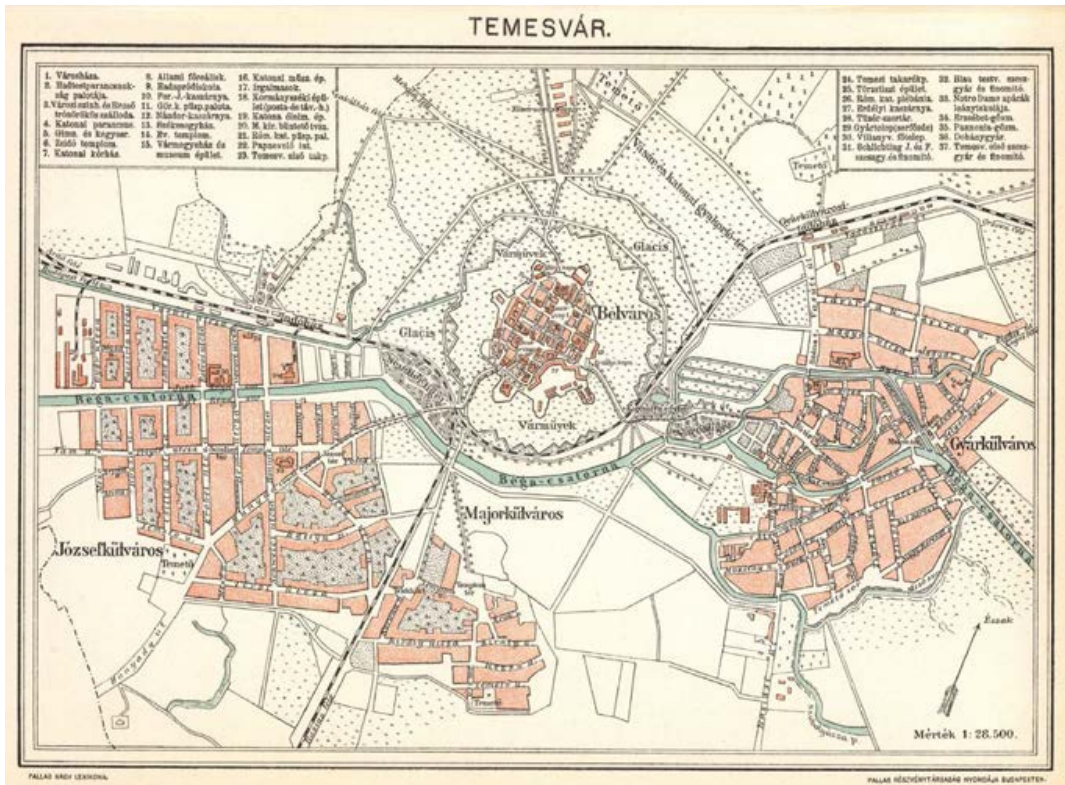


Figure 1.6. Map of Temesvár, 1897. Source: *A Pallas nagy lexikona*, vol. 16 (Budapest: Pallas Irodalmi és Nyomdai Rt., 1897).

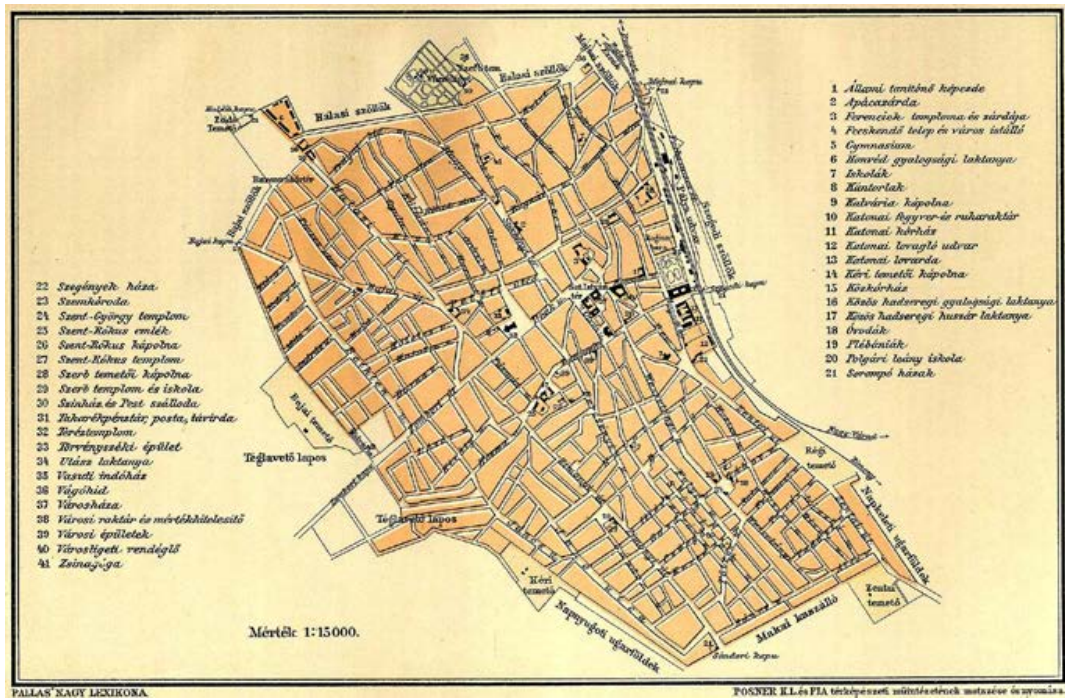


Figure 1.7. Map of Szabadka, 1897. Source: *A Pallas nagy lexikona*, vol. 15 (Budapest: Pallas Irodalmi és Nyomdai Rt., 1897).

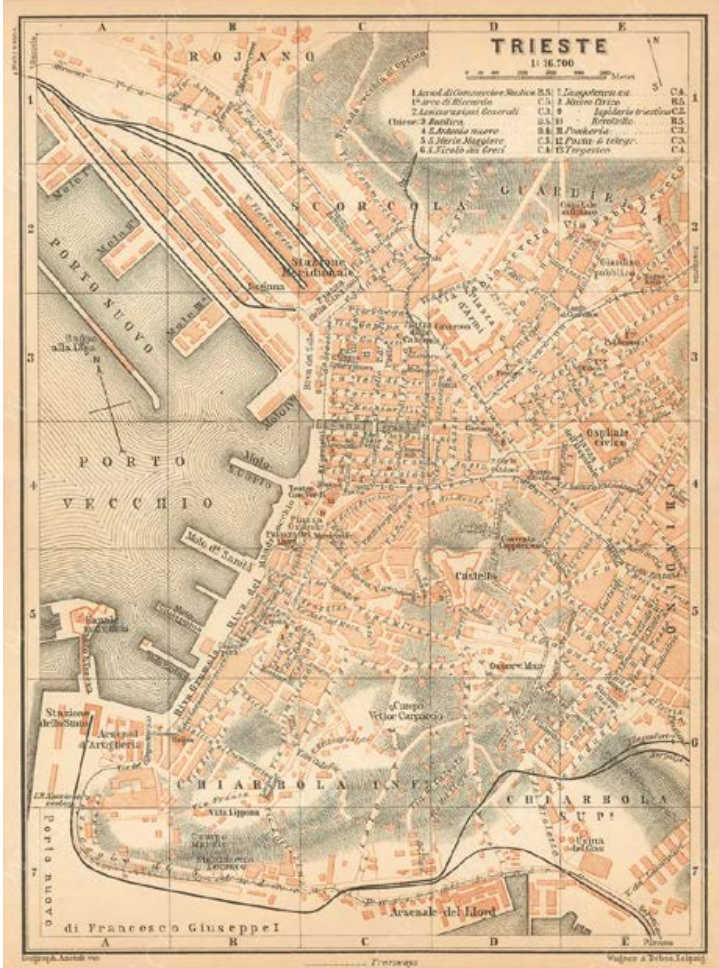


Figure 1.8. Map of Trieste, 1911. Source: Karl Baedeker, *Austria-Hungary: With excursions to Cetinje, Belgrade, and Bucharest; Handbook for travellers* (Leipzig: K. Baedeker, 1911), 270.

In 1910, it was the third largest city of the kingdom behind Budapest and Szeged. Its significance was more of an economic nature because of the agricultural products (mainly grain) that were produced in the immediate vicinity and transported through the town. Although this trade made Szabadka a relatively rich city, it also contributed to its rural look, giving visitors the impression of a large village, rather than an urban center.

In 1910, the Cisleithanian cities had population figures much larger than those in Hungary, with sixteen cities having over 50,000 inhabitants, although as in Hungary there was an enormous gap between the capital Vienna, whose population reached nearly two million inhabitants in 1910, and the second largest city, Trieste. The fourth largest city in Austria was Lemberg, and it is striking to see that Trieste and Lemberg, two cities at both ends of the empire, had a comparable number of inhabitants and shared other patterns as well. However, Trieste had grown on a larger scale than Lemberg thanks to

greater industrialization. Indeed, Lemberg cannot really be put in the same rubric as the three larger cities in Austria because of the mediocre economic status of Galicia.¹⁶ Between them was Prague, which had not yet unified its suburbs, unlike many other cities; if it had, then it would have been second in size behind Vienna, with approximately 600,000 inhabitants. Brünn and Czernowitz ranked seventh and eighth. I chose to consider Sarajevo not because of its size, but because of its particular position regarding history and status. The censuses were not conducted in Sarajevo at the same time as in the rest of the monarchy, except the last one, in 1910, which was also conducted in Bosnia-Herzegovina after the territory's annexation in 1908 by Austria-Hungary from the Ottoman Empire.

Table 1.2. City population in Cisleithania, 1869 and 1910

City	1869 population	1910 population
Vienna	632,127	2,031,498
Prague	157,713	224,721 (without suburbs)
Trieste	70,274	229,510
Lemberg (L'viv, Lwów)	87,109	206,000
Brünn (Brno)	73,771	125,737
Cracow	49,835	151,886
Czernowitz (Cernăuți, Černivci)	33,884	85,458
Sarajevo	21,377 ¹⁷	57,039

Here, as in Hungary, most of the cities under discussion were provincial capitals (*Landeshauptstadt*). Trieste was even a hereditary crown land (*Kronland*). It had been the main port of the Austrian monarchy since 1382, with the rest of Istria and Dalmatia becoming part of the empire only after the fall of the Venetian Republic. This situation gave Trieste some privileges and partly explains the rise of the town with its commercial port from the late eighteenth century on. Wolfgang Maderthaner compares Trieste with Saint Petersburg: the Habsburgs saw Trieste as a “window onto the world” and promoted it accordingly.

16 This is even more striking for Cracow. Wolfgang Maderthaner, “Urbane Lebenswelten: Metropolen und Großstädte,” in *Die Habsburgermonarchie 1848–1918*, vol. 9/1/1, *Soziale Strukturen: Von der feudal-agrarischen zur bürgerlich-industriellen Gesellschaft; Lebens- und Arbeitswelten in der industriellen Revolution*, ed. Helmut Rumpler and Peter Urbanitsch (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2010), 503.

17 Data from 1879. See *Die Ergebnisse der Volkszählung in Bosnien und der Herzegovina vom 10. Oktober 1910* (Sarajevo: Landesdruckerei, 1912).

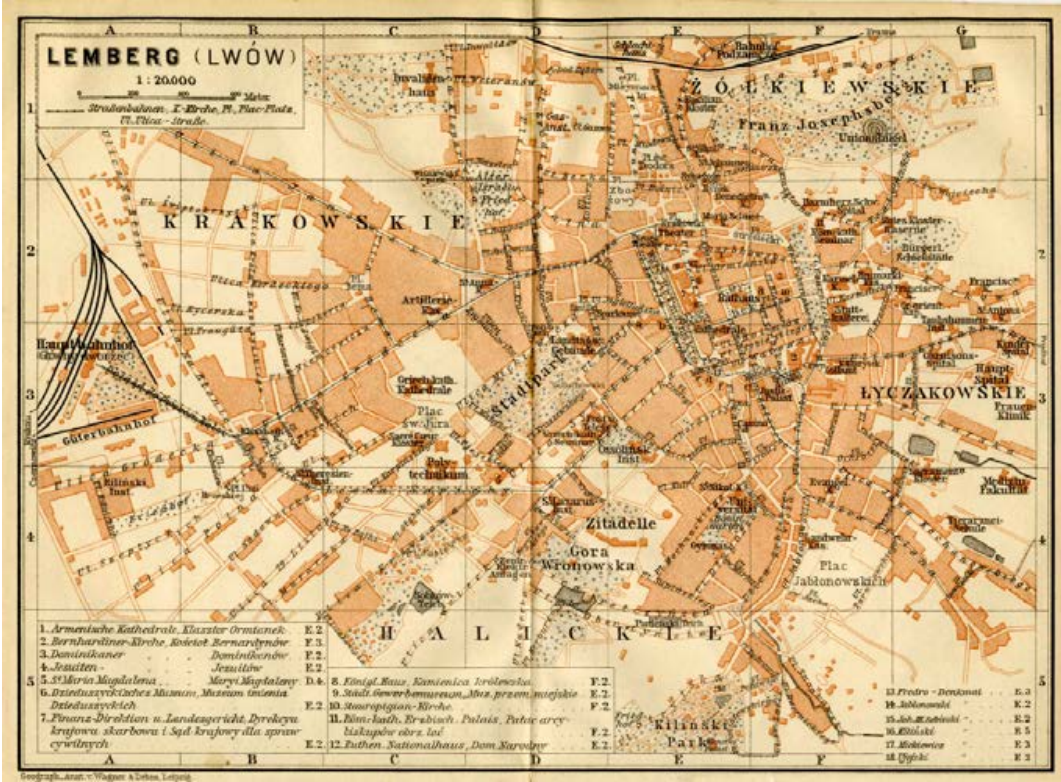


Figure 1.9. Map of Lemberg, 1911. Source: Karl Baedeker, *Austria-Hungary: With excursions to Cetinje, Belgrade, and Bucharest; Handbook for travellers* (Leipzig: K. Baedeker, 1911), 378.

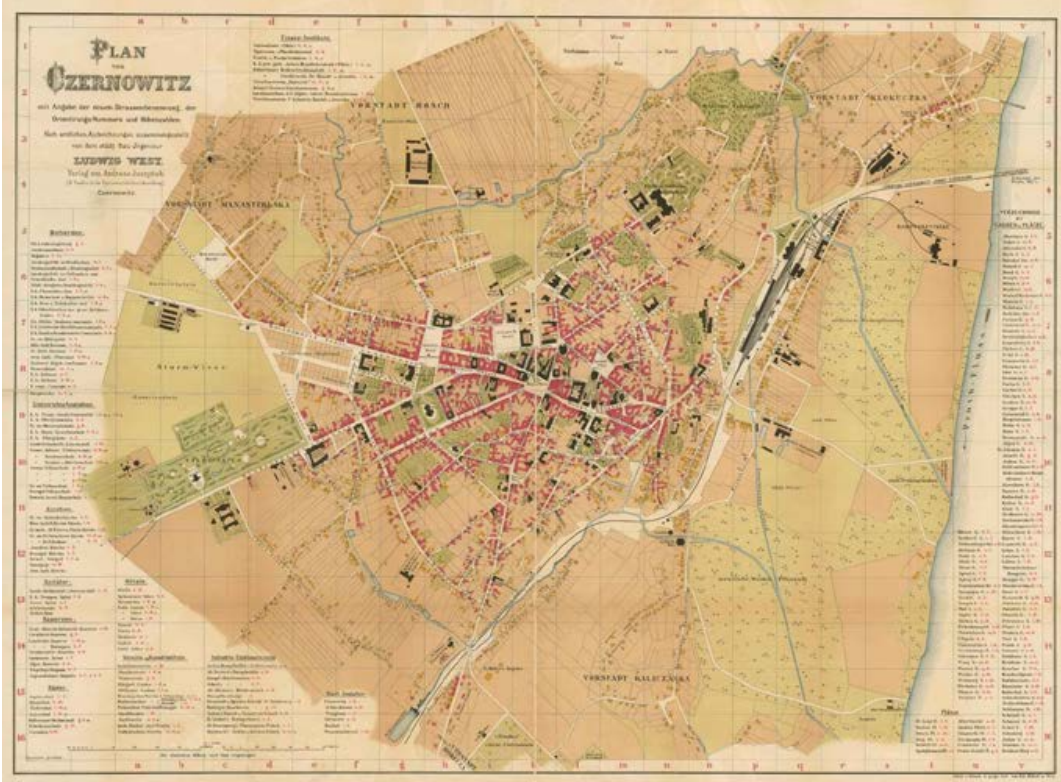


Figure 1.10. Map of Czernowitz, 1987. Source: Österreichisches Staatsarchiv, Kriegsarchiv, Glh 133-20.

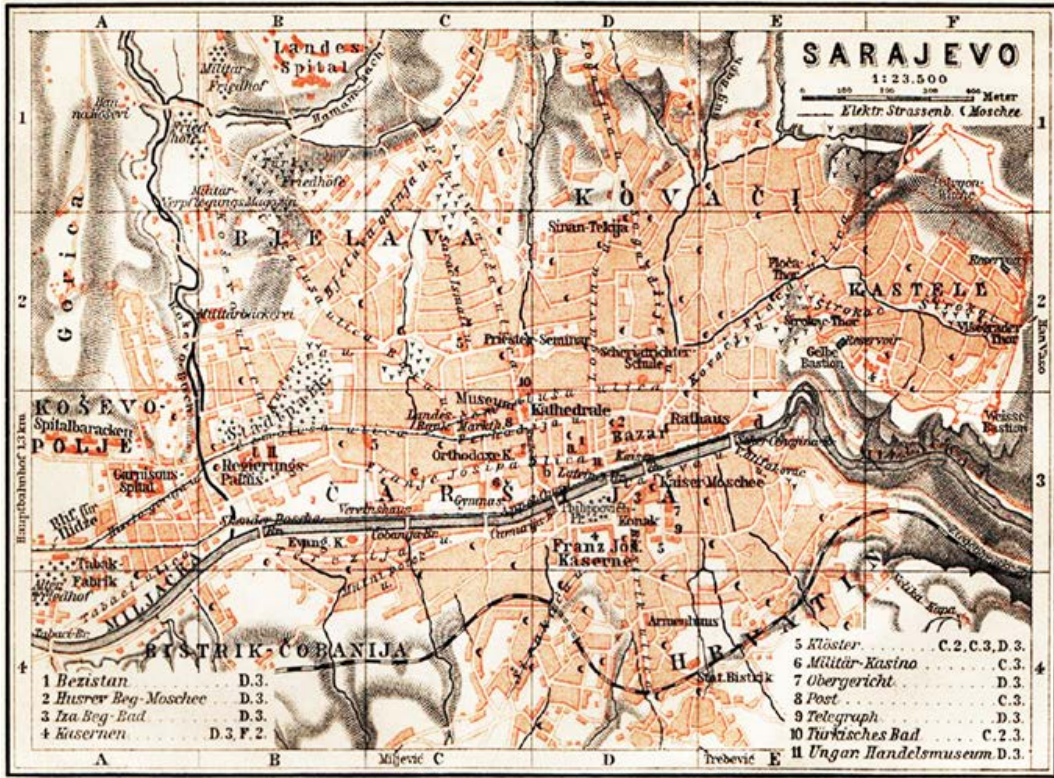


Figure 1.11. Map of Sarajevo, 1905. Karl Baedeker, *Austria-Hungary: Including Dalmatia and Bosnia; Handbook for Travellers* (Leipzig: K. Baedeker, 1905).

Trieste was made into a commercial and industrial center, with an economic capacity disproportionate to its relatively modest number of inhabitants.¹⁸

At the other end of the empire, Lemberg assumed the position of an outpost of Habsburg power in its confrontation with Russia. Compared to Trieste, it was a more recent acquisition of the monarchy in the wake of the partition of Poland in 1772. The newly annexed province of Galicia was renamed the “Kingdom of Galicia and Lodomeria” and thus became the equivalent of the other hereditary Habsburg crown lands, with Lemberg being made the capital of this new, large territory.

Yet, Galicia was not the only territory whose annexation contributed to the monarchy’s considerable expansion to the East within a short period of time. In 1774, the Habsburg Monarchy also annexed Bucovina, a vassal territory to the Ottoman Sultan, in the wake of the Russian-Turkish War and made Czernowitz the capital of the new duchy. Czernowitz had been a market town dating from the mid-fifteenth century. It was then granted German law at the end of the sixteenth century. But by the end of the eighteenth century, Czernowitz

18 Maderthaner, “Urbane Lebenswelten,” 504.

had little in common with the once prosperous medieval town of Lemberg and was in fact a devastated place, looking more like a village, with no prominent buildings and a loose urban structure inhabited by a sparse population.

If the annexation of Bucovina had a colonial dimension, the same can be said about Bosnia-Herzegovina, the last “conquest” of the Habsburgs. Sarajevo was an Ottoman city founded in the mid-fifteenth century and had been the seat of the Pasha of Bosnia until the mid-eighteenth century, when this function was transferred to Travnik because of the troubles caused in Sarajevo resulting from Muslim resistance to reforms initiated by the sultan. By 1850, however, the resistance was largely crushed, and the Pasha moved his seat back to Sarajevo.¹⁹ Austria had established a consulate in Sarajevo and therefore had a good observation point when a new revolt started again in 1875. The Berlin Congress of 1878 left the sultan with *de jure* sovereignty over the province that was from then on *de facto* occupied and administered by Austria-Hungary. Following the full annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1908, a diet was established in Sarajevo in 1910, but it did not assume the traditions of the other provincial parliaments. For these reasons, the situation of Sarajevo in the monarchy is not entirely comparable to the other cities, but it still shares many patterns and offers a good point of comparison with Czernowitz.

Brünn was the capital of Moravia as well as the seat of the Moravian Diet. It possessed a strong identity inherited from a rich past on the one hand, and an industrious, economically dynamic profile, on the other. In this respect the city had the ambition to compete not only with other industrial towns of Bohemia, but also with Vienna and Prague. Although its growth in the nineteenth century seems unspectacular compared to other cities, this was mainly due to the fact that Brünn was urbanized and industrialized earlier than many of them, so its boom unfolded over a relatively longer period. Politically Brünn was unusual in having a city council still dominated by the Germans whereas the Moravian Diet, which was more an expression of the communes of the countryside, saw the Czechs gaining the majority. Moravia is often forgotten in the discourse on the Bohemian Lands, yet the situation of the province was distinct from Bohemia: contention between Germans and Czechs was less acute, and Germans still dominated the largest cities and industries developing around them. Most institutions, like the chambers of commerce, but also big landowners, maintained an *ultraqu coast* attitude. Until the conclusion of the

19 Robert J. Donia, “Fin-de-siècle Sarajevo: The Habsburg Transformation of an Ottoman Town,” *Austrian History Yearbook* 33 (2002): 44.

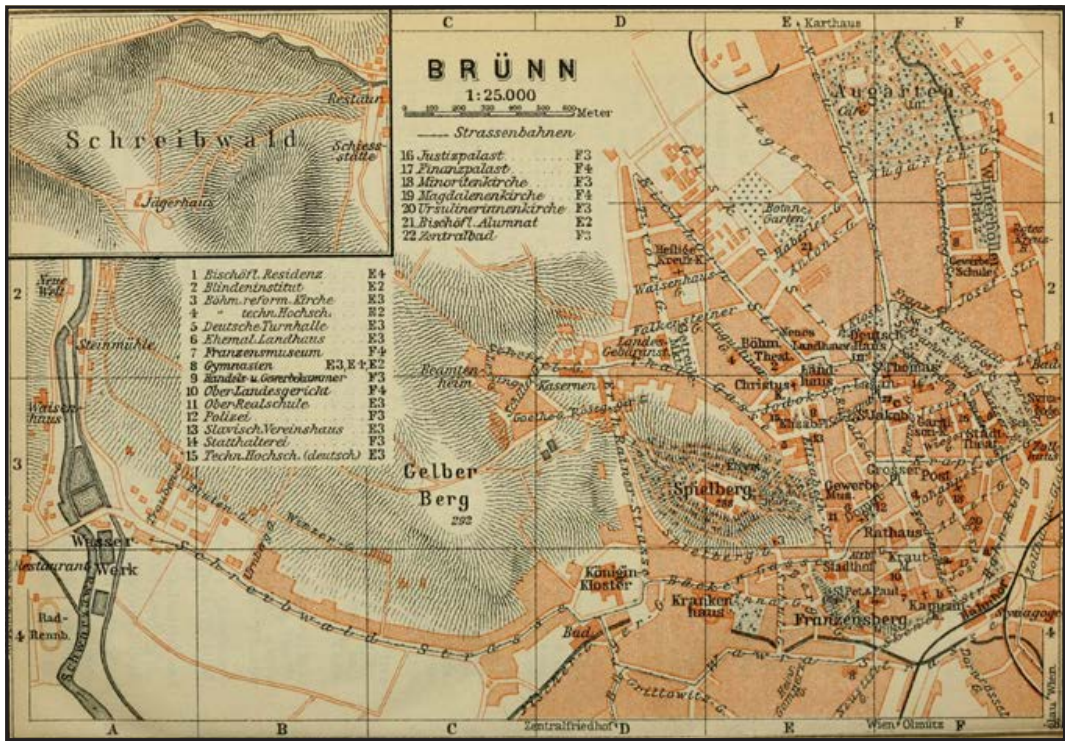


Figure 1.12. Map of Brunn, 1911. Source: Karl Baedeker, *Austria-Hungary: With excursions to Cetinje, Belgrade, and Bucharest; Handbook for travellers* (Leipzig: K. Baedeker, 1911), 378.

so-called Moravian Compromise of 1905, Moravia was less concerned with “national” agendas formulated in Prague.

In Austria, as in Transleithania, the presence of various religious institutions in the cities played a considerable role. Both Brunn and Trieste were seats of Catholic bishoprics. The greater religious diversity of the three other cities was also reflected in their institutions. After 1873, Czernowitz was the seat of an Orthodox bishopric that had a major influence in the town, not only through pastoral activity but also thanks to the foundation of the university with a faculty of Orthodox theology. Lemberg was a Roman Catholic (Polish) city with an archiepiscopal seat since the fourteenth century while at the same time being also the religious capital of the Armenian Catholic church with an archbishopric. The Greek Catholic Ruthenians also had their bishop residing in Lemberg; this institution was to play an important role in the national conflict between the Poles and the Ruthenians. Finally, Sarajevo was the one place where Islamic theology could be taught and practiced in the Habsburg Empire; the Austro-Hungarian authorities pledged to respect these institutions following the stipulations of the Berlin Congress. They established a *reis-ul-ulema* (chief of the scholars) and other dignitaries as well as a school for *Sharia* judges. On the one hand, the authorities sought

to appease Muslims, while on the other hand they openly favored Catholics. After the occupation of Bosnia-Herzegovina, the Holy See reorganized the Catholic Church in 1881 and elevated Sarajevo to the rank of archbishopric.²⁰ Following this, a representative cathedral was erected in the center of the town indicating the arrival of this new era. The Orthodox already had a metropolitan seat in Sarajevo, but they, too, ended up building a bigger church in order to strengthen their presence.

URBAN GROWTH AND CITY DEVELOPMENT, 1848–1914

From 1848 to 1914, the cities of the Habsburg Empire underwent an unprecedented growth and development. The abolition of serfdom in 1848 literally “liberated” the workforce from the countryside, and the dismantling of the old corporations allowed the free settlement of craftsmen in the cities. In 1840, the Hungarian Diet abolished the prohibition of Jewish settlement in the cities. Finally, the extension of the railway network and the consecutive development of factories facilitated urbanization. Both parts of the empire experienced a radical change in relations between people and space. The cities grew nearer to the villages as well as to each other. The rural landscape evolved, as the number of former market towns and cities with more than 2,000 inhabitants multiplied: in 1910, 43 percent of the population of Cisleithania lived in these small towns. This trend was general in all territories, except for Dalmatia, which lost many of its inhabitants to migration overseas; only the coastal cities registered any growth and were somehow dynamic. The cities now had suburbs, meaning former villages that were sometimes unified with the city and at the turn of century even linked to its center by tramway lines and suburban railroads. Population growth accelerated in most cities from 1890 on as the railway system continued to expand and work opportunities multiplied through the creation of larger industrial plants. This benefited Austria more than Hungary, which remained the agricultural supplier of the monarchy and was therefore less industrialized: here the railways were first used more to transport goods than people. If we compare the rate of population growth in both sides of the empire, the gap is obvious—except for Budapest, where population skyrocketed. The migratory trend of Austria-Hungary was characterized

20 Ivan Vitezić, “Die römisch-katholische Kirche bei den Kroaten,” in *Die Habsburgermonarchie 1848–1918*, vol. IV, *Die Konfessionen*, ed. Adam Wandruszka and Peter Urbanitsch (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1985), 342.

by internal movement.²¹ People settled and resettled inside the empire: one would come from a village, go to school in the nearest city, to high school or university in a different land with a different language, do his military service in a regiment posted at the other end of the empire, and finally enter the civil service or a business career in another town or choose to return to his native region. While this phenomenon was widespread among men, mobility and migration also affected women. They were traditionally needed as nurses and servants in wealthy households, but the number of female factory workers and shop clerks also rose considerably. The professionalization of women teachers was a steadily growing trend. Thanks to the progress of girls' education, women also began to work as clerks in offices at the beginning of the century.

Table 1.3. Population growth in selected cities of Cisleithania, 1869–1910 (in percentage)²²

Trieste	84.7
Brünn	104.6
Lemberg	114.0

The high rates of growth for Trieste and Brünn are explained by industrialization that drew migrants from the neighboring countryside. In the case of Trieste, migrants from the Italian kingdom, the so-called *Regnicoli* (*Reichsitaliener*), also came, a phenomenon that was to bear political consequences. In Lemberg industrialization was not at the same level, but the city was nevertheless attractive because of its function as the capital of Galicia. The misery was such in the surrounding territory that migrants tried their luck in town, while others headed directly to Vienna or overseas. Yet, these population increases were due not only to migration but also to natural growth owing to the lower mortality rate and a continuing high birthrate. The combination of both factors actually played a decisive role in the growth of the urban population all over the empire. Yet, the number of persons who were natives of a city or acquired citizenship there, as discussed earlier, was lower than the number of the actual population, given that most people had their home residence registered in another place. In Brünn, out of 1,000 inhabitants, the number of official residents oscillated between 416 and 496 in the period from 1869 to 1910; in 1900, this number was only 279. The ratio was slightly

21 See the essential work by Andrea Komlosy, *Grenze und ungleiche regionale Entwicklung: Binnenmarkt und Migration in der Habsburgermonarchie* (Vienna: Promedia, 2003).

22 Hubbard, "Der Wachstumsprozess in den österreichischen Gross-Städten," 388.

higher in Trieste, with figures from 402 to 536 in the same time period. Lemberg had also more residents, going from 661 per 1000 inhabitants in 1869 to 462 in 1910. Trieste, being an important commercial port, had unsurprisingly the highest number of foreigners within the empire.²³

Table 1.4. Population growth in selected cities of Transleithania, 1869-1900 (in percentage)²⁴

Pozsony	32.2
Temesvár	54.0
Nagyvárad	63.8
Arad	70.0
Szabadka	44.6
Fiume	112.8
Zagreb	182.8

In Hungary most of the migrants came directly to Budapest, and many—mainly Slovaks—then migrated overseas. Due to the lack of proper industrial infrastructure, the country could not cope with a superfluous rural population that had no access to landed property. Therefore, Hungarian cities, with the exception of Budapest, were less dynamic than the Austrian ones. Hungarian cities were growing, too, but not on the same scale. As we can see from Table 1.4, only Fiume and Zagreb show growth rates comparable to Austrian cities. Fiume was a political and economic project for Hungary and thus consequently promoted by the authorities. Industrial activities and trade at the port attracted many people from Hungary; yet the neighboring populations, first of all Croats but also Italians, flocked to the city as well, seeing good opportunities in its development. A similar trend characterized Zagreb. The city benefited from a twofold effect: as the capital of Croatia, it was the seat of a more autonomous government and therefore free to attract new businesses, while the development of the city's school system also appealed to Croats all over the country. Zagreb's territory was easily expandable and was reorganized after the 1880 earthquake. Other cities in Hungary did not experience such a boom. Arad slowly began to be industrialized after the destruction of vineyards by a phylloxera epidemic drew impoverished people to the city. Without significant industry, Szabadka had a much lower immigration rate than

²³ Ibid., 393.

²⁴ Pál Beluszky, "A polgárosodás törekény váza—városhálózatunk a századfordulón" [The fragile frame of embourgeoisement: The network of cities at the turn of the century], in *Tér és Társadalom* 4, nos. 3-4 (1990): 22.

most Hungarian as well as Austrian cities. Pozsony was one of the few Hungarian cities with real industrial development and consequently numerous factories, but the workforce here came mainly from the city itself. Being too close to Vienna, Pozsony was unable to attract Hungarians or Slovaks, who went to Budapest instead. These processes are reflected in the percentage of registered residents to inhabitants: in 1890, Szabadka had a residency rate of 77.53 percent; Arad, 50.05; Fiume, 49.37; Pozsony, 47.44; Nagyvárad, 42.97; Temesvár, 41.89; and Zagreb, 33.76 percent.²⁵ It seems that Hungarian cities, even those that were less industrialized, were comparatively as appealing as Austrian ones, at least if we judge by the number of people who had settled in them and not yet acquired the right of residence.

Gravitation to the cities greatly modified their territorial definition. The neighboring villages transformed into suburbs from which people went to work, study, shop, and entertain themselves downtown. Migrants inhabited the suburbs as well as the central areas; there was no real segregation as long as the factories did not attract workers who gathered near them. Annexing the suburbs had advantages as well as disadvantages for the city. A larger municipal territory could mean more power vis-à-vis the central authorities; the concept of “too big to fail” would apply, securing prestige, revenues, and influence for the city. But the influx of newcomers could also generate social unrest, and, a particularity of the Habsburg Empire, national conflict. The “struggle” over public space in cities of the monarchy connects to what Henri Lefebvre called “differentiated” space:²⁶ people want to access the public realm and shape it according to their social—and here, national—claims. The fact that the hinterland of a city was often populated by a national group other than the one dominating the city itself was problematic in the long run, when these populations began to settle in the town, or the surrounding villages became part of the municipality. This is exactly what happened in Trieste. The phenomenon was exacerbated by the fact that the town and its territory enjoyed the status of a crown land. A situation more or less comparable characterized Brunn. In Czernowitz also, the neighboring villages had relatively homogenous German, Ruthenian, and Romanian populations; the Jews lived dispersed among them and even constituted the majority in Sadagora (today Sathora), home to

25 *A magyar korona országában az 1891. év elején végrehajtott népszámlálás eredményei* [The results of the census conducted at the beginning of 1891 in the Lands of the Hungarian Crown] (Budapest, 1893), 12.

26 Don Mitchell, *The Right to the City: Social Justice and the Fight for Public Space* (New York, London: The Guilford Press, 2003), 29.



Figure 1.13. Sarajevo seen from the bend of the Miljačka River, 1910.

Source: Fortepan, 204245, József Plohn.

Hassidism and the *Wunderrabbis*. Most migrants to Habsburg cities came from the immediate countryside, and some cities kept a rural aspect for a long time. This was particularly obvious in Szabadka, where photographs show only low houses dominated by a few church bell towers. There was no definitive break between rural and urban landscapes, but rather continuity. The same could be said for Arad, where the city center was indeed transformed in order to show the ambitions of the city, although the neighboring streets led directly to the nearby fields. The immigrants in these cities were mostly Hungarians. Better educated because of the pressure of the state and the greater opportunity given by the school system, they came to the cities in higher numbers than the other national groups, who either stayed in the villages or migrated overseas.

Depending on the size of the city before massive urbanization, there was a need for additional space. In the cities of the Hungarian Plain, like Szabadka, no obstacle existed to urban expansion. The same can be said for Arad and Nagyvárad in Hungary, and for Brünn, Lemberg, and Czernowitz in Cisleithania. In some other cases, the expansion of city territory was limited by geography: neither Trieste nor Fiume could expand much along the coast; Pozsony had a relatively mountainous hinterland in the north as well as the Danube in the south, which restrained urban planning. Sarajevo is surrounded by mountains and built on both sides of a turbulent river. In some cities the surrounding



Figure 1.14. The Sebes-Körös (Crişul Repede) River at Nagyvárad, 1905.

Source: Fortepan, 174925, Indig Paul.

lands first had to be drained before making urbanization possible; the swamps were an obstacle to construction as well as posing public health hazards. Cholera had not completely been eradicated by the end of the nineteenth century and there was still a fear of epidemics.²⁷ Access to drinkable water was therefore crucial in the development of public works. Political limitations were also important: Temesvár was surrounded by fortifications belonging to the imperial army that was reluctant to abandon them; Fiume was a Hungarian territory that cut into autonomous Croatia, and the Hungarian government could not enlarge the city's boundaries. Trieste was practically in the same situation. The surroundings belonged to Istria; the only possibility of expansion was by annexing the rocky villages of the *karst* (*carso*), which were populated mainly by poor Slovenians and did not offer many possibilities for industry or infrastructure.

Rivers ran through most of the cities, and two of them—Trieste and Fiume—were ports on the Adriatic Sea. Only Szabadka had no river, but Lake Palics (Palić) in the vicinity was to become a vacation place for wealthy citizens as well as a tourist attraction that was exploited to enrich the city and make it known beyond its borders. The Danube was the landmark of Pozsony. Since the middle of the 1830s, the city was linked with Vienna and

²⁷ The last significant one occurred in Hungary in 1892.



Figure 1.15. Fiume port, 1906. Source: Fortepan, 115782, György Széman.

Budapest by steamers that later went all the way to Belgrade. The other rivers were of lesser significance. The second longest was the Sava, running south of Zagreb; the territory between the city and river was progressively urbanized. The Sava was an important communication route between the Croatian and Serbian lands, joining the Danube in Belgrade. Then we find the Pruth, in Czernowitz, crossing into Moldavia and joining the Danube near its delta. Next is the Maros (Mureş), the Transylvanian river that runs through Arad before flowing into the Tisza near Szeged. The other rivers were smaller and partially unnavigable, therefore playing a role only for local navigation and leisure. The Bega River running through Temesvár also joins the Tisza but is of lesser length than the Maros, which has greater regional significance. In Brünn two small rivers converge: the Svitava and Svatka (German Zwitawa and Schwarzach). The Sebes-Körös (Crişul Repede) runs through Nagyvárad as one of the three Körös rivers of the region and joins the larger Körös. In Lemberg, the Poltva (Peltew) River disappeared from the city landscape when it was covered up and channeled into the underground sewer system. It is a tributary of the much longer Bug River running through Poland, Belarus, and Ukraine. Finally, the smallest river, the Miljačka, runs through Sarajevo. Despite its relatively short length (38 km), the river has become a real marker of the town. As it was rather turbulent during the spring, the river was regulated under Austro-Hungarian rule and its embankments on both sides turned into representative streets.



Figure 1.16. Trieste port, 1910. Fortepan, 95041, Magyar Földrajzi Múzeum, Diagyűjtemény.

In industrial cities, railways and other infrastructure were objects of particular care: each town wanted to have a railway station in order to be connected with other cities and with the metropolises of the empire—and the seaside, if possible. The competition between Trieste and Fiume is a good example of the rivalry among cities, even if the latter lagged considerably behind the former in a number of respects. Yet, the Hungarian state wanted to promote Fiume as the gateway to the Adriatic, as the city offered access to the resort of Abbazia (Opatija) and served as an industrial port that enabled Hungary to export grain products directly abroad without having to pass through Austria. Thus, the southern railway was developed according to the model of the Austrian *Südbahn*, together with the port infrastructure and industries linked to them. One of the first long-distance lines of the monarchy, the *Südbahn* (Southern Railway) had connected Vienna with Trieste in 1857, crossing the Semmering Pass. In 1861, it was linked to Budapest, enabling Hungarian grain to be exported through Trieste. The line was extended to Fiume only in 1873: before that, the easiest way to reach Fiume from Trieste was still by boat.²⁸ Not much later, Hungarian state railways also opened their own line from Budapest to Fiume, so that this part of the monarchy was relatively well linked to the main lines.²⁹

28 Désirée Vasko-Juhász, “Gründung des *Südbahn*-Kurortes Abbazia/Opatija (1881),” in *Mit Voll-dampf in den Süden: 150 Jahre Südbahn Wien-Triest*, ed. Gerhard Artl, Gerhard H. Gürtlich, and Hubert Zenz (Vienna: Austrian State Archive, 2007), 422.

29 *Die Südbahn und ihr Verkehrsgebiet in Österreich-Ungarn* (Vienna, Brünn, Leipzig: Rohrer, n.d.).

From then on, Trieste lost its leading position in the trade of Hungarian agricultural products: Fiume became much easier to reach from Budapest, not to speak of the fact that competition between railway companies meant cheaper tariffs.³⁰

Military as well as economic objectives facilitated the development of the southern railway system. Because the port of Pola (Pula) was the main naval base on the Istrian coast, a line was also quickly opened in this direction. Leisure and tourism on the Adriatic were not forgotten in this process. The resort of Abbazia was finally linked to Fiume, enabling both Austrians and Hungarians to enjoy a vacation at the seaside. A legal decree in 1889 made Abbazia a *k.u.k. Badeort* (imperial and royal bath resort), a distinction shared in 1892 by Grado, near Trieste. A tourist boom followed, and the resorts were visited year-round. The development of the railway network enabled anyone to travel from the most faraway station to the Adriatic. It also gave a boost to Fiume and Trieste, as transit stations and resorts were of course visited first by locals.

The railway system in Austria-Hungary was a combination of state and private enterprises. In the 1850s, private companies were the first to operate and were joined in the 1870s by state companies in both sides of the empire. In Hungary at the end of the century the state was in control of most lines, at least the main ones: one could thus travel from Fiume to the northern border of the kingdom on state railways. One of the first lines had linked Pozsony in 1848 to the Austrian Northern Railway and so to Vienna. After a slowdown caused by the 1873 crash of the Viennese stock exchange, the construction of new lines was accelerated in the 1880s. The lines were also extended abroad, such as the one leading from Budapest to Belgrade via Szabadka and Zimony (Zemun). The connection to Sarajevo from both Hungary and Austria was also built through Croatia. Hungary did a little better than Austria in railway construction because the state was more involved in the process. Yet, Austria-Hungary as a whole was still behind most Western European countries in the building of its railway network. In contrast, it was well ahead of Russia and the Balkan countries.³¹ At the turn of the century, smaller lines served practically all towns in the empire, so the density of the network was indeed improved. Hungarian cities were connected to each other, a fact that encouraged trade and all sorts of exchanges, but which also fostered competition between cities

30 Bernd Kreuzer, "The Port of Trieste and Its Railway Connections in the Habsburg Monarchy: Economic Change and Infrastructure Problems, 1850–1918," http://www.docutren.com/HistoriaFerroviaria/PalmaMallorca2009/pdf/0208_Kreuzer.pdf (accessed on January 26, 2023).

31 László Katus, "A tőkés gazdaság fejlődése a kiegyezés után," in *Magyarország története 1848–1890*, vol. 2 (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1987), 984.

for the construction of stations, the extension of the smaller lines into the countryside, and the placement of factories, railway yards, and construction works (tracks, carriages, and engines). There was such competition between Arad and Temesvár, for example: each wanted the development of the railway for its own benefit. Arad took pride in being the head of the railway network of the Körös valley; it was thus more oriented toward Transylvania than Temesvár, which due to its location was oriented more toward the south. Although the networks were “star-formed,” converging respectively on Vienna and Budapest, the railways had also a strong regional impact. Statistics show that the majority of traffic consisted of local journeys, as most people travelled only short distances, going to the next city or to the capital of the province.

In the 1860s, railways were built in Croatia-Slavonia as well, connecting first to Hungary and later to Austria. In this first phase of railway development, concessions were sold to private investors while the state kept the initiative in the construction of lines serving mining centers, namely in Bohemia and Moravia. Brünn was among the first cities of the monarchy to be served by the railroad: the first train arrived there in 1839. A station was built to serve both the state railway towards Prague and the Northern Railway to Vienna, making Brünn an important railroad hub.³² Although initially the railway section was dedicated primarily to the transport of coal, the link through Brünn was constantly modernized to adapt to growing traffic. In the 1860s, Brünn was connected not only to the rest of Moravia and Silesia, but also to Vienna through the junction of the *Schlesisch-Mährische-Nordbahn* with the *Kaiser-Ferdinand*



Figure 1.17. Brünn, main railway station, before 1900. Source: Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, AKON – Ansichtskarten Online, AK024_533.

32 Pavel Zatloukal, *A Guide to the Architecture of Brno 1818–1915* (Brno: Obečnidům, 2000), 145.

Nordbahn.³³ Around the same time, the state began to build new lines in territories that were not yet linked to the center: in 1866 the track between Lemberg and Czernowitz was opened. The further extension of the railway in Galicia in the late 1870s enabled the connection of the Lemberg-Czernowitz line toward the capital of Moldavia (Iași), thanks to an agreement with the Romanian government. Simultaneously, smaller lines given to private concessions served regional purposes. These lines accelerated the mobility of the population by bringing the regional centers nearer to each other. The Hungarian state took the initiative to develop the connection from Budapest to the northeast of the country and link it with Transylvania: thus, Arad on one side and Nagyvárad on the other were privileged in the creation of the new lines. The latter was the head of the Eastern Railway (*Keleti vasút*), created in 1876, which led to Kolozsvár (Klausenburg, Cluj) and Brassó (Kronstadt, Braşov).³⁴ Temesvár joined the scheme somewhat later and was for a long time connected only to Arad.

After the 1873 Vienna stock exchange crash, both states nationalized more and more private enterprises in order to operate the railway network themselves or lease some lines to private companies. The change was noticeable in Hungary with the nationalization of the Tisza Railway in 1880, followed in 1884 by the nationalization of the Transylvanian Railway and the Alföld Railway serving Fiume.³⁵ With the latter, Hungary achieved control of the route from Budapest to Fiume and became completely independent of the Austrian *Südbahn*.³⁶ This was a political as well as an economic project: competition with Trieste had deprived Fiume of many opportunities, while the Hungarian state placed great importance on Fiume's development as a port. Other lines were completed at the turn of the century to allow the exploitation of natural resources, such as soil deposits in Galicia and the forests of Bucovina. The same motive was behind the junction of the line from Lemberg to the Hungarian border. Finally, the development of the Dalmatian railway network, which had been neglected for years, was launched in order to connect it with Bosnia and Herzegovina. Thanks to that project, Sarajevo was already connected both to the Adriatic coast and to Hungary through Croatia at the time of the annexation in 1908.

33 Karl Bachinger, "Das Verkehrswesen," in *Die Habsburgermonarchie 1848–1918*, vol. 1, *Die wirtschaftliche Entwicklung*, ed. Adam Wandruszka and Peter Urbanitsch (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1973), 288.

34 Katus, "A tőkés gazdaság fejlődése a kiegyezés után," 981.

35 Iván T. Berend and György Ránki, "Ungarns wirtschaftliche Entwicklung 1849–1918," in *Die Habsburgermonarchie 1848–1918*, vol. 1, *Die wirtschaftliche Entwicklung*, 481.

36 Bachinger, "Das Verkehrswesen," 297.



Figure 1.18. Fiume railway station in front of the building of the Maritime Academy, 1900.

Source: Fortepan, 220252, Balázs Hámornik.

The construction of the regional railroads was regulated through a law that demanded the participation of both the local government and a private enterprise, investing at least 25 percent of the capital needed for the creation of a line. The same approach was taken in both parts of the empire to ensure the development of the secondary railway network. Local decision-making in the building of railroads therefore led to the multiplication of lines, with each province or county wanting to have its own railroad for reasons of profit and prestige. The more industrialized and developed the region was, the more railroads it had: not surprisingly, Bohemia had the most railroads in the Austrian part of the monarchy, with 6,769 kilometers in 1912 (29.6 percent of the total network), followed by Galicia (4,131 km, 18.1 percent), Lower Austria (2,477 km, 10.8 percent), and Moravia (2,119 km, 9.3 percent). Bucovina and Dalmatia were far behind the other regions, with the former having 602 kilometers of railroad (2.6 percent of the total network) and the latter only 230 kilometers (1 percent of total).³⁷ At this time, Austria and Hungary had comparable networks of approximately 22,000 kilometers, of which more than 80 percent was state property.

This development went hand in hand with the construction of adequate infrastructure. Railway bridges had to be built on the main rivers: over the

³⁷ Ibid., 301.

Danube in Pozsony, Budapest, and Újvidék (Novi Sad), as well as over the Tisza. Together with these structures, factories were needed to produce tracks, carriages, and engines, all of which had been imported at the beginning. In Hungary, the railway was the fastest growing sector of the economy during these years, second only to the credit institutions.³⁸

A city's railway station became an important building—often the expression of city patriotism and ambition. Initially, however, the station was seen as an alien element and not an integral part of the city. It was generally built outside of the city limits and remained an appendage. The settlements that arose in its vicinity were generally proletarian, and people there felt themselves to be “on the wrong side of the tracks.”³⁹ As soon as traffic intensified, larger stations were built and integrated within the city: they functioned as “spatial gateways.” These buildings were characterized by architectural hybridity, being “half-factory, half-palace”: glass and steel on the inside and stone on the outside, facing toward the city.⁴⁰ In the following decades, the expansion of the city to include the suburbs brought the station to the center.

A good example of the transformation in the function of railway stations is Trieste, where the first railway station was built following the opening of the *Südbahn* in 1857 and was to be located on the narrow strip between the sea, the port facilities, and the *karst*. It was intended at the time as a station dedicated more to the transport of goods than people, as it was assumed then that most people going to and from Trieste would continue travelling by boat and that the main railway traffic would deal with commercial goods. A new station designed for passenger traffic was planned by architect Wilhelm von Flattich as a replica of the Viennese *Südbahnhof*; as such, it was supposed to symbolize both ends of the *Südbahn*.⁴¹ But the station's opening was delayed and took place only in 1878. Since Trieste was still a free port, the station had to accommodate a quarantine pavilion as well as customs. The development of Trieste as a port on one side and the growth of the city on the other side soon made this first station insufficient. It was clear to the administration of the Southern Railway as well as the municipality that an entirely new building was necessary, located in a more suitable section of the port. Accordingly,

38 Pál Beluszky, “The Hungarian Urban Network at the End of the Second Millennium,” *Discussion Papers* no. 27 (Pécs: Center for Regional Studies of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, 1999), 20.

39 Schivelbusch, *The Railway Journey*, 171.

40 *Ibid.*, 174.

41 Kerstin Ogris, “Die Südbahnhöfe der zweiten Generation: Wilhelm von Flattich, Architekt und Hochbaudirektor der k. k. priv. Südbahn-Gesellschaft,” in *Mit Volldampf in den Süden*, 402.

a station was planned on the opposite side of the port, near the shipyard of Sant'Andrea. A small station existed already on this spot, serving the oil fields of San Sabba and local traffic to Parenzo (Poreč). The purpose of the new station was to facilitate the transport of industrial products to and from the shipyard and to connect Trieste with the hinterland, Dalmatia, and, further on, Vienna and Germany. The station, named Trieste State Station (*Staatsbahnhof*), was inaugurated in 1906 by Archduke Francis Ferdinand, who made the inaugural trip along the Assling (Jesenice)–Gorizia (Görz, Gorica)–Trieste line. The new station was connected with the older one, still serving the Southern Railway, via a tramway line called *Linea delle Rive*.⁴²

Railways were decisive in the transformation of cities in the Habsburg Empire. The railroad concentrated the settlement of migrants around production sites created in the cities, mostly next to the stations. The extension of the network accelerated mobility, which was no longer directed only to the capitals but also to dynamic provincial cities. In some regions, particularly those that were densely populated and where the network was well developed, people could even commute from their villages to work downtown. This was particularly the case in the most industrialized cities, like Brünn or Trieste, where the immediate hinterland was the source of workers.

The facilitation and acceleration of communications changed the hierarchy of cities at many levels: new functions were created through industrialization; the relationship between center and periphery was also modified because the center grew closer; people would travel more easily to the capitals or at least to the regional centers; the latter were also brought closer to each other, a factor that stimulated competition. What defined a city as a “center” became a subject of discussion among contemporaries, as the category became increasingly vague because of the claim of practically every city to being a center. The cities’ spheres of influence could thus overlap and create a rivalry inside a region, between the centers of different regions, as in the example of Czernowitz and Lemberg, or even between cities in Austria and Hungary, as in the case of the competition between Fiume and Trieste. These cases show that although national sentiments could also play a role in intercity rivalries—as seen in the relations between Brünn and Prague, on

42 Already after World War I, but especially after World War II, Sant'Andrea station met the same fate as some other oversized stations of the monarchy. No longer serving an empire, and with Trieste relegated to a subordinate role relative to other Italian ports, the station stagnated before being abandoned in 1960. For both stations, see Federica Rovello, ed., *Trieste 1872–1917: Guida all'architettura* (Trieste: MGS Press, 2007).

the one hand, and Brünn and Vienna, on the other—the perception of the discrepancy between center and periphery, as argued by Andrea Komlosy, was not necessarily linked to national feelings.⁴³ Altogether, cities gained a broader significance by acquiring new functions that went beyond their earlier administrative and commercial roles, a process that was less pronounced in the most rural parts of the empire that were less affected by urbanization. While 25 percent of Hungary's population was urbanized in 1910, Croatia-Slavonia and Transylvania lay far behind in this respect. The gap was even greater in Galicia, Bucovina, and Dalmatia. In those regions, cities came to play an even larger role and had a wider sphere of influence than in regions where the urban network had a greater density. Cities in largely rural regions accumulated many functions and became the place where the still relatively rare industrial plants were concentrated. Distance was therefore only one factor in the competition among these urban areas: the rival city could be relatively far away, as in the example of Czernowitz and Lemberg, or practically next door, as in the case of Szabadka and Szeged.

The start of industrialization radically changed the relations of smaller towns and villages to the nearby urban center. Each city had a so-called “recruiting” (*Zuzugsgebiet*) territory from where most migrants came. If we take the example of Brünn, we see that its recruiting territory encompassed the entire region of Moravia, only to be challenged in the south by the attraction of Vienna.⁴⁴ However, some Czech migrants from Moravia also headed to Prague. In this case there was indeed a correlation between the character of the city in terms of national politics and migration. In Prague, the Germans lost the majority in the town council in 1861; from then on migrants to the Bohemian capital were mainly Czech speakers, whereas German workers chose to be employed in towns of Bohemia and Moravia that still had a German majority—among them Brünn—or in Vienna and to a lesser extent Pozsony, not to speak of the migration to Germany. This phenomenon was not necessarily observed in other places, so it seems hazardous to link migration to the expression of national belonging. Indeed, as some studies have shown, the

43 Andrea Komlosy, “Innere Peripherien als Ersatz für Kolonien? Zentrenbildung und Peripherisierung in der Habsburgermonarchie,” *Kakaniien Revisited*, <http://www.kakaniien-revisited.at/beitr/fallstudie/AKomlosy1.pdf>, 5; originally published in *Zentren, Peripherien und kollektive Identitäten in Österreich-Ungarn*, ed. Endre Hárs, Wolfgang Müller-Funk, Ursula Reber, and Clemens Ruthner (Tübingen: Francke, 2006), 55–78.

44 Heinrich Rauchberg, *Die Bevölkerung Österreichs auf Grund der Volkszählung vom 31. December 1890* (Vienna: Holder, 1895), 137.



Figure 1.19. Brunn, 1909, Source: Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, AKON – Ansichtskarten Online, AK041_581.

countryside was not penetrated by nationalism to the same extent as towns.⁴⁵ Migrating peasants were hoping for better jobs in the city, but upon arrival they went to look for relatives and fellow villagers, thus enabling a national affiliation. Trieste, seen by Italians as a stronghold of *italianità*, nevertheless attracted more Slovene migrants than Laibach (Ljubljana) because of its industrial potential. The same could be said of Slovaks who preferred to go to Budapest (if not overseas) and not to Pozsony. The latter indeed attracted Slovak people from the nearby countryside but not to such a large extent. The neighboring counties were mixed in terms of population, so that not only Slovaks came into the city. Moreover, even though Pozsony was certainly the most industrialized city in Hungary after Budapest, it still was not an industrial center comparable to the nearby capital. As the only significant city in Bucovina, Czernowitz drew migrants from the entire region as well as from the immediate Galician border: in 1900, three-quarters of the city's population originated from Bucovina, thus confirming the function of the town as a regional center.⁴⁶

45 Pieter M. Judson, *Guardians of the Nation: Activists on the Language Frontiers of Imperial Austria* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2006).

46 Michael John, "'Schmelztiegel'—'Mosaik'—regionals Zentrum 1880–1914: Stadttypus im Vergleich Migration, Integration und Ethnizität," in *Brno Vidni, Viděn Brnu: Zemské metropole a centrum říše v 19. Století / Brunn-Wien, Wien-Brunn: Landesmetropolen und Zentrum des Reiches im 19. Jahrhundert* (Brno: Matice moravská, 2008), 223.

Aside from the capitals, few cities had a recruiting territory that went beyond county or regional borders. Notable exemptions were of course the two ports of the monarchy, Trieste and Fiume. Both cities were in need of experts, administrators, and commercial agents, as well as technicians for the shipyards and related industries. These were generally recruited in Austria and in Hungary, and they did not always settle for good in the city. In Fiume, for example, Austrians comprised 21.16 percent of the population in 1880 and 32.79 percent in 1890. These are considerable figures, reflecting a certain dependency of Hungary on Austria regarding industrial, commercial, and maritime development.⁴⁷ Only Trieste, with its important role as a place of trade and shipping, had a cosmopolitan aspect with the presence of diplomatic representations (29 consulates were operating at the beginning of the twentieth century)⁴⁸ and international companies (banks and insurance). Yet, the majority of foreigners living in and around Trieste were Italians: they formed between 10 and 20 percent of the population. This proportion was considerable and cannot be compared with that of the Russians in Lemberg (less than 1 percent). Sarajevo, of course, also had a few consulates with foreign diplomats, but they were not numerous enough to create an international community in the town. The “foreigners” there were expatriates from within the monarchy: military, civil servants, doctors, engineers, and architects from Austria, Bohemia, Croatia-Slavonia, and Hungary. Their arrival after 1878 completely changed the city’s social makeup and landscape in the years before 1914.

The example of Sarajevo proves that there is not necessarily a “size requirement” for the importance and development of a town, and that the hierarchy of cities in the Habsburg Empire was defined by a combination of numerous factors. Of course, provincial capitals like Brünn or Lemberg had better chances to attract migrants and investment than more modest regional centers. Trieste, being at the same time a city and territory, had already reached another scale. But sometimes the perceived importance of a town was not in tune with other measures of significance: although Szabadka was an important center of the agricultural economy of southern Hungary, it was not considered attractive to either migrants or investors because of its rural character and absence of administrative functions, being neither a county nor a diocesan seat. Although it was densely populated and had relatively wealthy people,

47 In comparison, Austrians comprised 15.03 percent in Pozsony; 2.70 in Temesvár, and 23.55 in Zagreb. Rauchberg, *Die Bevölkerung Österreichs*, 502.

48 Among them: France, Turkey, Romania, Russia, Great Britain, the United States, the Netherlands, Japan, Greece, Serbia, Belgium, Switzerland, Portugal, Spain, and, of course, Italy.



Figure 1.20. Szabadka Szent István Square, 1911. Source: Fortepan, 55729, Balint Magyar.

this did not translate into an outward radiation, a weakness that was bitterly resented by the inhabitants, especially when comparing their city to the more attractive Szeged. At the same time, the status of Sarajevo was overvalued in the discourse of the central authorities because of its role in the administration of Bosnia and Herzegovina, but it represented no real cultural or economic asset. It still had to be integrated into the imperial system in the same way as Czernowitz had been nearly a century earlier, but it was never to acquire the same dimension. In both cases, there was a clear political and symbolic investment in the given city, marked by a strategy of “internal” colonization, undertaken not only by Austria but also by Hungary.⁴⁹

City elites were well aware of the fact that the significance of their cities was not fixed but subject to change in a competition with other urban centers, and this is why they made so much effort to improve their own cities with newer and newer achievements. Comparing the real significance of towns and ranking them accordingly is, however, a complicated matter. Although there are objective measures of classification, used by geographers and specialists in urban development, such as population figures, the size of industrial workforce, or the number of administrative functions, the resulting rankings do not take into account elements that are less measurable. An example for this approach is the study of city hierarchy in the Transleithanian part of the empire

49 Komlosy, “Innere Peripherien als Ersatz für Kolonien?” 11.

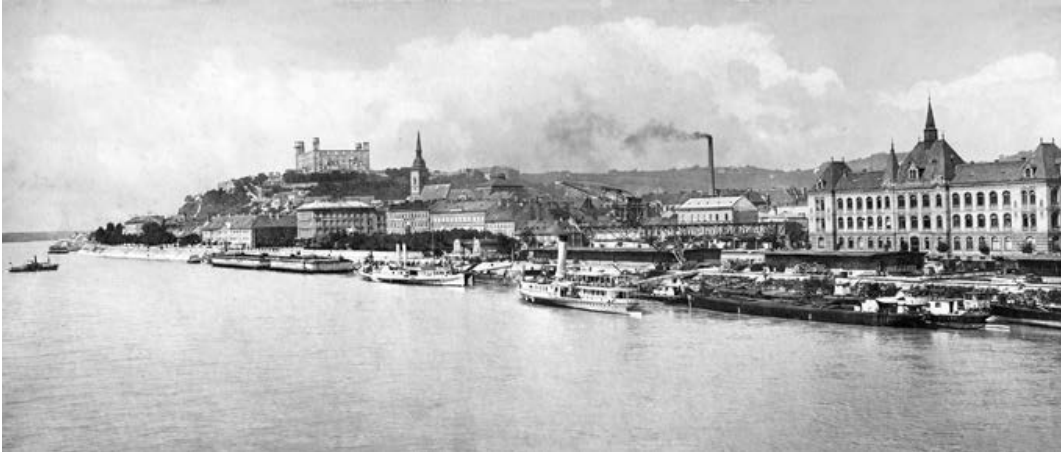


Figure 1.21. Pozsony, 1915. Source: Fortepan, 15676, Tibor Erky-Nagy.

by Pál Beluszky, who ranked Hungarian cities primarily based on their administrative function, taking also into account economic factors, such as level of industrialization as indicated by the share among the population of industrial workers. Considering thus the administrative function as the main criterion, Beluszky categorizes only five regional centers where industrial functions were also present, with two of them also belonging to this study—Pozsony and Zagreb.⁵⁰ Yet, placing the two cities in the same category obscures the fact that in many respects they were quite different from each other. Zagreb had much greater decision-making power than Pozsony, owing to the autonomy of Croatia-Slavonia. This enabled the city to have more freedom in determining its policies than Pozsony. At the administrative level, Pozsony, after having been Hungary's capital for more than two centuries, was nothing more than a county seat by the turn of the century, a situation that the city's elites clearly resented. Pozsony's real dynamism came from industry and the city's vicinity to Vienna, so that it was second only to Budapest in the number of industrial workers.

The classification of towns also considers their hinterland and thus their potential "supply" of migrants.⁵¹ In this respect Zagreb again had an advantage because of its political significance for the whole territory of Croatia-Slavonia and potentially also Dalmatia. The other towns of inner Hungary could not count on this potential because they were in competition with nearby centers and overshadowed by the attraction of Budapest.

50 Beluszky, "A polgárosodás törekény váza—városhálózatunk a századfordulón," 22. The other three are Kolozsvár (third), Szeged (fourth), and Kassa (fifth).

51 Beluszky, "The Hungarian Urban Network at the End of the Second Millennium," 23.

When it comes to the percentage of industrial workers, this alone cannot be a sufficient criterion to classify the cities either, since Zagreb had a lower share of industrial workers than Temesvár. The latter belonged to the category of what Beluszky rightly terms “incomplete regional centers,” ranking only eighth in the hierarchy presented in his study.⁵² Following the same logic, Nagyvárad, with half the number of workers than that of Arad, cannot qualify as an industrial center, and its significance is largely due to its role as county seat. A case that is particularly revealing in terms of the criteria to determine the significance of a city is that of Szabadka, which, having none of the features important in this classification (administrative function, industrial development, inward migration), appears last in the ranking of twenty-eight Hungarian towns. This position is theoretically valid based on pure statistical numbers, but somewhat questionable if we consider that Szeged is ranked fourth and Zombor, the county seat, twenty-first. Contemporary perception on the ground was unaware of such a gap: Szabadka looked in fact at Szeged, and certainly not at Zombor, as a rival city. When it comes to intercity rivalry, even Újvidék had a larger significance for Szabadka citizens, especially in terms of cultural competition, with the former being the main center of Serbian intelligentsia in the monarchy. Another example of such discrepancy between reality and perception is manifest in the ranking of twenty-seventh given to Fiume, considered a center with a “specific role.” But here again the classification does not take into account the political significance of a city that occupied more or less the same position as Trieste, of course on a considerably different scale, but still had the same number of industrial workers as Zagreb. Moreover, as a port city, Fiume was loaded with symbolic meaning, not only for the Hungarian government but also in the eyes of local actors. As these cases show, any hierarchy of the cities in question that reflects the dynamics of the rivalry among them can only be established based on a combination of quantitative and qualitative factors, including such subjective elements as prestige, historical heritage, and perceived cultural achievements.⁵³

52 Five towns are classified as such: Debrecen, Pécs, Temesvár, Nagyvárad and Arad.

53 For an example of an approach that gives more consideration to these factors by taking into account the more distant past of Hungarian towns, showing that the capital as well as some provincial centers had already started to grow from the end of the eighteenth century and also noting the different forms of development of different regions over time, see Gábor Czoch, Gábor Szabó, and László Zsinka, “Változások a magyar város- és településrendszerben 1784 és 1910 között” [Changes in the system of Hungarians towns and settlements between 1784 and 1910], *Aetas* 8, no. 4 (1993): 113–33.

Here the case of Transylvania is interesting. It was probably the only regional entity of Hungary that maintained a strong specific identity. The status of the principality during the Ottoman occupation strengthened its autonomy, and the division between the three “nations” (Hungarian, Szekler, and Saxon) fostered the development of towns belonging to each of these groups. But at the same time, no real regional capital was able to emerge.⁵⁴ In the nineteenth century this function could only have been held by Kolozsvár, where the Magyars had gained the majority already at the beginning of the modern period.⁵⁵ The city was also the gateway to the East for Hungarian trade. But competition was hard with the Saxon cities, which relied on an efficient network. As soon as south Transylvania was in contact with the reconquered areas of southern Hungary and Banat, towns in or close to these regions, namely Arad and Temesvár, began to pose a challenge to the eventual domination of Kolozsvár. The same was true for Nagyvárad, as it was closer to the main roads leading to the Great Plain and to the “capital” of eastern Hungary, Debrecen. Yet, Kolozsvár maintained its position as the symbolic Hungarian capital of the province thanks to cultural achievements: the second Hungarian university was founded there in 1872, and the quality of the city’s theater was second only to Budapest. Yet, neither its population nor its industry was large enough to give the town a significant impulse. As for the Romanian population, choosing a symbolic capital was made difficult by religious divisions: Romanians in northern Transylvania adhered to the Greek Catholic (Uniate) faith and those in the south to Greek Orthodoxy. Therefore, they could not agree on a common city to represent the Romanian nation, since both confessions played a key role in national affirmation.⁵⁶

Most of the cities recruited their workforce from neighboring counties in Hungary and within the provincial borders (*Landesgrenzen*) in Austria. In 1900, 40 percent of Austro-Hungarian citizens lived in a place different from their *Heimat*, yet rarely crossed the border of Cis- or Transleithania.⁵⁷ Nevertheless, Vienna and Budapest had a monarchy-wide if not international power of attraction for migrants, students, cultural actors, and businessmen. A particular situation characterized the cities with universities—Zagreb and

54 Harald Heppner, “Hauptstadt in Südosteuropa: Werdegang und Probleme,” in *Hauptstädte in Südosteuropa*, ed. Harald Heppner (Vienna: Böhlau, 1994), 14.

55 László Makkai, “Herausbildung der ständischen Gesellschaft 1172–1526,” in *Kurze Geschichte Siebenbürgen* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1990), 229.

56 On the religious division, see Keith Hitchins, *Orthodoxy and Nationality: Andrei Șaguna and the Rumanians of Transylvania, 1846–1873* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1977).

57 Judson, *The Habsburg Empire: A New History*, 334.

Czernowitz—as well as those with technical high schools (Brünn) or academies (Pozsony). They attracted students and professors from beyond the regional and provincial borders, but in modest numbers. Other cities sought to establish universities, for obvious national and prestige reasons. The foundation of a university was the expression of cultural maturity, a recognition of the city's elites, and an affirmation of the city before its competitors. Modernization was a key concept in the discourse of the local elites: it was understood in all aspects of the term and seen as a way to promote the city to the capital as well as to compete with neighboring cities for cultural as well as national significance. The idea of “catching up” was thus not limited to the modernization of infrastructure. As a city's attraction was measured in terms of both education and employment, universities and factories were equally important in the eyes of the city elites; competition for the creation of schools went simultaneously with the search for capital and investment. The cities thus tried to accumulate all possible advantages by gathering administrative, educational, cultural, and industrial functions.

As a matter of fact, industrial development characterized more the Austrian part of the monarchy. If this was incontestably true for Brünn and Trieste, it was less so for Lemberg and Czernowitz, not to mention Sarajevo. In the agricultural structure of Hungarian cities, industry penetrated very late and slowly, as in the case of Szabadka. Industrialization in Hungary was especially visible in Pozsony, Fiume, Temesvár, and Arad, but workers came from the neighboring countryside: practically all the workers in Fiume were Croats living in the suburb of Sušak, on Croatian territory. Factories were multicultural places and well perceived as such by the Social Democratic Party, which addressed the workers in terms of class rather than nation. If “national” motivation could play a part in German workers' decision not to work next to Czech workers in Prague, this distinction did not occur in other parts of the monarchy because of the absence of choice: the industrial plants were too small to be nationally segregated. Although migration from the countryside often reintroduced re-segregation, as workers migrated from ethnically more homogenous villages, this, again, was not the case everywhere: in the very mixed Banat, all nationalities mingled in the factories.

In current discussions about Habsburg cities, stress is laid more on modernization, economic achievements, urban planning, and cultural creativity than on national conflicts. The “race” toward modernity was a general trend that transcended national belonging: architects and engineers were recruited regardless of their origins. The symbols of technical progress, such as railroads

and railway stations, factories, gas, and electricity works, sewer lines, and health facilities, were neutral. Competition between cities for the building of this infrastructure had more to do with regional hegemony than with national arguments. This can be claimed to some extent for the cultural institutions as well: theaters, educational institutions, and museums were considered elements of the city's accession to modernity. But the processes of urbanization and industrialization went along with democratization, so achievements that could be interpreted as the work of state and provincial authorities could also be used—if not misused—in nationalist discourses: either to appropriate these achievements as being for the benefit of one group or to criticize their supposed German, Hungarian, Italian, or Polish character. The main factor of identification here was language, which began to draw lines of differentiation among people.

Austro-Hungarian Tower of Babel: The City and Its Languages

DEFINING THE LANGUAGES OF THE EMPIRE

Among the sources that enable to determine the use of languages are the statistical data produced by the general censuses of 1880, 1890, 1900, and 1910, their analysis, however, calls for some remarks on the methodological framework according to which they were collected. First, as already mentioned, they were undertaken using two different conceptions of language as a criterion for defining the belonging of individuals to a national group. Nationality itself was considered differently in the two parts of the monarchy. The German designation used for defining the peoples was first *Volksstamm*, a term coming close to “ethnic group.” The term “nationality” (*Nationalität*) appeared and became prevalent in the second half of the nineteenth century, but it was not used in official publications. In the Hungarian language, “nation” (*nemzet*) and “nationality” (*nemzetiség*) were already in common use before 1848. When referring to the Magyars, these terms were interchangeable, but when speaking of the diversity of the Hungarian kingdom, the less specific word “peoples” (*népek*) was employed.

The centralism of the Hungarian state was supposed to be a warrant against the development of regionalism and consequently of nationalism. This in part was based on the medieval concept of Hungarianness (*hungarus*, inherited from the use of Latin), meaning that everyone inhabiting the kingdom was a Hungarian regardless of origin and native tongue.¹ The definitions of state and nation converged at the end of the eighteenth century following the French model but without taking into consideration the particular situation of the

1 On this, see Horst Haselsteiner’s Comment in “Forum: Hungarian Nationalism,” *Austrian History Yearbook* 31 (January 2001): 157–64.

multinational Hungarian kingdom.² The language of the state was Hungarian and all institutions were progressively Magyarized, beginning with the school system.³ Therefore “colonizing” the inner peripheries of Hungary went hand in hand with the attempt to “Magyarize” them. The attempt at turning the various linguistic groups into Magyars started with the reform period from the 1790s and was then clearly formulated during the *Vormärz* (1825–1848), before becoming the agenda of the state in the constitutional era following the Compromise of 1867.⁴ Using again the French definition taken from the *Encyclopédie* that identified the nation with the people living together in an organized state form, the Hungarian statesmen denied the existence of other “nations” inside the kingdom, adhering instead to a concept of a state inhabited by different “peoples.” The concept of the nation was thus opposed to “people” (*nép*), which had a more neutral meaning and was used when referring to more general topics. It was the term chosen in the Hungarian translation of royal proclamations which concerned all the citizens of the Hungarian kingdom. The same can be said for *Volk* in the German sense of the word. From then on there was not much space left for linguistic diversity outside the home, private institutions such as churches and everyday intercourse in the village or the market. The Hungarian state purported to assimilate everyone willing to adopt its national project. The model worked particularly well for Germans and Jews, but it stumbled against the rise of national consciousness among the other groups, to which the state responded with varying degrees of pressure. Unlike in Cisleithania, where there was no “Austrian” nationality that could have transcended national differences, in Hungary one could be a Hungarian citizen and still belong to, for example, the Romanian, Slovak, Serb or Croat nationality. The Hungarian censuses recorded seven languages: Hungarian, German, Slovak, Romanian, Ruthenian, Serbian, and Croatian.⁵ These last two were first considered one language (Serbo-Croatian) but later

2 Ludwig Gogolák, “Ungarns Nationalitätengesetze und das Problem des magyarischen National- und Zentralstaates,” in *Die Habsburgermonarchie 1848–1918*, vol. 3/2 *Die Völker des Reiches*, ed. Adam Wandruszka and Peter Urbanitsch (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1980) 1214.

3 In this respect, Pieter Judson prefers to speak of Hungarianization instead of Magyarization, but this can be debated for in the eyes of the decision-makers it was very much the same. As a matter of fact, in the Hungarian language there is no distinction and only the adjective “magyar” is used. Judson, *The Habsburg Empire*, 305.

4 Gogolák, “Ungarns Nationalitätengesetze,” 1223.

5 Bálint Varga, “Multilingualism in urban Hungary 1880–1910,” *Nationalities Papers* 42, no. 6 (2014): 966. These seven languages represented the most spoken languages in the kingdom and were used by at least 100,000 people.

as two, with the advantage of having two smaller nationalities in the census instead of a larger one.

In Cisleithania, the state's efforts to create an Austrian identity that would unite all peoples regardless of their national feelings met with limited success. In spite of the efforts made by Joseph II, German did not become the universal language in Austria, even if it was used as a common language all over the empire and was the key to accessing higher positions. Although Germans, more than any other ethnic group saw themselves as the bearers of Austrianness, this claim was complicated by the fact that Austrian identity was supposed to be defined by a loyalty to the dynasty and hence be transnational by its very essence. In the absence of a proper Austrian nation, people were compelled to identify themselves with a *Volksstamm* through the language they used. This, however, had unintended consequences. The establishment of statistical categories based on language meant not only a recognition of the national struggle taking place throughout the territory; in obliging people to choose one such category, the state actually pushed them into the arms of nationalists. This is again one of the reasons why 1880 is such an important milestone in the evolution of Austria-Hungary. The fact that Austria had a much more fragmented administrative system than Hungary was also reflected in its system of registering linguistic differences, with each historical territory having its own set of officially recognized languages. The so-called *Landessprachen* (crown land languages) could thus differ from one *Land* to another, German being the only one recognized in all of them.

Obliged to choose a single "language of daily use" (*Umgangssprache*), people were denied the expression of multiple identities, at least from the point of view of the statistics. Most statisticians did in fact see this definition as purely technical and "neutral" since they believed that identity was a private affair and not the subject of enquiry. Heinrich Rauchberg, for instance, saw the results of the censuses as generally valid.⁶ But these were the basis for determining local politics because the data could be used to demand the opening of schools and cultural institutions serving the nation. Here again I largely agree with Judson when he notes that the state gave the groups the tools to formulate national affiliation. Considering this, it is no surprise that statistics were subject to manipulation. This was particularly the case in the countryside where the agents of the statistical inquiry put pressure on peasants, but it could also

6 Peter Haslinger, *Nation und Territorium im tschechischen politischen Diskurs 1880–1938* (Munich: Oldenbourg, 2010), 151.

happen in towns. In Lemberg and Trieste, for instance, census-takers belonged to the dominant nationality (Polish and Italian, respectively) and would force the Ruthenians to declare Polish, and Slovenes to declare Italian as their language of daily use—which was not entirely untrue, of course, provided these people were working in a Polish or Italian environment. There is also a high probability that the declaration was not the result of pressure but the expression of pragmatism. Some people even declared different languages within the same family, a clear illustration of bilingualism and of the relativity of national identification. The most famous example is the family of Franz Kafka: in the 1910 census, the father, Hermann, declared Czech to be his usual language, whereas Franz declared his to be German. In actuality, both languages were in use within the family, as in many others in Prague. As this example shows, the identification of personal names with national belonging is an extremely complex endeavor throughout the Habsburg Monarchy because of the history of its territories and the mobility of its peoples, not to speak of assimilation, conversion, and mixed marriages. For example, a shopkeeper named Fischer could be a German as well as a Czech, yet he was choosing his side as soon as he changed the spelling of his name to Fišer.

In Hungary, the difficulty caused by multilingual identities could be circumvented thanks to the possibility of declaring several languages. The essential difference between Austrian and Hungarian censuses was the possibility given on the forms—at least for the 1880, 1890, and 1900 inquiries—to declare, in addition to the mother tongue (*anyanyelv*), all the other languages one used in his or her daily life. This was theoretically more liberal than in Austria because it implied that the language spoken at home could be different from the one used in the professional environment. The fact that census takers were provided a space to declare other languages, without specifying the context in which they were spoken, enables us to elaborate on the statistical results by making calculations showing the polyglossia of the Hungarian towns. This practice was nevertheless considered ultimately too liberal and to open the way to national demands; it was abandoned in the census of 1910. If continued, it would certainly have shown that Magyarization was not proceeding at a satisfying speed.

Manipulation was possible here too, as shown in the example of Szabadka where the authorities could simply “erase” one category of speakers by depriving them of national identification through language. In the censuses of 1900 and 1910, the Serbian Catholic population, known under the designation of Bunjevci (*Bunjeváczok* in Hungarian), was categorized as “others,” while only the

Orthodox population, who were indeed a small minority (4.2 percent and 3.7 percent respectively in 1900 and 1910) was considered to be Serbs. Since the Bunjevci were Catholics, they did not appear as a particular group under the religious categorization either, because the town was overwhelmingly Catholic.⁷ This was obviously done to make the Serbs appear less numerous in the town; the surprising result was that, from the statistical point of view, the Bunjevci, who constituted one-third of the town's population, did not exist!

The inconsistent practices of the statistical office were due to an uncertain methodology as well as to deliberate manipulation of the data. The same could be inferred from the censuses of Fiume where the knowledge of Italian—the main language of the town—by the other populations (Hungarian, German and Croatian) was not systematically recorded. So we know how many people declared Italian as their mother tongue, but not always the percentage of Italian speakers as such. Only the multilingualism between the three other languages (Hungarian, German, and Croatian) is part of the data collected. The exception is the census of 1890, which reveals that 70.4 percent of the town's inhabitants spoke Italian while only 45.3 percent declared it as their mother tongue. In the town center, however, the percentage of Italian speakers rises to 80.3 percent, since most of the Croatian population lived on the outskirts of Fiume.⁸

The recognition of a language was interpreted as the admission of a group to equality in the empire. This could—and did—lead to political demands. Two



Figure 2.1. Bunjevci in the suburbs of Szabadka, 1904.
Source: Fortepan, 86814, Magyar Földrajzi Múzeum, Mór Erdélyi.

7 On the Bunjevci, see Eric Beckett Weaver, "Hungarian Views of the Bunjevci in Habsburg Times and Inter-War Period," *Balkanica*, no. 42 (2011): 77–115.

8 Aladár Fest, "Fiume nyelvi viszonyai" [Fiume's linguistic situation], *Magyar Tengerpart: Közgazdasági, társadalmi és irodalmi hetilap*, no. 4, January 22, 1893.

languages were not seen as the expression of a national identity: Yiddish and Romani. For the Roma, the lack of recognition as a proper nationality did not have much political consequence in so far as it did not translate into a movement demanding more rights. In Hungary the Romani language sometimes appears under the designation of “*cigány*” (gypsy), but apart from the 1880 census the data is neither regularly nor consistently collected.⁹ In the case of Yiddish, however, the Jews of Bucovina and Galicia demanded that their language be recognized as a *Landessprache*: they justified this both by the number of speakers and by the identity of the Jewish people, mainly in Bucovina, which was developing a national discourse, not necessarily subsumed into Zionism. The only Jewish linguistic expression recognized in the Habsburg Empire was Ladino, the Judeo-Spanish tongue spoken by the Sephardic Jews expelled from Spain at the end of the fifteenth century, which had survived within the Diaspora in the Ottoman Empire. For all the other Jews—as well as for the Roma—they had to declare a language that was certainly a language they knew and used, but not necessarily the one they would have considered theirs in terms of identity. This led in both territories to an overestimation of the number of Polish (Galicia) and German (Bucovina) speakers, whereas most rural Jews only spoke Yiddish.

When it comes to assessing the national identifications recorded in the censuses before 1918, these are often contrasted to those taken after World War I in the successor states. The comparison does indeed reveal a change in loyalties, which were interpreted by nationalists either as a proof of the superficiality of the declarations made under pressure by people who after 1918 were free to declare their real allegiance to the nation they chose to belong to, or, on the contrary, as evidence that censuses conducted in the new states were just as much manipulated as before. Some of these shifts had probably more mundane reasons, however, stemming from the volatility of individuals, whose declarations were often an expression of pragmatism and opportunism, rather than genuine national devotion. After all, changing sides was a phenomenon that also occurred during the Habsburg era: declaring a language of use different from the supposed national affiliation was not necessarily understood as “treason” by those who did it, but rather reflected the transformations these people experienced at work or at home. This attitude

9 However, a conscription of Roma people was organized in 1893. See József Jekelfalussy, *A Magyarországon 1893. január 31-én végrehajtott cigányösszeírás eredményei* [Results of the gypsy census conducted in Hungary on January 31, 1893], in *Statisztikai közlemények*, vol. 9 (Budapest, 1895).

was condemned by nationalist leaders who tried to persuade their compatriots to be more consistent. Real assimilation was nevertheless also common and assumed by many, as can be seen in the Hungarian case. In this respect, each town had its own situation, even if the battle over statistics was fought by both the majority and the minorities to gain ground in front of each other. The contemporary literature is filled with references to “gain” and “loss,” but in fact there was no such radical change for any group or territory, not even in disputed areas such as the Bohemian lands.¹⁰

Regarding language, what was at stake had very much to do with the domination of a so-called superior culture over a supposedly inferior one. Activists “of all stripes” started to invest in what they called “culture” in order “to assert their vision of the empire and to discredit competing visions.”¹¹ This was a recurrent argument for Germans against Czechs, Italians against Slovenes, Hungarians against Slovaks, Romanians against Serbs, Poles against Ruthenians. It was used to prevent the multiplication of schools, theaters, universities, and other cultural institutions serving the minority, although imperial institutions did in fact open such facilities,¹² even, to a lesser degree, in Hungary. Although the ruling groups welcomed the expansion of towns because it helped the development, power, and prestige of the city, they awaited the results of these censuses with much anxiety because the newcomers often belonged to a neighboring minority. Each group was eager to show its importance through the growing number of its members, and minorities accused both local and state authorities of manipulating the results.

The central authorities also had an interest in artificially modifying the balance in the towns that they considered important for their own policy, a fact that could create new tensions if the local elites resisted. Trieste, Czernowitz, Sarajevo and Fiume are examples of this evolution. In Trieste, the central authorities did nothing to stop the arrival of Slovene workers, while at the same time tried to prevent too many Italian “*regnicoli*” from settling in the city where irredentism already represented a threat. They constantly reminded the local powers to respect Slovene identity, and were therefore accused of favoring the Slovenes, who in turn were seen as an instrument in Vienna’s hands. In Czernowitz, the imperial center was concerned with maintaining the balance between the communities and promoting German as the common language of

10 Haslinger, *Nation und Territorium im tschechischen politischen Diskurs*, 151.

11 Judson, *The Habsburg Empire*, 269.

12 *Ibid.*, 272.

understanding for all. The main allies of this policy on the local level were the Jews and most of the local elites anxious about one of the other ethnic groups gaining too much ground. In Sarajevo, the Muslims were chosen as the group most likely to assist with Vienna's goal of "colonizing" Bosnia and Herzegovina because they had not yet developed a national identity. However, the figures show their constant decline, due both to emigration, and to the arrival of people from the whole monarchy, especially Croatian Catholics, a trend that was encouraged by the authorities in order to counteract the Serbian national movement. In Transleithania, Fiume was an Italian town with a strong Croatian minority that was constantly growing because of the influx from the hinterland. The Hungarians certainly could not pretend to "Magyarize" it, but they nevertheless tried to strengthen the Hungarian community, which grew to some 11 percent of the population before World War I. They were also careful not to favor the Croatian minority at the expense of the Italian elites who were needed to administer the city, even though the latter were under scrutiny in case they were seduced by irredentist propaganda.

STATISTICAL APPROACH TO MULTILINGUALISM

Of the twelve cities under discussion, not one saw its ruling majority lose its demographic advantage before World War I. This was true even in Hungary, where the authorities worked so hard to transform every citizen into a Hungarian. The two most "German" cities of Hungary, Pozsony and Temesvár, certainly did witness the spectacular growth of the Hungarian language from 1880 to 1910, but even this was insufficient for replacing German as the most spoken language. Despite all the efforts of the authorities, the percentages came at best to be neck and neck.

Table 2.1. Percentage of German and Hungarian speakers in Pozsony, 1880–1910¹³

	1880	1890	1900	1910
Germans	63.40	59.92	50.4	41.9
Hungarians	16.18	19.91	30.5	40.5

13 Figures regarding Hungary are taken from *A magyar korona országában az 1881. év elején végrehajtott népszámlálás eredményei* [Results of the census conducted in the Lands of the Hungarian Crown at the beginning of 1881] (Budapest, 1882); *A magyar korona országában az 1891. év elején végrehajtott népszámlálás eredményei* [Results of the census conducted in the Lands of the Hungarian Crown at the beginning of 1891] (Budapest, 1893); *A magyar korona országainak 1910. évi népszámlálása* [Census of the Lands of the Hungarian Crown for 1910], vol. 1 (Budapest, 1912).

Table 2.2. Percentage of German and Hungarian speakers in Temesvár, 1880-1910

	1880	1890	1900	1910
Germans	55	55.9	50	43.6
Hungarians	21.6	26.7	32.3	39.4

In the cities where the Hungarian language was already dominant in 1880, the trend accelerated toward the turn of the century. Some minorities resisted better than others, as shown for example in Szabadka where the Serbian group made up 39 percent of the population in 1910. But this evolution was not unique to Hungarian cities and national homogenization proceeded in the same way in Zagreb, on a scale that was obviously a consequence of Croatian autonomy. In 1910 the city was practically “Croatized,” with more than 80 percent of the population declaring Croatian (75.58) and Serbian (4.51) as their mother tongues.

In the Cisleithanian cities, population growth effectively benefited the leading group as well as minorities, although the former always asserted that it was threatened by the newcomers. This was particularly articulated in Lemberg, Brünn and Trieste, where the respective Ruthenian, Czech and Slovene minorities did in fact challenge the dominance of the majority; however, the latter had the means to counteract this by mobilizing its members and by promoting the assimilation of the minority, with some success as shown in the figures below.

Table 2.3. Percentage of local majorities in Lemberg, Brünn, and Trieste, 1880-1910¹⁴

	1880	1890	1900	1910
Lemberg (Poles)	85.27	82.74	76.85	84.99
Brünn (Germans)	59.22	67.24	62.82	65.28
Trieste (Italians)	61.36	63.53	65.41	51.83

14 Figures for Cisleithania are from *Die Ergebnisse der Volkszählung und der mit derselben verbundenen Zählung der häuslichen Nutzthiere vom 31. December 1880 in den im Reichsrathe vertretenen Königreichen und Ländern: Die Bevölkerung der im Reichsrathe vertretenen Königreiche und Länder nach Religion, Bildungsgrad, Umgangssprache und nach ihren Gebrechen*, vol. 1/2 of *Österreichische Statistik* (Vienna: kaiserlich-königliche Hof- und Staatsdruckerei, 1882); *Die Ergebnisse der Volkszählung vom 31. December 1890 in den im Reichsrathe vertretenen Königreichen und Ländern: Die Bevölkerung nach Grössenkatogorien der Ortschaften, Stellung zum Wohnungsinhaber, Geschlecht, Alter und Familienstand, Confession, Umgangssprache, Bildungsgrad, Gebrechen*, vol. 32/3 of *Österreichische Statistik* (Vienna: kaiserlich-königliche Hof- und Staatsdruckerei, 1893); *Die Ergebnisse der Volkszählung vom 31. December 1900 in den im Reichsrathe vertretenen Königreichen und Ländern: Die Bevölkerung nach den Grössenkatogorien der Ortschaften, nach der Gebürtigkeit, nach der Confession und Umgangssprache in Verbindung mit dem Geschlechte, nach dem Bildungsgrade innerhalb der Grössenkatogorien der Ortschaften und dem Familienstande*, vol. 63/2 of *Österreichische Statistik* (Vienna: kaiserlich-königliche Hof- und Staatsdruckerei, 1903).

The national balance was actually characterized more by stability than by radical change, contrary to the view delivered in many contemporary analyses. Such continuity is also visible in Czernowitz, where none of the national groups could gain predominance over the others or challenge the dominance of German as the most spoken language. Here the religious factor was the most important, for it strengthened the nearly perfect balance between the communities.

The situation in Sarajevo was the reverse; while elsewhere in the monarchy a tendency toward homogenization was in progress, here the Austro-Hungarian occupation brought more linguistic diversity, compared to the situation that had prevailed under Ottoman rule. Indeed, before 1878 it is misleading to speak of “multicultural” Sarajevo, since diversity existed only in religious terms. In 1910, the three main communities—Muslims, Serbs, and Croats—were practically equal in size in terms of religious affiliation, which in the case of Serbs and Croats also reflected national affiliation. The 1910 census was conducted locally with different criteria than in the rest of the monarchy. Three categories were defined: citizenship (which could be Bosnian-Herzegovinian, Austrian or Hungarian); mother tongue; and religion. This dilution of the criteria expressed the political choice of the authorities following the annexation crisis. Bosnia and Herzegovina was by 1910 in the process of becoming a territorial entity of the monarchy with its own status; the census was therefore simultaneously a statistical enquiry and a step toward the politicization of the country. Given the danger of a potential conflict with Serbs inside Bosnia-Herzegovina, the census, by not including a category of nationality, tried to statistically minimize the Serb presence in Sarajevo and all over the territory.

The census also enables us to draw an interesting picture of the “expatriates” from Austria and Hungary, and it gives useful information about people from outside the empire living in Sarajevo. Here the categories of language and nation did not necessarily overlap. Indeed, most foreigners were speakers of Serbian (or Croatian), who had probably come from the Serbian kingdom and Montenegro. But there was also a considerable number of Italians, who made up the second largest foreign community in Sarajevo. From a linguistic point of view, the second largest group of local people was the Sephardic Jews who spoke Ladino (Jewish-Spanish). The city thus appears actually more monolingual than cosmopolitan because the three main national groups were all native speakers of some variant of Serbo-Croatian, enabling mutual understanding. Its multiculturalism lay elsewhere: religion and culture were the main elements of separation. German was the first language of the city, because of both the establishment of central civil and military authorities,

and the presence of tradesmen, doctors, and engineers.¹⁵ After Ladino, Czech, and Hungarian came next, the former being spoken by military and technical experts who adapted easily to another Slavic language.

Multilingualism or polyglossia is extremely difficult to measure.¹⁶ The censuses do not provide information about the level of linguistic competence. Most of the migrants coming from the countryside into the cities had had only primary schooling in their village, if that. Unless they had the opportunity to learn it in their communities, they could thus only achieve a poor command of a second language, most of the time for the necessity of work and everyday communication. There are numerous tales of Czech cooks and nannies in Vienna, and Slovene maids in Trieste, who spoke only broken German or Italian. But they did live in a multilingual environment. Polyglot illiterates were not a rarity in some places like Czernowitz where coach drivers, waiters, hotel doormen and employees of various kinds had a command of at least the necessary words of their profession in two, three or more languages. As Gregor von Rezzori tells in *Ein Hermelin in Tschernopol*: “In Czernowitz war jede Sprache korrumpiert.”¹⁷ Therefore it is misleading to represent multilingualism as only a characteristic of the elites. Secondary schooling was indeed reserved for a few, but the introduction of compulsory education since the end of the 1860s began to bear fruit from the 1880s on. The multiplication of secondary and professional schools helped to broaden access to education. In linguistically mixed regions, the opportunity to learn another language was greater thanks to the development of schools where two or more languages were taught. The beginning of the activity of the *Matica školská* in Brünn (1878) and the consecutive opening of Czech secondary schools and gymnasiums, as well as a technical high school and a schools for girls, enabled the Czechs not only to achieve higher education in their mother tongue, but also to become completely bilingual, an advantage that their German counterparts could not have because they continued to consider Czech an inferior language. The Czechs had two schooling systems at their disposal and made use of it, gaining more opportunities in the labor market. In Hungary, the Magyarization of state and municipal schools enabled many people to become bilingual, when at the

15 *Die Ergebnisse der Volkszählung in Bosnien und der Hercegovina vom 10. Oktober 1910* (Sarajevo: Landesdruckerei, 1912), 44.

16 On polyglossia, see Moritz Csáky, “Habsburg Central Europe—ein komplexer Kommunikationsraum,” in *Das habsburgische Babylon, 1848–1918*, ed. Aleksandra Nuč and Michaela Wolf (Vienna: Praesens Verlag, 2020), 21–39.

17 “In Czernowitz, all languages were corrupted.” Quoted in Cristina Spinei, *Über die Zentralität des Peripheren: Auf den Spuren von Gregor von Rezzori* (Berlin: Frank & Timme, 2011), 224.

same time Magyars tended to become more and more monolingual. German was taught in all secondary schools all over the empire and the opportunity to learn other languages also increased. The level of actual proficiency, however, still remains uncertain. The Hungarian Ministry of Religion and Public Education did control the command of Hungarian in private schools, and teachers were supposed to master the language sufficiently because they were also compelled to teach it to their pupils.

In Hungary, the number of monolingual citizens was directly related to nationality: the non-Magyars grew increasingly bilingual whereas the Magyars could easily remain monolingual. This phenomenon occurred in all cities of Transleithania, among all non-Magyar groups. If we look at Szabadka, for example, we can see that in 1880 over 77 percent of the Serbs were monolingual and those that did know a second language mostly knew Hungarian (21.5 percent); ten years later, the percentage of Serbs who knew Hungarian had risen to 28.5 percent. Minorities were progressively obliged to master the language of the group that constituted the town's elite in order to secure work and the possibility of social ascension. In this respect Pozsony is particularly noteworthy because at the beginning of our period German was still its dominant language, thus Hungarians as well as Slovaks had to know it if they wished to participate in city life: in 1880, 68.2 percent of the Hungarians and 60.5 percent of the Slovaks knew German. The Germans could thus afford to remain monolingual: 61.5 percent of them declared knowledge of only German. The balance shifted to the benefit of Hungarian only at a very slow pace. Ten years later the percentage of German-speaking Hungarians had even risen to nearly 70 percent. This reveals the progress of secondary schooling among the Hungarians. The Magyarization of the schools in the city as well as in the nearby countryside is visible in the fact that the proportion of Slovaks who were able to speak Hungarian grew (19.2 percent in 1890, compared to 8.8 percent in 1880).

In all Transleithanian cities, German remained the second language of the Hungarians. The percentages of Hungarians who knew Slovak, Romanian, or Serbian never exceeded 10 percent. But in the towns where the Hungarians were a minority, they were compelled to master one or even two languages. In Zagreb in 1880, most Hungarians knew either German or Croatian, or both, being thus trilingual. They tended to know more German than Croatian, but the figures were relatively close. In 1890, 68.4 percent declared knowledge of German and 51.1 percent Croatian. The same can be said for Fiume, where knowing Italian was crucial to social advancement, including for Hungarians

who were mainly newcomers to the city, often sent by the authorities to work as civil servants, port and railway employees, or teachers. Only the Italians there could afford to be monolingual, a situation which was also true for Trieste for those without direct contact to the Austrian authorities. There was indeed an obvious inequality in linguistic competences: elites did not know the language of the peasants, workers, and domestics, who were thus obliged to know the language of their employers. In towns where two other minorities resided, we can see that they did not know the language of the other group. The proportion of Romanians who knew Serbian and vice versa in Arad and Temesvár was very low, as was the proportion of Croats who knew Slovene in Fiume. In Arad and Temesvár, the Serbs were the smaller minority and were thus more multilingual than the Romanians. In Temesvár in 1880 both groups declared a knowledge of Hungarian and German, but the rates for Serbs (German 47 percent, Hungarian 32 percent) were higher than for Romanians (German 31 percent, Hungarian 16 percent). Intermarriage between Greek Orthodox people of both languages played a role here as well. The Serbs tended to know more Romanian than vice-versa, and thus were the most polyglot group of the town in terms of nationality. This is explained by the fact that since the integration of the Banat into the monarchy and subsequently into the Hungarian kingdom, Serbs had been granted religious autonomy and could thus enjoy a better status.

Nationalist leaders were increasingly likely to reject the domination of a so-called superior language and its culture and found it unfair that multilingualism was an obligation for them but not for others. This led to the conflict over the 1897 ordinances by Count Kasimir Felix Badeni, Austrian Minister-President, which were to make German and Czech equal languages of administration in Bohemia and Moravia. German civil servants were given three years to learn Czech, while Czech employees were already bilingual. The Germans were outraged, and the subsequent uproar led to violent demonstrations and a tumult in parliament, so that Minister-President Badeni had to resign, and the law was never implemented. In all the cities such conflicts over language became increasingly frequent; each time the problem arose because of demands made by minorities calling for equality of treatment, fairness, and parity, as stipulated in the Constitutional laws of 1867 and provided by imperial institutions.¹⁸ The situation was different in Hungary where the 1868 law on nationalities was never enforced, thus depriving linguistic minorities of the possibility to appeal for equal treatment. The Magyarization of state schools

18 Judson, *The Habsburg Empire*, 272.

was complete by 1880; Hungarian was the state language and no other language was recognized in public institutions. The other languages were circumscribed to home, churches, associations, and private schools.¹⁹

Gender was another factor influencing rates of multilingualism. As Hungarian statistical surveys recorded gender, they provide useful information in this respect, while for Cisleithania we can only deduce the level of multilingualism among women from other sources, such as school records, association reports, literature, and the press. The gender factor is generally linked to literacy: in all twelve cities women were less literate than men, though not always by a large margin. If we look at the correlation of literacy to nationality, the picture becomes clearer: women belonging to minority groups were even less literate. But again, this did not mean that they cannot be polyglots despite their illiteracy. In the cities where the Hungarians already constituted the majority, Hungarian women were less polyglot than men, meaning that there was no necessity for them to master another language. If they worked, they probably did so in a Hungarian environment; if not, they stayed at home and employed Hungarian-speaking servants. For other activities, such as shopping, their children's education, or charity work, there was no real need for another language. The most educated Hungarian women knew German and sometimes French or Italian. In Arad, Temesvár as well as Pozsony, there were more German-speaking Hungarian women than men in 1880. One of the differences can certainly be seen between working women and those who stayed at home. Women of all national groups who stayed at home were monolingual, except for the ladies of the nobility who often knew German and French, and who travelled and read international literature. On the other end of the social spectrum, many women worked as servants in Hungarian or German households and were therefore obliged to master those languages: in Temesvár, for instance, there were more German-speaking Romanian women than men. More than half of the German-speaking Slovaks in Pozsony were women and there was a similar situation with Italian-speaking Slovenes in Fiume. In more industrialized towns female workers began to appear in the 1880s, who then came in contact with people from various groups, a phenomenon that accelerated multilingualism.

The wives of state functionaries and military officers were a polyglot group for two reasons. First, they were highly mobile, and each time their husbands were transferred they had to adapt to a new environment, which often meant

19 This is demonstrated by Puttkamer, *Schulalltag und nationale Integration in Ungarn*.

a new linguistic landscape. In the Austrian part of the monarchy, German schools were available everywhere, and officers' wives gathered at social events. However, these women also had to interact with servants, shopkeepers, and urban society, where German was sometimes not the most common language. Moreover, the women were not always German or Hungarian native speakers themselves as officers sometimes met their wives during one of their postings. If we take the example of Admiral Horthy's wife, Magdolna Purgly, born in Arad to a wealthy family of landowners in 1881, we see a typical polyglot profile. By birth and education, she knew Hungarian, German, and French; she came to learn Italian and English thanks to her husband's postings in the Austro-Hungarian navy. She may also have known some Croatian for the family lived in Pola (Pula) for more than ten years.²⁰

At the other end of the social scale, prostitutes represented another category of multilingual women.²¹ The brothels hired women who came from all parts of the monarchy and the most prestigious of them even made this diversity part of their advertising. In Brünn, the streetwalkers were able to engage in both Czech and German, depending on the language supposedly spoken by their customers. This fact infuriated at least one author in the German press, who was scandalized not by the fate of the women but by the fact that sex was being sold in Czech!²²

More generally, women were often subject to criticism in the nationalist press because of their "unpatriotic" practices, which were based more on pragmatism than on national consciousness. Not being directly involved in politics, they were less permeable to nationalist propaganda. However, this situation was to change at the beginning of the twentieth century when women became more and more active in cultural associations. At the same time more women started to enter the labor market, and they thus became also less involved in charities and traditional religious institutions. The progress of education for girls also contributed to the growing engagement of women inside each national camp. The nationalists saw in them an important potential for their activities and tried to mobilize them by launching press campaigns appealing to their "responsibility" as mothers in charge of teaching the national discourse to children.²³

20 Catherine Horel, *L'amiral Horthy: Régent de Hongrie* (Paris: Perrin, 2014).

21 Nancy M. Wingfield, *The World of Prostitution in Late Imperial Austria* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), 94–95 and 115.

22 *Brünner Wochenblatt: Wochenschrift zur Wahrung deutscher Interessen*, no. 34, August 24, 1912.

23 On this campaign for women and children, see Tara Zahra, *Kidnapped Souls: National Indifference and the Battle for Children in the Bohemian Lands, 1900–1948* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 2008).

MULTILINGUALISM AND PROFESSIONAL MOBILITY

Languages in the military

Certain highly mobile professions in the empire contributed to urban multilingualism. One of these was the military, which had a strongly multicultural profile.²⁴ The administrative changes brought by the Compromise of 1867 and the constitutional laws (which created three-year compulsory military service for all men of the monarchy) were also mirrored in the reorganization of the armed forces, resulting in a tripartite structure. The main force was the common Imperial and Royal Army (*Gemeinsame Armee*, commonly known as the *kaiserliche und königliche Armee* or *k.u.k.*), which together with the Imperial and Royal Navy (*k.u.k. Kriegsmarine*) was recruited from all parts of the empire. In order to please Hungarian demands for a “national” armed force, a separate branch, the Royal Hungarian Honvéd army (*Magyar Királyi Honvédség*), was also established with recruits from Transleithania only. This then required the setting up of a mirror branch in Cisleithania, the Imperial-Royal Landwehr (*kaiserlich-königliche Landwehr*), but this was considered only a territorial defense force and thus not invested with the same national meaning for Austrians as was the *Honvéd* for the Hungarians. All the cities under discussion were the seat of a garrison, if not two; as we can deduce from the table below, military servicemen of all ranks were very visible in the city. They were an element of multiculturalism as well as a social and economic factor. They consumed all sorts of goods, attended cultural and social events, and were the clients of cafés and brothels. In this respect they were both feared (cards and debts, duels and potential turmoil, venereal diseases) and courted (prestige, purchasing power). The military band (*Militärkapelle*) was sometimes the only professional orchestra in town and thus in charge of providing entertainment at most events. It could also play at the theater when no permanent orchestra was available.

The regiments of the imperial army were greatly mixed: in some of them no less than four linguistic groups were represented. Above all, the army and its officers’ corps were regarded as a manifestation of the transnational character of the Habsburg Empire. On being called to service, the recruit did not know where he was going to be posted: favoritism and relations with influential persons at the local level or the center of power could influence the posting, as could the personal choice of the combat arms (artillery, cavalry, etc.) and

24 Tamara Scheer, *Die Sprachenvielfalt in der österreichisch-ungarischen Armee (1867–1918)* (Vienna: HGM, 2022).

Table 2.4. The number of military personnel in cities
(and its percentage of the city's population), 1890–1910

	1890	1900	1910
Arad	1,630 (3.87 percent)	2,357 (4.18)	2,197 (3.47)
Brünn	3,747 (3.96)	4,548 (4.15)	3,623 (2.89)
Czernowitz	2,174 (3.80)	2,965 (4.25)	2,914 (3.35)
Fiume	843 (2.85)	898 (2.30)	1,314 (2.63)
Lemberg	8,591 (6.71)	10,326 (6.45)	10,317 (4.99)
Nagyvárad	2,193 (5.68)	3,159 (6.29)	3,135 (4.88)
Pozsony	3,267 (6.23)	4,330 (6.57)	4,764 (6.09)
Szabadka	324 (0.52)	658 (0.78)	1,378 (1.45)
Temesvár	3,554 (8.18)	3,409 (5.75)	4,084 (5.62)
Trieste	1,995 (1.26)	2,216 (1.24)	3,052 (1.32)
Sarajevo	5,120 ²⁵ (8.32)		5,120 (8.97)
Zagreb	2,739 (7.29)	3,312 (5.42)	4,335 (5.48)

technical abilities. But most young men had no choice as to which regiment they were sent to. The imperial army systematically “dislocated” (*Dislokation*) the regiments in order to avoid any manifestation of national conflict within the regiment, and recruits were moved throughout the empire. For the officers, multilingualism was an obligation: German was the language of command (*Kommandosprache*) and service (*Dienstsprache*), but the officers also had to master the language of their men (*Regimentssprache*). With respect to the latter, before World War I, only 142 of the 329 imperial regiments were monolingual (in 31 of them the language was German), 163 were bilingual, and 24 had more than two languages.²⁶ An officer was supposed to learn the languages of the troop within three years; no promotion was possible until he succeeded, and if he failed after this grace period to prove his sufficient multilingualism in the yearly examinations, he would be transferred. The men on duty who were not German-speaking had to master the 80 German words required for understanding the orders.

25 In 1895. There are no figures for 1900. *Hauptresultate der Volkszählung in Bosnien und der Hercegovina vom 22. April 1895*, edited by the Landesregierung für Bosnien und die Hercegovina (Sarajevo: Landesdruckerei, 1896); *Die Ergebnisse der Volkszählung in Bosnien und der Hercegovina vom 10. Oktober 1910* (Sarajevo: Landesdruckerei, 1912).

26 Catherine Horel, *Soldaten zwischen nationalen Fronten: Die Auflösung der Militärgrenze und die Entwicklung der königlich-ungarischen Landwehr (Honvéd) in Kroatien-Slawonien 1868–1914*, Studien zur Geschichte der österreichisch-ungarischen Monarchie 31 (Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2009), 138.

In many Hungarian towns there was both an imperial garrison and barracks for the *Honvéd* units. In the *Honvédség*, however, there was only one language for command and service: Hungarian. Here too the regiments were mixed, but the Hungarian state was consistent in its policy of Magyarization. Unlike in the imperial army, men were recruited to the national defense force on a regional basis. These regiments were thus composed of locals and thus reflected the mixed populations of the regions they came from: Hungarians, Germans, Romanians, Serbs, and Slovaks in the Banat region; Hungarians, Germans, and Slovaks in Upper Hungary; and Hungarians, Germans, and Romanians in Transylvania. The Hungarian government respected the stipulation of the Hungarian-Croatian Compromise of 1868 that created—following the model of the national defense armies of Austria and Hungary—a royal Hungarian defense army (*ugarsko kraljevsko domobranstvo*) for the territory of Croatia-Slavonia. The language of this new army was Croatian. The land was more homogenous than Hungary proper and, as recruitment was local, there was no national conflict within this force.²⁷

The multilingualism of state functionaries, priests, and teachers

Less transnational but nevertheless vectors of multiculturalism were state functionaries, priests, and teachers. Each of them had to swear loyalty to the dynasty, or to the king and the constitution in the case of Hungary and Croatia. State employees were characterized by a high degree of mobility and were German-speakers regardless of their origins. The Hungarians in this respect were less mobile but if they served imperial and royal institutions, they also moved throughout their career. Post and railway civil servants were transferred constantly. The diversity of proveniences of civil servants coming to Sarajevo after 1878 is an example of “imported” multiculturalism to the city, and by extension to Bosnia and Herzegovina. The same is more or less true for Czernowitz and Bucovina but here the practice was rooted in a longer past. Still, the opening of the university in 1875 increased multiculturalism, bringing into town professors and students from other parts of the monarchy. Teachers of all levels and subjects had a high degree of mobility that was linked to the progression of their careers. Looking at school records, we see that the names of the teachers change regularly and relatively quickly. Paradoxically enough, while teachers had generally enjoyed a bilingual education, they often became

27 Croats and Serbs were mixed in these units, a characteristic that was more obvious after the demilitarization of the military border. See Horel, *Soldaten zwischen nationalen Fronten*.

the carriers of nationalism. This is particularly true for those belonging to minorities. Choosing to be employed in “national” schools, which were often poorer, was an act of dedication to the national cause. Teachers were everywhere the driving force behind the creation of cultural and students’ associations, people’s libraries, etc. In Brünn for example, Czech teachers were bilingual because they had been educated in German and some had started their career in German-speaking schools, but at the turn of the century, Czech education had progressed to such an extent that a teacher’s entire career could be pursued in Czech institutions. One of the demands of the minorities was to be able to open teachers’ training schools in order to have the entire education process delivered in the mother tongue.

A similar turnover is observed among teachers of religion, an indication that priests, ministers, and rabbis moved from one city to another. This did not necessarily mean that they changed province, country, or language, but many of them were already bilingual thanks to their education. They also adopted nationalistic arguments: in Brünn, Catholic priests teaching at German and Czech schools were hired based on language competence or often chose a school for its national character. This is not necessarily proof that they had taken the side of one particular group, but a sign that they felt more comfortable in one language than in the other. In the territory of Trieste, Italians accused the Catholic hierarchy of deliberately nominating Slovene-speaking priests to serve in the predominantly Slovene villages, where they were also responsible for running primary schools. Here again it is important to remember that bilingualism was more a faculty of the minority. Nevertheless, seminaries in mixed regions had a multilingual curriculum since the priests had to be able to serve all coreligionists of a given region regardless of their language. Orthodox seminaries were nationally divided between the Serbian and Romanian languages, and their graduates officiated in those respective communities; they still had to know the language of the state, which was mainly Hungarian since most of the Orthodox lived in Transleithania (except in Bucovina, where German was a prerequisite). Priests, ministers, and rabbis also travelled for further education, as far away as Rome, Berlin, or even Moscow. Czernowitz, with its reputed Orthodox seminary, had an attraction that reached not only deep into the Hungarian lowlands and Transylvania but also beyond the borders to Romania. Protestant ministers can be differentiated from the point of view of the community they served: in Trieste they were mainly officiating for German- and English-speaking people as well as for the Swiss; elsewhere for Lutheran Germans and Slovaks. The Calvinists, in contrast, were

nearly all Hungarians serving Hungarian communities. They were certainly the least multilingual of all religious leaders in the monarchy. Most of the Hungarian rabbis were trained from 1877 on at the Budapest rabbinical seminary that taught in Hungarian, German, and Hebrew; many of them went to Germany for further education. Like most of their coreligionists, they were bilingual and thus able to communicate with believers in the language that was more usual to them. This was the procedure for the liberal rabbis of the so-called “neologue” communities, but the Orthodox Jews were no less multilingual; indeed, they were even more so for they knew Yiddish. Their rabbis were trained in the renowned *Yeshivot* the most important ones of the monarchy being located in Prague, Nikolsburg (Mikulov), and Pozsony.

Religious leaders were also more and more concerned about nationalism and about politics in general. This was not only the case for the autocephalous churches (Serbian and Romanian Orthodox, Romanian and Ruthenian Greek Catholics), but also for Roman Catholics. As already mentioned, there was a debate over the supranational character of the Catholic Church in Trieste, but such considerations were also heard in Brünn. Indeed, priests were not supposed to deliver a multicultural but a universal message. The Churches, regardless of their confessional belonging, were entirely devoted and loyal to the dynasty—itsself a Catholic family—and therefore seen as a pillar of the Habsburg Empire. Increasingly confronted with national conflict, they had difficulty reacting to the situation. Being multilingual was no longer seen as a virtue but could be interpreted as a sin by some radicals. Anticlericalism began to spread in some circles: first, of course, among Social Democrats but also among nationalists, especially Italians and Czechs.

LITERACY AND LANGUAGE PRACTICE

Efforts to combat illiteracy were encouraged throughout the empire but became contentious when deciding which language people were to learn to read and write. For national activists, it was crucial to make people identify with the language they promoted: multilingualism was not completely condemned but education in the national language was encouraged. In secondary education bilingualism was the norm. In mixed regions schools had to adapt their curriculum to the linguistic situation; they were thus practically all bilingual, and in non-German territories German was compulsory. However, at the primary level, the new schools founded by national organizations could maintain a monolingual curriculum. Still, municipalities controlled by

one linguistic group tended to favor schooling in the language of the majority and to maintain the other language(s) at the margins. The aim was to see the minority assimilate to the majority. This goal was openly sought in Hungary, where Hungarian was the universal language of teaching, even in private schools. On the whole, literacy was progressing in the monarchy and particularly in the cities. Illiteracy in urban places concerned mainly women and those arriving from the countryside where they had not had the possibility of being regularly schooled.

Table 2.5. Literacy rates in Transleithania, 1880–1910
(men/women of school age, in percentage)

	1880	1890	1900	1910 ²⁸
Arad	68/48	71/55	68/57	78
Fiume	61/47	74/59	69/58	83
Nagyvárad	77/60	78/65	71/64	84
Pozsony	90/73	88/77	79/73	90
Szabadka	35/21	43/30	46/36	61
Temesvár	79/55	79/65	74/66	80.9
Zagreb	38/30	79/70	74/67	83

There were also great differences in the literacy rates of the various linguistic groups. In each city, the dominant group achieved a higher rate, including of course Germans, but also Italians in Trieste (a result that was actually better than in many Italian towns of the *Regno*), and Poles in Lemberg. For the Hungarians, the situation really began to change after the 1868 law on compulsory education and the subsequent Magyarization of the schooling system. From then on, their literacy rate came close to, and then equaled, that of the Germans. This development was obvious in the two most “German” cities of the kingdom, Pozsony and Temesvár. In places where there was a tradition of schooling in another language—mainly thanks to confessional education—the minorities were not as disadvantaged as one may assume.²⁹ In Arad for example, where the Romanians had the possibility of being schooled in their mother tongue, the literacy rate was not so low. The same can be said for Temesvár with the existence of Serbian and Romanian schools. This relatively

28 The Hungarian census of 1910 counted people of school age and the total population but no longer distinguished between men and women. *A Magyar Korona országainak 1910. évi népszámlálása*, vol. 1, 34–35.

29 Puttkamer, *Schulalltag und nationale Integration in Ungarn*, 448.

favorable situation was due to the activity of religious institutions. For the Serbs in Szabadka, on the contrary, no possibility of being taught in the Serbian language existed. The poor cultural record of the city of Szabadka is visible in the low literacy rate of the Hungarians as well. The general rule that the group with the strongest linguistic and religious dominance was also the most literate was only contradicted by the high literacy rates of Jews; in all cities they were the most literate group (together with Protestants). The fact that Jews tended also to be more polyglot than the other groups added to the multilingual aspect of the cities.

THE JEWS: A MULTICULTURAL GROUP PAR EXCELLENCE?

Jews were one of the pillars of the monarchy's unity and at the same time paradoxically the bearers of its diversity. Jewish communities were present everywhere in the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy and were universally the most multilingual group. The size of the communities varied among cities, but everywhere their role in cultural and economic life was greater than their proportion of the population. There were significant populations of Jews in cities before the nineteenth century; though there existed various restrictions and interdictions of residence, these were circumvented by settlement in the suburbs and nearby villages whose lands belonged to noble families.³⁰ In every city of the empire, immigration led to a significant increase in the Jewish population throughout the second half of the nineteenth century: in many of them, large numbers of Jews came after the emancipation of 1867, though in many cases they had already settled on the outskirts before. In Transleithania, the massive urbanization of Jews dates back to the beginning of the 1840s thanks to the authorization granted to them by the Diet to settle in the free royal towns.³¹

The emancipation achieved by the Constitutional laws of 1867 gave a considerable impulse to Jewish activity. Before 1848, they were mainly occupied with wholesale trade and craft industry. After 1867 the percentage of Jews active in liberal professions (mostly lawyers and doctors) increased in both Austria and Hungary. In 1881, 61 percent of Viennese doctors were Jewish; in

30 One of the best-known examples is Pozsony, with the settlement of Jewish families on the land of the Zichy family. Yet, contrary to what is generally assumed, most Jewish communities of Central and Eastern Europe were rural, and this is particularly true for Galicia and Bucovina where most of the Habsburg Jews lived. See Joachim Schlör, *Das Ich der Stadt: Debatten über Judentum und Urbanität, 1822–1938* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2005).

31 On the origins of the Jewish population in Hungary, Catherine Horel, *Juifs de Hongrie 1825–1849, problèmes d'assimilation et d'émancipation* (Strasbourg: Revue d'Europe Centrale, 1995).

1888, 58 percent of Viennese lawyers were also Jews. Jews were also prominent in the press as journalists, editors, and owners of newspapers; in 1890, Jews made up 50 percent of Viennese journalists.³² Similar figures were also found in Budapest. The university, still very hostile to Jewish academics, opened progressively toward the end of the century. A similar situation characterized the army where Jews were mostly employed as medics; however, the system of one-year volunteers (*Einjährig-Freiwillige*)—serving, as the name indicates, only one year (instead of three for non-graduates) before becoming officers of the reserve—contributed to the integration of Jews into the armed forces and into society as a whole.

The industrialization of the Habsburg Monarchy as well as its financial takeoff is inseparable from the contribution of Jewish entrepreneurs. In Cisleithania, Vienna was the center of the Jewish capitalistic dynasties, heirs to the former court agents, the *Hoffaktoren*. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, bankers like Nathan Arnstein and Bernhard Eskeles concluded alliances and launched financial operations that made them the pioneers of the industrial revolution in Austria, mainly through sponsoring the first railways. In Hungary, Jews played an active part in capitalist development from the start, but here their activity assumed a bigger significance for two reasons. First, their presence in the industrial and economic development of the country was greater than in Cisleithania, where the German elite was a serious competitor to the Jewish entrepreneurs. Second, the development of capitalism in Hungary not only occurred within a distinct national framework but also constituted part of a national agenda, and the leaders of the national revival realized that the lack of an endogenous merchant middle class could be overcome thanks to the Jews' spirit of enterprise and their desire for integration. Acculturation and adoption of the Hungarian language and national values followed. The first Jewish capitalists not only helped create the first Hungarian bank, but also raised money for the railways and the milling industry.

In the rural parts of the monarchy, especially in Galicia and the Carpathian borderlands, the Jews worked as intermediaries between the great landowners and the peasants. This was the world of peddlers, innkeepers, small traders, and village craftsmen, and was often synonymous with misery. There were indeed in Lemberg prosperous Jewish merchants, but their economic significance remained modest. The Jews' living conditions were again different

32 Wolfdieter Bihl, "Die Juden," in Wandruszka and Urbanitsch, *Die Habsburgermonarchie 1848–1918*, vol. 3/2, *Die Völker des Reiches*, 911.

in Bucovina, where they represented the German-speaking elite of the province, dominating its commercial and industrial sector. Thanks to their high level of social and cultural integration, they also played an important role in the intellectual life of Czernowitz.³³

The fact that Jews became the most multilingual, and in some sense the most multicultural, group in the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy had a number of reasons. The first was their special situation as a diasporic community present in every part of the empire with a shared identity and extensive networks. Business enterprises and financial undertakings (like banks) reaching across various parts of the monarchy were consolidated through marriages and family networks, rather than mere business contracts. Ostracism by other groups, as well as internal resistance in the community to mixed marriages narrowed the marriage market so that marriages were often concluded with a partner from another *Kronland* or abroad, often requiring a spouse to learn a new language. At the same time, the fact that they were a minority everywhere compelled Jews to be familiar with the local languages, both out of necessity and pragmatism. Although, as we will see, Jews tended to adopt the language of the locally dominant linguistic and national group, their commercial or professional activities put them in contact with every other group in their localities.

The second reason for Jewish multilingualism was related to another of their important characteristics: mobility. In addition to the aforementioned migration from the countryside to the cities, they travelled frequently for the needs of their commercial, industrial, and financial activities, inside and outside the empire. This professional mobility often required familiarity with a number of languages.

The third reason was education. The importance granted to reading the Scriptures and hence education encouraged schooling so that Jews were practically everywhere the most literate group, with the percentage of Jewish pupils in local schools being much higher than their proportion of the population. Education was increasingly pursued in diverse schools and universities all over the monarchy and sometimes abroad (in England, Germany, or France).

Another side of this multilingualism was that Jews, unlike other national groups, had no single national language. Although Yiddish could have played this role, a shared Jewish identification through it, as already mentioned, was not possible since not all Jews were Yiddish-speaking. All the more so as

33 An amazing number of Jewish poets and writers came from Czernowitz; among them, Paul Celan and Rose Ausländer are the most famous.

strictly Yiddish-speaking Jews were obliged to choose another language in the censuses, leading to the over-estimation of the number of Polish-speaking Jews in Galicia and German-speaking Jews in Bucovina. Yet, such statistical nationalization did not always translate into acceptance or better treatment. In Galicia particularly, Jews were confronted with a society “in which language, religion, and occupation served as the key determinants of nationality,” so being Yiddish-speaking, Jewish, and engaged in various trade activities meant there were few ways to escape discrimination.³⁴

Nevertheless, the question of a Jewish nationality was raised in Galicia and Bucovina, where Yiddish could be seen as the language spoken by, and only by, the majority of Jews. Yet, Yiddish was never recognized as a *Landessprache*, partly because most of the assimilated Jews of these provinces did not approve, fearing that this would cement the marginalization of Jews as a group. Besides, compared with the other minorities, the Jews could not formulate claims for territorial autonomy. They thus lacked two of the three elements of national identification as enunciated by the French historian Bernard Michel: an imaginary of the language and an imaginary of the soil (territory).³⁵ Only the imaginary of the blood was a powerful factor of identification, but this was an insufficient basis in the context of the creation of national identities.

The Zionists tried to solve this by creating a language and demanding an officially recognized autonomy, yet there was no real territorial concentration, even in Galicia and Bucovina, to “nationalize” Jewish identity.³⁶ For those who were afraid of anti-Semitic outbursts yet thought that assimilation would lead to conversion or atheism, and who were against the isolation brought by orthodoxy, Zionism offered a solution. The movement was both a reaction to anti-Semitism, and the expression of the necessity to define a specific identity as other groups did. The success of Zionism in Austria-Hungary was not entirely due to Theodor Herzl’s proposals to establish a Jewish national state but was also the result of ideas of national Jewish identity elaborated in Cisleithania by Galician rabbis, and by journals and associations that preceded the Zionist movement. Herzl’s work was nevertheless crucial in helping Zionism penetrate both the Jewish proletariat and intellectuals disappointed with liberalism and anxious about the rise of anti-Semitism. In Cisleithania, Zionism was propagated mainly by eastern Jews; Vienna was important, but Lemberg

34 Joshua Shanes, *Diaspora Nationalism and Jewish Identity in Habsburg Galicia* (New York, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 3.

35 Bernard Michel, *Nations et nationalismes en Europe centrale XIX^e-XX^e siècle* (Paris: Aubier, 1995).

36 Shanes, *Diaspora Nationalism and Jewish Identity in Habsburg Galicia*, 9.

and Czernowitz became the centers of the movement, and in 1899 Czernowitz hosted the meeting of the Third Zionist Congress. In Hungary, however, its penetration was extremely limited and concentrated in certain communities of Upper Hungary; the main association was founded in Pozsony where the most famous *Yeshiva* of the country operated.

The lack of national ambition, if one disregards Zionism, made Jews ideal citizens of the monarchy. While the loyalty of the Jews toward the state that can guarantee their rights and protects them against discrimination was indeed remarkable, the nostalgic and retrospective vision of the empire frequently presents them as the only exponents of a supranational Austrian identity, denying them any feeling of national identification beyond the dynastic frame, is misleading.³⁷ After all, another way for escaping discrimination was cultural integration into one of the constitutive nations of the empire. If Jews adhered to the various national projects formulated during the nineteenth century, they did so because of a need for social recognition. They sided with the dominant local linguistic group because it offered a more attractive social and cultural model (culture, education, upward mobility) than those offered by minorities in a culturally less dominant position. Integration to the point of assimilation was particularly attractive for German, Hungarian and Italian Jews, who deliberately chose the benefits offered by these leading cultural and social groups. Ennoblement was sometimes the crowning achievement of this process, especially for Hungarian Jews—even though the term “Jewish barons” often used to describe them in an ironic manner reflected the limitations of social acceptance.³⁸ The other side of this coin was, however, that non-dominant minorities saw the Jews as enemies of their own cause, and often developed anti-Semitic rhetoric that excluded them and portrayed them as opportunistic, stateless individuals.

Although their percentage in the population may have been relatively modest, the Jews were a significant minority in all cities. Their importance went beyond their size. This is particularly true for Trieste, where the community was indeed of small dimensions, but where the Jews enjoyed a privileged situation compared to other cities of the Habsburg Empire. As soon as the free

37 See the 1936 play by Franz Theodor Csokor, *November 3, 1918*, where the question of Jewish identity is evoked through a group of officers who are recovering in a military hospital at the end of World War I; as soon as the empire is dismantled, they join one by one the successor states and the Jewish doctor remains alone, as a tragic figure of Austria. Franz Theodor Csokor, *Dritte November 1918: Europäische Trilogie* (Vienna: Elephant Verlag, 1993).

38 It is worth noting that in cartoons produced on the other side of the Leitha, the same people were mocked as “Hungarian” barons.

port was established in 1719, they were able to settle and be active in the commercial and financial development of the city. The local ethnic and cultural diversity was no obstacle to the existence of the community. The Trieste Jews were either Ashkenazi Jews coming from the empire or Sephardic Jews coming from Italian provinces, Greece, or the Ottoman Empire. In the nineteenth century, the community became more and more Italianized and secularized. When the Corfu Jews arrived in the city at the turn of the twentieth century, the contrast was striking between a well-integrated and prosperous community and the poor and less educated brethren from the South-East.³⁹ The same could be said of the encounter with the Galician Jews coming to Trieste before boarding the ships taking them to America.

In Brünn and Zagreb, a relatively small Jewish community exerted a remarkable influence, especially in Brünn where trade, industry, and finance were largely in the hands of Jewish families like the Gomperzs, Tugendhats, and Löw-Beers, who intermarried with other families throughout the monarchy. The Jews shared this economic and financial position with German families and the city benefited from this emulation: called the Austrian “Manchester,” Brünn owed its economic success to this dynamism. Bohemia and Moravia were the industrial regions of the empire and thus a pole of attraction for entrepreneurial Jews. This was hardly the case in Zagreb, where German burghers were less open to newcomers, yet the development of the city after 1868 led to an economic takeoff in which Jews played a considerable role. Both Germans and Jews progressively assimilated to the Croatian element, a trend that did not apply to Brünn where the Jews retained German culture and turned to Czech language and nationality only after World War I (yet without repudiating their German identity). A good indication of this evolution can be observed in cemeteries, where Hebrew script was progressively abandoned and first names “nationalized.”

The adherence of Jews to German language and Austrian culture was certainly at its highest level in Czernowitz, where the Jews even came to symbolize both. For local Zionists there was at first no doubt that German should be the language of communication between Jews (together with Polish in Galicia). Others supported the demands for the recognition of a Jewish nationality together with the acceptance of Yiddish as a *Landessprache*, yet even this did not mean the rejection of German culture. Nevertheless the choice between

39 Tullia Catalan et al. eds., *Evraiki: Una diaspora mediterranea da Corfu a Trieste* (Trieste: La Mongolfiera Libri, 2013).

German and Yiddish was a subject of dispute as it became particularly clear at the time of the so-called *Sprachkonferenz* (Language conference) held in Czernowitz in 1908 and before the census of 1910; this revealed how much Jewish leadership in Czernowitz was divided on the matter, with some supporting the official recognition of Yiddish for political reasons.⁴⁰ However, this position remained the view of a minority, whereas the majority of Jews as well as their leadership maintained an absolutely faithful attitude toward the Austrian state.

One of the best examples for the tendency of Jews to culturally associate with the local leading ethnic group in a given town is probably Lemberg, where the progressive disappearance of German influence after 1867 and the consecutive Polonization of the city led Jews to increasingly embrace Polish language and culture. The fact that the less educated and poorer Jews coming from the countryside were not given the possibility to declare Yiddish as their language of daily use obliged them to declare Polish instead because it was indeed the main language of communication in town and certainly the one they had to use when coming into contact with the authorities. As soon as they settled and took their children to school, the acculturation with Polish was on its way. Ruthenian was known by those who had to deal with this population for the needs of business, law, and medicine. German was accessible to those going to secondary school only but since it was related to Yiddish it was relatively easy to learn. In this way, a Jewish inhabitant of Lemberg could be trilingual without much difficulty and there was even quadri-lingualism in Czernowitz.

In Sarajevo, the Jewish community was just as divided between Sephardic and Ashkenazi Jews as in Trieste, but there was a significant difference in terms of historical background. The community found in the town (there were no other significant Jewish communities in Bosnia and Herzegovina) by the Austro-Hungarian administration was composed of Sephardic Jews who had settled there during the Ottoman period. They generally spoke Ladino, which was indicated in the Austrian censuses as “Spanish,” but also Serbo-Croatian in order to communicate with the authorities and other inhabitants. Ashkenazi Jews arrived with the Austro-Hungarian occupation; they formed their own community, distinct from the local Jews in respect to both worship and language. They came from Austria as well as Hungary and were German-speaking, although many were also familiar with Serbo-Croatian because of their former place of living or professional activity.

40 *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung*, no. 1213, January 28, 1908.

Multilingualism also characterized Hungarian Jews but in the course of the nineteenth century they progressively assimilated to the Hungarians, increasingly declaring Hungarian as their mother tongue in the censuses. Although they remained bearers of the German language together with ethnic Germans, the trend toward acculturation was irresistible. When a Zionist rabbi tried to launch a journal in 1914 in Szabadka he had no success at all; he offered to publish a German edition of the paper, but apparently there was no demand for that either. This is both an example of the low appeal of Zionism among Hungarian Jews and an indication of their already achieved Magyarization. Szabadka was certainly not the most favorable place to start such an initiative, for the local Jewish community was not numerous enough and was composed of Jews that had settled long ago and were accepted in the city, which was relatively free of national conflicts. In Hungary there were Jewish communities that were more significant—not to mention of course the capital Budapest with its Jewish population that accounted for 25 percent of the city's inhabitants—and more diverse at the same time.

It is important to note here that Jews were also very often behind the initiatives at “inventing” universal languages supposed to transcend national differences. This phenomenon was a general trend at the end of the nineteenth century with the creation of Esperanto and Volapük. Associations of Esperanto speakers were founded in Arad and Fiume. Arad seems to have been quite important in the landscape of Esperanto in Hungary. The local association was created in 1911 and two years later was apparently strong enough to host the national congress of Esperanto. Its two leaders, András Végh and Jenő Singer, were Jewish, and so was the author of the Esperanto-language guide to the town edited in 1913.⁴¹ The Triestine association of Volapük (*Associazione triestina per la propagazione del Volapük*) was certainly less important but still relatively permanent for it appears in successive editions of the local guidebook. The names of its leaders and “teachers” (*maestro di volapük*) are remarkably mixed, indicating that these were Germans, Jews, and Italians.⁴² The list was also relatively stable because we find virtually the same names on a 1903 record, with the notable addition of a woman who claims to be also a teacher of this “neutral” language.⁴³

41 Jozefo Czukor, *Guidlibro tra Arad: Eldono de la grupo esperantista en Arad* (Arad, 1913).

42 *Guida generale amministrativa, commerciale e corografica di Trieste, il Goriziano, l'Istria, Fiume e la Dalmazia* (Trieste: Luigi Mora, 1895), 99.

43 *Guida generale di Trieste 1903* (Trieste: Creutz & C [Mario Finzi]), 587.

SIGNS OF MULTILINGUALISM

The diversity of a city's languages was made visible through a wide variety of signs. Not least of these was the name of a city itself: postcards showing city views were bi- or trilingual, with German being systematically added. Senders and receivers of letters used the names of cities in their respective languages, which did not generate problems for the multilingual postal service of the monarchy. Within the city, the multicultural past was inscribed in street names, squares, and districts, the naming of which was often a subject of discussion and conflict at the municipality level and among the public. Sometimes streets or neighborhoods were renamed to reflect imperial allegiance. This was the case in Temesvár when the *Mehala* district, bearing the old Turkish name meaning "quarter," was incorporated into the town in 1910, becoming its fifth district and being re-baptized *Ferencváros*.⁴⁴ Often, however, the majority at the city council wanted to demonstrate its power by defining public space along national lines. Choosing the names of heroes from a specific national pantheon was a common practice throughout the empire. This was also done to affirm leadership in the cultural field. When the balance began to change, street names and shop signs became an element of the struggle for the visibility of groups in public space. Each group had its own geography of the town with its own street names, which were not always simple translations of the "original" name. But translation was compulsory in multilingual municipalities regardless of which group ruled the city hall, because imposing only one language would violate Article 19 of the Constitution.⁴⁵ The fact that the other groups of the city had their own mental maps of the city is obvious when we compare city maps from before and immediately after World War I. But this political will was not always reflected on the ground where the municipality was still mixed and ready to give in voluntarily to the new order. In post-1920 Pozsony—which then was already part of Czechoslovakia—where the Slovaks had difficulties to assert their presence against Germans and Hungarians, both communities continued to use their own designations in their own language, thus showing their reluctance to admit the new situation.

44 It had already been given the German name *Franzstadt* after the Habsburgs had reconquered Banat. Josef Geml, *Alt-Temesvar im letzten Halbjahrhundert 1870–1920* (Timișoara: Helicon, 1928), 111.

45 Michaela Wolf, *Die Vielsprachige Seele Kakaniens: Übersetzen und Dolmetschen in der Habsburgermonarchie 1848 bis 1918* (Vienna: Böhlau, 2012), 121.

For street and shop signs, bilingualism was a common solution, but it was not welcome everywhere. In Bohemia and Moravia, it was accepted as an acknowledgment of the bilingual character of both provinces, and the patriotism of the land (*Landespatriotismus*) was strong enough to make the Germans allow Czech to be visible in public space. Nothing of this kind could happen in Istria, and certainly not in Trieste, where Italian was considered the only possible language of culture and leadership. An article about street signs from 1894 in the Trieste daily *Il Mattino* mentions the bilingual signage in Bohemia as well as in Galicia, but questions its applicability to Istria, claiming that Italian was the only language worthy of occupying the official public space despite the obviously multicultural nature of the region. The author states that authorizing the Slovene language will open the way toward “*slovenizzazione*.”⁴⁶ This reveals of course the Italians’ fear of being challenged by the Slovenes, a fear that was partly justified ever since the Italians lost the majority at the Istrian Diet. The Triestine were anxious about being forced by the central authorities to share the public space with the Slovenes. The debate was permanent at the city council at the beginning of the twentieth century, as Slovenes demanded permission to use their language on shop signs while the majority of delegates refused to accept it. Counselor Igino Brocchi even argued that no one would be able to understand them: “For the public, a sign in a Slavic language is just the same as one in Chinese or Turkish! ... How dare the Slovenes compare their own language to English or French, which are much more important than the language spoken by the small Slovene people? When Slovene has become the language of the salons, of conferences, of international relations, then we will talk about that.”⁴⁷ In fact, the habit of putting Slovene signs on shop windows had started earlier and this was the subject of attacks in the satirical press. In a cartoon of February 1897, *La Pulce* denounced the pharmacies where Slovene signs had been hung. Associating the Slovenes with their pipes and making jokes about their supposedly brute language, the cartoon indignantly noted that in some pharmacies the language of Dante is being replaced by the “language of the pipes” (see figure 2.1).

The same can be said for other cities where the municipality was afraid of being “overruled” by Vienna and thus deprived of its decision-making autonomy. In some cities, such as Prague and Zagreb, bilingual street signs were progressively replaced by monolingual ones once the former minority gained the

46 “La questione delle tabelle bilingui e il governo,” *Il Mattino*, no. 3303, October 28, 1894.

47 “L’italiano nelle insegne pubbliche,” *Il Piccolo*, October 12, 1907.

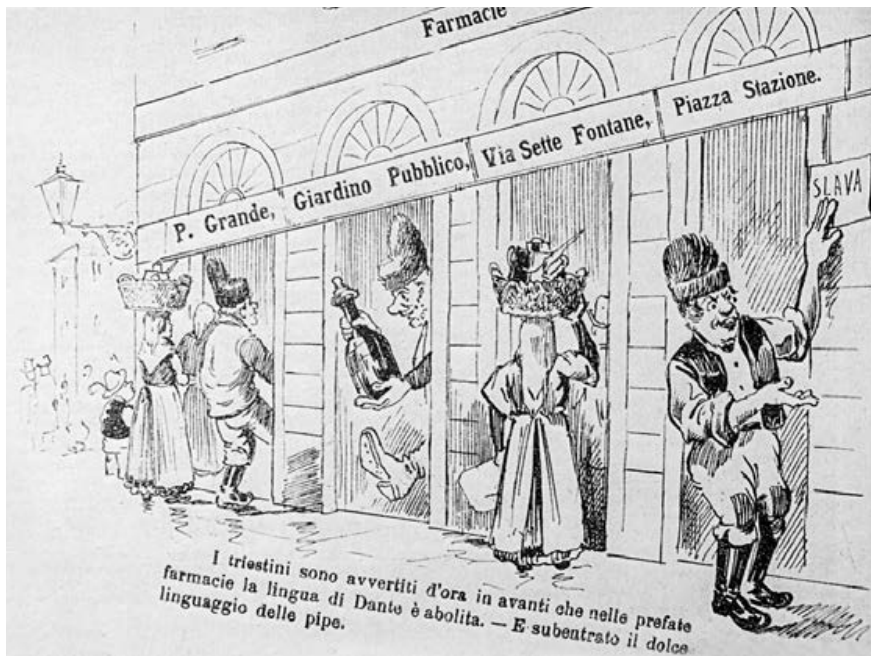


Figure 2.2. Cartoon from *La Pulce*, no. 4, February 18, 1897. Caption reads: “The Triestines are informed that from now on Dante’s language has been abolished from the following pharmacies. It has been replaced by the subtle language of the pipes.”

majority at the city council.⁴⁸ The Czechs in Brünn could only dream of such an achievement. The Czech satirical monthly *Rašple* (The Rasp) suggested with humor and distance that there were perhaps more serious topics to dispute about: a cartoon from June 1894 shows a man standing on a ladder while trying to put a sign up that says “Dlouha ulice” (Long Street), while the former sign bearing the bilingual expression “Lange Gasse—Dlouha ulice” lies on the ground. He is scorned by the jester personifying *Rašple* who says: “In Brno, Liberec [Freiberg], Ljubljana [Laibach] and in Prague they are arguing and arguing about the [street] signs. Are there not, Sirs, more profitable things for the people than these signs?”⁴⁹ Indeed in the background stands a crowd of miserable-looking persons. It is important to note that the street names in Brünn had been bilingual since the 1860s. In his memoirs, the Jewish entrepreneur Julius Gomperz remembers that in his youth, both German and Czech were commonly heard in the town.⁵⁰ This fact is corroborated by

48 In Prague, the Germans lost the majority in the city council in 1861. See Gary B. Cohen, *The Politics of Ethnic Survival: Germans in Prague, 1861–1914* (West Lafayette, IN: Purdue University Press, 2006), 47.

49 “K otázce národních tabulek” [On the question of national signs], *Rašple: Humoristicko-satyrický list dělného lidu* [The Rasp: Satirical paper for the working people], no. 6, June 25, 1894.

50 Julius Ritter von Gomperz, *Jugend-Erinnerungen: Dem Andenken seiner Schwestern Josefina, Sophie, Minna gewidmet*, 2nd ed. (Brünn, 1903), 9.

a guide to the city published in 1865 according to which, “all squares, boulevards and streets are indicated in German and Moravian languages.”⁵¹

More frequent was the creation of bilingual shop signs, as shown by the example of Pozsony where German in the urban landscape was more and more relegated to the rank of second language. Here again the nationalist Hungarian press was at the front line of the battle. An article from 1884 in the oldest and most prestigious German daily, *Preßburger Zeitung*, described the campaign launched by two Hungarian newspapers (*Pozsonyvidéki lapok* and *Westungarische Grenzboten*—the latter actually written in German) who demanded the introduction of bilingual shop signs. Frustrated by the situation that apparently neither customers nor shopkeepers seemed disturbed by the fact that all signs were still in German, they suggested that the introduction of bilingual signs should be made compulsory by the authorities. Reflecting on this demand, the editorialist Daniel Molec noted that there were already some bilingual shop signs, but admitted that these were few.⁵² He wrote that monolingual shop signs were misleading both Hungarian visitors, who were shocked by the omnipresence of German signs and thus doubted the patriotism of the inhabitants, and foreign visitors, who arrived in a town they were told was in Hungary but saw only German signs. Molec confidently concluded that the Germans had nothing to lose in tolerating Hungarian signs. Eventually, with the intensification of the Magyarization of the public space, this issue would be resolved in the following decades, even if German would not be completely erased from the linguistic landscape of the city.

Putting up a shop sign in Czech or Slovene was a declaration of solidarity with the national cause and could provoke estrangement and hostility from some customers. At the same time, activists tried to motivate their followers to act “national” by buying at shops expressly belonging to their community. There were many incidents in Trieste concerning Slovene merchants: the Italian press presented the rise of shop signs written in Slovene as a threat to the *italianità* of the town. This was very well expressed in the satirical press. A cartoon printed in *La Pulce* in 1887 showed a Slovene shopkeeper refusing to sell his goods to a customer addressing him in the local dialect of Italian. The incoherence of his attitude was underlined by the cartoon showing that the shop sign was in Italian, thus deliberately misleading the lady asking

51 Eduard Deutsch, *Führer durch Brünn und Umgebung* (Brünn: Karafiat, 1865), 2.

52 Daniel Molec, “Die Sprache der Schilder,” *Preßburger Zeitung*, no. 116, April 27, 1884, morning edition.



Figure 2.3. Brunn, Krautmarkt with tower of city hall, 1894. Source: Wikimedia Commons.

for a pound of sugar.⁵³ One could argue that twenty years later this would no longer be possible because shop signs by then clearly indicated the nationality of the owner. Indeed, the weekly *Marameo* printed a cartoon in June 1912, which compared the arrival of Slovene merchants and craftsmen to the biblical invasion of locusts. The illustration figured a line of Slovene people coming from “Lubiana” (Ljubljana) to Trieste wearing shop signs for various trades written in Slovene.⁵⁴

Yet, everyday life and the pragmatism of both shopkeepers and customers showed that despite the nationalistic propaganda, people did “business as usual” and took no notice of the linguistic divide of towns. The market remained highly multilingual due to the presence of peasants and merchants from the region and beyond. The yearly fairs showed the affluence of merchants and visitors coming from far away. Many peasants had very poor knowledge of a second language, so customers addressed them in their mother tongue, showing that they also knew the basic vocabulary of the minority. As the customers at the market were mainly ladies and maids, they were sometimes attacked by nationalists for not insisting on speaking their own language. In Brunn, for example, the German nationalist weekly *Brünner Wochenblatt* printed a furious article attacking the German ladies who “completely lack national upbringing”

53 “All’Acquedotto,” *La Pulce: Giornale umoristico, satirico, illustrato*, no. 26, July 24, 1887.

54 “L’invasion delle cavalete,” *Marameo! Giornale politico satirico pupazzettato*, no. 76, June 26, 1912.

because they spoke Czech at the famous *Krautmarkt* (Cabbage market), even to German peasant women!⁵⁵

The press was the main vector of nationalist propaganda, but advertising was open to anyone paying to insert an advertisement. In most towns, advertisements were bilingual and were translated in the newspapers. The contrary was of course just as common: nationalist advertisements for schools, and sponsorship campaigns for associations and charity were deliberately monolingual. Also multilingual were empire-wide brands, who had translations in all languages so as not to miss any customers. Most of the newspapers were sold by subscription but they were also on sale in newsstands and at the tobacco shops (*Trafik*) which were present all over the monarchy in all its versions. The linguistic variety of the Austro-Hungarian press was also visible in most cafés; the bigger and most famous ones prided themselves on displaying the Viennese newspapers as well as the local ones, not to speak of some international editions from France, Germany, and England.

THE LANGUAGE OF THE CITY

In most cities the close proximity and multilingualism of the inhabitants caused words, expressions, and ways of speaking to slip from one language into another. Some cities even had their own dialect, as shown in the case of Trieste, where the local dialect was a mixture of old Venetian and Slavic influences. This interpenetration of languages did not go unnoticed, and nationalists from all sides interpreted it in different ways. Activists from dominant languages like German and Italian sought to prevent “inferior” languages from penetrating or influencing their parlance. A Pan-German journal in Brünn reminded young men that “Your language is the most beautiful in the world. ... Keep it pure from any foreign touch!”⁵⁶ But this was a rearguard battle, fought mainly in the press, at school, and in the theaters. At the same time, these nationalists also saw the mixing of languages as having potential benefits, as when Italians noted that the Slavic languages had been influenced by Italian. They saw this as proof of the weakness of the Slavic languages and a sign that sooner or later the Slavs would be assimilated to the Italians. One Italian author noted optimistically in 1861 that: “The rustic Slavic dialect, already partly Italianized, vanishes also among them thanks to the light of the civilization that touches this

55 *Brünner Wochenblatt: Wochenschrift zur Wahrung deutscher Interessen*, no. 33, August 13, 1905.

56 *Zeitweiser für einen deutschen Jungmannen: Deutscher Jugendbund* (Brünn: Kränzle, 1909), 5.

coarse people.”⁵⁷ This attitude also proved deceptive, as the Slavs did not simply become Italians but affirmed the right of their languages to exist.

In many cities there were at least two different registers of language: that of the elites of each nation who purported to speak a pure or purified version of the literary language, such as the Germans in Brünn and Pozsony; and that of daily use, the real *Umgangssprache*, that was either a bilingual mix of two languages, or a blended dialect, like in Trieste and Fiume. Local newspapers provide an excellent source to trace the difference between the different registers because they were addressing elites and common people at the same time. The jokes and cartoons played with inter-comprehension of dialectal terms and specificities of the city life. The particularistic nature of the local languages was further enhanced by the fact that even the dominant languages had their own local version. When it comes to German, for example, one cannot speak of one uniform German language, but rather of several local parlances. The German spoken by common people in Brünn was for example a mixture of Austrian and Bavarian lexis, while the one used in Arad was an amalgam of Swabian, Franconian and Alsatian dialects.

Both being port cities, the linguistic landscape of Trieste and Fiume was particularly rich and mixed. In Fiume, the coexistence of Italians in the city and Croats (as well as Slovenes) in the hinterland generated linguistic transfers. The city had its own dialect, a mixture of Venetian and Neapolitan with Triestine elements. Folksongs were the expression of these exchanges. The Hungarian ethnologist Sándor Kőrösi provides the example of a song composed to the tune of the aria of *La Sonnambula* during the neo-absolutist period, celebrating the Hungarian Revolution of 1848 and the wish to be again reunited with the kingdom:

Viva Fiume un bel pajese	Long live Fiume, a beautiful country
Che inamora, azende el core	that enamors and elevates the heart
Viva l’animo cortese	Long live the courteous soul
D’ogni singulo fuman	of each individual of Fiume
Le discordie e i jorni amari	Discord and bitter days
Alontana Iddio da noi	Let God take them away from us
E ritorna coi Majari	Let the Hungarians return
La primiera liberta	and with them the original freedom

57 *Trieste e l’Istria e loro ragioni nella quistione italiana* (Milan: Brigola, 1861), 22.

Viva Fiume un bel pajese	Long live Fiume, a beautiful country
Deve cresce le zerieese	Where the cherries blossom
E la bela ungarese	And the Hungarian beauty
Sara sempre el mio tesoro	Will always be my treasure
Ma cossa fosse de sta Fiume	What would be of Fiume
Se no fosser i Majari ?	If there were not the Hungarians?
Se podria su quatro cari	One could on four chariots
Trasportare la zita.	Take the city away. ⁵⁸

The author notes that there are also songs that are truly multicultural, with refrains mixing German and Croatian words with Italian and local parlance. In the Croatian tunes, he finds a mixture of Croatian and Italian.⁵⁹ But Kőrösi also identified other influences in the Fiume dialect: for example, the pejorative designation for the Jews “*zifut*” came according to him (he was himself Jewish) from a Turkish word that has penetrated the Slavic idioms as “*čifut*” and has then passed into the Italian dialect of the town, but was also found in the Italian parlanges of Dalmatia.

Words for food also travelled from one language to another; here the Slavic “*kaša*” turned into “*cassiza*,” (from the Slavic diminutive *kašica*) a light polenta cooked with milk.⁶⁰ This fluidity of language did not please the Italian activists of the town who tried to demonstrate the endogenous *italianita* of Fiume. They also denigrated the Slavic dialect as “the Slavic language of the old town that no other Slav is able to understand,” and as a dialect that is influenced by improper words deriving from Venetian and Slavic elements.⁶¹ Here political hegemony made Italian the language of business and culture, whereas the simple people used an “Italian-Slavic” parlance.⁶²

The Croats made similar, but reverse, arguments. In 1867 the historian and politician Franjo Rački justified the right of the Croats to unite Fiume with the Croatian mainland by demonstrating the Croatian character of the

58 Sándor Kőrösi, *Adalékok Fiume néprajzához* [Data on Fiume’s ethnology] (Kolozsvár: “Közművelődés” irodalmi és műnyomdai részvénytársaság, 1892), 15.

59 *Ibid.*, 26.

60 István Vig, “Batic’, gemper, jarac: Kroatische Wörter in der italienischen Mundart von Rijeka (Fiume),” in *Hungaro-Slavica 2001: Studia in honorem Iani Bańczerowski* (Budapest: ELTE Szlav és Balti Filológiai Intézet), 300–301.

61 Guido Depoli, *Le origini dell’italianita di Fiume* (Fiume: Cercolo letterario di Fiume, [1910]), 6.

62 *Bedürfnisse und Wünsche der Stadt Fiume* (Fiume: Rezza, 1861), 41. This anonymous brochure was translated from Italian.

city and the fluency of its inhabitants in the Croatian tongue: “From the geographical as well as from the national point of view, Fiume is a Croatian city.... Nobody will be able to deny the fact that the majority of the inhabitants have Croatian as mother and usual tongue, and that there are very few persons there who cannot speak Croatian; on the contrary many do not speak Italian at all or only very poorly.... Even those who speak Italian think in Croatian and dress up their Croatian thoughts as Italian words.”⁶³ In fact, if we look at the statistics from 1890 the town appears divided between the center, with an Italian majority (56 percent), and the suburbs with a Croatian majority (57 percent); nevertheless 53 percent of the inhabitants of the suburbs declared that they know Italian.⁶⁴

In Trieste as well, the Slovenes made efforts to “purify” the language from Italian and dialectal words. Their first targets were the women because they were considered the educators of children and those in greatest contact with the daily use of the language. The paper *Slovenka* (The Slovene women) had a column dedicated to “pure Slovene” which was written as a dictionary explaining the etymology of foreign words that have penetrated the Slovene language. The authors suggest replacing them with more “original” terms, sometimes created *ex nihilo*. For example, the verbs “*drukati*” from the German *drucken* (print) is to be replaced by “*tiskati*” and the “*melšpajz*” from the Austrian “*Mehlspeise*” (a category of desserts made with flour) by “*testenina*.” Concerning the Italian words, “*makaroni*” noodles must be changed into the more Slovene “*vlitki*.”⁶⁵

In the cities where German was the language not only of the elites but also of the central administration, like Czernowitz and Sarajevo, there was a “top down” influence that penetrated the local languages. There German was not perceived to be endogenous and was therefore not necessarily seen as an instrument of national leadership. On the contrary, in Czernowitz it was deliberately promoted as a way to neutralize antagonisms. This tactic functioned relatively well for educated people of all groups (Romanians, Ruthenians, Poles) but the partial knowledge of German by poorer and less educated persons led to the creation of a kind of slang which mixed all the four languages. Many literary works as well as the local press echoed the penetration of German into the city’s parlance. The basic German vocabulary was

63 Franz Rački, *Fiume gegenüber von Kroatien* (Agram: Suppan, 1869), 138.

64 Fest, “Fiume nyelvi viszonyai.”

65 *Slovenka: Glasilo slovenskega ženstva* [The Slovene Women: Newsletter of the Slovene women], no. 6, March 13, no. 7, March 27, no. 8, April 10, and no. 10, April 24, 1897.

transmitted by the administration and the army, including by men returning from military service. The suburb of Rosch in the western part of Czernowitz was home to a large majority of Germans, enabling them to influence the other languages. Furthermore, the “colonization” of Bucovina by German-speaking farmers and craftsmen also contributed to this propagation of the language. The same could be said for Banat and Transylvania. Most of these colonists came to the Habsburg Monarchy from various German provinces and then settled in Bucovina or Banat, and many were illiterate. The others originated from the Zips (Szepes, Spiš) Land in Upper Hungary, and the Bohemian lands.⁶⁶ Thus their language was not the modern form of literary German (*Hochdeutsch*) that came to be used in the monarchy in the nineteenth century, but was dialectal. In Arad for example, German settlers spoke a language inspired by the Swabian, Franconian and Alsatian dialects. This non-standard German was then penetrated by Hungarian and Romanian words. Here proper German, the so-called *Hochdeutsch*, was taught only at school.⁶⁷ The situation was not comparable in Sarajevo where German-speaking people coming after 1878 were civil servants, military professionals and more generally educated persons with a command of formal German, who were not intended to settle permanently in the province.

In Czernowitz, as in some other cities, there were language purists who criticized both the interference from other languages and the fact that the German there was not “pure”; some of them called it “*Buko-Wienerisch*,”⁶⁸ an expression playing on the words “Bucovina” and “Vienna.” The most noticeable influences that came to characterize the language spoken in Czernowitz were Slavic—Polish as well as Ruthenian—and Jewish, both Yiddish and Hebrew. These local idioms used and understood by non-Slavic and non-Jewish people, but they were also the source of many jokes mocking one group by the other(s). Author Franz Porubski became famous for depicting this tower of Babel in his articles as well as in popular short stories. He relates, for example, the demonstration of the coach drivers of the city against the introduction of the horse-drawn omnibus (locally called the “*Omnifuß*,” which translates as “all-foot”) and tramway that threatened their business. The hilarious

66 Kurt Rein, “Das Czernowitzer Deutsch,” in *Gesprochene und geschriebene deutsche Stadtsprachen in Südosteuropa und ihr Einfluss auf die regionalen deutschen Dialekte*, ed. Zsuzsanna Gerner, Manfred M. Glauninger, and Katharina Wild (Vienna: Praesens, 2002), 280.

67 *Arad vármegye és Arad szab. kir. város néprajzi leírása* [Ethnographical description of Arad county and Arad free royal town] (Arad: Monographia-Bizottság, 1912), 378.

68 *Ibid.*, 283.

story is a catalogue of terms used by this multilingual profession as well as of many “*Bukowinismen*.” The drivers are called “*Wirt*” and the factotum who sometimes sat next to them “*Sobotnik*,” designations taken from German and Slavic, respectively. The (male) clients are called “*Pascha*” or “*Balagule*,” terms taken from Turkish and Jewish vocabulary. The drivers gather on the square nicknamed “*Hamm*” (*Springbrunnenplatz*, Fountain Square) after the Jewish parlance: the clients wonder about their refusal to start and their surprise is expressed in sentences where Jewish, Romanian, and Slavic words are mixed. Later on, the drivers go to a meeting to Sadagora, the famous Jewish town near Czernowitz. Here again the author makes fun of the debates between the protagonists. In the end they decide to raise the prices in order to fight the competition of the tramway and the omnibus.⁶⁹

While some writers were critical of this multilingual environment, which they held responsible for the degeneration of German, others appreciated it. The poet Rose Ausländer called it a “*Barockes Sprachmilieu*” (Baroque linguistic milieu).⁷⁰ In one of her poems that recall the life in the city she says:

“Vier Sprachen	Four languages
Viersprachenlieder	In four language the folksongs.
Menschen	People
Die sich verstehn”	Who understand each other. ⁷¹

The so-called “*Bukowinismen*” used in everyday language were common to all four languages: one could hear the same term in a German, Romanian, Ruthenian or in a Polish sentence. Since this vocabulary was mainly spread through oral practice, there were indeed many illiterate people who were bi- or trilingual. But this was also the case for those who were able to attend secondary school. Each of the linguistic groups of the city possessed at least one gymnasium in which the languages of others were taught. The pupils were supposed to attend lessons in their own language and could attend voluntarily courses where other *Landessprachen* were taught. The language of the university was German but there were courses in the other languages as well. An

69 Franz Porubski, “Der Fiakerkongreß zu Sadagura: Ein Meeting zur Bekämpfung des ‘Omni-fuß’,” in *Rund um den Rathausturm und den Pruth* (Czernowitz: Hrabczuk, 1906), 57–61.

70 Rose Ausländer, “Erinnerung an eine Stadt,” in *Europa Erlesen: Czernowitz*, ed. Peter Rychlo (Klagenfurt: Wieser Verlag, 2004), 7.

71 Quoted in Karl Schlögel, “Czernowitz—City upon the Hill,” in *Das Wunder von Nishnij oder Die Rückkehr der Städte: Berichte und Essays* (Frankfurt: Eichborn, 1991), 86–87.

exception was made for Romanian at the faculty of Orthodox theology, where it was a compulsory subject and the language of teaching. But since everyone who went beyond the level of primary school had schooling in German, there was a common fluency in this language in the city. At the upper level, German, Polish, and Romanian were competing for the title of “cultural” superiority. In these groups, transversal linguistic knowledge was sometimes weaker than at the lower levels. Very few could speak Ruthenian, and while Poles understood it more easily, they refused to consider it equal to their own language.

The situation was quite different in Sarajevo. No “colonization” by German settlers was undertaken in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Nor did German become a universal language of culture in Sarajevo. The German presence was mainly a “technical” one of civil servants and the military, revealing a colonial project. The local language was preserved as a common mode of expression; the German-speakers had to adapt and not the other way around. Consequently, there was no real linguistic diversity in Sarajevo: Serbo-Croatian (the common language of not only Serbs and Croats, but also Bosnian Muslims) was not challenged by other languages. Ladino was only spoken by the Jews, who were not numerous enough to influence Serbo-Croatian in the same manner as did the Jews of Bucovina for German. If there was one influence perceptible in Serbo-Croatian, that was the Turkish one: a consequence of long-term Ottoman presence. But then “the Austrian civil servants arrived”—as Ivo Andrić writes in his book *The Bridge on the Drina* (*Na Drini ćuprija*)—and with the Austro-Hungarian occupation came German words and Austrian expressions pervading the language of administration.⁷² Many military terms were introduced, like *rukzak* for *Rucksack*, *kasarna* for *Kaserne* (garrison), *rikverc* for *Rückwärts* (backwards), as well as technical and administrative vocabulary for practices unknown before the Austrians came. Names for foods originating in Austria were imported as well, such as *knedla* for *Knödel* and *zemička* for *Semmel*. These words were either transliterated in order to be easily spelled or directly adapted. Some went into Serbian vocabulary whereas others were already used in Croatia before 1878. The urban language of Sarajevo changed considerably under this influence and many aspects of daily life were affected by the use of these terms.

72 See Nenad Memić, *Entlehnungen aus dem österreichischen Deutsch in der Stadtsprache von Sarajevo*, *Schriften zur deutschen Sprache in Österreich* 37 (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2006).

The fact that many people had a poor knowledge of other language(s) is reflected in the press, and is also object of jokes, cartoons, and criticisms. For example, the newspaper *Brünner Beobachter* acknowledged that: “It is well known that practically every Brünner knows Czech, although most of them are not able to go beyond the level of the caretaker’s jargon because they had no school teaching in this subject.”⁷³ In fact, many people had a passive command of the other language which they could understand and eventually speak if necessary, though imperfectly. Bilingualism enabled the creation of jokes: either one group was mocked because of its accent and deformation of words, or the knowledge of two languages was used to play on words. The fact that readers were able to understand these subtleties shows their competency in at least two languages. The descriptions of pronunciation and the errors committed in the languages are an indication of how they were actually spoken in the environment of the town; it gives an idea of both the “sound of the city” and the degree of understanding between people. In this respect representation and identification had a lot to do with the way people could speak the language of the other. The Jews were the target of nearly all caricatures and jokes about languages because of the assumption that, being multilingual, they were not able to speak any language properly. This was particularly true in the Czech and Slovene press, where they were mocked for their accent, imperfections, and use of, respectively, German, and Italian words. In the anti-Semitic satirical newspaper *Brněnský Drak* (The Brno Dragon) there is a cartoon mocking a perceived tendency of Jews to exaggerate claims of anti-Semitism; German as well as Czech words are mixed in the text and written imperfectly, to demonstrate the absence of national identification of the Jews. A Jew comes into a police station and cries:

– Žid: Phane **obrkhomisér** [Oberkommissar], *cva ynsere lajt* [unsere Leute] jsou od antisemitů **grausam toidgešlagn** [grausam totgeschlagen]!

– Komisař: Kde, kde?

– Žid: Jeden jsem já a ten druhej bude thaky hned pšijít!⁷⁴

– Jew: Mister Inspector, two of our people have been cruelly killed by anti-Semites!

73 *Brünner Beobachter*, no. 6, March 15, 1881.

74 *Brněnský Drak: Časopis věnovaný opravám společenským a zájmům národohospodářským* [The Brno Dragon: Paper for the defense of social and economic national interests], no. 19, October 5, 1889. “Corrupted” German expressions are marked in bold.

- Inspector: Where, where?
- Jew (answering in Czech, but with indications of his accent and showing by his answer that he did not understand the question): One is me, and the other will be here immediately!

German words had penetrated Czech not only thanks to Jewish inhabitants. The long-term history of cohabitation was marked in the parlance of the city by words reflecting the domination of Germans. Some examples can be quoted from the lexis of the house: Czechs spoke of “*hausmajstr*” (*Hausmeister*), “*štok*” (*Stock*), and “*gank*” (*Gang*). German polite expressions were also turned into Czech, reflecting the subordinate situation of the Czechs: “*Knée Frau*” (*gnädige Frau*), “*kystyhant*” (*küss die Hand*).⁷⁵ Similarly to the joke told above, these altered words give an idea of how the daily language of the city sounded.

The conflict between Italians and Slavs in Trieste was also the source of many nasty jokes and cartoons directed at Slavs in the Italian press. Since many workers were coming from the Slovene hinterland, the Social Democratic Party was represented as infiltrated by them and its paper *Il Lavoratore* was nicknamed “*Slavoratore*.” The same lexical level appears in a cartoon published in the satirical daily *La coda del diavolo* in May 1909. It shows two men sitting in a café, speaking in dialect:

- Te vedi? El nostro programa socialista se basa tutto sula diferenza de un’aca.
- Come?
- No volemo esser *schiaivi*, ma podemo benissimo farse *s’ciavi*.
- Did you see? Our socialist program is entirely based on the difference of an e.
- How?
- We do not want to be *Slaves*, but we could very well become *Slavs*.⁷⁶

Multilingualism was thus a reality across the empire, though it varied depending on factors of leadership, education, gender, and profession. If some citizens were still monolingual—certainly more in Austria and Hungary proper than elsewhere—they were surrounded by polyglots. There was mutual penetration of languages and transfers of vocabulary, and varying levels of inter-comprehension between groups. Multilingualism was not necessarily

75 Christoph Huemer, “Deutsche Elemente in der Brünner Stadtsprache,” (unpublished Dissertation, Vienna University, 1996).

76 “Tra compagni,” *La coda del diavolo: Giornale politico quotidiano*, no. 55, May 29–30, 1909.

correlated with schooling and indeed it might even have been the contrary in some cases. The sound of the city had multiple tones, notwithstanding the calls for purity made by activists. The press echoed this diversity by publishing stories and jokes highlighting the interpenetration of languages. To fully understand the witticism, readers had to be themselves familiar with varying linguistic registers. The permanence of diversity reveals that identification through language was not systematic. Being obliged to choose a linguistic category at the occasion of the census does not necessarily indicate an adoption of the national project associated with it. Linguistic loyalty was a fluid expression and could shift according to the age, gender, situation, profession, and location of an individual. Religious belonging, on the other hand, seems to have been more stable; it was an important element of self-identification and also became a bone of contention.

Bells and Church Towers: The Confessional Diversity

A FRAGMENTED CONFESSIONAL LANDSCAPE

One of the most important signs of multiculturalism in the cities and towns of the Dual Monarchy were the churches and synagogues of the various confessions. The prominent religious diversity at the end of the nineteenth century in Austria-Hungary was the result of multiple historical processes. The dynasty itself was Catholic, the sovereign being called “Apostolic” and having among his titles that of “King of Jerusalem.” However, the hereditary lands that became part of the monarchy from the eighteenth century on were not all exclusively Catholic; indeed, some were not Catholic at all. Very few populations can be considered mono-confessional, though the Slovenes, Croats, Italians, and Poles were in their great majority Catholics, and the Serbs belonged quasi exclusively to Greek Orthodoxy. The Habsburgs were well aware of the confessional variety of their subjects and respectful of every religious community.¹

The Counter Reformation in the empire had practically eliminated Protestantism in all forms (Lutherans, Calvinists, Unitarians, Hussite brothers) in the Austrian lands but it was still prominent in the Hungarian kingdom, especially in Transylvania. During their occupation of parts of Hungary, the Ottomans had considered all Christians equal, had tolerated Jews, and had not forced conversion to Islam. The reconquest of the lands formerly under Ottoman rule obliged the Habsburg Empire to acknowledge the confessions of the new territories. The necessity to reinforce the military frontier with the

1 See the introduction by Adam Wandruszka, “Katholisches Kaisertum und multikonfessionelles Reich,” in *Die Habsburgermonarchie 1848–1918*, vol. 4, *Die Konfessionen*, ed. Adam Wandruszka and Peter Urbanitsch (Vienna: Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1995), XI–XVI.

Table 3.1. Religious groups in Cisleithania in 1910 (in percentage)

Roman Catholics	78.85
Greek Catholics	11.96
Armenian Catholics	0.008
Greek Orthodox	2.33
Lutherans	1.56
Calvinists	0.51
Jews	4.60
Muslims (Bosnia-Herzegovina not included)	0.005
Without confession	0.07

Table 3.2. Religious groups in Transleithania in 1910 (in percentage)

Roman Catholics	52.1
Greek Catholics	9.7
Greek Orthodox	14.3
Lutherans	6.4
Calvinists	12.6
Unitarians	0.3
Jews	4.5

local populace explains why the Orthodox Church was already given recognition and autonomy at the end of the seventeenth century. This was extended to the Serbs of southern Hungary in 1691. In the eyes of the Habsburgs, this was considered a reward for the loyalty of the Serbs who had immigrated into their lands following the Ottoman expansion in the Balkans. The community was granted privileges, autonomy of administration, and religious freedom. This situation was the basis for the development of the Serbian national movement at the turn of the eighteenth century.²

The same regulations were enacted for the Orthodox Romanians in Banat and southern Hungary. Just like in the case of the Serbs, religious identification came to signify national belonging, but it was complicated with the creation of the Greek Catholic (Uniate) Church. This tendency toward the union of former Orthodox churches with the Latin Church started in the middle of the seventeenth century and concerned the Ruthenians south of the Carpathians, as well as the Romanians of north Transylvania and Moldavia. This is

² Emanuel Turczynski, "Orthodoxe und Unierte," in Wandruszka and Urbanitsch, *Die Habsburgermonarchie 1848–1918*, vol. 4, *Die Konfessionen*, 408.

why the Ruthenians of Czernowitz are Orthodox and those in Lemberg Greek Catholics, and why Romanians from the north of Transylvania are Uniate, and those from the south Orthodox. Conversion to Greek Catholicism among the Ruthenians in Galicia started under Polish rule at the end of the seventeenth century; Lemberg had already become an important seat of the Uniate Church in 1681. The Polish kings had begun to unite the Orthodox with the Catholic Church by promulgating the Union of Brest at the end of the sixteenth century and from then on there existed a distinction between “old-Uniate” and “new-Uniate” that was still observed after the Austrian Empire took hold of Galicia.³ Among the consequences of the integration of Galicia into the Austrian state was the elevation of Lemberg to the Metropolitan seat of the Greek Catholic Church in 1779, with the dioceses of Hungary and Transylvania also placed under its control. As soon as the university in Lemberg was created in 1784, there was a seminar for Greek Catholic theology, an institution that was to become the center of instruction for the Ruthenians all over the empire.⁴

Another group was the Armenian Church, itself divided into Greek Catholics and Orthodox. More numerous among the Armenians were the Armenian Catholics of Galicia, Bucovina, and Transylvania. Many of the members of the communities of Lemberg and Czernowitz were no longer “Armenians” in the strict sense of the word, but descendants of Armenian merchants Polonized in the course of the seventeenth and eighteenth century. The Orthodox Armenians were found in Bucovina as well, where their number was more or less equal to the Catholic Armenians until the middle of the nineteenth century, but from then on, the latter tended to predominate.⁵ Both groups formed important communities in Czernowitz. Whereas the Catholics assimilated to the Poles, the Orthodox were closer to the Romanians in Bucovina.

An important step toward the recognition of religious diversity within the Habsburg lands were the reforms undertaken under Maria Theresia (r. 1746–1780)—herself a devout Catholic—and pursued by her son Joseph II (r. 1780–1790), which aimed for state control of Church affairs. For example, the creation of the Brünn diocese in 1777 was a decision taken unilaterally by the sovereign rather than Rome.⁶ But while Joseph II continued the reforms

3 Ibid., 416.

4 Ibid., 418.

5 Wolfdieter Bihl, “Die armenischen Kirchen,” in Wandruszka and Urbanitsch, *Die Habsburgermonarchie 1848–1918*, vol. 4, *Die Konfessionen*, 479.

6 Peter Leisching, “Die Römisch-Katholische Kirche in Cisleithanien,” in Wandruszka and Urbanitsch, *Die Habsburgermonarchie 1848–1918*, vol. 4, *Die Konfessionen*, 5.

launched by his mother, he was also animated by a will to simplify the administration of the empire, and by the idea of enlightened rule. Since all subjects of the Habsburg Monarchy were to become productive agents for the state, most monastic orders—aside from the teaching orders—were dismantled; in doing so Joseph pursued the “Gallican” practices introduced by his mother toward Rome. He also enacted tolerance edicts that were of extreme importance for the recognition of other faiths in the empire. In 1781, the Protestant churches were granted freedom in the Austrian part of the empire through the Edict of Toleration for the “Augsburg- and Helvetian” confessions, which also benefited the Greek-Orthodox Church (and not only the till then privileged Serbian Church). The text also stipulated the right of Catholics to convert to Protestantism.⁷ Later regulations made mixed marriages possible without the preliminary conversion of one of the partners. Jews were also given an Edict of Toleration in 1783 that concerned both parts of the empire. It was the first step toward emancipation and went hand in hand with the Jewish Enlightenment movement, *Haskalah*, which had spread to the empire from North Germany. This trend toward religious freedom and the opening of public space was demonstrated by the flourishing of freemasonry: lodges were created in every town, where aristocrats as well as burghers became members. After the movement was forbidden in Austria at the end of the eighteenth century, Hungary became a haven for Masons from Cisleithania, and Pozsony, because of its proximity to Austria, became one of their “capitals.” The movement briefly resumed its activities during the revolution of 1848 but was suppressed once again in the wake of the restoration of neo-absolutism. In spite of the liberalization introduced by the Constitutional laws of 1867, it was never authorized again in Austria, thus many Austrian citizens were actually members of Hungarian lodges.

Following the Josephinian reforms, Protestants became more visible in the religious landscape of the Habsburg Monarchy, though the majority still lived in the Hungarian kingdom. After taking over Galicia, the Habsburgs granted some limited religious freedom for the Protestants they found there; these rights were expanded in 1795. The same situation characterized Bucovina, where many German settlers were Lutherans, including the largest community in the Czernowitz suburb of Rosch.⁸ Nevertheless, the Lutherans in

7 Ibid., 9.

8 Friedrich Gottas, “Die Geschichte des Protestantismus in der Habsburgermonarchie,” in Wandruszka and Urbanitsch, *Die Habsburgermonarchie 1848–1918*, vol. 4, *Die Konfessionen*, 493.

Cisleithania remained a very small community, composed mainly of Germans and foreigners. Hungarian Protestantism on the contrary was not only more numerous but also more diverse, including three major branches: Lutheranism, Calvinism, and Unitarianism. Calvinism and Unitarianism were considered genuine Hungarian confessions; Calvinists and Unitarians were mostly Hungarian-speaking people, the former being mostly present in the Great Plain and Transylvania, the latter spread throughout Transylvania. In fact, Transylvania played a crucial role in the development and expansion of both confessions. Thanks to the autonomy of the principality enjoyed under Ottoman rule, Lutherans and Calvinists were spared the influence of the Counter Reformation and were able afterwards to maintain their privileges and their influence well beyond Transylvania, as evidenced by the religious freedoms granted to them at the beginning of the seventeenth century.⁹ Although the return of the Habsburg rule to the whole of Hungary at the beginning of the eighteenth century was indeed marked by a strong re-Catholicization, this could not eliminate Protestantism, which by then was already deeply rooted in the national consciousness. In the course of the eighteenth century the number of Unitarians declined considerably since many of them went back to Calvinism. Lutherans on the contrary were either Slovaks of Upper and southern Hungary, or Transylvanian Saxons, who had constituted a separate Church from the sixteenth century on in the Saxon districts of Transylvania.

The occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina brought a new element of complexity to the religious landscape of Austria-Hungary. There had been Muslim people living in the empire previously, but they were a very small minority and most of them were foreigners. The Muslim population of the territories progressively reconquered from the Turks had resettled in other provinces of the Ottoman Empire, including Bosnia and Herzegovina.¹⁰ When the Habsburgs arrived there too, they faced a compact autochthonous population that had to be integrated into the administrative categories of the state, particularly since Austria-Hungary planned to annex the provinces, ultimately doing so in 1908. The provinces were also a field of potential contention because of the confrontation of Muslims, seen as the bearers of a conservative and theocratic power, with Christians. But the latter were also divided into Catholics

9 Graeme Murdock, *Calvinism on the frontier, 1600–1660: International Calvinism and the Reformed Church in Hungary and Transylvania* (New York: Clarendon Press, 2000).

10 Ferdinand Hauptmann, "Die Mohammedaner in Bosnien-Herzegovina," in Wandruszka and Urbanitsch, *Die Habsburgermonarchie 1848–1918*, vol. 4 *Die Konfessionen*, 670. See also Emily Greble, *Muslims and the Making of Modern Europe* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2021).

(mainly Croats) and Orthodox (Serbs) who had by then already formulated their own national agendas. Once the resistance of the Muslims abated in the years after the occupation, the state took great interest in assuring their cooperation and participation in the administration of the provinces. They were thus able to keep their positions as great landowners and were also a strong element of the city elites, including in Sarajevo, the religious and administrative capital of the former Ottoman province. Together with the Catholics, the Muslims became the allies of Habsburg rule and worked to present themselves as an “ideal” community from the point of view of the empire—that is, a relatively homogenous community without national identification and altogether immune to nationalism. But the project failed because it was not universally supported: conservatives saw in it a betrayal of their religious loyalty, while progressives proved to be unable to impose modernization on the Muslim society that remained largely illiterate and rural. The effort to turn Bosnians into the ideal community also met with critics in Vienna, as well as in the Croatian and Serbian communities, with both trying to dominate the provinces, if not to annex them to their respective national territories (Croats aiming to do so with Herzegovina, while Serbians with Bosnia).

Table 3.3. The percentage of confessions in Bosnia and Herzegovina, 1879–1910¹¹

	1879	1885	1895	1910
Greek Orthodox	42.88	42.76	42.94	43.49
Roman Catholics	18.08	19.88	21.31	22.87
Muslims	38.75	36.88	34.99	32.25

THE ROMAN CATHOLICS

Roman Catholics constituted a majority of the population nearly everywhere in the empire, though as table 3.4 shows, there existed considerable variation between cities.

The overwhelming proportion of Catholics in Cisleithania is undoubtedly linked to the Counter Reformation and the fact that the dynasty embodied Catholicism. In cities like Trieste and Brünn, with the percentage of Catholics above 90 percent, both ethnic majority (Italians and Germans), and minorities (Slovenes and Czechs), shared the same confession. Italians in general were not touched by the Reformation: at its height in Central Europe, the Italian

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 675.

Table 3.4. Percentage of Roman Catholics, 1880–1910¹²

	1880	1890	1900	1910
Arad	51.23	51.84	52.10	51.7
Brünn	87.10	90.43	90	86.91
Czernowitz	29.33	27.36	26.85	26
Fiume	98.25	96.57	91.26	90.61
Lemberg	53.2	52.6	51.66	51.2
Nagyvárad	31.8	31.2	30.6	30.9
Pozsony	73.54	74.45	74.6	75.7
Szabadka	92.43	91.54	90.36	90.31
Temesvár	65.4	68.1	71.4	66.9
Trieste	94.01	94.85	95.14	94.89
Sarajevo	3.26 ¹³	12.66 ¹⁴	28.02 ¹⁵	34.51
Zagreb	91.22	90.64	88.85	88

provinces that later became Habsburg possessions were still under the domination of Venice (Dalmatia) or various Catholic powers in the peninsula. The same was true for Fiume, where both Croatian- and Slovene-speakers were Catholic. The influx of Hungarians did not modify this balance since many were Catholic too, given that Reformation spread in Hungary and

12 Unless otherwise stated, all figures concerning Cisleithania are taken from *Die Ergebnisse der Volkszählung und der mit derselben verbundenen Zählung der häuslichen Nutzthiere vom 31. December 1880 in den im Reichsrathe vertretenen Königreichen und Ländern: Die Bevölkerung der im Reichsrathe vertretenen Königreiche und Länder nach Religion, Bildungsgrad, Umgangssprache und nach ihren Gebrechen*, Österreichische Statistik, vol. 1/2 (Vienna: kaiserlich-königliche Hof- und Staatsdruckerei, 1882); *Die Ergebnisse der Volkszählung vom 31. December 1890 in den im Reichsrathe vertretenen Königreichen und Ländern: Die Bevölkerung nach Grössenkatogorien der Ortschaften, Stellung zum Wohnungsinhaber, Geschlecht, Alter und Familienstand, Confession, Umgangssprache, Bildungsgrad, Gebrechen*, Österreichische Statistik, vol. 32/3 (Vienna: kaiserlich-königliche Hof- und Staatsdruckerei, 1893); *Die Ergebnisse der Volkszählung vom 31. December 1900 in den im Reichsrathe vertretenen Königreichen und Ländern: Die Bevölkerung nach den Grössenkatogorien der Ortschaften, nach der Gebürtigkeit, nach der Confession und Umgangssprache in Verbindung mit dem Geschlechte, nach dem Bildungsgrade innerhalb der Grössenkatogorien der Ortschaften und dem Familienstande*, Österreichische Statistik, vol. 63/2 (Vienna: kaiserlich-königliche Hof- und Staatsdruckerei, 1903); concerning Transleithania from *A magyar korona országáiban az 1881. év elején végrehajtott népszámlálás eredményei* [Results of the census conducted in the Lands of the Hungarian Crown at the beginning of 1881] (Budapest, 1882); *A magyar korona országáiban az 1891. év elején végrehajtott népszámlálás eredményei* [Results of the census conducted in the Lands of the Hungarian Crown at the beginning of 1881] (Budapest, 1893); *A magyar korona országainak 1910. évi népszámlálása* [Census of the Lands of the Hungarian Crown for 1910], vol. 1 (Budapest, 1912).

13 1879.

14 1885.

15 1895.

Transylvania in regions that were not at that point under Habsburg rule. This was not the case with Croatia, most of which remained in Habsburg hands, which explains why Croats remained faithful to Catholicism and hence the high proportion of Catholics in Zagreb. Here some minorities (Germans, Slovenes, and Hungarians) were also Catholic. In cases like these, an aspect of their demands was dedicated to respecting their rights within the Church; in Trieste, for example, Slovenes demanded the nomination of Slovene-speaking priests to administer the parishes where they were in majority. The decision of the hierarchy to more or less comply was criticized by Italians, who saw this as proof that Vienna favored Slovenes. In Lemberg, Catholicism was associated with the Polish leadership of the town, but here Greek Catholics as well as Jews represented important minorities able to challenge this dominance. Galicia was a confessionally mixed territory where Catholicism was balanced by Greek Catholicism and Orthodoxy; Poles were overwhelmingly Catholic, but many were Armenian Catholic. In Bucovina Catholics were mainly the descendants of German colonists, as well as more recent newcomers from Austria and Bohemia. A nearly ideal balance among Catholics, Jews, and Orthodox characterized Czernowitz, with each confessional group making up approximately one-third of the population of the town.

In Hungary, Catholicism was still the largest confession, but its dominance was balanced by the presence of other religions, and especially a strong Calvinist influence in the margins of the kingdom in Transylvania and Banat. Indeed, as we can see from the statistics of a number of Hungarian towns, Catholicism was often not the dominant confession locally, which could be Calvinism, Greek Catholicism, Orthodoxy, or even Judaism. While Catholicism was stronger in the western and northern parts of the country that remained under Habsburg rule during the Ottoman wars and was thus more exposed to the Counter-Reformation, the eastern part of the country, from the north to the south, was a region of extreme diversity of faiths.

Somewhat special in this respect were the southern part of the country, where the *reconquista* from Ottoman rule was followed by a deliberate policy of re-Catholization through resettlement designed for this purpose, in which the Franciscans played a major role. As its former German name, Maria-Theresiopel, reveals, the city of Szabadka—which was included in the military frontier until the mid-eighteenth century—was an example of this effort. When it came to repopulating the town, Catholic settlers from nearby territories were privileged and therefore determined the religious profile of the city. As a result, Szabadka's population was overwhelmingly Catholic, so much so that even

the local Serbs, the so-called Bunjevci, were also predominantly Catholic. The arrival of colonists from Germany in the southern regions at the beginning of the eighteenth century brought even more complexity because the Habsburgs took great care in not authorizing “heretics” to settle in the empire, hence the lands of the military border were theoretically inaccessible to Protestants and Jews. The impact of these settlement policies can clearly be seen in the confessional profile of Temesvár where nearly all Germans, as well as an important proportion of Hungarians, were Catholics. The same picture cannot be drawn for the inner Hungarian provinces, where Calvinism managed to spread as early as the beginning of the sixteenth century. In contrast to the relatively nearby Temesvár, neither in Arad nor in Nagyvárad was Catholicism the dominant religion. One should also note that in Hungary, compared to Cisleithania, minorities were to some extent “double” minorities because they were both religious and linguistic minorities. Only the Slovaks of Pozsony were predominantly Catholic and thus not excluded from the religious mainstream; in the rest of Upper Hungary, and in southern Hungary, they were more likely to be Lutherans.

When it comes to the position of Catholicism, Sarajevo was a particular case in many respects. At the time of the occupation, Catholics were a very small minority in the city.¹⁶ In Bosnia and Herzegovina, Franciscans were in charge of administering Catholic communities, which consisted mainly of Catholic Croats, but they were mainly active in small towns and villages, with monasteries dispersed throughout the territory. In the years following 1878, the proportion of Catholics in Sarajevo grew immediately, first due to the arrival of military personnel and civil servants from Austria and Hungary, and then because of the immigration of Croats from the nearby countryside and from Croatia proper. The change was considerable and was noticed by the Vatican, which led to disputes with the Franciscans. In 1910, more than one-third of the population of the town was Catholic. This growth came mostly at the expense of the Muslims, who still had a slight majority but who had lost much of their influence. The Orthodox saw an increase as well but their percentage remained behind the other two groups.

THE GREEK CATHOLICS

The Greek Catholic urban population constituted usually a small minority in the cities discussed here, although there were regional differences, with

¹⁶ In 1851 they formed 1.14 percent of the population.

larger communities existing in Galicia and Bucovina (see table 3.5 below). They belonged to two different groups: Romanians and Ruthenians. The Greek Catholics of the three Hungarian towns (Arad, Nagyvárad, and Temesvár) were Romanians, though most Romanians there were Orthodox. In the southern part of Transylvania and in Banat, Romanians were less touched by Uniatism, a fact that explains the small share of this confession in cities like Arad and Temesvár. In the northern part of Transylvania Greek Catholicism was more widespread among the Romanians, but Nagyvárad was an exception in this respect: among the 3,600 people who declared Romanian as their mother tongue in 1910, only 1,000 declared belonging to Greek Catholicism while 2,400 to Orthodoxy.¹⁷ Interestingly, more Hungarians (2,200) declared belonging to Greek Catholicism than Romanians;¹⁸ this apparent anomaly indicates either that a significant number of Romanians assimilated and thus declared Hungarian their mother tongue, or that conversion and/or intermarriages (where one of the partners was a Hungarian speaker) had taken place. This could also explain the relatively high figure of Hungarian-speaking Orthodox. Nevertheless, Greek Catholicism was an important factor in the town due to the establishment of a Greek Catholic diocesan seat. In Arad and Temesvár, the small number of Greek Catholics were mostly Romanian.

Table 3.5. Percentage of Greek Catholics, 1880–1910

	1880	1890	1900	1910
Arad	1.70	2.45	2.21	2.4
Czernowitz ¹⁹	12.35	12.03	11.26	11
Lemberg	15.94	17.2	18.35	19.2
Nagyvárad	6.7	6.5	5.7	5.3
Temesvár	1.7	1.5	1.0	1.0

Religious and national identification was stronger in Cisleithania and there was a strong connection between nationality and faith in both Lemberg and Czernowitz. Uniatism had spread among Ruthenians in the eastern part of Galicia and among Romanians in Bucovina. Not everyone who spoke Ruthenian or Romanian in Czernowitz was Greek Catholic, for Orthodoxy divided Romanians and Ruthenians. The situation was clearer in Lemberg

17 The rest belonged to either Catholicism, Protestantism or, more unlikely, to Judaism.

18 János Fleisz, *Város, kinek nem látni mását: Nagyvárad a dualizmus korában* [A city like no other: Nagyvárad in the period of the Dual Monarchy] (Nagyvárad: BN kiadó, 1996), 182–83.

19 Greek and Armenian Catholics are counted together.

where nearly all Ruthenians were Greek Catholic; they were also represented institutionally by the establishment of a bishopric.

THE GREEK ORTHODOX

Orthodoxy was mainly present in two areas of the Habsburg lands: in Bucovina in the east, and in the southern territories, including southern Hungary and the regions along the military border, that is Vojvodina, Slavonia, Croatia, and Banat. With the integration of Bosnia and Herzegovina into the Austro-Hungarian Empire, the number of Orthodox believers considerably increased. The division of the church authorities between Serbian and Romanian clergy was achieved in the eighteenth century during the reconquest of former Ottoman territories.

Table 3.6. Percentage of Orthodox, 1880–1910

	1880	1890	1900	1910
Arad	23.54	22	20.61	20
Czernowitz ²⁰	21.16	22.94	22.43	22
Fiume	0.18	0.49	1.80	1.99
Nagyvárad	5.9	5.8	7.2	7.2
Sarajevo	17.52	16.88	15.39	20.77
Szabadka	3.98	3.41	3.91	3.68
Temesvár	14.4	12.1	10.1	15.4
Trieste	1.15	0.86	0.77	0,86

The particularity of Orthodoxy is its autocephalous organization. The Serbian church united nearly all the Serbian-speaking people of the monarchy, the only notable exception being the Catholic Bunjevci. The Romanians, as already mentioned, were divided between Greek Catholics (mostly in Transylvania) and Orthodox (Banat, Bucovina). Seminaries were founded where both Serbian and Romanian priests were trained. The Serbian church in the Habsburg Monarchy was headed by the Serbian patriarchate of Sremski Karlovci (Karlowitz), an institution that also held political significance as many Serbs considered it to represent national leadership. A slow laicization of Serbian politics in the empire started only after the beginning of the constitutional era. The Romanian Church did not hold the same national significance as did the Serbian, given the above-mentioned religious divide within the Romanian

²⁰ Greek- and Armenian Orthodox are counted together.

Christian community. Religious authority rested with the Orthodox bishops. One of the monarchy's three Romanian dioceses was located in Arad.²¹ The Orthodox bishop in Temesvár held his authority from the Serbian patriarchate, so there the Romanian church was under the authority of the Arad bishop; the same was true in Nagyvárad.

The main pole of attraction for Orthodox Romanians was Czernowitz, thanks to the prestige of its seminary. The importance of the town as seat of an Orthodox Romanian bishop was reinforced by the construction of an impressive episcopal palace where the seminary was housed. When the university was created in 1875, the Orthodox seminary was transformed into a faculty of Orthodox theology. This evolution was deeply resented by the Ruthenians who, despite being able to receive tuition in their language at the seminary and to serve their own Ruthenian parish churches, felt excluded from decision-making since the hierarchy remained in Romanian hands.

The proportion of the Orthodox population increased slightly in Sarajevo, due to natural increase and immigration, but the increase (from 17 percent in 1851 to 20.8 percent in 1910) was nowhere near that of Catholics. The Orthodox struggled for visibility and domination but could not succeed against the open support given to the Croats, who were regarded as loyal Catholics, and to the Muslims who were still considered to be part of the town's elite. Sarajevo was therefore not representative of the religious landscape of the provinces where the Orthodox were in the majority. Before the occupation, the metropolitans of Bosnia (Sarajevo and Zvornik) and Herzegovina (Mostar) were under the jurisdiction of the patriarchate of Constantinople. After the occupation, Vienna did not wish to transfer the Orthodox Church of Bosnia and Herzegovina to the patriarchate of Karlovci, fearing it would increase the influence of Serbian politicians in the territory and create an overly powerful Serbian church. Nor was granting autonomy an option, for this solution was advocated by Russia and Serbia. Eventually, an agreement was concluded between Austria and the patriarch in Constantinople, who agreed not to nominate bishops without Vienna's consent.²²

Finally, the small Orthodox minority in Trieste was composed of Greek and Serbian merchants settled in the town after the creation of the free port. They tended to mix with other national groups and took the road to linguistic assimilation at the end of the nineteenth century. Nevertheless, they kept

21 The two others were in Brassó (Kronstadt, Braşov) and Karánsebes (Caranşebes).

22 Turczynski, "Orthodoxe und Unierte," 445.

a strong visibility through their churches, cemeteries, and palaces, and the names of their firms and shops.

EVANGELICAL AND REFORMED PROTESTANTISM

Protestantism in the Habsburg Empire was primarily divided between Lutheranism and Calvinism, aside from a very small Unitarian minority in Transylvania that turned more and more to Calvinism during the nineteenth century. The Lutheran Church had a significant impact only in Pozsony where it was represented mainly by Germans but also by Slovaks, although the centers of Slovak Lutheranism were located in the east of the country as well as in southern Hungary. This situation was the legacy of Pozsony's time as capital of the Hungarian kingdom when the rest of the country was under Ottoman rule. The Habsburgs respected the Hungarian historical rights and did not undertake a strict re-Catholicization of the country, and the town became a haven for Protestants, as well as later for Freemasons.

Table 3.7. Percentage of Lutherans, 1880-1910

	1880	1890	1900	1910
Arad	2.65	2.90	3.14	3.5
Brünn	1.75	2.36	1.82	1.97
Czernowitz	4.82	4.97	5.09	5
Fiume ²³	0.44	0.76	0.65	0.62
Nagyvárad	2.3	1.8	1.7	2.1
Pozsony	14.45	14.02	12.6	11.5
Sarajevo		0.74 ²⁴		0.95
Szabadka	3.98	3.41	3.91	3.68
Temesvár	3.1	2.8	2.1	2.2
Trieste	0.72	0.52	0.75	0.82
Zagreb	0.18	0.74	1.09 ²⁵	1.39

Most of the Lutherans elsewhere were Germans, many of them originating from German states and territories and not from Austria proper, where this confession had been practically eradicated during the Counter Reformation.

23 The community united Lutherans and Calvinists but they were counted separately.

24 1895 census.

25 In 1900 and 1910 Lutherans and Calvinists are counted together.

This was the case for the Germans settling in Bucovina for example, as well as for some Germans living in Trieste. Protestants were a minority everywhere and sometimes a very small one, barely visible through a handful of temples.

Thanks to the penetration of the Reformation into Transylvania, Calvinism was widespread among Hungarians there, as well as in eastern and south-eastern Hungary. In some towns it constituted a significant minority; in Arad and Nagyvárad, Calvinism contributed to religious diversity. In some cases, there was a strong connection between Hungarian nationality and Calvinism. Indeed, in the last decades of the nineteenth century, the authorities sometimes emphasized the importance of Calvinism as an instrument of their Magyarization policy. The only exception is Trieste where Calvinists were citizens of foreign origin, mainly from Switzerland. The increase of the Calvinist population in Hungarian towns—and to some extent in Fiume—is an indication of the immigration of Hungarians from nearby counties. But Calvinism in Hungary was more of a rural phenomenon and thus mainly present in the smaller towns and marketplaces of Transylvania and the Great Plain. Since it was a strictly Hungarian confession, it tended to be more frequent in localities that were not multinational. In many of these places, the confessional landscape was divided between Catholicism and Calvinism.

Table 3.8. Percentage of Calvinists, 1880–1910

	1880	1890	1900	1910
Arad	8.57	9.29	10.93	12.1
Fiume	0.49	0.33	1.06	2.25
Nagyvárad	27	28.2	29.9	30.6
Pozsony	1.06	1.00	1.7	1.9
Szabadka	0.58	0.91	1.22	1.50
Temesvár	3.0	2.8	3.4	4.8
Trieste	0.37	0.30	0.24	0.25

JUDAISM

The Habsburg Jews can be grouped into three main categories based on their origins. The first group consisted of the “Western” Jews in Bohemia, Moravia, Austria and Hungary, who were the main exponents of the German language and culture in the empire and thus the first to rally to the *Haskalah* movement, initiated by Enlightenment intellectuals like Moses Mendelssohn, that led them “out of the ghetto” through the adoption of laic education and

the local vernacular languages (here mainly German). Some of the Bohemian and Moravian Jews experienced a double migration because many of them settled in Hungary at the turn of the eighteenth century to escape the limitations imposed on inheritance by Maria Theresia. The second and more numerous group was the so-called “Eastern” Jews (*Ostjuden*) who immigrated from Poland and Russia into Galicia and Bucovina, and also into Upper Hungary onwards as far as Vienna and Trieste. Third, Sephardic Jews were represented by Italian Jews who settled in Trieste after the creation of the free port in 1719, and the Jews of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Both groups were descendants of the Jews expelled from Spain at the end of the fifteenth century, many of whom found refuge in the Ottoman Empire. They settled in towns, were therefore more integrated socially than the “Eastern” Jews and thus did not experience a reform movement like, as we will see later, the Ashkenazim did. Yet, at the turn of the century Zionism had a significant impact on them.

Despite these internal divisions, until 1867 Judaism was treated by the state as a single unified religious category, one in which Jews were defined by their common legal status: they were tolerated but marginalized, granted neither citizenship nor full right of settlement and choice of profession. While the identity imposed from above was based on religious practice, Jewish populations in this respect varied in fact greatly throughout the empire. The Enlightenment *Haskalah* movement affected urban Jewish elites, who adopted reforms and became more and more “assimilated” to the local national group, whereas the new immigrants, poorer and less educated, tended to maintain “traditional” values. Nor did a single religious category in statistics reflect such clear divisions as existed, for example in Sarajevo between “Austro-Hungarian” and “Spanish” Jews, or in Hungary between the three recognized communities of “neologues” (liberals), orthodox, and “status quo.”

The differences in Hungary between neologue and orthodox Jews appeared in the wake of the 1848 Revolution when many embraced the national cause. This was a consequence of the adoption by some urban communities of the Jewish reform movement that advocated political participation and some adaptation of religious rituals in accordance with the norms of the surrounding society. These modernization tendencies (less observance of the kosher rules, introduction of the organ during service, etc.) were rejected by the Orthodox who nevertheless also contributed to the war of independence but not by enrolling in the army (for it would have led to possible breach of the Sabbath). In 1868, in the wake of the emancipation of Jews in Hungary, the Minister of Religion and Public Education, Baron József Eötvös, called for a congress of

the Hungarian Jewish community leaders to create a unified administrative body for Hungarian Jews. Yet rather than healing the schism, the congress deepened it, resulting in the official division of the Hungarian Jews among Neologues, Orthodox, and those who did not want to change anything and wished to return to the pre-congress state of affairs and were from them on called “Status Quo” communities.²⁶

This religious split within local Jewish communities led in some cities to the construction of new places of worship to accommodate each group, thus increasing the visibility of Jews and the local religious diversity. This was the case in Temesvár where Neologues and Status Quo Jews were in majority compared to Orthodox. The same situation characterized Nagyvárad but here Orthodoxy had a lesser relevance. Arad had no Status Quo community; here, too, the Neologues were the dominant group. The position of Orthodoxy was declining but it still had strongholds in Upper Hungary and with its spiritual capital being in Pozsony thanks to the Yeshiva of the Sofer rabbinical dynasty. But the Neologues did gain ground there as well and were the force behind the construction of the big representative synagogue in the city center. In other cities, the Neologue community was the only possible choice: Szabadka and Fiume belong to this category. Fiume was a particular case because of the late arrival of the Hungarians, mostly merchants, civil servants, teachers, and liberal professions. In 1890, more than half of the Hungarians (54.19 percent) were Jews; the other Jews were either Italian- or German-speaking. The fact that the city was a port and only recently promoted as a Hungarian autonomous territory explains the diversity of the Jewish community.

When it comes to the “Eastern” Jews, part of them chose the way of social and cultural integration and came to play an essential role in the economic and cultural life of provinces like Bucovina, especially in the cities, like the regional capital Czernowitz. It was also the educated urban Jews, who were behind the spread of Zionism, and who attempted to mediate it to the countryside.²⁷ Yet, the rural Jews had a *Kulturwelt* of their own in which Hassidism was widely influential, spread through the personalities of the *Wunderrabbis*. Hassidism originates from eastern Poland and is based on the teaching of Israel ben Eliezer, called Baal Shem Tov (1700–1760). Hasidic thought is based

26 Catherine Horel, “Orthodoxes et Néologues: le Congrès des Juifs de Hongrie et la scission de la communauté, 1868–1869,” *Études Danubiennes* 10, no. 1 (1994): 25–42.

27 Catherine Horel, “Dal chassidismo al sionismo: Unita e diversità dell’ebraismo nell’impero asburgico,” in *Storia religiosa degli Ebrei di Europa*, ed. Lucciano Vaccaro, Europa ricerche 18 (Milan: Centro Ambrosiano, 2013), 261.

largely on the *Kabbala* but is distinct from orthodoxy in its focus on ecstasy and trance through common singing and mystic dance. These irrational elements are concentrated on the person of the illuminated *Wunderrabbi*, able to make divination and miracles. The influence of Hassidism was great in the world of the *shtetl* where the Jews were confronted with the angst of modernity and the fear of the pogroms. Hassidism spread rapidly in Poland, in the Russian Empire, and then in the eastern lands of the Habsburg Monarchy, especially in Galicia and Bucovina. The little town of Sadagora (today Sadhora) next to Czernowitz was considered the capital of Hassidism and attracted adepts from other parts of the empire as well as from Russia and Romania.

Table 3.9. Percentage of the Jewish population, 1880-1910

	1880	1890	1900	1910
Arad	12.41	11.40	10.81	10
Brünn	7.36	7.49	7.53	7.05
Czernowitz	25.10	31.8	31.9	32.8
Fiume	0.51	0.76	1.65	3.40
Lemberg	28.21	28.1	27.68	27.8
Nagyvárad	24.58	26.23	24.13	25.8
Pozsony	10.34	10.29	10.8	10.5
Szabadka	2.68	3.49	3.61	3.74
Temesvár	11.9	12.2	11.6	9.27
Trieste	3.16	2.98	2.69	2.39
Sarajevo	9.74	9.96	10.64	12.33
Zagreb	4.4	5.01	5.54	5.61

THE MUSLIMS: NEWCOMERS TO THE SCENE OF CONFESSIONAL DIVERSITY

Among the cities discussed in this book, Muslims were represented only in Sarajevo. As shown in table 3.10, their percentage in the town's population declined considerably during the forty years of Austrian occupation.

Table 3.10. Muslims in Sarajevo, 1851-1910

1851	1879	1885	1895	1910
72.23	69.45	60.09	45.06	35.57

Immediately after the occupation, there was an emigration movement to the Ottoman Empire, but most Muslims had no reason to move, and in the

long run this flow dried up. Many Muslims were wealthy landowners and would not abandon their land and goods. The Habsburg Empire was aware of this, which is why the authorities assured them of security and respect for their religious feelings. Yet, Islam had to be reorganized following the Josephinian heritage: religious leaders were to become useful and loyal subjects. All Muslim institutions were put under the control of the local administration and the men chosen to lead them had to make allegiance to the emperor, a reality that shocked many who did not want to obey an “infidel” sovereign in place of the sultan. The central administration considered Muslims to be immune to the nationalist discourse spread by Croats and Serbs and therefore their adoption of an Austrian dynastic identity was crucial.²⁸ Shaping a separate identity through language was not really possible as they spoke Serbo-Croatian; Arabic was limited to worship and only the elite knew *osmanli* (Ottoman Turkish). The “invention” of a specific Bosnian identity, the so-called *bošnjastvo*, was supposed to rally the Muslims. Leaders of the religious institutions (religion, *medrese*, *shariah*-tribunal and school, *vakuf* charity organization) were supposed to be the bearers of this new order. Many of them did in fact engage in this process that implied modernization: newspapers and associations were created and soon the community split between conservatives and progressives; the former more or less following the laicization trend promoted by the authorities through the enhancement of a “Bosnian” identity, the latter strictly remaining faithful to the Ottoman heritage.

MOBILE COMMUNITIES: MIXED MARRIAGES AND CONVERSIONS

The mobility of the populace, together with growing access to education, urbanization, and industrialization, made the frontiers between communities fluid. While migration sometimes led to drastic changes in the confessional makeup of a city, as in Sarajevo, in most cases the newcomers shared the same faith as the endogenous population; still, changes took place. In a multilingual and multiconfessional urban environment, people escaped the control of religious leaders. Three important consequences could follow this more open way of life: mixed marriage; conversion; and adherence to socialism and/or atheism.

²⁸ See the latest analysis of Edin Hajdarpašić, *Whose Bosnia? Nationalism and Political Imagination in the Balkans, 1840–1914* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2015).

Mixed marriages and conversions were still a very rare phenomenon, though their existence was an undeniable reality in the Habsburg Empire. Mixed marriages belonged to three categories: marriages made between people of different nationalities yet sharing the same faith (for example Serbian and Romanian Orthodox in Arad or Temesvár); marriages between people from the same national group but of two different faiths; and finally, marriages between people of both different religion and nationality. Here the statistics are of questionable help; for many towns they simply do not exist, while for others they are inconsistent or lack details about the nature of the marriages. Many local censuses only give an indication of the number of mixed marriages without specifying the confession of the persons. From 1895 on in Hungary, laws were enacted mandating that births, deaths, and marriages be declared to the civilian authorities. But these authorities were not necessarily interested in recording confessional belonging, or at least did not publish the data. Church records are sometimes incomplete and religious leaders were not necessarily pleased with mixed marriages. In Austria, all acts were still performed by churches and there was no obligation to declare them to the civilian authorities, but this was nevertheless possible and often done. Here again, mixed marriages are better documented for Transleithania. The best sources are those about Temesvár, though from a limited time, 1896–1898. Seventy-five mixed unions between Christians are recorded for 1896; 67 for 1897; and again 67 for 1898. The number of marriages in Temesvár for the three respective years is: 358, 356 and 379. After adding marriages between Christians and Jews (9 in 1896; 8 in 1897, 8 in 1898), the percentage of mixed marriages in Temesvár for these three years reaches 23.5, 21, and 19.8 percent. It appears that the town must have been one of the most “mixed” in terms of confessional diversity. Catholics, although being the majority in town and thus not deprived of possible partners belonging to the same faith, were the group who married most outside their community. On the whole for the three years 79 marriages were performed between Catholics and Orthodox, 45 between Catholics and Lutherans, 46 between Catholics and Calvinists, 15 between Catholics and Greek-Catholics, 5 between Catholics and Unitarians and 21 between Catholics and Jews. From this it appears that most mixed marriages concerning Jews and Christians were performed with Catholic partners.²⁹

29 *Temesvár szabad királyi város statisztikája 1898-ik évben* [Statistical data for the free royal city of Temesvár in 1898] (Temesvár: 1900), 46.

Arad must have been rather mixed as well at the religious level, but here most mixed marriages were performed between Orthodox people belonging to the Romanian and Serbian groups. Since Romanians were the majority in the town as well as in the nearby villages, and enjoyed the presence of a bishop together with a seminary, Serbs marrying into that community tended to become “Romanized.”³⁰ The communities lived close to each other both in town and in the suburbs and so came into contact with each other more than in the villages that were less mixed. Mixed marriages between Jews and Catholics also occurred in Arad, to the great displeasure of Rabbi Sándor Rosenberg who declared at the time of the vote on the law of the compulsory civil registration of marriage (the Civil Marriage Bill) that mixed marriages should not cause the Jewish spouse to “abandon” his or her religion. An article of the newspaper *Arad és Vidéke* (Arad and its surroundings), published at the occasion of a coming marriage between a young Jewish lady and a Catholic landowner, mentions that seven such marriages had already been celebrated in Arad since 1895.³¹

Zagreb was an opposite case because of the extremely high proportion of Catholics compared to very small confessional minorities made it difficult for the latter to find partners within their faith. Yet, they seem to have “resisted” religious assimilation either by marrying within the religious community or by choosing partners not originating from the town. Therefore, the number of mixed marriages was rather insignificant. Statistical data from 1878–1880 shows the following results: in 1878, 197 marriages were performed between Catholics, 4 between Orthodox, and 10 between Jews. There were only 11 mixed marriages (5.21 percent): one between a Catholic man and an Orthodox woman; 6 between Orthodox men and Catholic women; and 4 between Lutheran men and Catholic women.³² The proportion is more or less the same two years later with 269 marriages between Catholics, 5 between Orthodox, and 11 between Jews. There were only 9 mixed marriages (3.15 percent): one between a Catholic man and an Orthodox woman; 6 between Orthodox men and Catholic women; and one between an Orthodox man and a Lutheran woman.³³ There were no mixed marriages with Jewish partners. It is possible

30 *Arad vármegye és Arad szab. kir. város néprajzi leírása*, 425.

31 *Arad és Vidéke*, January 8, 1902. The bride was not anybody: she was the daughter of the ennobled local entrepreneur Armin Deutsch.

32 Milovan Zoričić, *Miena žiteljstva godina 1878, 1879 i 1880* [Movement of the population in the years 1878–1880] (Agram: Albrecht, 1883), 34.

33 *Ibid.*, 250.

to deduce from these figures that these marriages may well have been multinational: they were most likely between Croats and Serbs, and maybe between Germans (Lutherans were mostly German) and Croats or Serbs.

Mixed marriages involving Jews were extremely rare in Hungary before the enactment of the law on the civil registration of marriages. The reason was the prerequisite for most Jews wanting to marry a Christian spouse was to convert to Christianity. But the possibility of performing a civil marriage outside of the strict community laws meant that from 1895 on Jews did not necessarily need to convert before being married. In that year in Szabadka for example, the weekly *Bácskai Ellenőr* (Bácska Monitor) was pleased to announce the first mixed marriage performed in the town's first district between a Jewish merchant and a Catholic woman, who had already been living together for 29 years, with having children and even grandchildren. As apparently neither of them wanted to upset their respective families by converting for marriage, they had instead been living in a so-called "wild union" (*wilde Ehe*), notwithstanding the fact that such a relationship was considered just as much of a sin. For them, civil marriage offered a way to legitimate their relationship, so they took the opportunity to marry before the civilian authorities.³⁴

Mixed marriages remained a minority all over the empire, but depending on the situation in a given town their percentage could vary. Looking at another "mixed" city like Fiume, where the population was predominantly Catholic, the proportion of mixed marriages for 1898–1899 is only 8.18 percent out of 281 marriages.³⁵ This is significantly more than in Zagreb and reveals more openness and mobility, as mixed marriages in Fiume must have been performed between Catholics and members of other faiths, including Jews and Calvinists. When a community was too small and isolated, its members were practically forced to marry a partner belonging to another confession. This was the case for the minority of Lutherans in Brünn, nearly all of whom married Catholic partners. The weddings were even celebrated outside the Lutheran parish. This trend was already apparent around 1867, and accelerated afterwards, essentially leading to the extinction of the community.³⁶

If pragmatism, careerism, or political pressure could convince some people to change their nationality, conversion was an even less frequent of a

34 *Bácskai Ellenőr: Társadalmi, közművelődési szépirodalmi és közgazdászati közlöny*, October 10, 1895.

35 *Statisztikai adatok Fiume városáról és forgalmáról* [Statistical data on the city and traffic of Fiume] (Budapest: Magyar kir. központi statisztikai hivatal, 1901), 10.

36 Gustav Trautenberger, *Aus der evangelischen Kirchen-Gemeinde in Brünn* (Brünn: Rohrer, 1866), 91.

phenomenon than mixed marriages. Mixed marriages did lead often to conversion, but this was not systematic and many couples still practiced their own religion, while children were raised in one parent's confession. Linguistic assimilation was thus not necessarily coupled with confessional assimilation through conversion. This is particularly true for Jews, some of whom converted only to be able to obtain certain professions and higher positions that were incompatible with Judaism, but the majority had no need to change religion, even less after emancipation was obtained in 1867. Assimilated Jews considered themselves to be Germans, Italians, Hungarians, or Poles without having to prove it by converting to the Christian faith. A partial exception is Trieste, where Jews chose to abandon their confession: for some it was an expression of their Italian nationalism, as can be seen in the conversion of the politicians Mois e Luzzatto, Felice Venezian, Eugenio Geiringer and Jacopo Liebman, all members of the city council who converted in the 1870s and early-1880s.³⁷ For others, like Angelo Vivante, it was a "conversion" to socialism and thus a more radical form of atheism.³⁸

In many cases, however, conversion was either the consequence or the prerequisite of marriage. Lemberg provides statistical data concerning conversions for the years 1906–1911, from which it appears that most of those converting were aged between 20 and 40 and unmarried. This is an indication that marriage may have been the reason behind the change of confession. In 1906, 94 persons converted to another religion, men and women equally. The most numerous were the Greek Catholics (34) who practically all converted to Catholicism (33); then the Lutherans (20) also in their majority changing to Catholicism (18) while two of them converted to Greek Catholicism; third were the Jews (18) becoming Catholics (17) and one Greek Catholic; the fourth group were Catholics (16) who turned toward either Lutheranism (7), Greek Catholicism (5) or Judaism (2); and finally the Orthodox (6), adopting Catholicism (5) and Lutheranism (1). Very few of those converting declared to be without religion: one former Catholic and one Greek Catholic, who had

37 *Il Corriere Israelitico*, no. 9, 1885, 220. The paper reminds that there are seven other Jews in the city council who are still members of the community: Consolo, Edoardo Janovitz, Eugenio Brunner, Eugenio Morpurgo, Raffaele Luzzatto, Eugenio Richetti, and Salvatore Ventura.

38 Trieste was one of the cities where atheism reached relatively high figures: in 1910, 0.56 percent of the population declared no religious affiliation. This group consisted for one part of Italian irredentists reproaching the Church for its "partial" attitude in favor of the Slovenes; they shared the radical attitude of the Mazzinian ideology of Risorgimento in Italy that claimed laicism. For the other part, they were Social Democrats of both nationalities as well as Jews who abandoned their original faith.

already left their religion before converting to a new one.³⁹ The figures for 1907 are nearly identical: 104 conversions were registered, again mostly by unmarried individuals (80), among them 57 men and 47 women aged from 20 to 40. Four persons declared to be without confession: three of them were former Catholics and one Jewish.⁴⁰ The trend toward conversion clearly accelerated in 1910 when 362 conversions were recorded; interestingly, 261 of these persons were Greek Catholics who converted to Catholicism. The process was repeated in 1911 (292 out of 391). There was also an increase of atheism: 7 people left their original confession (4 Catholics, 2 Greek Catholics and one Jew). Among these converts women (45.85 percent) were slightly less numerous than men; the unmarried were again in the majority and the average age had lowered to 20–30 years. The 1911 record is the first one in which conversions to Judaism are noted: two by Catholics and one by a Lutheran.⁴¹ Other than this, the 1911 data reflected no particular change except that the percentage of unmarried rose to 78 percent, and the percentage of women (48 percent) approached that of men. A small increase of atheism is visible (nine persons), but it concerned all confessions: one Greek Catholic, three Catholics, one Lutheran and four Jews. Conversions to Judaism remained exceptional (one Greek Catholic, two Lutherans).⁴² The increase of conversion on the part of the Greek Catholics to Catholicism calls for hypothesis: if we assume that the nationality of these people was Ruthenian, one can deduce that they wanted to assimilate into Catholicism as a way of social ascension, which probably also meant the choice to adopt the Polish language. But Greek Catholicism was not in an inferior position in Lemberg, host to its spiritual capital and religious institutions. Here the religious factor may thus have been secondary to a “national” attitude. Another element supporting this assumption is the relatively low level of conversions in the other groups: this concerned only a few dozen people in a city whose population was already reaching beyond 200,000. Finally, it was easier for a Greek Catholic to become a Catholic than for a person of any other faith. Attending Catholic mass in Lemberg required knowledge of Polish, something that was easier for a person knowing a Slavic language than for German or Yiddish speakers. Lemberg is the only city in

39 *Wiadomości statystyczne o mieście Lwowie* [Statistical data of Lemberg city], vol. 12 (Lwów: Nakładem Gminy ról. stoł. M. Lwowa, 1910), 77.

40 *Ibid.*, 78.

41 *Ibid.*, vol. 14/1914, 100.

42 *Ibid.*, 101.

our panel to provide such figures and there are no indications that a similar phenomenon occurred elsewhere.

Leaving one's community was still a difficult choice, as too was the choice to abandon religion completely. In Brünn as well as in Trieste, socialism may have been a reason why there were a significant number of "*Konfessionslos*" people. Statistical data provided by the municipality of Brünn for 1914 shows 115 conversions, among them 22 Catholics abandoning their faith; 56 becoming Lutherans and 2 Jewish. Among the Jews, two left Judaism, three converted to Catholicism, and two to Lutheranism. Finally, 8 Lutherans chose Catholicism.⁴³

RELIGION AND NATIONAL POLITICS

Religion played a significant role in politics in the Habsburg Empire. Mixed marriages and conversions were seen by many activists as "treason" to the national ideal, and as opportunistic decisions taken without conviction. The identification of national groups with a given confession sometimes led to conflicts between the authorities, religious leaders, and nationalists. For the latter, the need to define the nation was often linked to confessional belonging; indeed, priests played an important role in the national "awakenings" since they had often been the only literate people able to communicate in the language of their parishioners. They were also the teachers at elementary religious village schools. Thanks to education they had access to the dominant language of the country and were therefore able to work as intermediaries between the common people and the elites.

The need to define nationality through confessional belonging characterized the relationship of Catholic Slovenes and Slovaks vis-à-vis the Germans, Italians, and Hungarians; the same can be said for the Greek Catholic Ruthenians in their confrontation with Poles. Orthodoxy represented a special case, as the autocephalous organization of the Church led to an even stronger identification of religion with nation, particularly in the Serbian case. The situation was somewhat different for Romanians divided between Greek Catholicism and Orthodoxy, but here again the main vector of national identification was Orthodoxy. The main reason for this was that the Romanian principalities (Walachia and Moldavia) had remained Orthodox under Ottoman rule,

43 *Die Gemeinde-Verwaltung und Gemeindestatistik der Landeshauptstadt Brünn: Bericht des Bürgermeisters August Ritter von Wieser für das Jahr 1914* (Brünn: Fr. Winiker & Schickardt, 1916), 50.

and as soon as Romania was granted the status of an independent kingdom, Orthodoxy was promoted as the state religion and therefore the only possible vector of identification.

The dynasty was not supposed to interfere in religious matters, even in Catholic ones, but the fact that it was itself Catholic could not be ignored. The Constitutional laws of 1867 had consecrated the equality of citizens regardless of their confession, but the Concordat of 1855, which declared the predominance of Catholicism in the Habsburg Monarchy, was abolished only in 1870. The suppression of the Concordat occurred in the context of *Kulturkampf* after the 1866 defeat against Prussia, followed by the Prussian victory over the French at Sedan, and the siege of the Vatican itself by Italian troops seeking the unification of Italy. In this context, the liberals saw the end of the Concordat as a triumph of their ideas for a constitutional monarchy. But this achievement had at least two major consequences for Austria-Hungary: while the dissatisfaction of Catholics gave birth to the Christian Social movement in both parts of the empire, many German-speaking liberals turned to Pan-Germanism and did not conceal their admiration for the politics of *Kulturkampf* led by Chancellor Bismarck. German nationalists went as far as to launch a movement called “*Los von Rom*” (away from Rome) in order to challenge Catholic leadership and influence in the Habsburg Monarchy. The Catholic hierarchy found itself in a difficult situation: the Church’s universal ideology should have theoretically been above political and national conflict, yet it could not ignore the fact that some nationalities had turned their confessional belonging into a political instrument. The Holy See had to take into account the nationalities question in the Habsburg Empire and Pope Leo XIII—in his policy of rapprochement toward Russia and efforts to come to a union with the Orthodox—openly sympathized with the Slavic populations of the monarchy.⁴⁴ Some of their religious-national demands were satisfied by the Vatican, like the canonization of Cyril and Methodius as “apostles of the Slavs” in 1880, and the authorization in 1892 for some Dalmatian and Istrian parishes to continue to use the old Glagolitic alphabet.⁴⁵ Relations between Vienna and the Vatican were thus not free from tensions, a fact which was understood by

44 Andreas Gottsmann, “Der Heilige Stuhl und die nationale Frage in der Donaumonarchie an der Wende vom 19. zum 20. Jahrhundert,” in *Der Heilige Stuhl in den internationalen Beziehungen 1870–1939*, ed. Jörg Zedler (Munich: Utz, 2010), 145–74.

45 Leisching, “Die Römisch-Katholische Kirche in Cisleithanien,” 67–68.

the Catholic nationalities who tried to influence Francis Joseph by appealing directly to the Pope.⁴⁶

National conflicts played out in the field of religion when two groups belonging to the same confession competed for leadership. In Trieste, for example, the nomination of bishops was a very sensitive topic, and the Italians accused Rome of appointing Slovene-friendly and Slovene-speaking clerics in the *territorio*. The national-liberal Italians of Trieste closely monitored the actions of the bishops, who were systematically suspected of favoring the Slovenes because they were all of Slavic origin. When in 1898 Bishop Andrea Maria Sterk began authorizing services in Slovene at parishes throughout the territory, the leading daily newspaper *Il Piccolo* published an article declaring that he must have been “hypnotized” by the Slavs, and eighty Italian priests sent addresses to the bishop to defend the “Latin character of our churches.”⁴⁷ Indeed a look at the list of priests working in the parishes of the *territorio* reveals that many of them were Slovene, like their parishioners.⁴⁸

The question even came on the agenda of the town council; the mayor and the bishop were disputing which choir should sing at mass in the parish of the Castle of San Giusto: eager to avoid any conflict and to refrain from religious zeal, the liberal-national mayor forbade the Italian choir (*Capella civica*) to perform; the bishop responded by calling two Slovene choirs from the territory (*Danica* from Contovello and *Haidrich* from Prosecco) to perform during the Easter week. In response, the mayor blackmailed the bishop: he would call the *Capella* again unless Slovene services were suspended.⁴⁹ This quarrel was pursued over months and is an example of how religion had come to be an element of national contention. The relations with Sterk’s successor,⁵⁰ Bishop Franz Nagl started on a slightly better basis, but Nagl’s effort to establish the Christian Social Party in Trieste provoked an anti-clerical campaign in the national-liberal press. Tensions further increased when a Slovene bishop was appointed for Trieste in 1913, as the Italians saw this as a provocation and claimed that the decision had been made by Vienna, not by Rome, even though Rome must

46 Edith Saurer, *Die politischen Aspekte der Bischofsnennungen 1867–1903* (Vienna-Munich: Herold, 1968), 76–99.

47 “Torniamo daccapo,” *Il Piccolo*, no. 5838, January 2, 1898.

48 *Guida generale di Trieste 1903*, 556.

49 “Il vescovo e le funzioni slave,” *Il Piccolo*, no. 5904, March 9, 1898.

50 Sterk died in September 1901. He was born in 1827 in Volosca and had been appointed in Trieste in 1896. *Svetilnik: Glasilo slovenskih delavcev* [The Lighthouse: Publication of the Slovene workers], no. 18, September 20, 1901.

have clearly approved the choice.⁵¹ From the political point of view, Trieste was a complex field and the religious conflict was only one aspect of the situation. The failure of the Christian Social Party to gain ground in the city was due to the resistance of Italian nationalism that turned more and more to anti-clericalism. However, the party was not necessarily seen as a Slovene Trojan horse but rather as an element of Austrian dominance, and there was some truth to this. Yet, the party had not much success among Slovenes either, as Christian Socials pretended to reach beyond the national division, but by this time the Slovenes had already formed their national parties and institutions, while some of them, just like many Italians, were also attracted by socialism represented by the Social Democrats.

In other cases, though religious leaders were the bearers of national demands, this did not lead to conflicts with other clerics. Just like in Trieste, in Czernowitz two national groups shared the same confession—here Orthodoxy—but they were rivals in terms of leadership. Considering the mixed character of the town and the relatively equal balance between the nationalities, Ruthenians could claim to dominate neither the city nor the province politically. Therefore, they needed another realm, the Church, in which they could achieve national affirmation, an ambition in which they had only one adversary: the Romanians. The leadership of the Orthodox Church in Czernowitz was in the hands of the Romanians, who also controlled the seminary, preventing the accession of Ruthenians to important functions in the diocese. Unlike Catholics who could appeal to Rome and Vienna, Orthodox Ruthenians could only try to make themselves heard by the emperor, to no avail. Their demand was to see a Ruthenian appointed as metropolitan-archbishop, and if this was not acceptable, then the diocese should be divided into Ruthenian and Romanian parts. The Ruthenians took into account the fact that some *Kronländer* had already been nationally partitioned for elections, starting with Moravia in 1905 and with Bucovina following in 1910. In 1906, they asked the Viennese authorities to allow this separation; this they were not granted but Vienna made it clear to the Romanian religious authorities that the hierarchy should open up more to Ruthenians, again to no avail.⁵² Until the beginning of the twentieth century the Romanian archbishops avoided the controversy. The Metropolitan bishops Silvestru Morariu-Andrievici

51 "D'un vescovo all'altro," *Il Piccolo*, no. 11345, February 6, 1913.

52 Keith Hitchins, "Die Rumänen," in *Die Habsburgermonarchie 1848–1918*, vol. 3/1, *Die Völker des Reiches*, ed. Adam Wandruszka and Peter Urbanitsch (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1980), 620.

(1880–1895), Arcadie Ciupercovici (1895–1902) and Vladimir Basil Repta (1902–1925) tried to maintain a *modus vivendi* between the two groups, but they were sometimes caught in the conflict and criticized for not deciding to the advantage of one or the other. The fact that these religious leaders were individuals of high intellectual and spiritual importance was recognized by the other communities of the town—a fact that did not prevent attacks against them. The Romanian newspapers insisted on reporting the claims expressed by Ruthenians in order to show their “shamelessness” and the falsity of their arguments. The main daily newspaper *Deșteptarea* (Awakening) ran three editorials in June 1903 entitled “*Ruteni și archidieceasa*” (The Ruthenians and the archdiocese) in which the Ruthenians were accused of undermining the hierarchy of the Orthodox Church.⁵³ However, listening to the Court’s recommendation, Bishop Repta finally allowed the nomination of a Ruthenian vicar-general after the death of the previous vicar-general Miron Calinescu in January 1912. Calinescu had been constantly under attack by the Ruthenians for his intransigence on the national question; indeed he had been engaged in Romanian cultural activities well beyond his religious functions, being one of the founding fathers of the *Societatea pentru cultura și literatură română* (Society for Romanian Culture and Literature), over which he presided for years.⁵⁴ On learning about the nomination of the Ruthenian Bishop Artemon Manastyrski as vicar-general, the Romanians expressed their hostility on March 25 by publicly protesting; they were now the ones demanding the separation of the diocese. The nomination also provoked the hostility of the Romanian press: an article of *Viața Nouă* (New life) entitled “*Preoțimea noastră a vorbit*” (Our clergy has spoken) expressed outrage about the Ruthenian bishop and attacked the central authorities in such terms that many paragraphs had to be censored by the authorities. The journalist also provided a review of the Romanian press outside Bucovina and mentioned for example the newspaper *Românul* from Arad expressing the same critiques.⁵⁵ Regarding this affair, the Romanians were not united; the Democrats took the side of the Ruthenians and even condemned the attacks against them made by Romanian representative Doridemont Popovici.⁵⁶ Anti-clericalism was progressing here as well, and some were tired of the religious dispute, but the majority of Romanians were indeed upset by the nomination of the Ruthenian prelate because they

53 *Deșteptarea: Gazetă pentru popor*, no. 44, 45, and 46, June 5/18, 8/21, and 12/25, 1903.

54 *Die Wahrheit*, nos. 130–31, January 29, 1912.

55 “*Preoțimea noastră a vorbit*,” *Viața Nouă: Organ politic național*, no. 92, September 21, 1913.

56 “*Nach dem Meeting*,” *Die Wahrheit*, no. 135, April 6, 1912, 15.

felt Bucovina and Czernowitz were being “colonized” by Germans, Jews, and now Ruthenians. The shift of religious leadership was only one aspect of the national problem in the province. Here the same arguments were advanced as in Trieste but the “enemies” were more numerous, and atheism or socialism were not yet options for the Romanians as they were for the Italians. Indeed, only one element was truly common to both: irredentism.⁵⁷

The loyalty of the ecclesiastics was a characteristic of the Habsburg Monarchy; the established churches and their leaders in general were considered one of the pillars of the throne. In the case of a “national” church like Orthodoxy, the extreme loyalty of priests could be considered a form of treason by some nationalists. They did not hesitate to denounce and criticize prelates for gestures they interpreted as allegiance to another national cause. A famous case in this respect was the accusation against Ioan (János) Papp, the Romanian Orthodox bishop of Arad, for having participated in the unveiling of the statue of Lajos Kossuth, main leader of the Hungarian 1848 Revolution and War of Independence. Considering the lack of understanding between Hungarians and Romanians during the revolution of 1848 and the Magyarization policy, Romanians interpreted the presence of the bishop at the feet of the Kossuth monument as an act of servility. A few days after the celebration of September 19, 1909, Romanian students from Nagyszeben (Hermannstadt, Sibiu) demonstrated in front of the bishop’s residence, making a charivari and singing a parody of the famous Hungarian revolutionary song *Kossuth-nóta*. They continued into the night until the police dispersed them. The Hungarian weekly *Aradi Hiradó* (Arad news) wrote that the Romanians should be grateful to Lajos Kossuth and the revolution for liberating them from serfdom and bringing equality to all citizens. The paper was also scandalized by the fact that the attack had focused on a church leader, whose only preoccupation was to maintain understanding and patriotism.⁵⁸ Bishop Papp felt the necessity to justify his attitude in an interview given to another newspaper, *Aradi Közlöny* (Arad bulletin), only a few days after the monument’s inauguration, as he was already under attack by the Romanian papers. He explained that he found it perfectly normal to take part in an event that concerned the town he lived and worked in; moreover, he stated that Kossuth was a great man and even called him a “real apostle of the people.” Finally, he insisted

57 Romanian irredentism refers to Romanians who were seeking unification with the newly constituted Romanian kingdom (*Regat*).

58 *Aradi Hiradó*, October 25, 1909.

on the fact that he acted on his own without asking for permission from his superior, the metropolitan bishop of Nagyszeben, contrary to what was suggested in a Romanian newspaper, and he stressed that it was not his intention to engage in political debate.⁵⁹

The struggle for recognition and leadership by minorities did indeed sometimes gain its expression in criticizing leading church personalities, especially as minorities had a difficult access to church hierarchy and people belonging to them served generally at lower levels. More common, however, was to attack other groups or minorities that were seen as allies of the national group dominating the city. Anti-Semitism was another aspect of the national conflict, and it was widespread among the less “integrated” groups like Slovenes and Ruthenians, but also among Czechs and Romanians. Priests played a non-negligible role in the diffusion of anti-Semitic propaganda and many journals and publications issued by religious associations had a clear anti-Jewish editorial line.

BUILDING THE MULTICONFESSIONAL CITY: CHURCHES, TEMPLES, AND SYNAGOGUES

Modernization and the spatial redefinition of cities were followed by the construction of new religious buildings. The expansion of the city and its suburbs necessitated the building of churches, temples, and synagogues. Out of an already rich heritage of various religious buildings of different confessions, new places for worship, teaching and association were created. The emancipation of the Jews, and their growing immigration to towns, led to the building of synagogues in all the cities considered here. In Hungary, the division of the Jewish community into three groups led in some towns to the construction of a synagogue for each of them. Protestants could also affirm their existence with more freedom and built temples as well. In the process of Magyarization, the identification of the Magyars with Calvinism was manifest in the construction of temples even in places where this confession was professed only by a small minority. In many towns, churches faced each other over a square to show the delimitation of space along confessional lines that were increasingly associated with national divisions. Religious diversity thus became more visible than ever before, and each group used confession as an instrument to foster national identification.

59 *Aradi Közlöny: Politikai, társadalmi és közgazdasági napilap*, September 25, 1909.

Architects were trained only in Vienna until the end of the nineteenth century, when some technical schools in other cities (Budapest, Cracow, and Prague) began to produce local architects; others came from abroad, mainly Germany. The style chosen for the buildings was not necessarily associated with religious expression. While some architects like the Austrian Hermann Bollé did specialize in Catholic churches, and others like the Hungarian architect Lipót Baumhorn in synagogues, the majority of architects designed buildings of various functions and responded to tenders all over the monarchy. Architecture and religious content did not coincide either: there were, for example, Orthodox synagogues built in the most modern style—religious conservatives did not always have conservative taste in regard to architecture.

In many European cities, medieval cathedrals were “renovated” following the method defined by Eugène Viollet-le-Duc; they were restored to their supposed “original” (but more often fantastical) gothic style, and their surroundings were cleared of old houses. The only example of this reconstruction style in the cities discussed in this book is in Zagreb, where Hermann Bollé (1845–1926) was commissioned to renovate the cathedral, which was located on the former Chapter hill (*Kaptol*), seat of the archbishopric.⁶⁰ The project was clearly linked with the new political situation, which affirmed Catholicism as the national confession of the Croats, and to the impulse given to the development of the capital city. Local reasons also played a role: *Kaptol* was unified with *Gradec* in 1850, putting an end to the division of Zagreb between civil and religious powers. The reconstruction of the cathedral symbolized this new balance of power, and the ambition to unify all Croatian territories. The significance assigned to the archbishop of Zagreb was great, and thus deserved an appropriate building restored to its “original” glory. Yet, despite the building’s “national” importance, the construction work was distinctly multicultural. Works began in 1879 under the mandate of Archbishop Josip

60 Bollé was actually born in Cologne in a family of architects and intellectuals. He moved to Vienna in 1872 to work with one of the most famous architects of the *Ringstrasse*, Friedrich von Schmidt. He then specialized in church furniture and decoration. Bollé met Josip Juraj Strossmayer, bishop of Đakovo and began to work for him in 1876 at the site of the renovation of the Đakovo Cathedral in Croatia. His reputation reached Zagreb where he was commissioned to decorate the interior of Saint Marc’s church as well as the Academy of Sciences and Arts. He then settled in Zagreb and became a leading personality of urban planning, development of art training, and the founder of the Museum of Arts and Crafts. See *Hermann Bollé i Obrtna škola Zagrebu: 1882.–2002.; izložba u povodu 120 godina Škole Primjenjene Umjetnosti i Dizajna* [Hermann Bollé and the school of arts and crafts in Zagreb: Exhibition catalogue for the 120th anniversary of the School for Industrial Arts and Design] (Zagreb: Škola Primjenjene Umjetnosti i Dizajna, 2002), 64.

Mihalović but had to be stopped because of the earthquake of 1880.⁶¹ At the groundbreaking ceremony, Bollé addressed the audience in German, though a few years later he would be not only fluent in Croatian but also active in local politics.⁶² The chief architect was Ferdinand Kosek from Graz, and the chiefs of the stonecutters were a Moravian, Emanuel Zelinka, and a Bohemian, Ivan Kotal. The decorations (stained-glass windows, organ building) were produced by Austrian and German firms, while the technicians, like in most other building sites all over the empire, were Czechs. The local workforce appeared only on the level of workers.

In the “struggle” for the city, the choice of location was crucial. When a new location was needed, it had to be as prestigious as possible, preferably isolated from nearby houses in order to emphasize the church and its symbolic meaning. Unlike in Zagreb, in most towns Catholics chose to build new churches. Urban planning, the integration of suburbs and population growth created the necessity to build churches serving a given area and its populace. But sometimes the choice was also made to demonstrate the influence of the church as a national protagonist. This was certainly the case in Hungary, where the turn of the century witnessed the building of many new Catholic churches. One factor that contributed to this boom was the celebration of the country’s Millennium in 1896. Then, practically every new building was nicknamed “Millenary”-something. The Catholic Church built in the suburb of *Gyárváros* (meaning “factory town,” but also called *Fabrik* or *Fabric* in German and Romanian, respectively) in Temesvár bore this adjective. This part of town was—as its name tells—an industrial suburb not yet directly linked to the center because of the preservation of the fortifications. But it was a completely mixed place with Hungarian Catholics, Romanian Greek Catholics, and Jews. Therefore, each group strove to be visible, especially the Hungarians who were far from the majority in this part of town. The first stone was laid by Bishop Sándor Dessewffy on October 4, 1896, in the wake of the Millennial celebrations taking place all over the country. The architect was Lajos Ybl, son of famous architect Miklós Ybl, and the contractor was a local architect, Josef Kremer.⁶³ The inauguration was performed in 1901, two years after the new Status Quo synagogue and five years before the reconstruction of a Greek Catholic church in the same part of the city; the three buildings

61 Ivan Krstitelj Tkalčić, *Prvostolna crkva Zagrebačka nekoč i sada* [The Zagreb cathedral once and now] (Zagreb: Albrecht, 1885), 43.

62 *Narodne Novine*, no. 191, August 21, 1880.

63 Geml, *Alt-Temesvar im letzten Halbjahrhundert*, 55.

are located within a radius of a few hundred meters. The other three districts of Temesvár experienced similar construction fever, though the city center already had its own religious buildings belonging to each community, including both an Ashkenazi and a Sephardic synagogue.⁶⁴

A second example of architecture distinguishing Hungarian Catholicism from “others” is the so-called Blue Church in Pozsony. Here, unlike in Temesvár, the struggle for national dominance was between Hungarians and Germans, both largely Catholics. The existing Saint Martin’s Cathedral was a transnational building that no group could uniquely claim: for Hungarians it was the historical coronation church from the period when the Ottomans occupied the rest of Hungary, but since these kings were members of the Habsburg dynasty the church was also part of Austrian heritage. This is why new representative churches had to be built to mark the ambition of the Hungarians to “Magyarize” Pozsony. The church, built from 1910 to 1913 and dedicated to Saint Elisabeth, was immediately nicknamed the “Blue Church” because of its blue external decoration of tiles, stained-glass windows, and mosaics. It is a unique work by the Hungarian architect Ödön Lechner who, here as well as in other buildings, used Zsolnay ceramics and elements of Hungarian folklore, so that the national message of the church could not be mistaken.⁶⁵ Moreover, the church was accompanied by the reconstruction of the Catholic gymnasium in front of it, which also bore Secession motives, a sign of the Magyarization of education in the city. Nevertheless, it was also a celebration for the Church itself, and the archduchess Isabella presided over the inauguration, held in October 1913 during the celebration to commemorate the Edict of Emperor Constantine (313 A.D.).⁶⁶

In the meantime, Hungarians had built the first Calvinist church in the city center as well. Whereas the Blue Church stood away from the main streets, the Calvinist church was prominently situated in the vicinity of two Catholic buildings: the hospital and Church of the Holy Spirit, and the Church of the Holy Trinity. The nearly simultaneous consecration of the Calvinist temple and the Blue Church could not be accidental. The temple was clearly a modern building, inspired by the designs of the first adepts of the functionalist

64 This community was practically extinct at the turn of the twentieth century and assimilated into Ashkenazi Jews.

65 Andreas Moick, Rudolf Rainer, and Franz Havel, *Alt-Preßburger Bilder-Chronik: Die alte deutsche Stadt Preßburg, aus der Bratislava gemacht wurde* (Vienna: Verl. d. Karpatendt. Landsmannschaft in Österreich, 1978), 114.

66 *Preßburger Zeitung*, no. 279, October 11, 1913, morning edition.

style, and it was the first of this kind in Pozsony. The plans were designed by architect Franz Wimmer, born in Pozsony to a family from Germany; the construction was directed by a Hungarian architect from Budapest and a local contractor.⁶⁷ But here the message was undeniably national: attending the inauguration was Prime Minister István Tisza, himself a Calvinist, as well as Justice Minister Jenő Balogh. Their presence provoked demonstrations by opponents at the railway station and in the town's center. According to a report published in the *Preßburger Zeitung*, these troubles were caused by people coming from Budapest and certainly not by the Pressburgers, who on the contrary respected religious ceremonies.⁶⁸ Yet, the fact that these important figures of the government had come to Pozsony was clearly not only due to their religious convictions.

In Arad as well, the Catholic Church was more or less associated with Hungarian national consciousness since “others,” Serbs and Romanians, belonged to Orthodoxy. But the town was still very mixed in terms of confessions; Catholicism was therefore not in a predominant position vis-à-vis the Orthodox, Protestants, and Jews. The city had only one Catholic parish church, served by Franciscan (Minor) Friars. Although a committee for building a new representative church to replace the old one was formed in 1899, the project was slow to come to realization.⁶⁹ The first step was the destruction of the former church in 1902; the consecration of the new one was celebrated in 1903. The representative building was an important milestone in developing the newly opened Andrásy Square, actually Arad's Ring, which pretended to look like Andrásy Avenue in Budapest. The massive church, built in a neo-classical style largely outdated at the time, was decorated with a big cupola and large columns; its organ was the largest in Transylvania.⁷⁰ Aware of the fact that the town was not a Catholic stronghold, the Hungarian press did not report extensively on the inauguration of the church. Not only were there other opportunities in Arad to invoke national pride, but the town was also in the hands of the Independence Party and therefore more oriented toward Calvinism and eventually anti-clericalism.

67 *Pressburger Presse: Unabhängiges Organ für communale und locale Interessen*, no. 818, September 29, 1913.

68 *Preßburger Zeitung*, no. 273, October 5, 1913, morning edition.

69 *Aradi Híradó*, December 4, 1899.

70 Ferenc Lendvay, János Gellér, *A százéves Arad 1834–1934: Aradi utmutató* [Hundred years of Arad, 1834–1934: Arad street guide] (Arad: Aradi Magyar Párt közművelődési szakosztálya, 1934), 17–19.

In Sarajevo, the construction of new religious buildings was closely connected to the takeover of Bosnia and Herzegovina by the Habsburg Monarchy, and the consequent arrival of Austro-Hungarian authorities. Although the Habsburgs were familiar with confessional diversity, they were nevertheless a Catholic dynasty, a fact that would encourage the increasing number of Catholics to mark their influence in the town. As a result, new church towers began to appear next to minarets, something that was interpreted by Muslims as an invasion and by Orthodox Serbs as a threat. The confessional “competition” between Catholics and Orthodox in Sarajevo was manifested by the construction of two representative churches. There had been an Orthodox church in the city since the sixteenth century, but no Catholic church existed before the arrival of the Habsburgs. The need to build a Catholic church was justified by the creation of the archdiocese of Vrhobosna and the nomination of Josip Stadler as archbishop. The entire process was seen as a national affirmation of the Croats: the fact that both the archbishop and the architect, Josip Vančas, were of Croatian nationality certainly contributed to this interpretation. Vančas, born in Sopron to a Croatian family, was to design many significant buildings in Sarajevo. The contract stipulated that the church was to be built in neo-gothic style. It was constructed on the site of the former caravanserai of the Janissaries; a large square was created before and around it according to the architectural trends of the time. It is a large building, able to accommodate 1,200 people. Archbishop Stadler consecrated it in 1889; the church was so much associated with his mandate (until his death in December 1918) that he was buried under its vaults. Following this, other Catholic churches were built in Sarajevo as the number of believers grew considerably. One of the most significant was the church dedicated to Saints Cyril and Methodius, again built by Vančas and consecrated in 1895. Located not very far from the cathedral on the slope of a hill, the large building is inspired by Saint Peter’s Church in Rome and its interior is a reminder of the Jesuit baroque architecture so widespread in the Habsburg Empire. For that reason, it, more than the neo-gothic cathedral, can be associated with the Austrian Catholic influence. Catholic orders and schools were also given their respective buildings and churches in Sarajevo from the 1880s on. Another remarkable building is the church and monastery of the Franciscans, dedicated to Saint Antony of Padua, consecrated in 1914. It was again a work by Vančas in neo-gothic style; the church is located at the site of the former governor’s palace (*Konak*) and is close to the city’s brewery. It was of course seen as a due recognition to the action of Franciscans in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The Orthodox responded to this Catholic offensive by building their own metropolitan church on a square just one street from the Catholic cathedral. The authorization to build the church had actually been given by the Ottomans in 1868, and construction was well on its way when the Austro-Hungarians took over the city. The church had benefited from important financing by the Russian imperial family, the Sultan, and the Vizier of Bosnia. The construction of the Catholic cathedral provided the impetus to widen the building, and to build the metropolitan seat next to it, designed by the Austrian architect Rudolf Tennes. In contrast to Catholic building projects, no other significant Orthodox church was built in Sarajevo before World War I. The Lutherans, although a very small minority represented only by civil servants and the military, were able to build a huge church on the embankment of the Miljačka River. The church was disproportionate to the number of believers: in 1910 only 547 people had declared Lutheranism to be their religion. The Lutherans had organized their first gatherings at the English Consulate; the community was composed of British, Austrian, and German people.⁷¹ No regular service was possible at the beginning, and it was performed by a pastor who came occasionally from Zagreb. The decision to build a church was thus highly political. The church, designed in a mixture of Roman and Byzantine styles by the Czech architect Karel Pařík, himself a Catholic from Bohemia, was built from 1893 to 1899.⁷²

Faith was undeniably an instrument to demonstrate national ambitions. Therefore, the building of churches of great—even disproportionate—dimensions on prominent locations was intended to give confidence to coreligionists and compatriots and to show others the capacity of spiritual, intellectual, and financial mobilization. Eventually this could be achieved by small religious minorities belonging to the linguistic majority, or national minorities belonging to the confessional majority. One example of this is in Brünn, where an imposing Lutheran church was built on a large square (*Elisabethplatz*) immediately outside the city center next to the German *Turnverein* (Gymnastics Association). Here the meaning was clear and no one could have any doubt about it when the first stone was laid in 1863: the Germans intended to maintain their domination over the city by all means. The influence of the community,

71 *Bosnische Post: Organ für Politik und Volkswirtschaft*, no. 78, September 27, 1885.

72 Pařík ended up building a number of buildings in Sarajevo and ultimately settled there. See Jiří Kuděla, Branka Dimitrijević, Ivo Vacík, *Arhitekt Karel Pařík 1857–1942: Čeh koji je gradio evropsko Sarajevo* [Architect Karel Pařík, 1857–1942: A Czech who built European Sarajevo] (Sarajevo: Ambasada České Republike u Bosni i Hercegovini, 2007).



Figure 3.1. Evangelical church, Sarajevo. Source: ÖsterreichischeNationalbibliothek, AKON – Ansichtskarten Online, AK026_266.

to which important entrepreneurs belonged, was emphasized by the choice of famous architect Heinrich von Ferstel, who built and renovated other buildings in Brünn. Other artists and craftsmen were Germans and Austrians.⁷³ At the end of the century, the neighborhood was becoming increasingly Czech, and the location of the church was then interpreted as a marker of resistance, as was the *Turnverein*. In a street nearby, the Czechs installed their women's association *Vesna* and a school for girls. *Vesna* was initiated by Eliška Macková following the model of the Czech Women's Manufacturing Association (*Ženský výrobní spolek český*), founded in 1871 to foster women's education and employment.⁷⁴ The Czech national house was visible from the square in front of the church. Confrontation was thus manifest in town by the construction of buildings bearing a clear national meaning.

The second example is to be found in Fiume where the Church of the Capuchin Friars was clearly a building belonging to the Croats.⁷⁵ Yet, the

73 Zatloukal, *A Guide to the Architecture of Brno*, 49.

74 Jitka Malečková, "The Emancipation of Women for the Benefit of the Nation: The Czech Women's Movement," in *Women's Emancipation Movements in the Nineteenth Century: A European Perspective*, ed. Silvia Paletschek and Bianka Pietrow-Ennker (Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University Press, 2004), 177.

75 The Franciscans, including the Capuchins, had a long-time presence in Fiume, and were particularly famous for their monastery of Trsat, on the hill above the town.

church was located not in the Croatian suburb of Sušak, but in the new part of town next to the railway station. The seventeenth-century building located on the upper part of Zichy (today Žabica) Square was entirely reconstructed from 1904 to 1908 and dedicated to Our Lady of Lourdes. The friars were of course Croats and thus had privileged access to the local population. The church was openly used to celebrate Croatian national memory. For example, the execution of Fran Kristo Frankopan and Petar Zrinski on April 30, 1671, was remembered each year, and on May 1, 1910, the drama *Petar Zrinski* by Eugen Kumičić was staged in the church by a company from Osijek (Eszék, Esseg).⁷⁶ The daily Croatian newspaper *Riečki Novi List* was proud to report that the audience was so numerous that it filled the church.⁷⁷ The celebration two years later was even more imposing: days in advance the Croatian populace of Fiume and Sušak was mobilized by way of press and posters to participate in the event, which once again took place in the Capuchin church. A committee was created for that purpose, headed by Erazmo Barčić, leading figure of the Croats.⁷⁸

The identification of faith with nation was undoubtedly the leading force behind the desire of the Romanians in Temesvár to gain more visibility vis-à-vis the Hungarians. Since they had practically no political power, religious expression was a way to compensate for this. There was an obvious religious “race” in Temesvár, fueled by the population growth of all faiths and languages. Churches were built or reconstructed in each suburb. In *Elisabethstadt* (*Erzsébetváros*) where the Romanians were numerous, the existing Orthodox church was no longer adequate in terms of capacity, and its condition was also seriously deteriorating. Yet, the community was rather poor and could not expect significant help from religious authorities. As in many other towns, citizens were called on to contribute to the construction of the new building. The subscription started at the beginning of the 1890s and the church, which was larger than the previous building and lavishly decorated with “paintings of the most modern style of art,” was finally consecrated in 1894 by Bishop Ioan Melianu

76 The anti-Habsburg conspiracy of Petar Zrinski (Péter Zrínyi) and Kristo Frankopan (Kristóf Frangepán), known in English as the Magnate conspiracy, involved Croatian and Hungarian aristocrats dissatisfied with Vienna’s perceived lack of determination to liberate territories still under Ottoman rule. After the conspiracy was discovered, the leaders went to Vienna in order to vindicate themselves, but they were instead arrested, tried, and executed.

77 *Riečki Novi List*, no. 104, May 1, 1910.

78 *Riečki Novi List*, no. 102, April 28, 1912.



Figure 3.2. Metropolitan church and bishop's residence, Czernowitz, 1901.
Source: Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, AKON – Ansichtskarten Online, AK120_336.

from Arad.⁷⁹ For the occasion the Romanians organized a large “*ruga*,” a celebration that culminated in a procession.⁸⁰

The most significant demonstration of the connection between Orthodoxy and Romanian nationality was to be found in the construction of the new metropolitan seat in Czernowitz. The construction of the archbishop's palace started in the 1870s. In order to satisfy the Orthodox hierarchy, the state had decided to turn Czernowitz into the administrative center of Orthodoxy not only for Galicia and Bucovina but also for Dalmatia, thus depriving the former Serbian seat of Sremski Karlovci of some of its prerogatives (it was to regain them after the occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina). The new district was relatively large and regionally incoherent, two features that were recognizable in the strange palace that took shape in Czernowitz. The building, designed by Czech architect Josef Hlavka (1831–1908) in a true Habsburg spirit, combined Byzantine, Gothic, German, and Hutsul elements.⁸¹ The decoration, which was the joint work of German and local artists, gave the building

79 *Temesvarer Zeitung*, no. 138, June 19, 1894.

80 Geml, *Alt-Temesvar im letzten Halbjahrhundert*, 76.

81 Hutsul are people from the northern Carpathians who were “discovered” by ethnographers; their folk traditions were claimed by both Romanian and Ukrainian national activists. On the Hutsuls, see also chapter eight in this volume.



Figure 3.3. Preobraženska (Resurrection) Church, Lemberg. Photo by the author.

an appearance of a fairy tale castle. The palace can be seen as an example of what Anthony Alofsin calls the five languages of Austro-Hungarian architecture: historicism, organism, nationalism, myth, and hybridity, which coexist and form “layers” and a network of references.⁸²

The same process of the identification of faith with nation took place in Lemberg for the Greek Catholic Ruthenians, though on a very different scale. Considered by Vienna to be “*gens fidelissima*,” the Ruthenians could expect benevolence from the sovereign, which was indeed demonstrated by the support granted to the construction of their “national house,” *Narodnyi dim*, by Francis Joseph. The project clearly illustrated the connection between national consciousness and religion, as the plan entailed the building of a Greek Catholic church together with the house. The emperor laid the first stone for the construction of the *Narodnyi dim* in 1851 and was presented in September 1880, when he visited the house, with the plans for the church. He asked house director Vasyl’ Kovals’kyi about the progress of the works and was told that consecration was expected in 1883. As usual, Francis Joseph made an innocuous remark intended to be as neutral as possible by saying: “It will be a nice

82 Anthony Alofsin, *Architektur bei Wort nehmen: Die Sprache der Baukunst im Habsburgerreich und in seinen Nachfolgestaaten 1867–1933* (Salzburg: Pustet, 2011), 24. The building today is the seat of the Czernowitz University and looks practically unchanged.

monument and contribute to the embellishing of the town.”⁸³ Dedicated to the Resurrection (*Preobraženska*), the church was planned as a neo-classical building adorned with two towers. The place where *Narodnyi dim* stands had been chosen explicitly in the city center by the Austrian authorities in the 1850s to counteract Polish influence; the building of the church next to it was hoped to create a Ruthenian “enclave” not far from the city hall, which the Ruthenians were still hoping to enter at this time.⁸⁴

Yet, the leaders of the national cause did not encourage the completion of the church, which they probably no longer saw as an important element of their policy. Eventually the construction site and the scaffolding were threatening public security and it was the municipality who obliged the *Narodnyi dim* to finish the works. This was achieved only in 1892. Later, in another manifestation of the struggle for religious and national leadership, the Poles restored the neighboring Armenian cathedral in an attempt to “reconquer” the district, which had become more and more Ruthenian.⁸⁵

Before 1867, there were very few synagogues in the Habsburg Monarchy; in most towns, Jews had to content themselves with discrete prayer houses. The emancipation changed the way Jews and the surrounding society interacted. The visibility of the community was strengthened among other factors by the construction of large and representative synagogues located in city centers. In some places the growth of the Jewish population even necessitated the building of more than one temple. In Hungary, where the community was separated into three distinct groups, each of them wanted to possess its own place of worship. If a synagogue already existed, it was generally occupied by the majority—generally the Neologues—so that the others had to find another place and the means to build their own temple. The Orthodox communities, being poorer and less numerous, sometimes had to wait until the beginning of the twentieth century to be able to build a synagogue; as a result, the style of the building was generally more modern, even functionalist in some cases. Before the turn of the century, nearly all synagogues adopted a neo-Byzantine or neo-Moorish style to represent the “Oriental” provenience of Jews. Hungarian architect Lipót Baumhorn (1860–1932), Jewish himself, was considered a specialist of this kind

83 *Otchet' russko-narodnogo instituta "Narodnyj dom" vo Lvov'* [Report of the Ruthenian-national institute “Narodnyj dom” in Lemberg] (Lemberg: Iz tipografii Stavropigijiskogo Instituta, 1881), 10.

84 Prokopovych, *Habsburg Lemberg*, 148.

85 *Ibid.*, 241.



Figure 3.4. Temesvár, Gyárváros district with synagogue, 1910.
Source: Fortepan, 86453, Magyar Földrajzi Múzeum, Mór Erdélyi.

of buildings. Among his numerous works is one of the Temesvár synagogues. The building in question was commissioned by the Status Quo community of the *Gyárváros* district and designed in a neo-renaissance style Baumhorn created after a trip to Italy.⁸⁶ The synagogue was consecrated for Rosh Hashanah in September 1899, and ceremonially inaugurated by Mayor Károly Telbisz.⁸⁷ The leaders of the town's two other communities attended the event, as did the Arad rabbi. The Temesvár Jews already had a large synagogue in the city center, built between 1863 and 1865 in the Moorish style by Viennese architect Ignaz Schuhmann.⁸⁸ After the separation of the communities it was taken over by the Neologues, and this moment coincided with the absorption of the Sephardic community by Ashkenazim.⁸⁹ In 1891, the Orthodox Jewish community of the third district, Josefstadt (*Józsefváros*), made an appeal for donations in order to build its own synagogue, since the existing prayer house was no longer

86 *Baumhorn Lipót építész 1860–1932* [Architect Lipót Baumhorn] (Budapest: Magyar Zsidó Múzeum és Levéltár, 1999), 12.

87 *Temesvarer Zeitung*, no. 203, September 5, 1899.

88 Jakab Singer, *Temesvári rabbik a XVIII és XIX-ik században* [Temesvar rabbis in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries] (Seini: Wieder Jakab, 1928), 43.

89 Moshe Carmilly-Weinberger, *A zsidóság története Erdélyben (1623–1944)* [History of the Jews in Transylvania] (Budapest: MTA Judaisztikai Kutatócsoport, 1995), 169.

adequate because of the growth of the community.⁹⁰ The appeal proved successful and the synagogue was built a few years later.

In Arad as well, Orthodox and Neologues constituted distinct communities with their own institutions. But the town was a capital of Neologue thinking; it was the place where Rabbi Aron Chorin worked for the reformation of Hungarian Judaism in the 1840s. Thanks to his influence, the first synagogue was built in Arad at the beginning of the 1830s.⁹¹ At the end of the century, this building was obsolete for the same reasons as elsewhere: the existence of two communities with at least one growing steadily. The Orthodox had to take the initiative of building a new temple. Although Baumhorn was also among the architects who answered the tender launched by the community in 1908, he was awarded only the second prize and the synagogue was eventually built according to the plans of Alfréd Jendrassik and Artur Vida. The old synagogue remained the place of worship of the Neologue community. Neither of the two buildings was situated in a prominent place; they were not far from each other, as if the separation between them was not so strict. The Neologue synagogue was even located within a larger house, a situation reflecting the context of the *Vormärz* when the Jews were only “tolerated” and could not appear as a visible group. When they finally could, the Arad Jews were not numerous or rich enough to raise the funds for a more prestigious building.

Pozsony represents a case where the role played by Jews in the city’s life was largely determined by the confessional division of Hungarian Judaism, and where the separation between assimilated Neologue Jews and Orthodox Jews was particularly striking. Like in many other towns, Jews in Pozsony became more visible as a result of the 1867 emancipation, yet the process was slower here because of the existing powerful Orthodox community. While the Orthodox constituted the majority when it came to numbers, the fact that they mainly remained confined within the boundaries of the former ghetto made them less visible compared to the Neologues, especially when it came to shaping public discourse. Although the Orthodox would experience around the end of the century a form of “neo-Orthodoxy” that would bring them to adopt more modern attitudes, this was still a far cry from the Neologues’ vision of a modernized Judaism, which made the latter not only the representation of emancipation but also the bearers of Magyarization—the rapid and sustainable assimilation of the Hungarian Jews was their work.

90 *Temesvarer Zeitung*, no. 152, July 7, 1891.

91 Ottó Lakatos, *Arad története* [History of Arad], vol. 2 (Arad: Gyulai István, 1881), 81.

At the end of the nineteenth century the former Pressburger ghetto was still the place where most Orthodox Jews lived and worked in poverty. Central to the life of the community was the Orthodox synagogue, constructed in the years 1862–1863 by architect Ignaz Feigler on the site of an earlier synagogue on Schlosstrasse (Zámocká ulica) in neo-Byzantine style.⁹² Although the synagogue was a large building, it was hidden behind the Castle, and not visible from a broader perspective. When a fire erupted in the ghetto in May 1913, the Orthodox synagogue was damaged, as was the famous Yeshiva and the library. Most of the victims of the fire were Jews, and a considerable aid and solidarity action was launched in the town after the catastrophe. Although it was soon restored, the Orthodox synagogue would ultimately move into a new building located in another part of the town, a process that would not be completed before the end of the 1920s.⁹³

Nothing expressed the transition between old Judaism and modernity better than the building of the Neologue synagogue. The Neologue community was established in 1872 and the decision to build an appropriate temple was made in 1878. The process was slow because of lack of funds, but the wait was rewarded by a prestigious location on Fish Square (Fischplatz, Haltér, Rybné námestí). Construction started in 1893 to plans by the architect Dénes Milch, and it was consecrated in August 1895.⁹⁴ In terms of appearance, the building was also designed in the “oriental” style, so in this respect the two synagogues were not so different from one another. In terms of location, however, the synagogue stood demonstratively outside of the ghetto, on a new open square located just below the coronation church. Demonstrating the Neologues’ ambition for leadership, the message of the building was clear: away from the ghetto and dissimulation, towards equality with the other confessions of the town and proximity with the Hungarian state.

In towns where Jews were less numerous and less significant, one synagogue was generally enough to accommodate the entire community, and the leaders convinced their coreligionists to adopt the Neologue ritual. Such a situation characterized Szabadka, where the local Jews were especially keen to prove their importance and loyalty to Hungary. This they tried to achieve by

92 Katarina Hradská, *Židovská Bratislava* [Jewish Bratislava] (Bratislava: Albert Marenčin Vydavateľstvo, 2008), 123.

93 The old Orthodox synagogue stood until 1958 and was razed by the Communist authorities who later did the same with the Neologue synagogue on Fish Square on the pretext of building a highway bridge.

94 *Ibid.*, 131.



Figure 3.5. Pozsony, Fishplatz with the Neologue synagogue. Source: Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, AKON – Ansichtskarten Online, AK071_486.

building a new synagogue, the result of which was one of the most remarkable temples, whose dimensions and architectural quality went well beyond the size of the community. The municipality supported the construction financially, leading in October 1893 to a polemic between the two newspapers of the town: *Szabadság* (Freedom) criticized the municipality for favoring the Jews, while *Szabadka és Vidéke* (Szabadka and its surroundings) justified the financial support by saying that the Jews were industrious and a factor of progress for the city.⁹⁵ The inauguration of the synagogue took place ten years later, a sign that finances were not the only problem to solve. The choice of the architect was also significant; in commissioning Marcell Komor and Dezső Jakab, the community was following a modern trend toward “national” architecture. Both had worked in Ödön Lechner’s firm in Budapest where they had learned to use “organic” motifs taken from Hungarian folklore, before opening their own agency in 1899. For Szabadka’s synagogue, they integrated Zsolnay ceramics into the stained-glass windows, using this kind of decoration in a Jewish temple for the first time. This example was followed in later synagogues. The site was chosen not far from the city’s main square, standing alone on the corner of two streets, making it a visible building of large dimensions. Attesting to the prominence of the location was the fact that few years later, in 1907–8, the new

95 *Szabadka és Vidéke*, October 22, 1893.

Franciscan church would be built by Budapest architect Sándor Aigner just two blocks behind, giving manifestation to the ongoing confessional competition in the town's public space. The inauguration of the synagogue was a significant event, attended by all city officials and architect Dezső Jakab. Rabbi Mór Kuttna was not yet able to make an allocution in Hungarian and spoke German as he left the old synagogue with the Torah rolls. The new rabbi chosen to take charge of the community, Bernát (Bernhard) Singer, welcomed him in the new synagogue with a Hungarian speech.⁹⁶ Rabbis from other communities also participated in the ceremony, among them Immanuel Löw from the rival city of Szeged. The other confessions of the city were represented as well, for example by the leader of the Serbian Orthodox community László Manojlović. In a symbolic gesture, the mayor Károly Biró handed over the keys of the synagogue to the president of the Jewish community, Dr. Géza Blau. The festivities culminated in the evening with a banquet given by the community in one of the city's best hotels.⁹⁷ The building proved very popular in Szabadka, and the architects were commissioned for other buildings, most notably the town hall.

Among the first synagogues to be built at the time of the emancipation laws was the Zagreb temple. Here again the decision to build a synagogue preceded the enactment of the law; it was taken by the community leaders in 1862. The plans were made by Franz Klein and respected the neo-Moorish style of the time. The inauguration took place in 1867, just in time to celebrate the beginning of the Constitutional era. The construction was financed thanks to the initiative taken by the merchant Emanuel Priester. The building was located in the new part of town below *Gradec*, the so-called "lower" town (*Donji grad*), that was to become the representative district of modern urban planning, especially after the 1880 earthquake. The street where the synagogue stood was named after the king's daughter Marie Valerie (today *Praška ulica*) and led to the "green Horseshoe-ring" (*Zelena potkova*) where the most prestigious buildings of this part of town were located. Due to its location and architectural style, the synagogue symbolized a break into modernity and the access of Jews to the public space.⁹⁸

96 Singer was born in Sátoraljaújhely in 1868. He studied at the Budapest University where he received his doctorate in philosophy in 1892 and then at the Budapest rabbinical seminary. He officiated in Szabadka until his death in 1916.

97 *Bácskai Ellenőr*, September 20, 1903.

98 Željko Holjevac, "Temelji modernizacije: Godine 1850–1882" [The foundations of modernization: The years 1850–1882], in *Povijest grada Zagreba*, vol. 1, ed. Ivo Goldstein and Slavko Goldstein (Zagreb: Novi Liber, 2012), 326.

In Fiume, the first Jewish community was made up of Sephardic Jews of mainly Italian origin. Like in Trieste, they were later joined by Ashkenazim coming from the Austrian Empire. The first synagogue thus followed the Spanish ritual and was located in the old town (*Citta vecchia*) on a street appropriately called *Calle del tempio*.⁹⁹ At the end of the century, the community was still mainly Italian-speaking, but some services were also performed in Hungarian. As the number of members was constantly growing, a new temple was needed. In 1891, the community decided to begin construction, but the collection of funds proved difficult, and it was only in 1901 that architect Lipót Baumhorn was commissioned. Baumhorn had established his own agency in 1894 and was already famous for planning other synagogues throughout Hungary. He came to reside in Fiume in order to supervise the works led by local contractor Carlo Conighi. The inauguration took place in 1904 during Rosh Hashanah, a celebration that was traditionally used to consecrate a new synagogue in many other towns as well.¹⁰⁰ The building, which no longer exists, was large and imposing, reminiscent of other monumental Baumhorn synagogues, in Byzantine style with rich ornamentation.¹⁰¹ The location was central but not prestigious, on a street leading to the main square that opened to the *Corso*, and as such the synagogue belonged to the many buildings erected during the Hungarian administration that gave Fiume its characteristic architectural style.

In Cisleithania as well, Jews entered civil society in large numbers after their emancipation. An exception was Trieste, where Jews already enjoyed a privileged situation well before that date. The community was better integrated in the city's elites and possessed its places of worship, schools, and charity organizations on a larger scale than any other in the empire. Originally concentrated in the ghetto of the Old Town, the Jews began to expand into the town's new district, *Borgo teresiano*, at the turn of the nineteenth century, though the center of the community's organization stayed in Via del Monte, where it remains today.¹⁰² As elsewhere, the community was divided between Sephardic and Ashkenazi Jews, a difference that was reflected in ritual, language, and places of worship, though members of both communities mingled for religious services. According to the laws regulating the Jewish communities, it was the

99 Teodoro Morgani, *Ebrei di Fiume e di Abbazia 1441–1945* (Rome: Carucci, 1979), 49.

100 Ilona Fried, *Fiume* (Budapest: Enciklopédia Kiadó, 2004), 108.

101 It was destroyed in 1944; the synagogue existing today in Rijeka was built for the Orthodox community in 1930 by Hungarian architect Győző Angyal who had settled there in the 1910s. Fried, *Fiume*, 110.

102 See Lois C. Dubin, *The Port Jews of Habsburg Trieste: Absolutist Politics and Enlightenment Culture* (Stanford University Press, 1999).

Sephardic Jews who were granted the right to be organized first as a community in 1746; such recognition gave them the possibility to build a synagogue, the so-called *Scuola Piccola*.¹⁰³ The leaders of the community maintained strict observance regardless of the growing integration of the wealthiest families into “gentile” society. The discrepancy became increasingly visible with the arrival of many Austrian Jews who were already familiar with the reforms introduced in the empire since the 1830s. The Triestine Jewish leadership often referred more to other Italian cities (e.g., Modena) and ports (Livorno) than to Vienna, from where most progressive attitudes were coming.¹⁰⁴ The second synagogue built in the ghetto in 1775 under the name of *Scuola Grande*, its enlargement in 1798 notwithstanding, was no longer adequate due to the growth of the community and its division between Ladino and Austrian Jews, who had already built their own synagogue. All synagogues were located in the former ghetto. The Sephardic synagogue was relocated to Via del Monte and enlarged in 1828 and was considered the *Tempio maggiore* of the community. The community expressed interest in building a larger synagogue during the 1870s and 1880s, but it was not until the turn of the twentieth century, when the need for a larger temple was becoming urgent, that it was decided to build one. As a consequence, three of the four old synagogues were to be closed; only the Spanish ritual was preserved.¹⁰⁵ The financial question was solved in 1903 and an isolated plot was purchased on the corner of three streets and the Piazza San Francesco, in a newly urbanized area between two major avenues.¹⁰⁶ The intention, according to the local Zionist newspaper, was to demonstrate modernism as well as power: “The building must have monumental character,” and fitted with electric lighting and gas.¹⁰⁷ The decision to commission architects Ruggero and Arduino Berlam was a “national” choice: Austrian architects who had responded to the call for projects were deliberately excluded by the community leaders who belonged to the Italian National Liberal Party. Among the rejected projects were ones presented by famous specialists like Oskar Marmorek from Vienna and Komor & Jakab from Budapest.¹⁰⁸ Nearly all the pro-

103 Ibid., 237, note 54.

104 Catalan, *La Comunità ebraica di Trieste*, 118.

105 Silvio G. Cusin, “Antiche sinagoghe triestine,” in *Comunità religiose di Trieste: contributo di conoscenza* (Udine: Istituto per l’enciclopedia del Friuli Venezia Giulia, 1978), 59–67.

106 “La questione del nuovo tempio e risolta!,” *Il Corriere Israelitico*, no. 2, May 31, 1903, 47.

107 *Il Corriere Israelitico*, no. 6, October 31, 1903, 158.

108 Alberto Boralevi, “Il ‘tempio israelitico’ di Trieste: storia di un concorso,” in *Comunità religiose di Trieste: Contributi di conoscenza*, ed. Civici Musei di Storia e Arte di Trieste (Udine: Istituto per l’Enciclopedia de Friuli Venezia Giulia, 1979), 12.

posals were in the Secessionist style; functionalism was not yet a dominant feature. The first stone was laid in June 1908 and the building was completed in 1912. The synagogue dominates its block and can accommodate 1,400 persons. When it was completed, it not only demonstrated the local community's importance, which was much larger than the number of its members but was also a clear expression of city patriotism.

The situation of the Jewish community in Brünn was comparable to Trieste because of its meaning for the development of the town. Here as well the community was rather small but extremely influential. Jews had a long-lasting presence in the town and had been able to build their first temple in the thirteenth century. It was later destroyed, and the plot was used to build a Franciscan church in the seventeenth century after the Thirty Years' war.¹⁰⁹ In the following period the Jews were not able to resettle in the town and were relegated to the suburbs, settling mostly in the industrial district south of the railway station. Their worship was limited to a house located in Kröna (Křenová). After 1848, the Jews were allowed to build a new temple, and for that purpose they bought two parcels near the prayer house, in a street then named Tempelgasse. The synagogue was designed by Viennese architects Julius Romano and August Schwendenwein in 1853, and built by a local contractor, Anton Onderka.¹¹⁰ It was a relatively modest building with discreet Byzantine and Roman features. After its inauguration in September 1855, the temple soon proved to be insufficient and was consequently extended in 1886 by architect Ludwig Tischler, who respected the original design. Yet, the creation of a second prayer house called the "Polish" temple, referring to the origin of most newcomers, illustrated the need to construct a bigger synagogue. The community was divided about the project as well as about the location, which was next to the city center, not far from the theater, on the parcels established after the demolition of the *Theresienglacis* (the space between the former fortifications and the suburbs) that were already urbanized and populated.¹¹¹ Moving to this part of town, the Jews left the district where the first synagogues had been built. The synagogue was designed by Viennese architect Max Fleischer, and construction on a plot on Ottgasse (Koliště) was led by local Jewish contractor Alfred Zeisel. The consecration was celebrated on

109 Wilhelm Burkart, *W. Burkarts Führer durch Brünn und Umgebung* (Brünn: W. Burkart, 1913), 21.

110 Jaroslav Klenovský, *Brno židovské: Historie a památky židovského osídlení města Brna* [Jewish Brno: History and monuments of the Jewish settlement in Brno] (Brno: ERA, 2002), 45.

111 Anonymous, *Betrachtungen und Vorschläge über den Bau einer neuen Synagoge in Brünn* (Brünn: F. Schischak, 1904), 4.

September 13, 1906, and attended by the town's authorities. The basilica-like synagogue bore neo-Roman elements and was—like the first one—rather poor in ornamentation compared to most Hungarian synagogues.¹¹² In spite of the wealth accumulated by many members of the community, financing was scarce and people were encouraged to contribute by buying permanent seats.¹¹³ The Jewish industrials were eager not to engage too much in community affairs and to keep their confession at distance. Unlike in most other towns, Jewish life was not very visible in the city center, which was increasingly the site of national contention between Germans—among whom the Jews were counted—and Czechs. The other buildings belonging to the community were dispersed in the newly urbanized parts of town, a sign of the will not to create a “Jewish” district.

The proportion of the Jewish population was much higher in Lemberg and therefore the creation of synagogues, prayer houses and Jewish institutions was older than in other parts of the empire, largely due to the ancient presence of the Jews in Polish territories that came at the end of the eighteenth century under Habsburg authority.¹¹⁴ At the end of the nineteenth century, Jews in Lemberg possessed five synagogues of various sizes, as well as several prayer houses. Before the emancipation Jews gathered in the so-called “*israelitisches Territorium*” in the third district of the town (Żółkiew) where the two main synagogues as well as the community institutions stood.¹¹⁵ The place was compared to a ghetto and famous in the literature for its poverty and untidiness.¹¹⁶ These two synagogues were considered the main places of worship and they were preserved, unlike the smaller ones that later disappeared. The most important was the *Goldene Rose*, one of the oldest synagogues still standing at the turn of the twentieth century. It had been built by an Italian architect at the end of the sixteenth century. The so-called “main” synagogue that stood on the *Stary Rynek* was inaugurated in 1846 and appropriated by the reformed community, taking its inspiration from the German *Haskalah*. The location was significant, as it demonstrated that the Jews were coming out

112 Klenovský, *Brno židovské*, 53. The synagogue was burnt down and demolished during Nazi occupation.

113 *Betrachtungen und Vorschläge über den Bau einer neuen Synagoge in Brünn*, 7.

114 On Lemberg Jews around 1848, see Michael Stanislawski, *Murder in Lemberg: Politics, Religion, and Violence in Modern Jewish History* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007).

115 J. Szeziński, *Neu verbesserter Wegweiser der kön. Hauptstadt Lemberg* (Lemberg: Druckerei des Stauropigianischen Instituts), 1863.

116 *Landesverband für Fremden-und Reiseverkehr in Galizien: Kurzer Führer durch Lemberg und Umgebung* (Cracow: L. K. Gorski, 1912), 29.

of the ghetto, acquiring an important building, not yet in the very center of town but at its immediate borders. From then on, Lemberg Jews took a resolute assimilationist attitude that led them first to Germanization and then to Polonization; there was a notable difference between urban Jews and Yiddish-speaking people arriving from the countryside.¹¹⁷ No other synagogue was built in Lemberg after the emancipation, an exception in the landscape of the multicultural Austro-Hungarian cities.

Czernowitz can be considered the opposite example of Lemberg in this respect. The city had no Jewish past comparable to Lemberg and therefore the Jewish places of worship were built after the integration of Bucovina into the Habsburg Empire. The building of the first synagogue started in 1820 but its completion was slow: the consecration finally took place in 1845.¹¹⁸ As elsewhere, the building soon showed its limits and a new synagogue had to be built. This decision was also the expression of the divide within the community between a conservative and a progressive-assimilationist part. The construction was achieved in four years (1873–1877) and the building was ceremoniously inaugurated by the emperor.¹¹⁹ The new representative synagogue stood in the city center, a short distance from the *Ringplatz* and the main administrative and cultural buildings, whereas the Orthodox synagogue remained in the northern part of town, not far from the railway station, in a less prestigious area. The synagogue of the *Tempelgasse* was thus the only one that appeared in photographs, travel guides, postcards, and representations of the city.

Sarajevo offers another example of the transformation and visibility of the Jewish community. Here the necessity of building a new synagogue was obvious because of the difference introduced by the arrival of largely German-speaking Ashkenazi Jews. The local Sephardic Jews had their own temple in the town's center, a building dating back to the end of the sixteenth century; it was renovated in 1909 and equipped with electricity but without being significantly enlarged. The new Ashkenazi community first gathered in a prayer house which was soon considered insufficient and unworthy of its members, all of whom belonged to the administrative elite of the empire. The decision to construct a representative synagogue was taken at the General Assembly of the

117 Shanes, *Diaspora Nationalism and Jewish Identity in Habsburg Galicia*, 34–40.

118 Raimund Friedrich Kaindl, *Geschichte von Czernowitz von den ältesten Zeiten bis zur Gegenwart: Festschrift zum sechzigjährigen Regierungsjubiläum Kaiser Franz Joseph I. und zur Erinnerung an die erste urkundliche Erwähnung von Czernowitz vor 500 Jahren* (Czernowitz: Universitäts-Buchhandlung H. Pardini, 1908), 181.

119 *Ibid.*, 183.

Austro-Hungarian community in 1885.¹²⁰ Ten years later a plot was chosen on the embankment of the Miljačka, and plans for the building were drawn up by Wilhelm Stiassny, himself a Jewish architect from Bohemia who had already designed synagogues in Pilsen (Plzeň) and Prague. Stiassny designed the synagogue in the Moorish style, but there was still not enough money to realize it,¹²¹ and eventually Karel Pařík modified Stiassny's original plans to the Egyptian style, enlarging and broadening the project so that the synagogue had a more monumental aspect.¹²² The building was inaugurated in 1902.

On the whole, the populations of the Habsburg Empire remained faithful to their religious communities. The attachment of the dynasty to Catholicism and the respect shown to all other confessions were important elements of the monarchy, and religious events were integral part of sociability in the cities. Yet, religious communities were not immobile. Many changes occurred during the last decades of the nineteenth century as shown, for example, by the transformation of the Hungarian Jewish communities. Migration also did a lot to modify religious balance, as seen in Sarajevo, certainly the place where confessional change was most visible. However, in most towns, newcomers often belonged to the same faith as the endogenous population, but this does not mean that there were no changes in the way people saw their religious affiliation: in Trieste, the increase of atheism was a consequence of political changes with the influence of irredentism and social democracy on one side, and a reaction to the growth of the Slovene (Catholic) population on the other side. The percentage of Catholics rose similarly in Brünn, thanks to the arrival of Czechs, yet the Church could not avoid national contentions. The minority not only demanded national satisfaction but often also combined this with a claim over confessional leadership.

Although religion traditionally delivered a message of loyalty toward the state and dynastic institutions, religious communities increasingly became instruments of national politics and were therefore eager to compete with each other in terms of visibility in the city. Each group wanted to display itself and deliver an articulate discourse in the urban space. There was a rivalry for the best spots in town to build the appropriate place of worship. As finances were scarce, every possible mobilization was undertaken to convince coreligionists of the need to contribute. Religion contributed to the multiple identities

120 *Bosnische Post: Organ für Politik und Volkswirtschaft*, no. 35, April 30, 1885.

121 *Bosnische Post: Organ für Politik und Volkswirtschaft*, no. 43, May 29, 1895.

122 Kuděla, Dimitrijević and Vacík, *Arhitekt Karel Pařík 1857–1942*, 122.

of individuals, who were simultaneously asked for money to finance other endeavors, such as schools, cultural institutions, and associations. All of them were supposed to enhance their “patriotic” feelings and their sense of belonging to the city, and city patriotism became entangled with national consciousness. Confessional diversity complicated the message since religion was not necessarily identical with language, and therefore identification through religion could only be partial. Other forms of mobilization had to be elaborated to define national belonging. The slow but nevertheless undeniable trend toward secularization led to a focus on language and culture more than on confession. Assimilation through language and the adoption of other cultural models proved to be more efficient than conversion or mixed marriages, since people were more likely to change language than religion. The multiplication of the cultural offer made religion less relevant for the most liberal members of the society giving way to secularization and even to anticlericalism in some extreme cases like the irredentist Italians.

Schools: Places to Learn Multiculturalism or Factories of The Nation?

THE FRAMEWORK OF INSTRUCTION AND SCHOOL SYSTEMS IN AUSTRIA-HUNGARY

The Constitutional laws of 1867 gave a considerable impulse to the development of the educational system in the Habsburg Empire. Since the enactment of the *Ratio Educationis* under the rule of Maria Theresia, no other ambitious reform of public instruction had been undertaken. Looking at the literacy rate at the end of the period, there is no doubt that remarkable progress had been achieved, but there were still parts of the territory where literacy was progressing slowly. The rural populations who made up the majority of the inhabitants of the empire were yet to be integrated into the schooling system at a higher level. Some lands were considered particularly backward, such as Dalmatia, Galicia, and Bucovina. Emigration also contributed to the slow advancement of literacy. Many young adults who left the empire—mostly men—were illiterate. Village schools were poorly attended and most children had no chance to reach town schools. Many immigrants to the cities were illiterate, but once in the city, their children were able to attend school. A city of 50,000 inhabitants had at least one gymnasium, if not two, along with a *Realschule*, and sometimes a professional school or a seminary. Therefore, most cities had a higher literacy rate, and those who were illiterate were generally older persons who had come from the villages or had had no possibility to attend school in town. There are many tales of illiterate maids, nannies, coach drivers and street sellers.

The city concentrated the possibilities of education and even for adults lacking the basics of instruction, there were more and more evening courses enabling them to catch up with reading and writing, as well as to study more complex subjects. As we have already seen, the nationalities were not equal in their access to education: the town's elite exerted hegemony in language and

consequently imposed it in its schools. Nevertheless, there were many levels in the schooling system, and this diversity was a chance for the nationalities who could thus circumvent the difficulties and mobilize private funds to open a school. As soon as two groups were represented in the town council, there was a struggle over the schools since each of them wanted to promote education in its own language. The state decided the *Landessprachen* based on population statistics, which in turn impacted education because only the authorized languages could be taught at public schools. If the language of the state was different from the language spoken by the majority in a given territory, then the state was able to create a state gymnasium where German or Hungarian were not only taught but were also the language of teaching (*Unterrichtssprache*), as was the case in Trieste and Fiume. In Czernowitz, where German was a *Landessprache* as well as the language of the administration, all schools had to give classes in German in addition to the other languages of the province, like Polish, Romanian, and Ruthenian. These were supposed to be equal and accessible to everyone willing to learn them at school. In reality only the gymnasiums could offer such a choice, and the primary schools were limited to the languages spoken by the majority of inhabitants in a given place. Galicia enjoyed a situation of greater autonomy that gave Poles hegemony over the territory, and therefore the capacity to impose Polish as the leading *Landessprache* next to German, relegating Ruthenian far behind. In all other territories of Cisleithania, the language of education was the result of a balance between German and another *Landessprache* (Italian, Slovene, Czech, or Croatian).

In Hungary, the centralized conception of the state led to the dominance of the Hungarian language, which became the language of teaching in all state schools from 1868 on. Yet, the majority of schools were still run by churches, especially in villages and smaller towns. The Law XLIV of 1868 on nationalities established the possibility to teach and establish schools for non-Hungarian speaking children but this was left to private initiatives. The state was supposed to open schools for them as well but established in fact only Hungarian-speaking institutions. The other languages were taught as foreign languages, primarily German, which was the second compulsory language of all schools throughout the kingdom. In gymnasiums other languages were offered, among them French; in some technical or professional schools, English was taught as well. In Hungary only one *Landessprache*, Hungarian, was recognized, and the other *Landessprachen* could be taught only in private or church schools, which only Romanians and Serbs possessed. Slovaks, taking advantage of the law on nationalities of 1868, had founded private gymnasiums in

Upper Hungary thanks to financing from the *Matica slovenská*, but the authorities closed them in 1875, accusing the *Matica* of undermining state security and thus forbidding its activities. From then on, the Magyarization of the Slovaks accelerated, especially in the cities where the possibilities for higher education were offered exclusively in Hungarian. Resistance was only possible in the villages, mainly thanks to local priests and denominational schools. In the rural environment, the majority of elementary schools remained in the hands of the churches, enabling linguistic diversity on one hand, but preventing on the other hand the access of non-Hungarian speaking pupils to secondary education if not through priests' seminaries. In the schools of the Romanian and Serbian communities, all teachers had to prove their knowledge of Hungarian and were examined on the subject by the authorities. As in Austria, there were two levels of administration for public instruction: local administration by regional representations (*iskolaszék*) under the supervision of the Ministry of Religion and Public Education; whereas in the cities the municipality had relative autonomy concerning primary and secondary schools, although gymnasiums remained state institutions. Fiume constituted an exception since Italian was recognized not only as the *Landessprache* of the city but also as the language of its elite and therefore no explicit Magyarization was attempted. However, the teaching of Hungarian was offered and encouraged by the creation of bilingual schools and the opening of the state gymnasium at the beginning of the 1880s.

Following the Hungarian-Croatian Compromise of 1868, the Croatian government had full authority on public instruction. Croatian was made the language of instruction in all public educational institutions, while German remained the second compulsory language at the secondary level. Yet, German began to decline in the middle of the century.¹ Since Hungarian was not an option in Croatian schools, no real Magyarization could take place on the territory, and attempts made at imposing Hungarian in administrations that belonged to the so-called common affairs (like finances and transport) proved both illusory and provocative. Because of this, translation departments were created in the Hungarian ministries communicating with Croatia and official publications were issued in both languages. Croatian sovereignty on cultural and educational matters helped create a considerable number of schools but the territory nevertheless remained in a situation of backwardness because of

1 See on this matter the published dissertation thesis by Daniel Baric, *Langue allemande, identité croate: Au fondement d'un particularisme culturel* (Paris: Armand Colin, 2013).

the proportion of its rural populations and the high emigration rate. The creation of the university in Zagreb could not hide the fact that Croatia was less literate than other Austro-Hungarian lands.

At the top of the educational system of the Habsburg Empire stood the universities, though they were few compared to Western Europe or Italy. In Cisleithania, universities existed in Vienna, Graz, Innsbruck, Prague (German language Charles-Ferdinand University and Czech language Charles University), Cracow, Lemberg, and Czernowitz; in Transleithania, universities were located in Budapest, Kolozsvár (Cluj, Klausenburg), Zagreb, and Pozsony (opened in 1913). To compensate for the relative lack of universities, law schools (called law academies) existed, mainly in Hungary, as well as many professional schools, mostly commercial ones. The technical schools were also numerous and some of them, called “Polytechnic,” were university level. Most military schools were not established in big cities but in towns with important garrisons or on the Adriatic coast. The secondary level was composed of the gymnasium on the one side, where humanities were taught (Greek and Latin), and the *Realschule* on the other, where pupils learned more practical “modern” subjects (like sciences and contemporary foreign languages). This division concerned the whole of the empire and the term “*Realschule*” was transposed in every language. Primary schools (*Volksschulen*) should have theoretically been opened in every locality of the monarchy but in most villages there was no possibility to establish the eight-year curricula and most children stopped after four years without ever achieving the “middle” level. Schools offering the full eight-year curricula would exist only in a nearby town. Bigger cities had more to offer and could maintain numerous elementary schools. For children who could not attend the eight years of the *Volksschule*, towns provided an alternative called *Bürgerschule* (or *polgári iskola* in Hungary); this had a six-year curriculum and thus did not lead to secondary instruction. Primary instruction was also accessible through private financing by civil or religious organizations and was therefore the first level of national struggle in the cities, soon followed by the secondary school and the university.

Building new primary and secondary schools was the prerogative of a city’s authorities, but permission had to be given by the school’s district authorities and the respective ministries in both parts of the monarchy.² In Cisleithania,

2 For a general overview of building elites through schooling, see Gary B. Cohen, *Education and Middle-Class Society in Imperial Austria 1848–1918* (West Lafayette, IN: Purdue University Press, 1996).

the Diet of the crownland had also the means to intervene in the debate and, could promote local national initiatives opposed by city authorities by voting for subsidies or funding scholarships. Education was a highly sensitive topic with respect to the national question and was thus subject to “battles” in town councils and in the Diets. A municipality had the power to give a deliberate orientation to its school policy: it could refuse the sale of parcels to build a new school or vote to fund associations promoting the education of one particular group. The local national minority for its part made access to school in its language a major part of its action. In Hungary, where no other language could be tolerated in public instruction, the multiplication of schools was an instrument of the Magyarization policy, sometimes to the displeasure of towns that had to finance the schools. Private initiatives were often left to churches. Some of them, such as the Romanians of Transylvania, could resist Magyarization thanks to sponsors, and an already functioning network of schools and organizations. Most of the private schools that had existed before 1868 on behalf of Jewish organizations followed the general trend adopted by the community and Magyarized their curricula, or were simply closed. Many of these institutions had been commercial secondary schools. Jewish religious schools were maintained, but in general the Hungarian Jews pursued assimilation and filled the Hungarian schools at a degree well above their proportion of the population.

Increasing the number of schools was on the one hand an opportunity for multiculturalism because of the resulting larger access to public instruction could benefit multicultural engagements, but on the other hand it tended to “nationalize” the issue and to make education a highly contested field. Yet, the nationalization process proved more arduous than later claimed by the national “awakeners;” in the villages national activists coming from the towns had difficulties converting parents to the national cause. Rural people saw bi- or multilingualism as something normal and maintained multicultural social practices that the activists saw as “stubborn ignorance or religious fanaticism.”³

Things were not easier for the nationalists in the cities. For parents, pragmatism rather than national affinity was often the main argument for the choice of the school. As soon as secondary education was achieved, the question of career and job opportunities was raised. German was the lingua franca of the empire and therefore prerequisite in any profession going beyond the strictly

3 Judson, *Guardians of the Nation*. See also his study “Marking National Space on the Habsburg-Austrian Borderlands,” in *Shatterzone of Empires: Coexistence and Violence in the German, Habsburg, Russian, and Ottoman Borderlands*, ed. Omer Bartov and Eric D. Weitz (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2013), 124.

local level, while in Hungary, nothing significant could be achieved without a perfect command of Hungarian. The advantage of speaking both languages created the practice of “children exchange” (*Kinderaustausch*), organized by local teachers, which sent, for example, pupils from Hungarian towns to German localities in Zipser (Szepes, Spiš) County to learn German, while their counterparts went to homogenous Hungarian cities to improve their Hungarian.⁴ With travelling becoming easier, the practice of *Kinderaustausch* enjoyed a “golden age” even in the villages of some regions of Northern and Eastern Hungary.⁵ The same practice was also present in the Austrian part, with families organizing exchanges so that the children could learn the language of another national group.⁶

Only for those who had a national state beyond the borders (Italians, Romanians, and Serbs) could their mother tongue offer an alternative to the hegemony of German and Hungarian. However, consistent emigration for work and study concerned only the Italians in a relatively high number. School multiculturalism must be thus relativized: only at the secondary level were the pupils really in contact with another language through teaching and through the presence of children belonging to another linguistic group. This phenomenon was enhanced by confessional diversity because religion was taught at school as soon as a group was numerous enough to have a teacher of religion devoted to it; if not, pupils were sent to the local priest, minister, or rabbi. Thus, multilingualism was also represented at school, even if the language of teaching secular subjects was different.

The attribution of scholarships can be seen as contributing to both trends: favoring the preservation of the neutral multicultural character of the schools and promoting one particular group. It was often used as an instrument to circumvent the domination of one group over the others. Thus, in Hungary there were famous Romanian sponsors who deliberately supported Romanian students at Hungarian schools and universities, not just at Romanian primary schools or seminars. In Arad, Temesvár, and Nagyvárád, wealthy Romanian citizens helped poor students by building dormitories or donating money for

4 Among them was the Hungarian writer Gyula Krúdy, who was sent from Nyíregyháza to Pudlein (Podolin, Podolíneć). Puttkamer, *Schulalltag und nationale Integration in Ungarn*, 243.

5 László Kósa, “Kinderaustausch und Sprachlernen in Ungarn,” *Hungarian Studies* 3, nos. 1–2 (1987): 87. See also Susan Gal, “Polyglot Nationalism: Alternative Perspectives on Language in 19th Century Hungary,” *Langage et société*, no. 136 (2011): 41–48.

6 In his memoirs, Karl Renner describes the *Kinderaustausch* practice and regrets that he did not himself benefit from it. *An der Wende zweier Zeiten: Lebenserinnerungen von Karl Renner* (Vienna: Danubia Verlag, 1950), 45.

books and clothing. Manó Gozdu was certainly the most renowned benefactor of Romanian students in Hungary. Born in Nagyvárad in 1802 he studied in Pest and worked as a lawyer before rising to become the prefect of Krassó County and representative of Bihar County.⁷ In his last will he established a foundation under his name to help young Romanians study at Budapest University, and he also raised money for local schools.⁸ A similar initiative came in 1913 from Emanuil Ungureanu, a lawyer and bank manager originating from Temesvár, who gave a sum of 372,000 crowns to establish after his death a foundation to build schools, libraries, and pedagogic journals in the Orthodox diocese of Arad.⁹ In all secondary schools, scholarships were given to pupils either from the state, the provincial government, the municipality, or private donators. The civil authorities were neutral in their policy of attributing grants: generally, the regulations mentioned “deserving children of our town/land” without specifying nationality or religion. Private donors on the contrary were free to determine whom they wanted to finance. In Temesvár, a group of German merchants and entrepreneurs sponsored German students at the city’s *Realschule*. The foundation established in 1871 took the name of the famous poet Nikolaus Lenau (*temesvári magyar királyi állami főreáliskola Lenau-ösztöndíj alapítványa*), a native from Torontal County.¹⁰ In Trieste, where the competition between state (Austrian) and local (Italian) schools was fierce, Italian sponsors were significant: the wealthiest Jewish families donated scholarships to nearly all secondary schools and were benefactors for their own community. The Morpurgo family was particularly prominent in this respect: the name of its numerous members, including in-laws, are to be found in nearly all schools’ annuals. For example, the foundation created in memory of Baroness Elisa de Morpurgo in 1877 to help poor students at the female teachers’ school was significant, and her husband, Baron Giuseppe, donated money to finance 16 grants each year.

The imperial and royal foundations were crucial for pupils at the gymnasiums. The money came from Francis Joseph's personal treasury, and new grants were created at the occasion of the jubilees of his reign. In 1883–84, the emperor’s foundation gave fifteen grants to the first gymnasium of Czernowitz. Other students were financed by private individuals or by the municipality of

7 Mária Berényi, *Istoria fundației Gojdu (1870–1952) / A Gozdu alapítvány története (1870–1952)* (Budapest: A Budapesti Románok Kulturális Társaságának kiadványa, 1995), 34.

8 *Alföld*, July 1, 1886.

9 Puttkamer, *Schulalltag und nationale Integration in Ungarn*, 159.

10 István Berkeszi, *A temesvári Magyar királyi állami főreáliskola története* [History of the Hungarian royal state Realschule in Temesvár] (Temesvár: Uhrmann Nyomda, 1896), 224.

Sadagora (for Jewish pupils).¹¹ The number of scholarships given rose together with the number of pupils and at the beginning of the twentieth century the same gymnasium distributed more than thirty grants a year. Approximately the same number of grants were given to the other gymnasiums, as well as to the Orthodox *Realschule*. Municipal funds went to schools administered by the town. The Orthodox *Religionsfond* reserved its grants to its own educational system and the faculty of theology of the university, but they nevertheless sponsored the state vocational school (*Staatsgewerbeschule*) together with other institutions (State railway companies, Diet, Chamber of Commerce and Industry).¹² Private grants were particularly important for university students for they generally had to move to the city and pay for housing and tuition. At Zagreb University for example, grant sponsors ranged from the king himself to local notables, and grants were given either to specific faculties or to students coming from specific regions.¹³

School buildings were an important aspect of the transformation of urban space. Gymnasiums and secondary schools especially needed large plots because of the necessity to build a schoolyard and a gym. There was now a concern for better-ventilated classrooms, laboratories, and other facilities that required space. The growing importance of sport was also taken into consideration, though in cities where land was scarce gymnastics were performed either on the spot or in outdoor places. Most of the time, sport activities were left to private associations, which developed quickly during the last decades of the nineteenth century, and which were increasingly national in orientation. These groups would stage their demonstrations in towns: German *Turnverein* was opposed to Czech *Sokol* (Falcon). In Trieste, the *Societa di ginnastica* was closely watched by the police because of activities that had less to do with sports than with agitprop; in the end the association was banned. In many of these associations first intended for men, women's and children's groups were formed as well. The purpose was to exercise body and soul while following a national project.

11 *Jahres-Bericht des k. k. Ober-Gymnasiums zu Czernowitz, Schoolyear 1883–84* (Czernowitz: Eckhardt), 62.

12 Carl A. Romstorfer, *Entwicklungsgeschichte der k.k. Staats-Gewerbeschule in Czernowitz: 1873–1898* (Czernowitz: Eckhardt, 1898), 95.

13 The name of the sponsors shows a great diversity, both socially and nationally. Count Ivan Drašković, for example, sponsored grants for the faculty of law; Ivan Eduard Gregurić distributed grants for all faculties; the scholarship given by Ljudevit Grantsák was managed by the municipality. Grants given for students from specific regions included those sponsored by Antun Jakić for students from the Kostajnica region, and Josip Novaković for students from Sisak. Finally, there was the scholarship offered by foundation Gustav Hilleprand Baron von Prand founded by his daughter Countess Marijana Normann Ehrenfels, and the one granted by Count Dr. Ivan Buratti from Split.

In most towns, large school buildings were constructed in order to cope with the growth of the population. In spite of the costs, municipalities were eager to demonstrate their potential for education and saw the building of schools, mainly gymnasiums, as a question of prestige, which was also a factor in the rivalry between cities. The inauguration of a new gymnasium was an event that the town was proud of. In the case of a specific “national” building, then, the minority it belonged to used the occasion to demonstrate not only its material capacity to build the school but also its intellectual level, often questioned by the majority. There was thus a competition between groups who wanted to represent themselves as worthy of higher education.

LANGUAGES IN SCHOOL CURRICULA

Although exposing children to multiculturalism had a long tradition, at least in the Austrian part of the monarchy—where families often hired servants or nannies belonging to a different linguistic group or organized the already mentioned *Kinderaustausch* programs—it were the schools that provided an institutional structure for such cultural encounters: the systematic learning of another language was possible only through schooling. At school children were exposed to the language of others. Either they belonged to the majority and were taught in their mother tongue, or they belonged to the minority and had to now learn a new language; in both cases the classroom was at least bilingual, as most certainly was the schoolyard. Thus, from the beginning of their school years children learned the language spoken by others. The situation was relatively simple when two languages were present in the town, but complicated when there were more, like in Czernowitz. In this case, teaching in other languages was offered optionally, as one could not expect children to master four languages together with the rest of the school curricula, which was particularly heavy at the secondary level. In these schools, children took lessons first in their mother tongue—if it was not German—then in German, and eventually in a third language.

The development of “national” primary schools weakened this first contact with bilingualism, since the other language was still taught but only as a foreign tongue. Soon bilingualism was no longer seen as a benefit by national activists, who, consequently, began to “battle” it.¹⁴ Pragmatism decided where to enroll the children, thus practically no parents belonging to the majority

14 Zahra, *Kidnapped Souls*, 19–23.

language would chose a “minority” school, whereas parents belonging to the minority would often prefer the school of the majority. Before the Constitutional laws, there had been many mixed schools, especially in Moravia and Bucovina. The laws on public instruction stipulated that every child had the right to be taught in his or her mother tongue. This led to the development of monolingual schools and mixed schools nearly disappeared all over Cisleithania, though some were still operational in Moravia, Bucovina, and Carinthia. These schools were called “*utraquist*” after the name of the Christian communion “*sub utraque specie*” (under both species) that had been adopted by the Czech brethren during the Reformation. The term was generalized in Bohemia and Moravia to mean institutions that were bilingual or “linguistically neutral” like in Brünn.¹⁵ Instruction was performed in both languages in a way that created real bilingualism because pupils belonged to both groups. The teaching of another language in primary schools was not compulsory and therefore left to local forces such as financing and the hiring of teachers. Since the majority of children did not attend secondary schools, they had no possibility to learn a second language properly. The door was open to the making of monolingual citizens. Catching up with this lack of knowledge was nevertheless possible: the military service provided courses in other languages, especially German; there were courses of general instruction for adults offered by associations that were active mainly in towns. The truly foreign languages (French and English) were introduced only at the secondary level. Greek and Latin were limited to the gymnasium.

In Hungary, the teaching of languages was reduced to Hungarian and German, and no teaching in the other languages of the kingdom was possible at state or municipal schools, though foreign languages were introduced at the secondary level. The result was that the minorities were forced to learn Hungarian—and German as soon as they reached secondary level—but the Hungarians were not compelled to learn the other languages. Thus, multilingualism developed in an asymmetrical way. In the cities where German had long been the dominant language, such as Pozsony and Temesvár, the Magyarization of the school system relegated it to the level of a foreign language. From 1879 on, Hungarian became the sole language of teaching in all state elementary schools of the kingdom.¹⁶ It was directed on one hand at decreasing the

¹⁵ Ibid., 24.

¹⁶ Ludwig Gogolák, “Ungarns Nationalitätengesetze und das Problem des magyarischen National- und Zentralstaates,” in *Die Habsburgermonarchie 1848–1918*, vol. 3/1, *Die Völker des Reiches*, ed. Adam Wandruszka and Peter Urbanitsch, 1291.

importance of German, seen as a remnant of Austrian domination of the country, and on the other at preventing the other groups from developing their own national projects. Thus German-language schools transformed into Hungarian ones, and the primary schools and seminars of the Romanians and Serbs were obliged to have Hungarian-speaking teachers. After the closing of the Slovak gymnasiums, Slovak was no longer taught at regular institutions but confined to private, mostly religious, initiatives, which were mostly active in villages and small towns where they could maintain schools. The government did not try to bring these schools under state control because it lacked the means, but various regional associations promoting Hungarian sprang up to address this issue. For example, the Association for Hungarian Public Instruction in Upper Hungary (*Felvidéki Magyar Közművelődési Egyesület*, or FMKE) was created in 1882 by a group of teachers from Nyitra County and headed by school inspector Gusztáv Libertiny and two other school headmasters, among them the headmaster of the Jewish *Realschule* of Vágújhely (Waag-Neustadtl, Nové Mesto nad Váhom).¹⁷

The 1907 law regulating the teachers' salaries in the state schools that was to bear the name of educational minister Albert Apponyi aimed also at exerting greater control on church-run and communal schools belonging to the nationalities in order to achieve higher levels of Magyarization.¹⁸ In this respect it was rather successful, and in 1914 only 20 percent of all primary schools provided teaching in another language, although 35 percent of children in elementary schools continued to attend courses not given in Hungarian. Most of them belonged to Romanian or Serbian villages or churches; the main "victims" of Magyarization were Slovaks and Ruthenians, who had neither territorial nor religious unity.¹⁹ In this respect again, there was a considerable difference between rural and urban environment. The fact that analphabetism remained relatively high among non-Hungarian speaking people is on the one side a proof of the poverty and mediocrity of their elementary schools and on the other side of insufficient Magyarization. Even in towns, the figures of monolingual people (often recently arrived from a monolingual village) testify to this. The only exception to Magyarization was the already mentioned case of

17 Puttkamer, *Schulalltag und nationale Integration in Ungarn*, 207.

18 "1907. évi XXVI. törvénycikk: Az állami elemi népiskolai tanítók illetményeinek szabályozásáról és az állami népiskolák helyi felügyeletéről" [Law XXXVI of 1907: On the regulation of teachers' salaries in the state elementary schools and local supervision of the state elementary schools].

19 Gogolák, "Ungarns Nationalitätengesetze und das Problem des magyarischen National- und Zentralstaates," 1298.

Fiume where Hungarians were realistic enough not to impose their language on an Italian- and Croatian-speaking population. The centralized Hungarian model was clearly inspired by French republicanism, but it was ill suited to handle the level of national consciousness already attained by the minorities.

The Austrian system was the opposite of the Hungarian. There great care was taken not to let one nation dominate the others, as this would only exacerbate the conflict. The question was particularly acute for secondary schools which were mostly located in bigger cities. The 1869 law on schools (*Reichsvolksschulgesetz*)²⁰ had to be adapted to the local conditions of the specific *Kronländer* and therefore had to take into consideration all situations of multilingualism. The school curricula were planned so that teaching would take place in at least two of the local *Landessprachen*: accordingly, decrees were issued for Moravia, Bohemia, Istria, and Tirol.²¹ The thought behind this regulation was that knowledge of a second language would benefit pupils at secondary schools who were the future elites of the province. But at the same time, liberal governments were aware of the national consciousness of the minorities and ruled that no obligation to learn a second language was to be introduced; this proved to be problematic in regions where command of two languages was necessary for anyone applying for a job. The administration tried to circumvent this problem by creating a hierarchy of languages: subjects were either “absolutely compulsory” (*unbedingt obligat*), “relatively compulsory” (*bedingt obligat*) or “free subjects” (*freie Gegenstände*). The latter two categories were very flexible and varied from one region to another, and sometimes even within a single town. Most of the time the second *Landessprache* was taught as “relatively compulsory” subject.²² The situation was also diverse with respect to the nature of the school: gymnasiums were state institutions whereas *Realschulen* belonged to the province administration that could thus change the curricula according to its own agenda. Since they had no teaching of the classical languages, *Realschulen* were able to introduce a second *Landessprache* without overburdening the program. Thus in 1895 in Moravia the Diet made the learning of the second *Landessprache* a required subject

20 The law made school attendance compulsory for both genders from age 6 to 14. It also defined the various categories of schools as well as the training schools for teachers. For the full text, see <https://alex.onb.ac.at/cgi-content/alex?aid=rgb&datum=1869&page=311&size=45>.

21 It is important to note that for Galicia and Bucovina, German was not considered to be a *Landessprache*.

22 Gerald Stourzh, “Die Gleichberechtigung der Volksstämme als Verfassungsprinzip 1848–1918,” in *Die Habsburgermonarchie 1848–1918*, vol. 3/1, *Die Völker des Reiches*, ed. Adam Wandruszka and Peter Urbanitsch, 1143.

for all gymnasiums and *Realschulen*.²³ At this time the Czechs had obtained the majority at the assembly and were thus able to force this decision as practically all Czech pupils were already learning German, at least at the secondary level, but the contrary was far from being the rule. The same regulation was adopted by the Bucovina Diet in 1913 for the pupils of the German gymnasiums concerning the learning of Romanian or Ruthenian but it took more than three years to be sanctioned by the imperial government in 1916 and the war prevented its implementation.²⁴

NATIONAL STRUGGLE IN BRÜNN, TRIESTE, AND LEMBERG

The extent to which the language issue defined the school system was particularly visible in Brünn, a city characterized by the competition between Germans and Czechs for national assertion. With the municipality dominated by Germans and the German language enjoying a leading position—being systematically introduced at the secondary level of education—the Czechs' main goal was to provide the same type of education as was accessible to Germans. This meant creating a network of educational institutions, from primary school to university, which would allow an entirely national instruction—one where education was in Czech and German relegated to be the second language. There was, however, a difference between the two groups' understanding of the necessity to learn the language of the others. Being aware of the fact that no career was possible in the province, and of course beyond it, without learning German properly, Czechs took great care that it was taught at secondary level. At the general assembly of the Association of Czech Teachers in August 1883, there was a debate on the necessity of learning German that was concluded by the following resolution: "Our nation needs the German language, so that we are able to understand the Germans who live next to us." The best place to achieve this, the report concluded, was at school.²⁵ What the Czechs wanted was reciprocity, something that the Germans were nevertheless unwilling to grant. As a result, the school landscape in Brünn ultimately became increasingly "doubled" with Germans and Czechs having their own schools.

When it came to primary education, the actors of the struggle over schools in Brünn were on the one side the *Matica školská*, founded in 1878, and on the

23 Ibid., 1145.

24 Ibid., 1147.

25 *Zpráva o sjezdu českého učitelstva v Brně... 6.a 7. dne mes. srpna r. 1883* [Report from the Congress of Czech Teachers in Brünn] (Brünn: Aktienbuchdr., 1883), 88.

other the *Deutscher Schulverein* that had been founded for the whole monarchy in 1880.²⁶ The main goal of *Matica školská* was to open primary schools in the suburbs of Brünn that would educate Czech children in their mother tongue and so to avoid “losing” them to German primary schools. This was considered necessary because at that time the municipality, dominated by Germans, was reluctant to open schools taught solely in Czech. On the eve of World War I, the municipality maintained 10 Czech primary schools, as opposed to 33 German, in addition to 44 German-language Kindergarten.

The first Czech gymnasium was established in 1867, but it was followed in 1871 by the opening of a second German gymnasium. From then on, there was a competition between Germans and Czechs for the creation of schools. The Czechs insisted on providing secondary instruction on the same level as the Germans. They had the strong support of the Moravian Diet, where they had won the majority, and many influential Moravian nobles were in favor of secondary education in their own language. The Kaunitz family for example gave scholarships to Czech pupils. In 1908 they even donated one of their palaces in town, on Giskra Square, to house a Czech student hostel.²⁷ At the same time, Count Wenzel and Countess Josephine Kaunitz were *utraquist*, concerned with national balance, and distributed aid for both nationalities; they had a conception of *Landespatriotismus* that went beyond the national definition.²⁸ Ultimately, Brünn ended up with four gymnasiums, two German and two Czech.²⁹ The same division was observed for the *Realschulen*: the first was German, but the chapter that opened in 1876 in the suburb of Kröna was transformed into a Czech *Realschule* in 1880. Both were state institutions. In 1886 the Germans were able to create a second *Realschule*. Following this, a second Czech *realka* was opened in Antoninská Street, not far from the Vesna girls’ school.³⁰

26 Peter Urbanitsch, “Die Deutschen in Österreich,” in Wandruszka and Urbanitsch, *Die Habsburgermonarchie 1848–1918*, vol.3/1, *Die Völker des Reiches*, 85. On the *Schulverein*, see also Pieter M. Judson, *Exclusive Revolutionaries: Liberal Politics, Social Experience and National Identity in the Austrian Empire, 1848–1914* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1996), 207–15.

27 *Výroční Zpráva o činnosti Kounicových studentských koleji českých vysokých škol v Brně* [Annual report about the activity of the Kaunitz Students’ hostel of the Czech high schools in Brünn] (Brno: Odehnal, 1909–16).

28 Vladimír Novák, *Kounicovy studentské koleje českých vysokých škol v Brně* [The Kaunitz students’ hostels at the Czech secondary schools in Brünn] (Hranice: Družstvo Knihotiskarny, 1911).

29 *Schematismus der Schulbehörden, Volks-, Mittelschulen und Lehrerbildungs-Anstalten dann der gewerblichen, commerciellen und landwirtschaftlichen Schulen in Mähren* (Brünn: Winiker, 1901), 4–6.

30 *Výroční Zpráva. 2. (druhé) české státní realky v Brně* [Annual report of the second state Czech “realka” in Brünn] (Brno: Odehnal, 1912).

City elites were aware of the potential of this dynamic competition, and many were proud to call Brünn a “*Schulstadt*” precisely for its number of educational institutions. Bohemia and Moravia had the highest literacy levels in the empire. They had also been the first regions linked to Vienna by rail and were the industrial center of the monarchy. Consequently, Czechs enjoyed a reputation as excellent technicians all over the empire. Accordingly, the technical school of Brünn had to be “doubled” as well. The first technical high school was an utraquist institution aimed at training engineers and chemists, and Czech was taught, along with French and Italian, as a foreign language. A Czech technical school was created in 1899, when the original school’s fiftieth anniversary celebration was scheduled; the concomitance of the two events was clear to everyone. Before the creation of the Czech technical school, around 20 percent of the students at the utraquist school had Czech as their mother tongue. But as soon as the “parallel” school was opened, this proportion fell to around 8 to 10 percent in the 1900s, 3 to 4 percent in the 1910s and finally 2.5 percent in 1914.³¹ Both schools recruited their students mainly from Moravia: in 1910 the German *Technik* had 71.5 percent Moravian students and the *česká technika* 87 percent.

Trade and industry were very important for the development of Brünn, and the appropriate schools were also soon divided into German and Czech institutions. The German state vocational school (*Deutsche Staatsgewerbeschule*) opened in 1873 (and a similar one was founded also in Czernowitz).³² The school had two main training programs, architecture, and industry, which were constantly enlarged and diversified as the progress of the field advanced.

A private school for the textile industry—Brünn’s specialty—opened in 1860 and was put under state control and expanded in 1882. In 1885, the Czechs had the opportunity to create their own state school for industry (*C. k. česká státní průmyslová škola*) where curriculum was copied from the German school.³³ Unlike vocational schools, commercial schools (*Handelsschule*) were mostly the result of private initiatives; in Brünn both German and Czech schools were created at the same date, 1895, but not by the same authority. The German high school (*Kaiser Franz Josef Höhere Handelsschule*) was an

31 Lothar Selke, “Die Technische Hochschule zu Brünn und ihr Korporationswesen,” *Europa Ethnica* 2 (1975): 62–63.

32 Eduard Wilda, *Die Organisation der österreichischen Staats-Gewerbeschule, insbesondere der k.k. Staats-Gewerbeschule zu Brünn, in ihren Motiven beleuchtet und mit der Organisation der deutschen Schulen in Vergleich gestellt* (Brünn: Buschak & Irrgang, 1875).

33 *Schulschematismus für Mähren*, 303–5.



Figure 4.1. German state vocational school (k. k. *Deutsche Staatsgewerbeschule*), Brunn.
Source: Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, AKON – Ansichtskarten Online, AK024_553.

initiative of the local Chamber of Commerce and Industry, and the language of instruction was German. At the same time the Czechs obtained the creation of a parallel institution (*Česká vyšší obchodní škola*) from the Ministry of Religion and Education (*k.k. Ministerium für Kultus und Unterricht*), that is, directly from Vienna.³⁴ Behind this success were various Czech associations but also the Chamber of Commerce and Industry. Indeed, this institution was one of the few where utraquism was maintained; although the language of communication was mostly German, the chamber's members were not interested in national conflict for they were Germans, Jews, and Czechs concerned mainly with economic interests.

Czech nationalists had to convince parents to send their children to Czech primary schools. Since the municipality was not keen on opening new ones, the *Matica školská* had to find the means to create schools, especially in the suburbs where more and more Czech inhabitants came to live. There was no lack of teachers, for the city maintained two schools for male teachers, one German and one Czech, as well as two for female teachers, also nationally divided. The two schools for female teachers had been opened at nearly the same time: the German school in 1870 and the Czech in 1872. These also provided the so-called *Töcherschule* that was a limited equivalent of

³⁴ Ibid., 314.

the gymnasium for girls.³⁵ At the level of primary school, the development of instruction for girls was satisfactory in Brünn. There were also three church schools dedicated to girls, but all were German. Accordingly, the efforts of the *Matica školská* to promote Czech education were not limited to the education of boys; in fact, the focus on the education of girls was to become characteristic of Czech social and cultural life in the city. The *Matica* was always looking for financial support in order to maintain the existing schools and to open new ones, and the Czech press constantly appealed to the generosity of its readership by calling to national duty. The newspapers also regularly accused the municipality of agitating against Czech schools through its perceived actions of “Germanization.” The daily *Lidové noviny* (People’s Newspaper), for example, criticized town counselor Heinrich d’Elvert for “being against Czech children,”³⁶ and spoke of “terror” from the town council.³⁷ The fact is that the Czechs had to develop their own instruction in Czech, mainly by mobilizing private initiative and national discipline. This was obviously not enough, as many people continued to send their children to German schools, out of pragmatism, and because they had yet to “awaken” to national consciousness. Sometimes it was simply that the school around the corner was a German one and they did not object to that.

The end of utraquism was the result of the action of both Czechs and Germans. Czechs argued that the German conception of utraquism implied a privileged position for the German language, while Germans who insisted on preserving utraquism were stigmatized by their fellow German national activists as traitors. Ironically, the increase in the number of Czech educational institutions did indeed lead to utraquist institutions becoming increasingly German, as Czech successes provoked among the Germans the feeling of living in a besieged fortress that had to be defended against invaders whose cultural achievements were considered inferior. Yet, looking in detail at school reports, it is obvious that many people were still thinking in terms of utraquism. Some teachers were working on both sides, mainly in the technical matters. Ottokar Leneček, headmaster of the utraquist commercial high school, also taught Czech at the German technical high school. He was also a member of the educational board of the Women’s Industrial Association

35 *Höhere Töchterschule* or *Höhere Mädchenschule* were institutions that offered education, beyond the obligatory Volksschule, for girls aged 12 to 16. Such schools were often the first steps for establishing girls’ gymnasiums.

36 *Lidové noviny*, no. 251, September 11, 1907, evening edition.

37 *Lidové noviny*, no. 63, March 4, 1907, evening edition.

(*Brünner Frauenerwerbsverein*).³⁸ In this respect he was not an exception, for many of his colleagues had to teach simultaneously in various institutions to make a living. But the commercial high school, founded by the Chamber of Commerce and Industry, was itself an *utraquist* institution since it was hardly thinkable to do business in Moravia without knowing both languages. Since there was also a parallel Czech commercial high school, Czech here was an elective subject whereas French and English were compulsory. The high school for the textile industry had a similar *utraquist* profile. As a result of the partition of the educational system, the number of Czech students decreased in the German institutions but were still present, while German students were absent from Czech institutions. At the first Czech gymnasium, for example, the proportion of Czech pupils was 100 percent. Only in 1911–12 does a Polish boy appear among the pupils.³⁹ The same situation characterized the second gymnasium.⁴⁰ The religious profile of the schools was a further proof of this division between Czechs and Germans: practically no Jewish pupil was registered at either gymnasium (only 1 to 3).

A comparable situation characterized Trieste, but there the Slovenes were faced with more complex challenges than the Czechs in Brünn. Unlike the Germans in Brünn, the Italian authorities in Trieste ignored the fact that an important part of the population was not Italian-speaking. The subordinate situation of Slovenes and the disdain for their language is not comparable to the relative balance reached by Germans and Czechs in Brünn; here the purpose was clearly complete assimilation. Moreover, in contrast to the difficulties Czechs faced, Slovenes had to affirm their right to instruction in Slovene in two areas: in Carinthia and Carniola toward the Germans, and in Istria and especially in Trieste toward the Italians. Apart from places where they were progressively able to gain ground, like their capital Laibach (Ljubljana), they were faced by the reluctance of both Germans and Italians to grant them the ability to have schools and gymnasiums where Slovene could be taught. Neither leading nationality was ready to consider that Slovene language and culture had the same level as German or Italian. Racist arguments were often made in the press and ferocious caricatures mocked the Slovene ambitions.

38 Ottokar Leneček, *Jahresbericht der Kaiser Franz Josef-Handelsakademie in Brünn* (Brünn: Rohrer, 1911–1912).

39 *Program c.k. vyššího Gymnasia českého v Brně* [Program of the first Czech gymnasium of Brünn] (Brünn, 1893–1912).

40 *Vyrocni Zprava druhého českého gymnasia státního v Brně* [Annual report of the second Czech state gymnasium in Brünn] (Brünn: Odehnal, 1902–1917/18).

But in Trieste itself, the struggle for the national language had been in the first place a conflict between Italians and Germans. Thus, the Italians, having won this battle, were not keen to let the Slovenes challenge their newly acquired domination. A report from the school commission of the municipality states clearly that “If an objection can be made that the Slavic language has not yet reached a sufficient degree of achievement, nobody can claim the same thing for the Italian language, mother of European culture.”⁴¹

The processes of Italianization and secularization of the educational system went hand in hand in Trieste. On the one hand, the municipality, thanks to its economic power, could open its own schools in order to compete with “Germanization,” while on the other it fought a successful struggle in putting church schools under its own control. From the 1840s on, Italian was an obligatory subject in all schools, and it became the language of instruction in the institutions maintained by the town. The beginning of the Constitutional era accelerated this process because it allowed the municipality to intervene more directly in educational policy. As a result, Trieste was soon among the cities where illiteracy was at its lowest. It also had one of the best school enrollment rates in the monarchy. In 1880, 76 percent of children were attending school, a good result compared to 42 percent in Istria, which was still a rural and neglected land.⁴² The situation was satisfactory in town but less so in the *territorio* where villages were granted less funding by the municipality; here the process of school building started slowly in the 1860s. Nevertheless, schools multiplied and became places of contention, as the Slovenes, who were the majority in some of these villages, began demanding instruction in Slovene as well.

The training of teachers was a growing concern of the municipality, together with the intention to control and Italianize the profession. Women were trained in the state schools of the littoral and men in the college ruled by the Benedictine monks. The municipality first opened a school for female teachers in 1872, where the language of instruction was Italian. German and French were taught, but Slovene was not even offered as an elective.⁴³ The municipality then tried to secularize the Benedictine school. The school was indeed secularized, but it was moved to Capodistria (Koper), on Istrian territory, a fact deplored by the Italians because it thus remained under state

41 *Sulla lingua d'insegnamento nelle scuole di Trieste* (Trieste: Herrmanstorfer, 1862), iii.

42 *Cenni statistici sulle scuole comunali negli anni scolastici 1878–1879 e 1879–1880: Municipio di Trieste* (Trieste: Caprin, 1881), 161.

43 *Ibid.*, 31–32.

control. The school was intended to train teachers in three languages for all schools of the region. The Italians demanded the establishment of an Italian-speaking teachers' school in vain.⁴⁴

The Trieste municipality was able to create secondary schools where Italian was made the language of instruction, thus challenging the German instruction system that had dominated since the beginning of the century. The authorization to open a communal gymnasium “in the national language of the country” (*nella lingua nazionale del paese*) was given in 1862 and it was inaugurated one year later, along with the complete curriculum. A real influx of pupils started in the 1880s, necessitating the construction of an appropriate building. The new gymnasium was inaugurated in 1883 on the piazza dei Carradori (today Largo Panfili).⁴⁵ The increasing demand for secondary education led to the creation of the *Civica scuola reale superiore*: the town counselors argued that the development of the town made the existing state school insufficient. They obtained authorization and the school opened in 1862 with German as the second required language; later French was introduced as well.⁴⁶ German was taught as a required language in all secondary schools in Trieste and Italian was required in state schools, so the town's elite was practically bilingual. In the state secondary schools, Italian was a required subject, but Slovene was also introduced, and both were compulsory for children whose parents had declared them their usual language. This accumulation of languages was a burden for the children and a complication for the staff, as the headmaster of the *Realschule* lamented at the end of the century: “Modern languages of culture and *Landessprachen* were rushed into it [the school]; all were considered equal and so German, Italian, Slovene, French and English were accepted with more or less success in the curriculum so that the school had an indigestion of them for many years.”⁴⁷ Italians were the majority in the state schools, reflecting their proportion of the population in Trieste. As in Brünn, Italians chose the state schools for pragmatic as well as practical reasons: they offered better opportunities, and the state *Realschule* was more centrally located than the Italian one. All the state schools (the gymnasium, the *Realschule*, one primary school for boys, and a

44 Francesco Marinaz, *Memorie scolastiche: Cenni storici sull' istruzione pubblica di Trieste in genere e sullo sviluppo della scuola popolare in ispecie* (Trieste: Tomasich, 1891), 43.

45 Giuseppe Vellach, *Il Ginnasio comunale superiore di Trieste 1863–1888* (Trieste, 1888), lxvii.

46 *Cenni statistici sulle scuole comunali*, 46.

47 Justus Hendrych, *Jahresbericht der deutschen Staats-Oberrealschule in Triest: Schuljahr 1894–95*, 1.

Bürgerschule for both genders) were later concentrated in a large building on piazza Lipsia (today piazza Attilio Hortis).⁴⁸

Since there was no Italian university in the Habsburg Monarchy, students from Trieste either went to Italy or studied in one of the Austrian universities, generally choosing Graz, Innsbruck, or Vienna. The irredentist factor played a considerable role, a unique case since no other nation-state with compatriots inside the empire could attract students as strongly as Italy could. No Romanian or Serbian institution could challenge the excellence of Austrian and Hungarian universities. There was indeed a competition inside the monarchy between universities; outside only Germany and Italy were able to attract students, the second to a very limited degree.

Private schools were numerous in Trieste because of the variety of confessions represented in the city. Greeks and Serbs had their own schools where boys and girls were mixed, as did the Protestants whose schools were jointly financed by Lutherans and Calvinists.⁴⁹ The Jewish community also maintained a school for both genders. There was even a French school, opened in 1883 by the Sisters of Our Lady of Sion, who also ran a German boarding school. Technical and commercial schools existed as well due to the economic profile of the city. A commercial school was founded by Baron Pasquale Revoltella, a significant sponsor of Trieste, in 1876.⁵⁰ Following his last will, the school was put under the control of the municipality,⁵¹ yet the institution remained of modest dimensions, with some ten to twenty students.⁵² Starting in 1887, the state maintained a vocational school (*Staatsgewerbeschule*) similar to others in the monarchy, and it took under its control the former Jesuit academy for Trade, Navy, and Shipbuilding (*k. k. Akademie für Handel, Nautik und Schiffsbau*). In both institutions Italian was taught as a required subject; since the end of the Republic of Venice and the appropriation by Austria of the entire Eastern Adriatic littoral, Italian was the language of the Austrian navy, and remained so until 1848. Finally, the Slovenes founded a private commercial school (*Slovenska trgovska šola v Trstu*) in Trieste in 1910. The language of instruction was Slovene, but Italian as well as German were required subjects. Serbo-Croatian was also taught together with Slovene. The program extended

48 Marinaz, *Memorie scolastiche*, 96.

49 Heinrich Medicus, *Geschichtliche Übersicht der Entwicklung der evangelischen Kirchengemeinde A.B. in Triest* (Klagenfurt: Beitschinger, n.d.), 3.

50 Marinaz, *Memorie scolastiche*, 72.

51 Petrus Tomasin, *Die Volksstämme im Gebiete von Triest und in Istrien: Eine ethnographische Studie* (Triest: Schimpff, 1890), 103.

52 Marinaz, *Memorie scolastiche*, 97.



Figure 4.2. Warships in the port of Fiume, 1913. Source: Fortepan, 120391, Mária Hanser.

over three years: one preparatory course and two years of regular training.⁵³ Eighty-seven of the ninety students registered for academic year 1913–14 were Slovenes; the three others were Croats. They were all Catholics.⁵⁴

Compared to state and Italian schools, the Slovenes had fewer possibilities to establish an educational system in their own language. Only a few primary schools in the *territorio* were taught in Slovene and were thus exclusively attended by Slovene pupils. As soon as Slovenes were elected to the town council, they tried to obtain the authorization to create schools downtown. This demand was regularly rejected, leading to often vivid debates within the council. These were marked by tumultuous scenes both in the assembly and in the publicly accessible galleries visited by agitators who came to make trouble. The Italian press mocked the Slovene delegates for their insistence on the matter, and cartoonists depicted them as the representatives of filthy peasants animated by irrational ambitions and clerical backgrounds. Yet, behind such arguments resided the Italians' fear of being challenged in their own realm. Despite the wide gap between the cultural and political power of the two nationalities, the Italians were aware of the progress of the Slovene national movement and the successes obtained in Slovenia proper. They felt that they

53 *Letno Porocilo dvorazredne zasebne slovenske trgovske šole v Trstu s pravico javnosti koncem šolskega leta 1913–1914* [Annual report of the Slovene commercial private school in Trieste] (Trieste: Edinost, 1914), 7.

54 *Ibid.*, 20–21.

had to defend their cause against two enemies: Germans and Slovenes, and accused the Austrians of deliberately favoring the Slovenes. Yet, in this respect the state was simply offering all groups the possibility to develop national education and thus favoring the expression of national identification.

Having just a few primary schools, the Slovenes were not in the position to demand the creation of secondary schools. There was no Slovene secondary school in the whole Istrian province and therefore the Slovenes were forced to attend Austrian or Italian schools if they wanted to continue studying.⁵⁵ Slovene leaders wished that national “spiritual education” (*duševna izobraženost*) could start at primary school, but could only lament the assimilation that awaited their children. The Italian schools were accused of being “*fabrika Italijanov*” (factory of Italians) as shown in a cartoon from the Slovene satirical newspaper *Škrat* from January 1899 (see Figure 4.3). Here the assimilation was also understood as a social one, as the cartoon shows Slovene peasants entering the school building of the *Lega nazionale* and coming out in bourgeois clothes.

This fear, however, was somewhat exaggerated, as although the schools of the *Lega* were indeed established, primarily in the *territorio*, to compete with Slovene primary schools and with the purpose of turning Slovenes into Italians, they were not supported by the authorities given that the *Lega* was itself on the margin of legality for its perceived role of encouraging irredentism. Moreover, the Slovenes, being unable to make inroads into Trieste in terms of education, concentrated their efforts on the hinterland where they



Figure 4.3. Cartoon “Legina šola” (School of the League), *Škrat*, no. 25, January 31, 1899.

55 Simon Rutar, *Samosvoje mesto Trst in mejna grofiga Istra: Prirodnoznanstvi, statistični, kulturni in zgodovinski opis* [The independent city of Trieste and the Istrian Margraviate], Slovenska Zemlja 2 (Ljubljana: Matica Slovenska, 1896), 129.

proved more successful in gaining ground. When it comes to Trieste, however, the repeated petitions addressed to the town council by Slovene delegates demanding the creation of schools in the city center were met with systematic refusal. One reason behind this was the goal of keeping the Slovene population in the villages of the *territorio* by hindering their migration to the cities. But rural schools were overburdened and distant from each other so that many families had no other choice than sending their children to Italian schools. Downtown there was no other solution and the only way to take lessons in Slovene was through the network of voluntary organizations.

The Slovenes were right in denouncing the obstacles put up by the city to block the presence of their language in town. During a debate about scholarships for the communal gymnasium in June 1902, Deputy Mayor Edgardo Rascovich, himself an Italianized Slav, stated simply that there was no risk of the “Slavization” of the Italians. In response to the Slovene delegate Ivan Goriup, who accused the *Lega* of being not a league of “defense” (*difesa*) but a league of “offence” (*offesa*) against the Slovenes, Rascovich admitted that the *Lega* was an instrument of Italianization. But, he noted, “if we pretend to slavicize, this is impossible because for as long as I now live, I cannot remember any Italian who has become a Slav, but only many Slavs who became Italians. That is why there is no danger for you, and there is no need for ‘defense’ because we cannot turn the Italians into Slavs; we have to deal with ‘offence’ only since in Trieste nobody accepts being a Slav if he can be an Italian.”⁵⁶

In their struggle to create a school in Trieste the Slovenes found allies in the Socialists, who were concerned with the instruction of workers’ children and were also hostile to the national-liberal elite. This sentiment was mutual. In October 1907, the liberal daily *Il Piccolo* reported on negotiations between the state and the Cyril and Methodius Association seeking to put the school of the association under state control and thus transform it into a regular primary school.⁵⁷ As this solution was supported by the socialists, the newspaper not only expressed its “deep disgust” at the fact that such negotiations even occurred, but was also furious at what was called the “treason” of the Socialists in this respect.⁵⁸

56 See the session of June 20, 1902, in *Verballi del consiglio della città di Trieste*, vol. 1902 (Trieste: Tipografia del Lloyd Austriaco, 1861–1902), 129.

57 *Il Piccolo* was (and still is) the major daily newspaper of Trieste. At the turn of the century, it actually printed one copy for ten inhabitants and was read by many more in the entirety of Istria. Giampaolo Valdevit, *Trieste, storia di una periferia insicura* (Milan, Mondadori, 2004), 3.

58 *Il Piccolo*, “La scuola slovena in città: La nuovafase,” no. 9393, October 3, 1907.



Figure 4.4. Cartoon titled "L'Asilo della Südmark a Servola,"
La coda del diavolo, no. 5, March 12, 1909.

In addition to the Socialists, Vienna was also accused of promoting Slovene claims: already in the late 1880s when Slovene was introduced as a required subject in the state schools, Italians were divided between fear and disdain. In the cartoons of the Italian satirical press Slovenes were often portrayed as donkeys. A cartoon from *La coda del diavolo* shows a classroom in the village of Servola in the *territorio*, where an Austrian schoolmaster identified by his Tyrolean clothes tries to educate (Slovene) donkeys; the caption imitates the German accent: "You haf to bekom Germans" (*Foi dofer difentare Tedeschi*, see figure 4.4).

But if the cartoon expressed Italian stereotypes towards the Slovenes, it also reflected genuine Slovene concerns. For the Slovenes also accused Vienna of favoring the Germans in Slovenia. Their hope that the state authorities in Trieste would intervene to impose the creation of Slovene schools on the municipality or to create them on behalf of the local state authorities (*Luogotenenza*) proved unrealistic.

A similar national dynamic characterized secondary education in Lemberg, which, considering the size of its population, was relatively well supplied with schools, partly due to the need to educate enough young people to fill the universities. Lemberg had ten gymnasiums, an indicator of the development

of instruction; of those two were specifically Ruthenian and one German (though interestingly enough, it was not the one named after Francis Joseph). At the beginning of the twentieth century, they each had an average attendance of 500 to 700 pupils. There were also two *Realschulen*.⁵⁹ There seem to have been a consensus on the fact that the Ruthenians should learn Polish and not the other way around.⁶⁰ In the boys' gymnasiums Ruthenian was offered as an elective subject, but this was not the case for the girls' schools where multilingualism was encouraged only to the benefit of German and French. The two public teachers' schools (male and female) were Polish institutions. The Ruthenians were forced to turn to private initiatives for education, the most important of which was the pedagogical association, founded in 1881, which was able to create a female teachers' school.⁶¹ Its headmaster was Dr. Mihailo Kociuba, vice-chairman of the association, who also taught the Ruthenian language at the public male teachers' school.⁶² The situation was to some extent comparable to Trieste, where what began as a contention between German and Italian evolved into a conflict between Italian and Slovene. In Lemberg the former German hegemony was fought by Poles, who now faced Ruthenian demands. As the Italians were successful in setting aside the cultural markers of the German language, so too were the Poles to an even greater extent—thanks to Galician autonomy.⁶³

THE GENDER ISSUE: EDUCATING “THE MOTHERS OF THE NATION”

The education of girls was of particular concern in the entire empire: it was even less developed at the primary level than that of the boys and practically non-existent at the secondary level. Public instruction was compulsory for children of both genders but was limited to primary school, from 6 to 14 years

59 *Wiadomości statystyczne o mieście Lwowie* [Statistical news about the city of Lemberg], 1910–1914, vol. 14 (Lemberg: Nakładem Gminy król. stol. M. Lwowa, 1914), 156.

60 Svjatoslav Pacholkiv, *Emanzipation durch Bildung: Entwicklung und gesellschaftliche Rolle der ukrainischen Intelligenz im habsburgischen Galizien (1890–1914)* (Vienna: Verlag für Geschichte und Politik, 2002), 139–149.

61 *Zvit shkyl Ruskoho Tovarystva Pedahohichnoho u L'vovi za rik shkyl'nyy 1911/12. L'viv* [Report on the schools of the Ruthenian pedagogical society in Lemberg for the school year 1911–12] (L'viv: Nakladom Ruskogo Tovarystva Pedagogichnogo z Drukarnij naukogovo tovarystva imeni Shevchenka, 1912).

62 *Zvit z diyalnosti ruskogo Tovarystva Pedagogichnogo* [Report on the activity of the Ruthenian pedagogical society] (Lemberg: Nakladom tovarystva, z Drukarnij Naukovogo tovarystva im. Shevchenka, 1906), 3.

63 Binder, “Making and Defending a Polish Town,” 68.

of age. Indeed, the illiteracy rate among women in the cities was slightly higher than among men. As was the case elsewhere, most girls were not pushed to attend secondary schools, even in town, both because those schools were lacking, and because of the need to start working in or outside the house. Well-off families could afford private tutors for their children and did not resent the lack of secondary schools; boys were sent to the gymnasium to pass their final exams. The spread of secondary schools for boys had two results: rich families were convinced of their quality and relieved of the worry to look for good private tutors; and middle- or lower-class families could afford to send their boys to secondary schools or if not, there were still possibilities to obtain a scholarship from various sources (state, city, or private). Yet, for these families there was no necessity to also send their girls, whose education would usually be sacrificed to allow the boys to study. Thus, the creation of secondary schools for girls was a slow process. It began from the bottom with the foundation of women teachers' schools, which were present in practically each of the towns studied here. Yet, the education of girls gradually became a general preoccupation of the time, a symbol of social progress, and a subject of national concern. In the cities, it was assumed that girls had to be schooled in order not to "fall" into prostitution. Industrialization created the category of the female worker, who also needed access to education, although less care was observed for servants. National leaders also began to consider the instruction of girls to be important because they would become mothers and as such were supposed to raise children in a patriotic atmosphere. Motivated by this awareness of the role of women in building national consciousness, nationalists began to advocate for the creation of secondary schools for girls as well as for women teachers' schools. In this, they echoed the demands of the first women's movements, which saw secondary education as its most important goal.⁶⁴ In contrast, many conservative men, even those who were very nationalist, did not see the benefit of educating women.

This divide concerning the place of women in education was particularly visible in Sarajevo, for here the progressive leaders, under the influence of Austria's "civilizing" mission, approved of the state's efforts to educate Muslim girls, whereas most religious leaders were strongly opposed to the idea. The Provincial Government set about fostering the education of Muslim girls in two ways. First, they tried to reform the Islamic religious schools as much as possible, to the point that these schools came under the control of the Provincial

64 Malečková, "The Emancipation of Women for the Benefit of the Nation," 174.

Government and remained so until 1909. In 1892, male and female *mekteb-i-ibtidai*, or reformed community schools, were established. Although the administration failed to introduce non-religious subjects due to resistance from religious officials, these schools introduced the teaching of Serbo-Croatian written in both Latin and Cyrillic alphabets, and the teaching of Arabic according to the *usuli-džedid* (“new methodology”), which abandoned the purely mnemonic method previously used. Unlike the traditional *mekteb*, which remained the most common Muslim community school in the region, the *mekteb-i-ibtidai* required teachers to have obtained certification through the Muslim Teachers’ School of Sarajevo. Thus, several thousand Muslim girls were able to attend this school and gain familiarity, among other things, with the Serbo-Croatian writing system. Furthermore, in the early 1890s two distinct *mekteb* for girls were founded in Sarajevo: one in the district of Džinić Sokak in 1891, and another in Bakarević Street in 1894. According to Hadži Hasan Effendi Spaho (1841–1915), a teacher who had studied in Sarajevo and then in Istanbul in the 1860s,⁶⁵ the reformed *mekteb* for girls had “two hearts: Islamic sciences and handiwork.” Spaho was probably inspired by the endeavor of the Ottoman government since the 1860s when it founded the first weaving school open to girls in Üsküb (Skopje) in 1865. Families’ interest in the two schools grew rapidly: by 1900, both *mekteb* had nearly three hundred female students.

Encouraged by this success, several years later the Provincial Government decided to go a step further and opened an elementary school in Sarajevo exclusively for Muslim girls, thus making an exception to the multiconfessional ideal. The task of exploring this possibility was assigned to Olga Hörmann, the wife of the director of the Provincial Museum of Sarajevo, who contacted Muslim families interested in female schooling and, in 1894, established the first course for Muslim girls.⁶⁶ In response to the interest shown by several dozen families, the Provincial Government established in 1897 a four-year elementary school for Muslim girls in Sarajevo. In 1901, when the first generation of female students were completing elementary school, the authorities created a three-year (from 1913, four-year) “advanced course” (*produžni*

65 Fabio Giomi, “Forging Habsburg Muslim Girls: Gender, Education and Empire in Bosnia and Herzegovina (1878–1918),” *History of Education* 44, no. 3 (2015): 278. I am grateful to the author for having given me access to this publication and also for fruitful discussion on this topic. See also Fabio Giomi, *Making Muslim Women European: Voluntary Associations, Gender, and Islam in Post-Ottoman Bosnia and Yugoslavia (1878–1941)* (Budapest–New York: Central European University Press, 2021).

66 *Ibid.*, 280.

tečaj) for girls who wanted to continue their education at the secondary level. Because no Muslim girls enrolled in the multiconfessional teacher-training schools, the school opened a separate three-year course to train female Muslim teachers in 1913. Following this initiative, 30 to 40 girls enrolled each year at the Sarajevo's Muslim Girls' School (*Muslimanska osnovna i viša djevojačka škola*). Despite its significant dropout rate, almost one hundred Muslim girls had completed primary education before the end of World War I, while a few dozen Muslim girls had achieved secondary education. In order to maximize the influence of Habsburg pedagogy in the education of Muslim women, the Provincial Government succeeded in employing the girls who completed the advanced course as teachers in the *mekteb-i-ibtidai* throughout the province. In 1915, the first female students graduating from the teachers' training course obtained certification as primary school teachers.⁶⁷

Among these students were the daughters of several of the province's *beg* families, especially those who chose to cooperate with the Habsburg government after 1878, including the Kapetanovićs and the Sulejmanpašićs. These families were willing to abandon the traditional Ottoman practice of educating girls at home. Almost one-third of the female students came from white-collar families in which the father was a civil servant in the new administration or in a religious institution. Even the daughter of the religious leader *Reis-ul ulema* (grand mufti) Azabagić was enrolled at the school for one year.⁶⁸ For these families, sending their daughters to school was partly a way to consent to the request of the administration, which wanted to use their social prestige to encourage female schooling among Muslims. More than half of the female students came from small craft and trade families, in particular butchers, tailors, and coffee shop and restaurant owners. A significant number of female students had a woman as a legal guardian, usually their mother or grandmother, who are frequently listed as widows. The high number of female-led families in the registers indicates that the hostility to female education may have had a gendered dimension: women were more inclined to send their daughters and nieces to school than were fathers or other male relatives.

Whether enrolled at the primary or advanced levels, the schoolgirls were exposed to an education that was fundamentally new to them. The teaching of Islam was not the sole subject taught at the state school, although it remained one of the school's most important subjects at every level. The emphasis on

67 Ibid., 281.

68 Ibid., 282.

Islamic education indicates that the aim of the school was neither to eradicate Islam nor to convert Muslim girls to Christianity. Such respect for the religious pluralism of Bosnia was a result not only of the Habsburg Empire's tradition of religious tolerance, but also of the specific needs of the empire's strategy in Bosnia: in order to prevent any change in the ethnic balance among the local population, and in particular an increase of the potentially hostile Orthodox-Serbian community, Vienna did its best to maintain the Muslim community as the second largest confessional group in the region, forbidding de facto conversion and attempting to discourage emigration to the Ottoman Empire. The central task of the school was thus to "civilize without converting."⁶⁹

There were interesting differences between Sarajevo's Muslim Female School and the multiconfessional female schools in Bosnia. While in the multiconfessional schools the teaching of foreign languages (German or French) and civic education were compulsory, these subjects were optional at Sarajevo's Muslim Female School. Thus, subjects that would have enabled the girls to have autonomous interactions with foreign people or ideas, or with the public authorities, were not considered of upmost importance. According to the school's curriculum, women's interactions beyond domestic, familial, and communal boundaries were expected to be mediated by men. Religious officials, especially the teachers at the Islamic schools, were the most hostile towards female education, which they interpreted as a road to subversion and a sexual threat. In 1911, the attempt by the Provincial Government to transform the advanced course into an autonomous Muslim female secondary school was opposed by the religious leaders (*ulema-medžlis*).

Aside from the state schools' curriculum, the most troubling aspect of female education in these institutions was that the teaching staff consisted entirely of non-Muslims.⁷⁰ Because the Bosnian population rejected a priori the possibility of male teachers in girls' classes, seeing it as a sexual threat, the Provincial Government in Sarajevo needed to find female teachers. But in the late nineteenth century, no Muslim women possessed the teaching qualifications required by the state. As a result, the teaching staff of the Muslim school consisted of non-Muslims who had been educated in the teacher-training schools of Bosnia or other Serbo-Croatian-speaking regions of the Habsburg Empire. Until the end of World War I, the school's teachers came mainly from Croatia-Slavonia. While most were Catholic Croats, there was a small minority

⁶⁹ Ibid., 283.

⁷⁰ Ibid., 286.

of Orthodox Serbs. Despite the presence of two religion teachers—two old men, in order to prevent rumors—the Muslim Female School of Sarajevo was still considered by conservatives to be a cover for conversion activities.

Where the state or the provincial government was not so active in promoting the education of girls, private initiatives became the key to the creation of schools, as was the case in Lemberg. Such institutions were numerous here, a factor that was significant mainly for the higher education of girls which was hardly provided by the public sector. Three gymnasiums for girls were explicitly Polish, two of them named after their female founders: the gymnasium Zofia Strzałkowska opened in 1895,⁷¹ and the Gymnasium Józefa Goldblatt-Kamerling, established in 1899 with six classes, which was still headed by its founder in the years 1912–13.⁷² The third was administered by the association of the private girls' gymnasium (*Towarzystwo prywatnego gimnazjum żeńskiego we Lwowie*) created in 1902 by Róża Nusbaum and Kamilla Chołoniewska. It is quite evident from the names of the founders of these schools that the assimilation of the Jewish elite to Polish culture was well underway. The Ruthenian gymnasium for girls was a religious institution belonging to the Basilean order and lagged behind the two Polish schools in terms of attendance. There was an obvious deficit in the education of Ruthenian girls for Polish schools' records do not include many Ruthenian girls. The three Polish gymnasiums had approximately 280 to 300 pupils each, whereas the Ruthenian school peaked at around 150. Women were also able to attend two *Realschulen*; in this respect Lemberg was an exception, since elsewhere these schools were generally not intended for girls. One was a private institution; the second was founded in 1884 and named after the poet Adam Mickiewicz, and was later taken over by the municipality. Lastly, one gymnasium was created for Ruthenian girls, in addition to one with German-language instruction.⁷³ Faced with this competition, the municipality took the initiative to create a gymnasium

71 *Sprawozdanie c. k. rady szkolnej okręgowej miejskiej ze stanu szkół ludowych król. stol. miasta Lwowa* [Report of the direction of the school district for the city of Lemberg] (Lemberg: Nakładem c. k. rady szkolnej okręgowej miejskiej, no. 3, 1898–99), 80. See also the annual reports of the school: *Sprawozdanie Dyrekcyi Prywatnego Gimnazjum żeńskiego Zofii Strzałkowskiej* [Report of the board of the Zofia Strzałkowska Private Gymnasium for Girls] (Lemberg: Nakładem Zofii Strzałkowskiej, 1907–1913).

72 *I Sprawozdanie Dyrekcyi pryw. żeńskiego gimnazjum z prawem publiczności Józefy S. Goldblatt-Kamerling we Lwowie zo rok szkolny 1912–13* [Annual report of the board of the Private Gymnasium for Girls Goldblatt-Kamerling] (Lemberg: Nakładem pryw. żeńskiego gimnazjum z prawem publiczności Józefy S. Goldblatt-Kamerling, 1913), 27.

73 *Wiadomości statystyczne o mieście Lwowie*, vol. 14, 158.

for girls named after Queen Jadwiga. There were other private institutions for girls but none of them could rival the gymnasiums.

In Trieste, the education of girls was at a similar level, however, the prosperity of the town enabled many families to employ private tutors. The girls' *liceo* was created as an institution coupled with the school for female teachers in 1881.⁷⁴ The language of teaching was Italian, with required courses in German and French and optional courses in English; there was no teaching in Slovene. Yet, the rules were explicitly neutral in terms of nationality and discrimination would have been punished: "Words and actions that offend the religious or national feelings of classmates are strictly forbidden."⁷⁵ Concerned about the fact that many girls left school early and could thus not be good mothers, the Italian associations were preoccupied by the matter, yet struggled to convince their members of the necessity for girls to attend school longer. In the same vein, the teachers' association recommended that girls attend the eight-year curriculum of the *scuola popolare* in order to have a basic education and to be able to attend secondary schools.⁷⁶

National rivalry could, however, also play a catalyzing effect, as evidenced, again, in the case of Brünn. Since the Germans here were already creating schools for girls, Czechs could not stay behind, aware of the inferiority they were chastised for. Thus, the foundation of modern schools for girls of both nationalities proceeded in parallel, and again the emulation resulted in the "doubling" of institutions. In the process of opening Czech primary schools, classes for girls were not forgotten. In 1901 in Brünn, there were ten German and four Czech primary schools for girls, as well as three Catholic German schools for girls. Just as for boys, the Czech schools did not attract all Czech children, and the numerical advantage of German schools reflects the fact that many Czech girls were registered there.

During most of the nineteenth century, secondary public education for girls was only possible in German through the *Töchterschule*. The secondary level slowly opened to girls in both languages at the turn of the twentieth century. At the German gymnasium they were welcomed as "guest students" (*Hospitantinnen, Privatissinnen*) at the beginning of the school year 1908–9;⁷⁷ at the

74 *Programma triennale del civico Istituto magistrale femminile di Trieste* (Trieste: Lloyd austro-ungarico, 1880–1881), 47.

75 *Relazione annuale del civico liceo femminile di Trieste* (Trieste: Caprin, 1909–10), 64.

76 *Atti del III Congresso della federazione degl'insegnanti Italiani della regione Giulia* (Trieste: Amati u. Donoli 1907), 26.

77 *Festschrift zur Feier des 350-jährigen Bestandes des deutschen Staatsgymnasiums in Brünn* (Brünn: Karafiat & Kucharz, 1928), 32.

Czech one, the girls were called by the same name, “*hospitantek*,” and admitted from 1912 on.⁷⁸ At both *Realschulen* girls were also admitted in the 1910s. The careers that were then open to them led to the female teachers’ school, to apprentices in pharmacies, accountants, and various jobs as employees and clerks.⁷⁹ From 1897 on, graduates of the female teachers’ school were allowed to access the universities, namely the faculties of philosophy.⁸⁰ Here again, many Czech-speaking students attended courses in the German school whereas no German-speaking girl was found in the Czech one.⁸¹

The lack of Czech-language secondary schools for girls left such education in the hands of voluntary organizations that also gave instruction to adult women, and to private initiatives to found specific schools for Czech girls. The most interesting organization was the Czech association *Vesna*. The association was able to create a gymnasium with the right to issue the secondary school exit exam called *Matura*, as did other gymnasiums and *Realschulen*. It was modeled after the *Realschule* and thus offered instruction in German and French but not the classical languages, and upon graduation the pupils had similar career opportunities to those graduating from *Realschule*. The number of students remained modest, for example just 47 during the school year 1909–10, but the surprising element is 27 of those girls were German. It is practically the only example of reversed national pragmatism, as the school had an excellent reputation and therefore



Figure 4.5. Czech girls’ boarding school of the *Vesna* Association, Brunn, before 1907.

Source: Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, AKON – Ansichtskarten Online, AK028_255.

78 *Program c.k. vyššího Gymnasia českého v Brně*, 1912, 65.

79 *Jahresbericht des städtischen Mädchen-Lyzeums in Brunn* (Brunn: Rohrer, 1904), 10.

80 Heinrich Sonneck, *Einige Bemerkungen zur Ausgestaltung der Lehrerinnen-Bildungsanstalten überhaupt und der hiesigen deutschen insbes* (Brunn, 1900), 12.

81 *Bericht über die k. k. deutsche Lehrerinnen-Bildungsanstalt und städt. höhere Töchterschule in Brunn Schuljahren 1900–1 bis 1905–6* (Brunn, 1906), 25.

German parents may have judged education there to be better than at the German school, as far as girls were concerned.

The excellence of the gymnasium was known beyond the borders of Moravia, and eight Polish pupils from Galicia were also registered.⁸² Moreover, *Vesna* offered a range of courses for girls and adult women who had not finished school or stopped after primary school, ranging from advanced lessons in various subjects including German and Czech, to arts and crafts, handiwork, cooking and sewing. Most of these courses were organized in the evening in order to allow working women to attend. The association also had a dormitory where scholarship holders or girls whose family lived too far away from Brünn could stay. The building could host 124 girls and was built according to the most modern Secession style, as was the main building of the school in Augustinská Street (Augustiner, today Jaselská).⁸³ Instruction provided by voluntary, charity, or private institutions could, to some extent, compensate for the reluctance of the authorities to grant public financing for initiatives they considered contrary to the interest of the city; an argument that in most cases was dubious since the municipality systematically refused to subsidize Czech associations. The money went to German ones or to ultraquist organizations, most of them dealing with charity, public health, or rescue.⁸⁴ The scholarships distributed by the municipality were all intended for German schools.⁸⁵

SHARING SCHOOLS IN CZERNOWITZ

With a relative balance among the local nationalities, which resulted in the dominance of German as a language of education and administration, the situation in Czernowitz was again somewhat special: here a shared schooling system was put into practice in which pupils from different nationalities were often taught in the same institution through the system of “parallel classes.” The perceived value of the culture and language of the “others” depended on the point of view of the observer. For example, Ruthenians were seen by all the other groups as inferior and thus less entitled to have schooling in their own language. In this sense they were similar to the Slovenes in Istria: both

82 *Školy spolku Vesny v Brně: Program na školni r. 1908–1909* [Schools of the association Vesna in Brünn: Program for the school year 1908–1909] (Brünn: Tisk. Moravské akciové knihtisk, 1908), 1.

83 *Ibid.*, 10.

84 *Zusammenstellung der in den Sitzungen des Gemeinderates der Landeshauptstadt Brünn gefaßten Beschlüsse 1911–15* (Brünn: Rohrer, 1916), 67.

85 *Ibid.*, 65–66.

were seen as backward people who had first to prove the quality of their cultural production, a task which was difficult without enjoying education in their mother tongue. Yet, when it came to the alternative, the assimilation of Ruthenians into a culturally more dominant group, it was less than evident into which group (German, Polish, or Romanian) this should happen. The particular situation of Bucovina, where German was the language of administration but (since the Germans were not considered natives) not a formal *Landessprache*, led to the paradox that Ruthenians turned into the “*gens fidelissima*” of the empire: they felt protected by the neutrality of the monarchy regarding nationality and thus demanded their own schooling system. At the secondary level German was required for all pupils: the question that remained open concerned the teaching of a second *Landessprache* that was to be required for the native speakers of that language.

As any other town, Czernowitz had primary schools (*Volksschulen*) and *Bürgerschulen* run by the municipality, as well as some private schools managed by the religious communities; at the end of the nineteenth century there was an Orthodox school for boys, a Lutheran school for both genders, and a Jewish school, also mixed.⁸⁶ Apart from the Jewish school where the pupils were all Jewish, the other schools had a very diverse student body.⁸⁷ There were Jewish children in all the other private schools, and since no Catholic or Greek-Catholic school existed, children of these confessions attended either the Orthodox or the Lutheran school. Church schools were chosen for pragmatic reasons of quality and proximity.

The development of secondary education in Czernowitz was initiated by the state in order to “civilize” the remote province. The consequence was a growing attention paid by the authorities to the creation of a state gymnasium in the city in 1808, making it the first institution of this kind in the empire. The curriculum was extended from six to eight years in 1850. That same year, the Diet requested that Romanian be taught as a required subject, which it was in the first year, before becoming an elective subject.⁸⁸ The director Stefan Wolf took the initiative to organize courses on the Orthodox religion in Romanian as well starting in 1859. His decision was ratified by the Ministry of Religion

86 *Jahresbericht über den Zustand der Bürgerschule und der Volksschulen der Landeshauptstadt Czernowitz* (Czernowitz: Erzbischöfl. Druckerei Silvester Morariu-Andriewicz, 1892), 4.

87 *Verwaltungsbericht der Landeshauptstadt Czernowitz* (Czernowitz: Verlag des Stadtmagistrates, Czopp, 1889), 29–30.

88 *K.k. I. Staatsgymnasium in Czernowitz: Festschrift zur 100-jährigen Gedenkfeier der Gründung des Gymnasiums; 1808—16. Dezember—1908; Geschichte des k.k. I. Staatsgymnasiums in Czernowitz* (Czernowitz: Universitätsbuchdr., 1909), 85.

and Education, after which the school also had to allow Ruthenian for the lessons on Greek Catholic religion.⁸⁹ Wolf, who ran the school from 1859 to 1887, was an important personality of the city, where he launched many initiatives to foster education and social life. Ruthenian was an elective subject in the curriculum of the gymnasium starting in 1854 and was taught by native speakers who taught simultaneously at the Orthodox seminary. The success of the gymnasium was considerable; it attracted students from all over the province and by the 1860s the first building, built in 1824, became obsolete. By then more than 1,000 pupils were attending the school yearly. A prestigious new building was finally inaugurated in 1892 and immediately extended with the addition of a gym, which was also used as a hall for ceremonies.⁹⁰ But even that proved to be insufficient and the state had to finance the construction of a second gymnasium, opened in 1896, and soon a third, opened in 1901.⁹¹

The overcrowding was the result of the poor availability of secondary education in the city itself and the entire province. Primary education in Bucovina had improved dramatically by the end of the nineteenth century, and the number of boys able to enter gymnasium was constantly increasing. Yet, considering the poverty of the province, there was no chance that the city would be able to create many schools.⁹² This task thus befell the state, which invested in Czernowitz like in no other city, both to develop the province in order to make it a useful part of the monarchy, and to balance the national groups so as to avoid conflict situations comparable to the ones that already characterized other lands. The first gymnasium remained a German institution but the second and third were to become more or less nationally defined schools. All gymnasiums featured the system of the so-called *Parallelklassen* (parallel classes) where native Romanians and Ruthenians were instructed in their respective mother tongues. Yet, activists of the respective groups considered this unsatisfactory and demanded that their language be made the language of teaching in all subjects. Thus, when the news broke that the second gymnasium would be tailored primarily for Ruthenian students, the Romanians were furious. They accused both the local state authorities (*Landesregierung*) and Vienna of favoring the Ruthenians. The Romanian press was virulent, and brochures were published denouncing

89 Ibid., 111–12.

90 Ibid., 175.

91 *Jahresbericht des k.k. III. Staatsgymnasiums in Czernowitz* (Czernowitz, Selbstver. der Anstalt, R. Eckhardt'sche k.k. Univ. Druckerei) 1910, 4.

92 Although schools in Lemberg could have offered an alternative, it was still too distant, and education there required a perfect knowledge of Polish.

Vienna's perfidy.⁹³ They feared that Romanian children would be forced to learn foreign languages, and thus lose their identity. While they could more or less accept Germanization because of German domination over the province and for the obvious usefulness of the German language, the same was not true of a language like Ruthenian, seen by Romanian nationalists as "inferior."

Nevertheless, the second gymnasium, which opened in 1896 and was indeed considered a Ruthenian school, soon became an excellent institution where, according to some memoirs, discipline was particularly strict.⁹⁴ The fact that the state had authorized the creation of the so-called Ruthenian gymnasium caused the Romanians to demand their own gymnasium. Their justification was that despite the opening of the second school, the first gymnasium, which had three parallel classes for Romanian students, remained overburdened, with having more than 1,000 pupils.⁹⁵ The ministry eventually gave its consent to the creation of a Romanian gymnasium and a provisional building was set up in the former barracks on *Austriaplatz*, following the practice of adapting military or administrative buildings for educational purposes when the state was unable to finance new constructions.⁹⁶ Instruction in the German language was not reduced in the Romanian gymnasium, indeed more hours were devoted to learning in German than Romanian in both schools: pupils at the German gymnasium were taught 26 hours a week in German and 20 hours in Romanian, while pupils at the Romanian school (which had a higher number of total hours) were instructed 30 hours a week in German and 26 hours in Romanian.⁹⁷

Secondary education in Czernowitz was complemented by an Orthodox *Realschule*. Its foundation had been ratified by the emperor and the funds had been taken from the *Religionsfond* of the Orthodox Church intended to maintain schools in the province. The provincial as well as city authorities gave their authorization but were not willing to invest money in the project.⁹⁸ Years passed before the costs were covered, collected from practically all possible sources in the town and province. Eventually the state too was forced to

93 *Primejdia gimnasului rusesc din Cernăuț* [Danger of the Ruthenian gymnasium in Czernowitz], 1896, Biblioteca "Deșteptării," no. 4, 15–16.

94 Georg Drozdowski, *Damals in Czernowitz und rundum: Erinnerungen eines Altösterreicherers* (Klagenfurt: Verl. d. Kleinen Zeitung, 1984), 43.

95 *Jahresbericht des k. k. III. Staatsgymnasiums in Czernowitz*, Schoolear 1909–10, 3.

96 *Ibid.*, 4.

97 *Ibid.*, 27.

98 Victor Olinschi, *Die gr.-or. Ober-Realschule in Czernowitz: Ihre Gründung und Entwicklung* (Czernowitz: Eckhardt, 1913), 13.

contribute, and the school opened in September 1863.⁹⁹ Despite being put under the control of the Orthodox Church, the language of teaching was planned to be German. Metropolitan Bishop Eugen Hakman intervened on behalf of petitions demanding the introduction of Romanian as the language of teaching. The state authorities were reluctant and hid their refusal behind the argument that there might not be enough teachers but expressed their will to help train them as well as to provide translations of schoolbooks.¹⁰⁰ An appropriate building was constructed for the school in 1870 on Siebenbürger Street in the vicinity of the cathedral. Yet, by the 1910s it became apparent that the school was not living up to expectations in terms of the quality of training: it was criticized in the press for being old-fashioned, overly in the hands of prelates, and in need of repair. The *Bukowinaer Rundschau* in May 1901 did not hesitate to use the words of Karl-Emil Franzos, saying that the school had “Semi-Asiatic features.”¹⁰¹ The authorities were aware of the situation, and a state *Realschule* was opened in 1911, causing an immediate decline in the number of pupils at the Orthodox school.¹⁰²

Aside from the teachers’ schools for both genders, there was no significant opportunity for vocational instruction in the town. Corresponding to the rural nature of Bucovina, a school for agronomy and agriculture was created by the provincial government in 1871, which would be then relocated to a new building in 1897.¹⁰³ The school was mostly intended for pupils coming from the countryside and therefore a dormitory was added. As Czernowitz was neither a dynamic commercial nor an industrial center, only one *Staatsgewerbeschule* was created—although this was one of the first of this type to open in the monarchy, another proof of the state’s intention to promote Bucovina.¹⁰⁴ It was opened in 1873–74 with sections for construction and chemistry. Training was extended to other subjects, such as commerce, in the following years. In 1880, the Ministry of Religion and Education recommended the creation of a proper commercial school and a project to construct an adequate building to house both schools was launched. The new building was inaugurated in 1884 in Siebenbürger Street.¹⁰⁵ The curriculum was in accordance

99 Ibid., 30.

100 Ibid., 23.

101 “Eine zurückgesetzte Mittelschule,” *Bukowinaer Rundschau*, no. 3617, May 16, 1901.

102 Olinschi, *Die gr.-or. Ober-Realschule in Czernowitz*, 41.

103 Ioan V. Pașcan, *Cernăuțul și suburbiile sale* [Czernowitz and the suburban villages] (Czernowitz: Societatea tipografică bucovineana, 1899), 30.

104 Romstorfer, *Entwicklungsgeschichte der k.k. Staats-Gewerbeschule in Czernowitz*, 3.

105 Ibid., 15.

with all the other schools of this kind and German was the sole language of instruction, with no elective courses in other languages. As such, the school was considered to be the manifestation of Austrian transnational patriotism and was regularly visited by the sovereign, his son Rudolph, and other archdukes coming to Bucovina.¹⁰⁶

The relative poverty of the local school system could only partially be remedied by state and private initiatives. The teachers' schools seem to have been notoriously insufficient and inappropriate regarding the linguistic diversity of the province in which the students were supposed to work. Romanian teachers were trained at the seminar, but they were limited to teaching religious subjects. Moreover, vocational schools were often accused of being an instrument of Germanization. For example, the Romanians were particularly upset by the fact that although the school for agronomy and agriculture had been partly financed through the Orthodox *Religionsfond*,¹⁰⁷ the languages of the province were not taught systematically at these schools. This problem was known and regularly denounced in the press, as well as by the teachers' association.

The female teachers' school also proved inadequate. Only fifty to sixty students were admitted yearly, and after graduation the young women were sent to villages often without proper knowledge of the children's languages and could hardly communicate with the parents. Only the students who were native speakers of such languages were able to do so but their numbers were too low to cover the needs of the schools in the countryside.¹⁰⁸ This insufficiency reduced the access of girls to secondary schools, making the situation worse in Czernowitz than in other cities. An alternative was offered by the Romanian Women's Association (*Societatea doamnelor române*), which was able to create an entire institution devoted to the education of girls from primary to secondary level. It was located in the Landhausgasse and included a gymnasium together with a dormitory. The director of the gymnasium, Stefania Turețchi, was a native of Vienna who had studied in Bucharest before teaching at the female teachers' school.¹⁰⁹ The association also opened a female teachers' school, but the German *Mädchenlyceum* (basically a gymnasium for girls) with its four-year curriculum attracted more students (up to 500 in the

106 Ibid., 101.

107 Ibid., 31.

108 "Zur Volksschulbildung der Mädchen," *Bukowinaer Post*, no. 453, October 29, 1896.

109 "Conducetoarele internatului de fetițe române" [The leaders of the institution for Romanian girls], *Deșteptarea: Gazetă pentru popor*, no. 10, May 15/17, 1895.

1900s).¹¹⁰ Yet, the education of girls remained an arduous problem. An example from the *Staatsgewerbeschule* illustrates the difficulty in recruiting female students: two teachers initiated a commercial course for girls, which was approved by the authorities and started in 1895–96 with thirty-seven pupils. But this number dropped to 18 the following year (most likely due to a lack of interest), and the course was eventually closed.¹¹¹ All the other private initiatives to educate girls emanated from Jewish and Lutheran associations, but they could not offer much beyond advanced courses and charity. Only in the 1910s were girls admitted to the Orthodox *Realschule* as free auditors.

Though it was sometimes seen as an opportunity and a positive specificity of Bucovina, linguistic diversity proved to be more of a problem for professionals in their everyday practice due to the growing national divide by the turn of the century. The contemporary press devoted numerous articles to the difficulty of imposing German on the one side, and respecting the other tongues on the other. Many were aware of the fact that the province was still in great need of development; illiteracy was far from being eliminated. The “cultural work” (culture understood here in the German sense of the term *Kultur* meaning civilization) was enormous. Theoretically all children were to learn a second *Landessprache* at primary school, which had to be German for all non-German speaking pupils. An article from the *Bukowinaer Post* suggested this solution in order to put everyone in contact with at least one of the languages spoken by other groups, which would strengthen the feeling of belonging to the land and to the empire.¹¹² The author of the editorial, very probably the chief editor Moritz Stekel, a leader of the Jewish community, expressed the typical conception of loyalty toward the monarchy and the belief in the civilizing power of the German language.¹¹³ National groups, in contrast, demanded not only the introduction of their languages in school curricula but also the creation of schools where they would be the languages of instruction. Everyone was realistic enough not to claim that children could be trained simultaneously in three languages, therefore the nationalists advocated the separation of children by their respective groups. This progressive “nationalization” of

110 *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung*, no. 1365, July 30, 1908.

111 Romstorfer, *Entwicklungsgeschichte der k.k. Staats-Gewerbeschule in Czernowitz*, 85.

112 “Culturarbeit,” *Bukowinaer Post*, no. 132, September 25, 1894.

113 About Stekel and his brother Wilhelm, see Ana-Maria Pălimariu, “Czernowitzer ‘Intellektuelle avant la lettre’: Moritz und Wilhelm Stekel in der Bukowinaer Post,” in *Zeitungsstadt Czernowitz: Studien zur Geschichte der deutschsprachigen Presse der Bukowina (1848–1940)*, ed. Andrei Corbea-Hoisie, Ion Lihaciu, and Markus Winkler (Kaiserslautern-Mehlingen: Parthenon Verlag, 2014), 83–103.

education was observed with concern by the German teachers. At the annual meeting of the teachers (*Bukowiner Lehrertag*) in September 1904 a resolution was passed against the creation of the so-called “*Minoritätsschulen*,” (minority schools) which were considered the first step toward national self-segregation among nationalities. The authorities were instead to favor teaching pupils in more than one language.¹¹⁴ All delegates agreed to the principle, but as soon as concrete measures were to be implemented each of them tended to speak for their own group. The city council was repeatedly addressed by Ruthenians asking for new primary schools because of the growth of the Ruthenian-speaking population. In November 1908, the Ruthenian counselors promised to introduce the German language at the schools they wanted to open in town: immediately other counselors dismissed the need for Ruthenian schools because, they argued, Ruthenians preferred to send their children to German schools where, thanks to the *Parallelklassen* system, they were taught also in the Ruthenian language. The debate was remarkably balanced, and no invectives were heard but the question of the creation of “national” schools preoccupied the council. Finally, a decision was taken to open two new Ruthenian schools, one in the Russischgasse, and the second in the lower part of town. Consequently, the Ruthenian classes at the nearby schools were closed. In order to satisfy everybody, the primary school of Klokuczka became a Romanian one, while classes in Polish language were opened in the schools on Bahnhofstrasse and Landhausgasse.¹¹⁵ The dispute also encompassed religious matters and the language problem was also raised for confessional schools. Here the Ruthenians wanted their language to be introduced at an equal level to Romanian;¹¹⁶ as already mentioned this conflict was actually larger and concerned the church hierarchy.

More dangerous was the growing discontent expressed by the German Christian Social Party (*Christlichsoziale Partei*) at the fact that Jews were over-represented in Czernowitz’s schools. They demanded purely and simply their exclusion, arguing that Christian children in those schools could not receive proper religious teaching. The city’s school council (*Stadtschulrat*) ruled that Christian children were to be sent to the primary schools of Altgasse, Dreifaltigkeitgasse, Landhausgasse and Russischgasse at the beginning of the school year 1912–13. In all other schools, Jewish children were the

114 *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung*, no. 219, September 20, 1904.

115 “Die Regelung der sprachlichen Verhältnisse an der städtischen Volksschulen,” *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung*, no. 1451, November 12, 1908.

116 “Rumänischer Volksmeeting,” *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung*, no. 2453, March 27, 1912.

majority. Solving the problem of the education of Jewish pupils through separate *Minoritätsschulen* was not an option in this case because the Jews were German-speaking. In an editorial published in the *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung* in July 1912, Deputy Mayor Salo Weißelberger, who was also a representative at the provincial Diet, explained that he refused to be blackmailed by the party but that he had to ratify the decision made by the city school council, which was actually a violation of the *Reichsschulgesetz*.¹¹⁷ He deeply regretted that “even the schooling system in Czernowitz has become a playground for political passion.”¹¹⁸ Here too, the debate went beyond the limits of the city council; it was an expression of the conflict over the recognition of the Jewish nationality through the Yiddish language and the result of the political maneuvering of Benno Straucher, the main Jewish leader at the Diet as well as in the city council. The streets of Czernowitz had already seen many demonstrations of national and religious violence, mostly on the part of students from the university who were joined by students from the gymnasiums. National division was becoming a reality that many citizens, as well as the authorities, did not want to admit.

TROUBLESOME STUDENT ASSOCIATIONS

Student fraternities were important actors in the polarization of national conflicts all over the monarchy. Starting with the German *Burschenschaften*, the movement extended to all national and religious groups. As girls were still excluded from higher education, they had no comparable network and were thus only marginally involved in the movement; their organizations mainly concentrated on educational and charity work. Many of the associations targeting the youth were actually local branches of larger networks. Some of them were youth associations aiming to gather all the young people of one national group, regardless of their professional or school activities. At the turn of the twentieth century, sporting associations also appeared, which were sometimes linked to schools and universities. Youth associations as well as fraternities were particularly active in university towns, thus Czernowitz and Lemberg had the most important network. The former’s national and confessional

117 A similar controversy had aroused in Vienna in 1898 when the municipality under Karl Lueger’s leadership had planned to separate Jewish from Christian pupils in ten Viennese schools. The decision was overruled by the Ministry of Education. John Boyer, *Karl Lueger (1844–1910): Christlichsoziale Politik als Beruf* (Vienna: Böhlau, 2010), 252.

118 “Die konfessionellen Schulen,” *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung*, no. 2555, July 31, 1912.

diversity led to the creation of a considerable number of student fraternities. In towns where secondary instruction was well represented, like Brünn and Trieste, these associations were active as well, and demands for the creation of a university fueled their agitation. Religious seminaries had their own associations, so they existed in Hungary too. The agitation was proportionally stronger when the national conflict became more serious; violent actions, riots and street fights were not a rarity at the turn of the century. In towns where there was a demand for the creation of a university (Trieste, Brünn, Pozsony) or where the university was disputed (Lemberg, Czernowitz), the potential for conflict was accordingly higher.

In most towns the primary attribute of the associations was a national one, so they can be seen as key elements in the construction of the “*Konfliktgemeinschaft*.” In Brünn, for example, where the conflict was relatively simple between Germans and Czechs, associations were clearly identified as belonging to one of these groups. A comparable situation characterized Trieste with respect to the Italian and Slovene associations. In both cities the conflict was also fueled by a debate over the university, but not at the same level since in this respect Italians were in an unfavorable position. While none of the cities had a university, the Germans in Brünn could attend the Charles-Ferdinand University in Prague or any other in Cisleithania. The Italians in contrast could not do so, as there was no such Italian institution in the monarchy. Still both majorities considered themselves to be superior to the minority (Czechs and Slovenes) in terms of culture, and strictly opposed the creation of a university to the benefit of the “other” less developed peoples. The main argument expressed in the publications of these groups reflects a superiority-inferiority dichotomy and displays obviously racist features.

When it comes to the position of Jewish students, however, the situation was different in the two cities. In Trieste there was no objection to the participation of Jews alongside the Italians in the national conflict—here anti-Semitism was propagated by the Slovenes. In Brünn the situation was paradoxical because German students needed the participation of Jews for actions against the Czechs but were still ready to exclude them on principle. The students’ fraternity *Arminia* voiced this opinion openly at the occasion of the celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of the *Turnverein*: “Although we do not agree with the political conceptions of this association (the *Turnverein* is not purely Aryan), we have decided to participate as a body because the *Turnverein* has done significant work for the Germans in Brünn and in the region, and still does.” The same argument was expressed later for the commemoration of the men’s choral

society (*Brünner Männergesangverein*).¹¹⁹ *Arminia*, founded in 1862, was linked to the homonymous Viennese association that was also openly anti-Semitic, but in Vienna the Germans did not need to make alliances with Jews, who had their own associations. *Arminia* also had contacts with other fraternities in Bohemia and Moravia.¹²⁰ The other German *Burschenschaften* in Brünn had more or less the same profile, and some were even outlawed periodically due to political agitation, as was for example *Libertas*, which was suspended in the years 1891–96. Most of these groups recruited students from the German technical high school: the *Brünner Technikerklub*, founded in 1879, was transformed into the association of German students *Sudetia* in 1891. The Catholic students had their own fraternity represented all over the empire under the name of *Cartell-Verband der katholischen deutschen Studenten* (CV) with a branch in Brünn named *Nibelungia* that was created in 1899. Faced with their growing exclusion from the German groups and the Czech associations, the Jewish students created their own association *Veritas* in September 1895, but it endorsed a Zionist agenda, following the model of the *Wiener Zionistische Bewegung*, and therefore not all Jewish students were willing to join.¹²¹ The activities of German fraternity students sometimes had less to do with culture at a high level than with visiting pubs and quarrelling with the Czech students, who were also looking for a good occasion to fight. Therefore, the image of supposed superior culture delivered by Germans armed with sticks was mocked in the Czech press, but satire was also aimed at Czech “*buršák*” who did not necessarily behave any better. The Christian Social Czech gymnastics movement *Orel* was repeatedly involved in fights with German students. In most cases both groups consumed large quantities of alcohol before going to demonstrate in front of Jewish shops.¹²²

National division was certainly the basis of most fights between students, but as the political scene diversified, parties were created that led to divisions within many student movements. Nowhere was this multiplication of political options more visible than in Czernowitz. The plurality of national and religious groups expressed various political choices that were reflected in the student associations. Listing them alone gives an idea of the diversity of

119 *Bericht über die Thätigkeit der Brünner Burschenschaft “Arminia” im 97. und 98. Semester ihres Bestandes* (Brünn: Verlag der Brunner Burschenschaft “Arminia”, 1911), 10.

120 So with *Constantia* in Prague, *Moravia* and *Libertas* in Brünn; *Germania* and *Olympia* in Vienna as well as with the *Wartburg-Ortsgruppe* in Brünn. *Ibid.*, 5.

121 Selke, “Die Technische Hochschule zu Brünn und ihr Korporationswesen,” 73–75.

122 *Rašple*, no. 2, February 1, 1914.

political attitudes.¹²³ The Poles, who were in the minority at Czernowitz University, had two associations: *Ognisko*, a Catholic association founded at the time of the opening of the university in 1875, and a confessionally more neutral one, *Lechia*. Considering the small number of Polish students, they were less involved in the political and national contests. Some associations were relatively neutral and explicitly loyal to Austria, including *Austria* and *Lesehalle* (Reading hall), both founded in 1875; as well as *Gothia* (1876) and *Alemannia* (1877). The latter two continued to function even after 1918. A Catholic association existed as well, aiming to unite students beyond their national feelings, but since Catholics were a minority in Czernowitz it had no significant political impact. Thus *Unitas*, founded relatively late, in 1891, was transformed in 1906 into a specifically German Catholic fraternity named *Frankonia*, which also continued beyond 1918. Unlike in other towns of Cisleithania, Germans in Czernowitz were not the leading force behind the student associations because Jews largely surpassed them in numbers. There were therefore only two German associations: the abovementioned *Arminia*, founded in 1877, and *Teutonia* in 1903. Both survived World War I.

Due to the demographics of the town, the more numerous associations were those created by Romanians, Ruthenians, and Jews. Some of the Romanian associations had a wider range of action, going beyond Bucovina onto Hungary and the Romanian kingdom, especially Moldavia. The most famous was *Junimea* (Youth), founded in 1878 and active in Romania as well as in Hungary.¹²⁴ But the first to appear in Czernowitz had been *Arboroasa* (Woodland), founded in 1875, soon followed by *Bucovina* in 1880. Considering the importance of the seminary and the faculty of theology, the *Academia ortodoxa*, created in 1884 was to be the main religious association for Romanians. Finally, two other associations were founded at the beginning of the twentieth century: *Dacia* in 1903, and *Moldova* in 1910. The Ruthenians joined the student movement somewhat later. At the time of the opening of the university, they were able to create only one fraternity, *Sojuz* (Union), which was to become their main movement. The others were created by splinter groups: some dissidents from *Sojuz* founded the association *Moloda Ukraina* (Young Ukraine) in 1900 on the model of other radical youth movements, together with a specifically

123 Hans Prelitsch, *Student in Czernowitz: Die Korporationen an der Czernowitzer Universität* (Munich: Landsmannschaft der Buchenlanddeutschen, 1961), 18.

124 *Junimea* was founded in Iași in the 1860s before expanding all over Romania. Its main leader was Titu Maiorescu, the dean of the local university.

academic fraternity called *Sič* in 1902.¹²⁵ The association *Karpat* was mainly concerned with charity for poor students, but it also engaged in agitation in support of Ukrainian nationalism.¹²⁶ The association *Zaporoze* was created in 1910 as a Ruthenian copy of the German *Burschenschaften*. Finally, *Črnomore* (Black Sea) was born out of a division from *Zaporoze* in 1910.¹²⁷ Its members wore Mazeppa caps and favored the creation of a Ukrainian national state. Foreign students were also able to form their own fraternities and there was at least one Bulgarian association founded by students of the faculty of Orthodox theology; it took the name *Prosvjeta* (Enlightenment) and apparently only dealt with academic activities.¹²⁸

Reflecting the over-representation of Jews in all academic institutions in Czernowitz, Jewish associations surpassed all the others in number and variety of political expressions. They were founded later than the national associations mentioned above but then developed at a considerable speed. First, in 1891, the Zionist *Hasmonea* was created under the authority of Mayer Ebner who was the initiator of Zionism in Czernowitz.¹²⁹ The association was strongly opposed by other groups who did not accept Zionism as a solution for Bucovinian Jews, which they considered as belonging to German culture and faithful to Austria. The other Jewish groups were in favor of the recognition of a Jewish nationality in Bucovina: first *Zephirah*, founded in 1897, but especially *Humanitas*, created in 1900 and then merged in 1903 with the association *Emunah*, which was explicitly “Jewish-national.” *Zephirah* was even able to create a short-lived political party for the *Reichsrat* elections of 1907 that supported the candidate, Nathan Birnbaum.¹³⁰ A pioneer of Zionism who turned to Jewish nationalism and socialism, Birnbaum advocated “*Kulturarbeit*” (cultural work) and the specificity of Eastern Jewry, and was one of the organizers of the Yiddish *Sprachkonferenz* in Czernowitz in 1908.

125 This association may be linked to the anti-clerical homonymous association active in Galicia. Here it had the same anti-clerical character and was an emanation of the Radical Party. At the beginning of the twentieth century the movement tried to merge with the Ruthenian *Sokol*. Claire E. Nolte, *The Sokol in the Czech Lands to 1914: Training for the Nation* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2002), 167.

126 Anton Norst, *Alma mater Francisco-Josephina: Festschrift zu deren 25-jährigem Bestande* (Czernowitz, 1900), 118.

127 Rudolf Wagner, ed., *Alma Mater Francisco Josephina: Die deutschsprachige Nationalitäten-Universität in Czernowitz; Festschrift zum 100. Jahrestag ihrer Eröffnung 1875* (Munich: Meschendorf, 1979), 312.

128 *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung*, no. 1918, June 9, 1910.

129 Markus Winkler, *Jüdische Identitäten im kommunikativen Raum: Presse, Sprache und Theater in Czernowitz bis 1923* (Bremen: Lumiere, 2007), 12–125.

130 *Ibid.*, 140.

Hebroniah, created in 1904, was a branch of the homonymous Viennese association founded in 1899.¹³¹ Finally, in 1918, *Heatid* was created, which continued its activity—as did the other Jewish associations—until 1940. The Zionists of *Hasmonea* created a so-called *farbenträgende* (colored) association in order to be able to fight duels with the other *Burschenschaften*, and they named it eloquently *Herzlia*.¹³²

The most serious incidents between fraternity members took place starting at the beginning of the twentieth century, as the variety of associations reached a peak. The demonstrations were often organized in reaction to events that had occurred in Vienna. For example, after anti-Semitic riots at Vienna University in early July 1913, Jewish students staged a “defensive” action against the German students’ associations in Czernowitz that ended in a brutal confrontation. It seems that the Polish fraternity *Lechia* also participated in the riot, because its leaders, together with the Jewish associations, protested afterwards against the “apparently incorrect behavior” of the police against the students. The Jewish associations sent a delegation to the dean of the university to explain their action and denounced the *Waidhofner* program adopted by the *Burschenschaften* to refuse satisfaction to Jews in case of a duel. The *Czernowitzer Tagblatt* was alarmed at the eruption of violence and argued that the problems of the capital should not be “imported” to Czernowitz, where people were used to mutual understanding.¹³³ But in fact the city had been familiar with violent incidents caused by fraternity students for quite some time. Each group seems to have had its own agenda for creating trouble and many problems were actually internal ones. One such conflict was between Romanian and Ruthenian students: demands for the introduction of their respective languages at the university were the main reasons for violent encounters at meetings, which often led to street fights. Students even challenged the authority of their national leaders whom they accused of being too lenient. Romanian students took advantage of having religious and political leaders and made steps to call them to action. On April 18, 1899, for example, students demonstrated

131 Wagner, *Alma Mater Francisco Josephina*, 320.

132 The *farbenträgenden* associations had uniforms and wore colored caps in order to be well identified by the other groups when there was a celebration or a demonstration. The *Burschen* were supposed to duel (although this was forbidden by the state) or at least to fight and to receive *Schmiss* (scar) that would make them proud to be a member of the group. The Jews were normally not considered eligible to duel (*Satisfaktionsfähig*) because they had long been forbidden to wear arms, and that is why Jewish fraternity students were eager to have their own “color” in order to be recognized as adversaries. Herzliya, named after Theodor Herzl, is a city in Israel.

133 *Czernowitzer Tagblatt*, no. 3107, July 8, 1913.

against the Metropolitan bishop Ciupercovici, who was considered to be too docile on the school question. They gathered at the train station and tried to prevent the prelate from boarding the train. The police intervened and arrested some students.¹³⁴

Rivalry between the associations of the same national group was another bone of contention. The Romanians again quarreled about the legitimacy of the oldest and most prestigious association, *Junimea*, to represent all Romanians. According to the others, *Bucovina* and *Moldova*, there was no reason for *Junimea* to monopolize national interests. In the above-mentioned article about “Student wars” the journalist writes with irony that the Polish associations also disagree about who is more entitled to represent the nation.¹³⁵

National conflict was omnipresent among the Ruthenian students as well, reflecting the division between the three political options of the Ruthenians. These were the Austrophiles, who were loyal to the empire but demanded greater autonomy; Russophiles, who looked to Russia to solve the Ukrainian question; and Ukrainian nationalists, who advocated the creation of a Ukrainian nation-state. An article written by a member of *Sojuz* against the association *Karpat* led to a bloody street fight at noon on July 2, 1901, between supporters of the two associations. Punches were thrown until the *Sojuz* supporters had to leave the field and took refuge in a nearby shop, their clothes torn into pieces. The newspaper report on the fight did not mention whether the employee who let the fleeing students into the shop was Ruthenian, but the owner of the shop, Herr Schwammen, was certainly not. Although the town’s inhabitants were generally sympathetic to the fraternity students as long as they behaved, this sympathy stopped as soon as shop windows were broken, and business interrupted. Indeed, in addition to mocking the Ruthenians who, despite not being numerous, were divided into rival groups, the newspaper report also criticized the police for not intervening.¹³⁶ The Russophile tendency was logically opposed by the authorities, but it was also criticized by some Ruthenians. Many of them were hostile to Russians and considered their situation inside the Habsburg Monarchy to be far better than what they would experience in Russia. The installation of a Russian consulate in Czernowitz displeased some students. Lev Kohut, a graduate law student, wrote an anti-Russian article on this occasion that provoked a

134 *Bukowinaer Rundschau*, no. 3003, April 19, 1899.

135 “Studentenkriege,” *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung*, no. 2455, March 28, 1912.

136 “Studentenprügelei,” *Bukowinaer Rundschau*, no. 3653, July 2, 1901.

demonstration of fellow Ruthenian students in front of the consulate while the consul was on holiday in Saint Petersburg. Kohut was placed under arrest for three weeks, but the agitation did not stop. Death threats and anonymous letters were sent to the consulate, stones were thrown in the garden and armed persons were seen lurking around the house so that a policeman had to be on guard duty. Later the consulate was transferred to a building in the center of town that was easier to watch.¹³⁷ In May 1908, a new Ruthenian association was founded under the name *Ruski klub* with a clear Ruthenian-national program.¹³⁸ The multiplication of associations exacerbated the conflict between the various political programs of the Ruthenians. The younger members tended to be radical and more prone to violence. The radical “young” Ruthenians attacked the moderate attitude of the “old” Ruthenians and their compromises with regard to the national question. In June 1910 there was an aggression of this sort at the restaurant of the Romanian *Palatul național* against a meeting of Romanians and Ruthenians. The targeted person was in fact the Ruthenian *Reichsrat* representative Markow, but he was already gone when the attack started. The students threw inkpots, eggs, and “other projectiles” at the participants; many were injured, and others rushed outside to call the police. The officers finally arrived late at night, but most of the aggressors had already left by then, though some were arrested. Then the police surrounded the Ruthenian house *Narodnyj dim* to prevent the worsening of the confrontation.¹³⁹ The fighting resumed on June 27 at the occasion of the *Studentenbummel* (students’ stroll) on the square called Ringplatz between Romanian and Ruthenian fraternity students. Then each group gathered in their respective national houses before challenging each other again the next day, though without violence.

The incidents involving Jewish students were either fueled by the conflict inside the community between Zionists and Jewish-national students, or were reactions to anti-Semitism. Both issues were reflected in the debate over the recognition of the Jews as a nationality, as Jewish students tried to obtain this recognition at least at the university, given that they were increasingly excluded from the German associations. Since these denied them the right to

137 “Das russische Konsulat und die ruthenischen Studenten,” *Bukowinaer Journal*, no. 162, October 19, 1902. Another Russian consulate was located in Brody since 1826 before being moved to Lemberg in 1895.

138 *Narodna Rada: Gazeta dlja pravoslavnogo bukovinsko-russkogo naroda*, no. 5, May 2/15, 1908.

139 “Blutige Konflikte zwischen Jung- und Altruthenen,” *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung*, no. 1930, June 23, 1910.

identify themselves as Germans, Jewish students in return became less and less willing to be registered as Germans. As a provocation some Jewish students began to register as Ruthenians. A meeting of Jewish students was organized with regard to this initiative by the fraternities *Emunah*, *Zephirah*, and *Hebroniah* in a lecture hall on June 17, 1906. Some Ruthenian students representing *Sojuz* attended as did some professors. The Ruthenians supported the action for an obvious reason: the statistics would be less in favor of Germans if Jews were registered under a different national category.¹⁴⁰ The authorities suggested allowing the declaration of a German-Jewish nationality for registration, but that did not satisfy the Jewish students. The dean refused to decide on a matter that he considered to belong to the remit of the Ministry of Public Education in Vienna, but he did receive the Jewish students to discuss the problem, although the meeting failed to resolve the issue in a way that would have satisfied the students.¹⁴¹

THE STRUGGLE FOR THE UNIVERSITY

While the presence of students would aggravate the national conflict in a given city, the creation of a university was nevertheless interpreted as a considerable achievement: it was a sign of cultural excellence and national maturity. Yet, in multicultural cities, the opening of a university immediately raised the problem of language, as universities were not supposed to be multilingual; at best they could allow chairs in another *Landessprache*. This immediately placed universities in the center of the cultural conflict between local nationalities. A special case in this respect was that of Czernowitz, with a German-speaking university located in a practically non-German environment. The creation of the university had been undertaken under the Josephinian principle of fostering Habsburg loyalism in Bucovina: to civilize a backward region and to make out of the population “useful” members of Austrian society. Compared to other regions of the empire, Bucovina may seem like an unusual place to open a university, but it was in the interest of the state. Considering the ethnolinguistic variety of the province, the choice to make German the language of higher education was obvious since the other groups were not seen as “equals” in terms of culture, and the Romanians concentrated too much on religious

140 “Die Anerkennung der jüdischen Nationalität,” *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung*, no. 732, June 17, 1906, and no. 733, June 19, 1906.

141 *Ibid.*, no. 836, October 23, 1906.

matters and controlled the Orthodox seminar. Germanizing was seen here as a way to civilize, rationalize, and secularize the country.

The decision to create the university was made in 1874 in the wake of the celebrations organized to commemorate the centenary of Bucovina's integration into the Habsburg Empire. Some initiatives coming from the Bucovinian Diet had already been launched to request the opening of a high school or a law school. One argument was about distance: the closest university, the one in Lemberg, was still far away, and Vienna was even further, so there were no real opportunities for academic training in Bucovina or in the immediate neighborhood. Another reason why Vienna supported the opening of a new German-language university was that such institutions were decreasing in number. The universities of Cracow and Lemberg had already become Polish institutions, therefore serving the interests not of the whole monarchy but only of Galicia, and similar trends were visible elsewhere, too, like in Croatia, where the opening of Zagreb University also reflected the diminishing of German influence. Moreover, the state had closed the small universities of Salzburg and Olmütz (Olomouc), both German-speaking, due to financial restrictions.¹⁴²

The German character of Czernowitz University, however, did not prevent the national conflict from entering the lecture halls. As soon as the creation of the university with a faculty of Orthodox theology was announced, Romanian representatives asked for the introduction of their language at an equal level with German, and Ruthenians demanded the same. The necessity of teaching in both languages was justified by the fact that priests had then to officiate throughout the land. An important part of the financing of the faculty was provided by the Orthodox *Religionsfond* and therefore the authorities made no objection: both languages were to be taught only at the faculty of theology, at least for some lectures. In 1881 the faculty started to publish its own journal, *Candela*, in both languages.¹⁴³

The university opened ceremoniously in October 1875. An adequate building had not been found so the recently completed edifice of the male and female teachers' school had been requisitioned for the purpose. New buildings and a botanical garden (actually a part of the *Volksgarten*) were later added to the university campus. Three faculties were created: Orthodox theology,

142 Emanuel Turczynski, "Czernowitz, eine vom Bildungsbürgertum errungene Universität im Dienst staatlicher Bildungs- und Wissenschaftsförderung," in *Universitäten im östlichen Europa zwischen Kirche, Staat und Nation: Sozialgeschichtliche und politische Entwicklungen*, ed. Peter Wörster (Munich: Oldenbourg, 2008), 212.

143 Wagner, *Alma Mater Francisco Josephina*, 135.

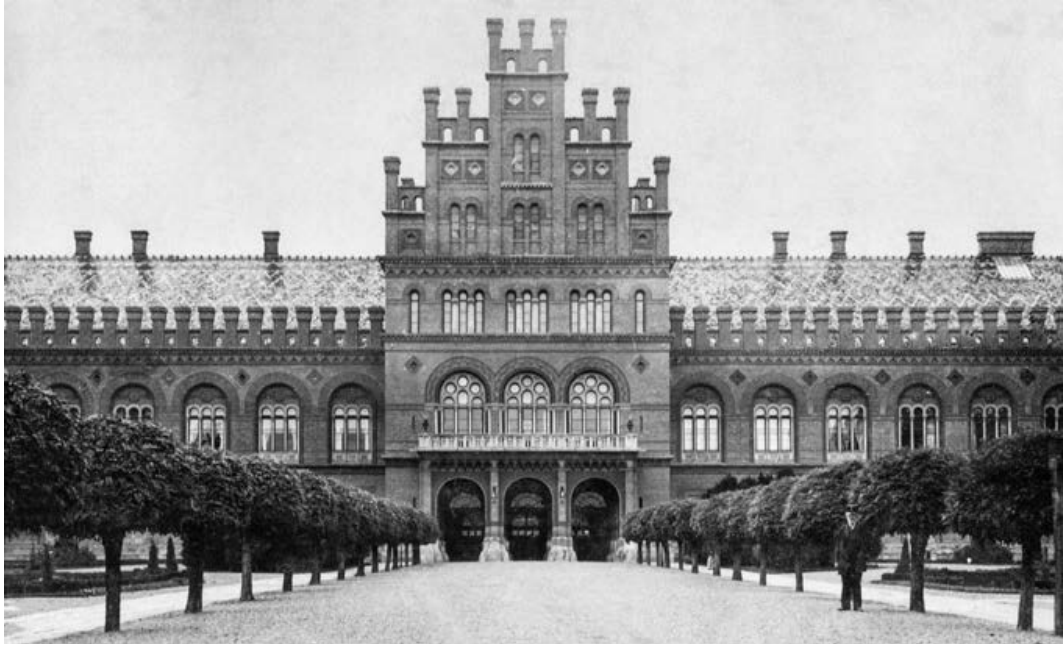


Figure 4.6. Franz Joseph University, building of the Faculty of Orthodox Theology in the residence of the Greek-Orthodox Bishop, 1917. Source: Fortepan, 73687.

law, and philosophy. The demand for a medicine faculty was to remain unsatisfied: it was planned in 1913 but the outbreak of the war halted the process.¹⁴⁴ Eventually, the construction of the new palace of the archbishop enabled the faculty of theology to move away from the university. The dean was alternately a professor of one of the three faculties. Some 200 students attended the university during the first years of its existence, increasing to more than 300 only at the beginning of the 1890s.¹⁴⁵ In the meantime new subjects had been introduced in the curriculum of the faculties of law and philosophy. At the latter, philology of the Romance and Slavic languages became a specialty, among them of course Romanian and Ruthenian.¹⁴⁶ The recruitment of students was mainly local, proving to the authorities that the institution was needed while at the same time signaling that Bucovina remained a borderland without attraction beyond the province. Only a few dozen students came from Galicia; small numbers were from Hungary—mostly Romanians from Transylvania, along with a few Serbs and Bulgarians—who came to the faculty of theology, together with a small number from the Kingdom of Romania. For

144 Erich Prokopowitsch, *Gründung, Entwicklung und Ende der Franz-Josephs-Universität in Czernowitz* (Clausthal-Zellerfeld: Pieper, 1955), 36.

145 *Die Franz-Josephs Universität in Czernowitz im ersten Vierteljahrhundert ihres Bestandes* (Czernowitz: Bukowinaer Vereinsdr., 1900).

146 *Ibid.*, 104.

example, in 1878, the Romanian synod in Bucharest decided to send its graduates for further training to Czernowitz.¹⁴⁷ A handful of Russians—possibly Ukrainians—were also registered in the 1890s but then their presence ceased completely due to the worsening of Austro-Russian relations. The majority of students at the faculty of theology were Romanian-speaking, while German-speaking students dominated the other faculties. Francis Joseph visited the university when he travelled through Bucovina in 1880. Beside linguistic conflicts, the university maintained a multilingual profile; only the faculty of law remained entirely German-speaking. The students' fraternities, even if they were nationally distinct, were a characteristic of this dynamic.

Most of the professors were typical of the mobile elite in the Habsburg Empire. Czernowitz was not where many of them anticipated making a career, but it was a rewarding assignment for a while—as some postings in the overseas colonies of France or Great Britain were. Most of them did not stay in Czernowitz, leading to a high turnover rate, although this was less true in the faculty of theology, where more professors were of local origin. Vienna was the main provider of academics, followed by Graz, Prague, and Innsbruck. Foreign professors came mainly from Germany (10 in total between 1875 and 1918), and from Switzerland (3). The departing professors went the same direction, mostly to Prague, Graz, Innsbruck, and Vienna, though some went abroad to Germany and quite a significant number to Romania, mainly theologians.¹⁴⁸ Czernowitz was practically the only university—other than Budapest—where Jews could enter an academic career and reach the highest ranks: twelve professors achieved this (six each in the faculties of law and philosophy). Romanians were mainly active in the faculty of theology (13 out of 20). Significantly, Ruthenian professors were more numerous (3) in the faculty of philosophy (philology) than in the faculty of theology (2), where Romanians succeeded in preventing them from reaching the status of professor. Germans held the majority in the secular faculties: there were 35 German professors in law and 52 in philosophy.¹⁴⁹ Nevertheless, the university was often criticized as being only a “showcase” of Austrian dynastic patriotism in the East and not a real academic institution of excellence. Others were shocked by the local realities upon arriving in Czernowitz; the

147 Vasyl' Botušansk'kyj and Halyna Čajka, “Die Studenten der Universität Czernowitz zur Zeit der österreichisch-ungarischen Monarchie (1875–1918),” in *Glanz und Elend der Peripherie: 120 Jahre Universität Czernowitz*, ed. Ilona Slawinski (Bern, Vienna: Peter Lang, 1998), 36.

148 *Ibid.*, 37.

149 *Ibid.*, 38.

Austrian writer Hermann Bahr, sent by his father to study there in 1883, describes Czernowitz as, “the city of filth, fraud, and lust.”¹⁵⁰

Universities as spaces of national rivalries: Lemberg

Where German as a supranational language of higher education was not an option, the university inevitably became a matter of national assertion, and thus the subject of national rivalries. This was the case with Lemberg University, which had nearly three times as many students as Czernowitz, even though it was only the second largest Polish university after Cracow. Thanks to these two institutions Poles were the privileged nationality in Cisleithania, mirroring the particular situation of Galicia inside the monarchy. The autonomy granted to the land provided the frame for the development of Polish institutions that were no longer under the control of Vienna. Poles were thus able to “nationalize” the educational system and were not keen on letting “others,” namely Ruthenians, challenge their hegemony. Poles were loyal and grateful to Vienna for having given them autonomy to administer Galicia, which offered much more liberal conditions for self-governance than what their compatriots experienced under German and Russian rule. Yet in Lemberg, Poles were not willing to share the university with the Ruthenians. When the university changed from Austrian to Polish leadership in 1871, most professors were local academics who were fluent in both German and Polish, which was the case until 1918 since German remained the second language of culture of the city, where it was taught at all secondary schools and of course at the university. Lemberg University was complete with four faculties in 1891 when the faculty of medicine was opened. The university was fully Polonized in 1879 when Polish became the official language of the administration (*Amtssprache*).¹⁵¹ Theoretically, one could ask to take exams in the second *Landessprache* (Ruthenian) but the senate was obliged to form a competent ad-hoc commission; this proved to be generally impossible due to the reluctance of the Polish administration that made use of to the local version of Austrian bureaucratic “*Schlamperei*” (sloppiness). The regular argument was that Ruthenians were not in

150 See the letter to his father, Alois Bahr, on December 17, 1883, in Hermann Bahr, *Prophet der Moderne: Tagebücher 1888–1904* (Vienna: Böhlau, 1987), 26.

151 Harald Binder, “Der nationale Konflikt um die Universität Lemberg,” in *Místo národních jazyků ve výchově, školství a vědě v habsburské monarchii 1867–1918 / Position of National Languages in Education, Educational System and Science of the Habsburg Monarchy 1867–1918*, ed. Harald Binder, Barbora Křivohlavá, and Luboš Velek (Prague: Výzkumné centrum pro dějiny vědy, 2003), 187.

sufficient numbers to seat in commissions.¹⁵² Ruthenians regularly requested that at least some *Privatdozenten* (a lecturer who is not part of the faculty and is not paid by the university) be allowed to make lectures in Ruthenian. This demand was supported by some German-speaking and Austrophile professors who considered it necessary to balance the Polish influence. The only chair for the Ruthenian language was created in 1877 but it was occupied by a Polish professor, Aleksander Ogonowski, who gave his lectures in Polish. Ruthenian was not to become a language of teaching at the university and the successor of Ogonowski, Dr. Srokowski, was also a Polish professor.¹⁵³ Nevertheless, Ogonowski was a sincere supporter of the Ruthenian language and he was the chairman of the association *Proswita* (Enlightenment) which edited schoolbooks and manuals in Ruthenian.¹⁵⁴ From the 1890s on there were some lectures in Ruthenian at the faculty of philosophy, mainly in history, geography, and Slavic philology.¹⁵⁵

Considering the reluctance of the Poles to allow instruction in Ruthenian at the university, Ruthenians appealed to the state and demanded the creation of a Ruthenian university in Lemberg. The students' association *Moloda Ukraina*, which was also active in Czernowitz, sent petitions and published brochures to lobby in favor of the project. One of these pamphlets criticized what the authors called the "national character" of Lemberg University and argued for the necessity to balance it by the creation of a Ruthenian university.¹⁵⁶ But the authorities feared that giving in to the Ruthenians would mean that other nationalities would immediately demand the same: Czechs for a second university in Brünn; Italians and Slovenes, both in Trieste. This was not an option for the Austrian state, so they tried to bring the Poles to be more tolerant toward Ruthenian claims. But the state had no real means to oblige them: Lemberg University was a powerful body with a large number of students and was even considered superior to Cracow, while the Ruthenians were divided in two religions and three political parties. Thus the Ruthenians were not a serious threat, and most observers thought that they could not compete

152 Kazimierz Twardowski, *Die Universität Lemberg: Materialien zur Beurteilung der Universitätsfrage* (Vienna: Jasper, 1907), 19.

153 Ludwik Finkel and Stanisław Starzyński, *Historia uniwersytetu Lwowskiego* [History of the Lemberg University] (Lemberg: E. Winiarz, 1894), 51.

154 *Otchet' russko-narodnogo instituta "Narodnyj dom" vo Lvov'*, 8.

155 Binder, "Der nationale Konflikt um die Universität Lemberg," 191.

156 *Za ukrajins'kyj uniwersytet u Lvovi: Zbirka statej v unyversytet-skyj spravi* [For a Ukrainian university in Lemberg: A collection of articles on university affairs] (Lemberg: Moloda Ukraina, Nakladom ukrainskogo studentskogo sojuzu, 1910).

in terms of academic excellence or transcend their divergences.¹⁵⁷ The main conflict occurred in October 1901, after an incident in the philosophy faculty when the dean, Kazimierz Twardowski, refused to allow a Ruthenian colleague, Mykhailo Hrushevsky, to speak his own language. Hrushevsky was notoriously active in meetings where claims for establishing a Ruthenian university were voiced and was the chairman of the Ruthenian Shevchenko Society.¹⁵⁸ Later he would create a summer program for Ukrainian students from Russia and teach them history.¹⁵⁹ The conflict escalated, and some students were excluded from the university. In protest, 600 Ruthenian students resigned their registration in December. The action was followed by the decision of Andrey Sheptytsky, Metropolitan bishop of the Greek Catholic Church, to suspend his theological seminary as a sign of solidarity with the Ruthenian students.¹⁶⁰ A few days later a committee was formed in Czernowitz in support of the “secessionists”; at its head stood the students’ leader Lev Kohut. The students did not return to the university, pursuing instead their studies mainly in Cracow, but also in Vienna and Prague.¹⁶¹ But the 75 of them who tried to register in Czernowitz were rejected by the senate of the university, who wanted to avoid further disorders.¹⁶² The departure of the secessionist students did not put an end to the agitation in favor of a Ukrainian university and many of the violent actions that took place in the following years had something to do with this demand. Most actions found an echo on Czernowitz’s streets. The political elite of the Ruthenians took the case to Vienna many times, and eventually there was some hope in a project issued by the Ministry of Religion and Education in June 1912. However, the authorities delayed the eventual creation of the university and left the choice of location open to further consultations. In the meantime, the influential *Polenklub* at the Vienna parliament lobbied to prevent the realization of the project.¹⁶³

157 Leopold Lénard, *Die Wiener ‘Tripel-Allianz’ und die Lemberger Staats- und Hauptaktion* (Vienna: Mechitaristen Buchdruckerei, 1907), 37.

158 Oleksandr Masan, “Das Problem einer ukrainischen Universität in Österreich-Ungarn,” in Slawinski, *Glanz und Elend der Peripherie*, 90; Binder, “Der nationale Konflikt um die Universität Lemberg,” 188.

159 Larry Wolff, *The Idea of Galicia: History and Fantasy in Habsburg Political Culture* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2010), 326.

160 *Ibid.*, 91.

161 Pacholkiv, *Emanzipation durch Bildung*, 167–68.

162 Wolff, *The Idea of Galicia*, 92.

163 *Ibid.*, 96.

Universities in Transleithania

Hungary lagged behind in the process of founding universities. Up to the 1870s, the country had only one university, in Budapest. Founded as a Jesuit college in Nagyszombat (Trnava, Tyrnau) in 1635, the institution was transformed into a university and transferred to Buda during the reign of Maria Theresia. Later the university was moved to Pest, with Hungarian progressively replacing Latin as a language of instruction. By 1844, mathematics, physics, philosophy, and architecture were all taught in Hungarian. Although the university underwent further development after 1867, becoming one of the leading universities in Europe, this did not change the situation that the rest of the country had few institutions of higher education, and those that existed, like law schools, were concentrated in the north of the country. This disproportion had its origins in the years of Turkish rule in the other parts of the country, but nothing significant since the beginning of the eighteenth century had been done to remedy the situation. As soon as the Compromise was in force and the law on public education passed, the Hungarian government was eager to develop a network of higher education institutions. The first step was the creation of a new university in Kolozsvár in 1872. This would gain a good reputation, especially because it had been complemented by a faculty of medicine. The fact that it was located in Transylvania had political as well as geographical reasons. In contrast to the establishment of Kolozsvár University, the creation of Zagreb University in 1874 was regarded as an internal Croatian affair and the university was not considered in the eyes of the Hungarian decision-makers to be a national institution since its language of teaching was Croatian. Yet, with the government having its hands full with modernization projects and no means to finance them all simultaneously, the creation of new Hungarian universities was constantly delayed.

By the 1880s, the progress of Magyarization began to be visible, justifying the creation of a third university. Yet, the process that was to lead to the decision to establish it in Pozsony was extremely arduous and slow. The reason for this was certainly not local reluctance. Although the local law school was indeed an institution of excellence, yet Pozsony's elite wanted to transform it into a full university and were not satisfied with the project of merely creating a faculty of philosophy next to the academy. Pressure was also strong on the part of doctors who desired the opening of a faculty of medicine: they argued that potential students went to Vienna and were then "lost" to Hungarian medical science (the fact that many of such students also went to Budapest was overlooked). The Chief Doctor of the Royal Hospital of the town, Gábor

Pávai Vajna, who was also a prominent member of the town's intelligentsia and author of many articles in one of the leading newspapers, the *Nyugatmagyarországi Híradó* (Western Hungary's Informer), quoted an estimation made by the great Austrian surgeon, Professor Theodor Billroth, saying that eight to nine thousand young Hungarians left their country each year to register at the University of Vienna.¹⁶⁴ Pávai Vajna was also an active member of the Toldy Circle that was to be one of the main groups lobbying for the university.¹⁶⁵

Pozsony was nevertheless not the only candidate for the location of the third university. Szeged, Debrecen, Kassa, Győr, and Nagyvárad all had similar ambitions and sent applications to the ministry. Among these, only Debrecen was considered by the Pressburgers as a serious rival because nobody could deny its merit as the capital of Hungarian Calvinism, but it was located too near to Kolozsvár. Moreover, the local Reformed (Calvinist) College was an old and prestigious institution which was already considered to be morphed into a university. Other applicants were simply rejected as not worthy of a university.¹⁶⁶ Another argument locals brought up was that struggle for the Magyarization of Pozsony would justify the decision to establish the new institution there. Professors of the Academy of Law initiated the action in 1876 at the occasion of the death of Ferenc Deák by asking that the future university be given the great statesman's name.¹⁶⁷ Minister of Religion and Public Education Ágoston Trefort was convinced and publicly supported the initiative in a letter to Count István Esterházy, the county's prefect, in 1878.¹⁶⁸ But Trefort himself died shortly afterwards and the process was delayed. Yet, in Pozsony itself the campaign was well underway, and the mobilization of the town's Hungarian elite was considerable. The press gave constant support to their efforts, publishing numerous brochures to make their demand heard. The most reasonable and less contestable arguments, like the clear disproportion between Cisleithania's seven universities and Transleithania's two, were joined by the most fanciful ones, like the inclusion of the Talmudic students of the Sofer *Yeshiva*

164 Gábor Pávai Vajna, *Hol állítsuk fel a harmadik egyetemet?* [Where are we going to establish the third university?] (Pozsony, 1897).

165 The Toldy Circle (*Toldy kör*), named after the writer Ferenc Toldy (Schedel) in 1875, was originally a literary society extremely active in all cultural fields with the goal of "Magyarizing" Pozsony.

166 György Schulpe, *Pozsony és a harmadik egyetem* [Pozsony and the third university] (Pozsony: 1893).

167 Ferenc Deák (1803–1876), politician, was the main author of the 1867 Compromise on the Hungarian side.

168 Lajos Wagner, *A pozsonyi magyar királyi állami tudományegyetem tervezete* [The project of the Hungarian royal university in Pozsony] (Pozsony, 1900).

in the numbers of putative students. The intention was clearly to counteract the German influence in Pozsony, which was of course strengthened by the vicinity of Vienna. Most authors ignored Zagreb University or, if they mentioned it, they considered Croatia so small a territory for it to deserve such a prestigious institution, which they moreover saw as a nest of Slavic agitators. But the ground of the argument remained unchanged: culture was a pillar of Magyarization and therefore the university was a necessity in order to train Hungarian-speaking elites, thus it was crucial to create it in a region of contact between various minorities. This argument was used to undermine the applications of Szeged and Debrecen that were already homogenous towns in rather homogenous regions; in this respect only Nagyvárad could advocate national and linguistic diversity. The agitation grew as the Toldy Circle entered the battle through the activity of its literary committee. They looked feverishly for prestigious sponsors and succeeded in convincing many aristocrats who possessed big estates in the region to declare their support for the university in Pozsony. Even the smallest ceremony could be the occasion for enthusiastic declarations and the Circle invited to Pozsony personalities who were supportive of the cause, among them ministers Albert Apponyi (religion and public education) and Ferenc Kossuth (trade). The Circle initiated a campaign of petitions and signatures; it formed an ad-hoc committee of 24 members dedicated to the creation of the university.¹⁶⁹ Prime Minister Sándor Wekerle finally decided in favor of both Pozsony and Debrecen, with both universities inaugurated in 1912. Pozsony University took the name of Elisabeth, referring both to the queen assassinated in 1898 and to Saint Elisabeth who was a local native.¹⁷⁰ Yet, the start proved difficult: the academic year 1914–15 opened with only the faculty of law fully functional; this was not surprising because it was based on the already existing Law Academy that simply “transferred” its activities to the university. Medicine and philosophy were created two years later.¹⁷¹ Despite this mediocre start, caused in part by the outbreak of the war, decades of efforts on the part of the Pressburgers to obtain their university were successful at least from the political point of view, even if other battles for the Magyarization of the town proved to have been fought in vain.

169 *A Toldy-kör a pozsonyi egyetemért* [The Toldy Circle for the university in Pozsony] (Pozsony: 1908).

170 Pál Szabó, “A m. kir. Erzsébet-tudományegyetem” [The Hungarian royal Elisabeth University], *Közlemények a pécsi Erzsébet-tudományegyetem könyvtárából*, no. 27 (March 1934): 4.

171 *Ibid.*, 6.

New universities for local minorities

In Cisleithania as well, creating a new university was the ambition of groups who felt they had reached a “mature” level of national consciousness. They claimed to be able to provide students, as well as competent teachers, in sufficient numbers. Yet, the opening of a new university was most of the time not a question of these numbers but a question of national balance and the result of a deliberate political choice. Practical and financial reasons were also at play. The Austrian state was far from prosperous and the cost of establishing a university was indeed very high.

Illustrative of the difficulties and complications related to the creation of a new university was the case of Brünn. Although a local university was on the agenda of both Czechs and Germans, it seems that both parties were aware of the illusory nature of this demand, which, however, did not deter them from advocating for it passionately, if for nothing else than as a way to provoke each other. From a geographic point of view, it was unlikely that the state would have agreed to open a new university located between Vienna and Prague, since Czechs and Germans could go to either of these towns to study. Considering the tensions in Bohemia and Moravia between the nationalities, creating a second Czech university was out of the question for the Austrian government. Neither was Brünn the only possible candidate for a Czech university in Moravia: Olmütz and Troppau (Opava) were also considered as potential sites. Some of the promoters of the other cities would have even been content with an utraquist university. But the state had already closed down Olmütz University in 1860 and there was no chance to see it reopen. Brünn’s Czechs looked at these two candidates with disdain and praised the quality of schooling in Brünn as well as the already high number of Czech students in town.¹⁷² The government argued to the Germans that the university would never provide the quality and variety of training that Vienna offered, and to the Czechs that Prague already met the needs of higher education.¹⁷³ These excuses masked political motives, as the government feared that it could not satisfy the Czech demands without being immediately besieged by Italians, Slovenes, and Ruthenians, and that the subsequent German discontent would create new tensions. Even among the Germans there were voices arguing that opening a German university in Brünn was an absurdity because it would

172 “Česká universita v Brně” [Czech university in Brünn], *Lidové Noviny*, no. 24, January 30, 1902.

173 Curt Kaser, *Die Gründung der k.k. Franz-Josefs-Universität in Czernowitz im Jahre 1875* (Vienna, Leipzig: Braumüller, 1917), 14.

cause the simultaneous creation of a Czech one and both would be useless and expensive.¹⁷⁴

In town the agitation was led by German students' associations. *Arminia* protested against plans for the creation of a Czech university saying that, "the door would be open to the will of Czechization," and Brünn would irremediably lose its "German character." The association wanted to unite all other *Burschenschaften* of Moravia and Silesia in an action against the "institute of Slavization."¹⁷⁵ Demonstrations had been organized by German fraternity students already in 1896; they erupted again in 1899 when the Czechs obtained permission to open the Czech Technical School, demanding the foundation of a German university to balance this trend toward "Czechization." Such tensions remained high, as shown by a demonstration organized by the Germans more than ten years later on February 22, 1911, which was intense enough to force the municipality to take measures in order to restore order.¹⁷⁶ The Czechs were also active, and some initiatives were coupled with Slovene demands for their own university in Laibach. At a meeting of Czech Catholic students in Königgrätz (Hradec Kralové) in August 1909, the participants passed a resolution to unite forces with Slovene Catholic students so that both universities could be created.¹⁷⁷ The multiplication of Czech educational institutions in Brünn was both a sign of the dynamism of Czech education and an argument that there were already enough. Most serious propaganda for the creation of a Czech university predates 1900, and one of the most articulate publications dated back to 1891 when the situation was not so favorable, Prague University being then only nine years old and not yet fully functioning.¹⁷⁸ At that time, the argumentation focused on the need of such an institution to train Czech elites to allow them to enter all the occupations of the Crownland of Moravia, be they political, cultural or economic. Just like the Pressburgers, the authors took figures and advice from Professor Billroth to prove that Czech students from Brünn went to study medicine in Vienna and never returned to their

174 Heinrich Singer, *Einige Worte über die Vergangenheit und Zukunft der Czernowitzer Universität* (Warnsdorf: Strache, 1917), 45.

175 *Bericht über die Thätigkeit der Brünner Burschenschaft "Arminia" im 97. und 98. Semester ihres Bestandes, 1910/11* (Brünn: Verlag der Brunner Burschenschaft "Arminia", 1911), 19.

176 *Zusammenstellung der in den Sitzungen des Gemeinderates der Landeshauptstadt Brünn gefaßten Beschlüsse 1911–15* (Brünn: Rohrer 1916), 73.

177 *Almanach spolku katol. akademiků "Moravan" a sdruženého katol. studentstva v Brně* [Almanac of the Catholic academic association "Moravan" and the united Catholic students of Brünn] (Brünn: Benediktinska knihtiskarna, 1915), 37.

178 František Derka and František Vahalík, *Česká universita na Moravě* [The Czech university in Moravia], *Časových Otazek* 1 (Prague: 1891).

native land, the consequence being that there were not enough Czech doctors in Moravia to take care of the rural population.¹⁷⁹

Although it seems to have been a rather marginal topic, the question of the university was to be the occasion of one of the most brutal incidents in the Habsburg Monarchy at the beginning of the twentieth century. At the end of September 1905, in response to Czech plans for a gathering on October 1 at the Czech house *Besední dům* to lobby for the university, the German associations of Brünn called for a *Volkstag* (a popular assembly) to stage a counter-protest.¹⁸⁰ All German associations were mobilized; the only group not willing to take part in the event was the local chapter of the Social Democratic Party. The demonstration had an official character because the mayor of Brünn, August von Wieser, and mayors of many nearby German localities attended, and for the first time representatives of the *Reichsrat* and the political parties of Schönerer and Lueger also openly took part.¹⁸¹ A meeting at the *Deutsches Haus* was to be the climax of the day.¹⁸² Mayor Wieser was well aware of the danger and asked the local garrison commander to dispatch two battalions of infantry and cavalry, but he was rebuffed by the governor who reminded him that he himself was the convener of the meeting and moreover, as the town's mayor, responsible for order.¹⁸³ Coming out of both national houses, which were not far from each other, the demonstrators could not avoid confrontation. The event degenerated into a bloody street fight in which one Czech participant—František Pavlík, a worker—was killed by a soldier's bayonet. Hundreds of demonstrators and some policemen were wounded; dozens were arrested, mostly Czechs. A city policeman (*Wachmann*) also died after having been essentially lynched by the Czechs. The press of both sides related the event in completely opposite ways: Germans claimed they had been assaulted by Czechs who showed their true face as “barbarians,”¹⁸⁴ while Czechs spoke of “bloody Monday” and claimed to have been brutalized by a furious Teutonic mob and beaten by the police and the military that had been called in for reinforcement.¹⁸⁵ The fact that the killed protester was Czech made the situation

179 *Ibid.*, 29.; *Lidové Noviny*, no. 165, July 24, 1897.

180 *Hlas: Týdenník pro lid* [The Voice: Weekly for the people], no. 39, September 29, 1905.

181 Wingfield, *Flag Wars and Stone Saints*, 86.

182 *Brünner Wochenblatt*, no. 39, September 1905.

183 Wingfield, *Flag Wars and Stone Saints*, 88.

184 “Sonderbare Kulturbeweise einer universitätshungrigen Nation,” *Brünner Wochenblatt*, no. 41, October 8, 1905.

185 “Obrovská manifestace pro českou universitu v Brně,” *Lidové Noviny*, no. 224, October 3, 1905. The resolute neutrality of the military and its involvement in suppressing disorder of what-

worse. In the evening Czech rioters attacked German buildings—among them schools—and shops. The tumult continued for the next two days (Sunday and Monday). The Social Democratic newspaper *Volksfreund* denounced both nationalities but had difficulty explaining how 20,000 persons took to the streets in a rather peaceful city, claiming instead that most participants had actually come from the nearby villages.¹⁸⁶ There had been a campaign to rally the Germans that another newspaper called “Barnum advertising” (*bar-numská reklama*).¹⁸⁷ The consequence was a boycott of shops belonging to both sides.¹⁸⁸ The more general context of the ongoing negotiation of the Moravian Compromise did not help to calm down emotions, which remained high until November because of discussions on educational and electoral issues at the Diet.¹⁸⁹ The affair of the university was forgotten for a while before the debate was renewed at the occasion of the abandonment of the project for a Slovene university in Laibach. In 1911, the Czech delegates at the city council tried to put the question on the agenda but the Germans voted against it, the only supporter from the German side was the Social Democrat counselor Matthias Eldersch.¹⁹⁰ A demonstration followed, convened by Germans and Czechs in their national houses, but fortunately it did not lead to violence like in 1905 because the Czechs by this time constituted the overwhelming majority in Brünn.¹⁹¹ The arguments on both sides had not changed and nobody was reasonable enough to see the impossibility of the project.

The Czechs were following the development of other university debates in the monarchy and observed carefully the controversy that was going on in this respect between Italians and Slovenes in Trieste, and between Italians and Germans in Innsbruck. Yet, the local context in these cases was different from

ever nationalistic origin is confirmed in the memoirs of Theodor Ritter von Zeynek who, serving as a young officer in Brünn around 1896, recalls that the commandant had forbidden them to go to the Czech national house because the audience there had recently remained seated while the imperial anthem was playing. Peter Broucek, ed., *Theodor Ritter von Zeynek: Ein Offizier im Generalstabskorps erinnert sich* (Vienna: Böhlau, 2009), 95.

186 “Die blutigen Straßenexzesse vom 30. September und 1. Oktober,” *Volksfreund*, no. 40, October 3, 1905. Figures of participants range from 20,000 to 50,000 according to various newspapers of both sides. On the general attitude of Social Democracy in the Czech Lands toward the national conflict, see Jakub S. Beneš, *Workers and Nationalism: Czech and German Social Democracy in Habsburg Austria, 1890–1918* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017).

187 *Moravská Orlice* [The Moravian eagle], no. 216, September 23, 1905.

188 Wingfield, *Flag Wars and Stone Saints*, 102.

189 Kelly T. Mills, “Last Best Chance or Last Gasp? The Compromise of 1905 and Czech Politics in Moravia,” *Austrian History Yearbook* 34 (2003): 293.

190 *Volksfreund*, no. 21, March 14, 1911.

191 “Baron d’Elvert prohrál bitvu,” *Lidové Noviny*, no. 65, March 6, 1911.

that in Moravia. Satisfying the Italians' desire for a university would have certainly been possible and unlike to what happened in other places, the government really tried to find a solution. Unlike in the case of Slovene or Ruthenian aspirations, there was of course no debate about the value or maturity of Italian culture. The geographical justification was weaker, given the fact that Italians were indeed one of the smallest minorities of the empire and there was no real chance that a university in Trieste would attract students from the *Regno*. The nature of the problem, from Vienna's point of view, was thus largely political: Italian irredentism was a threat to the monarchy and the authorities were convinced that opening a university in Trieste would encourage it. There was of course a counterargument claiming that the lack of a university compelled young Italians to go to study in Italy, with many in fact turning into irredentists there. At the same time, local nationalists did not hide their intentions and imagined the university not only as a "factory of graduates" (*fabbrica di laureati*) but as the place where nationalism was to be taught.¹⁹² In this respect they intended to combat Germanization as well as Slavization.

The first demands were sent by the Trieste Diet in December 1866, and they were renewed many times in the 1870s because no answer came from the government. The representatives from Trieste argued that a university was necessary given that since the loss of Lombardy and Veneto, Austria had no Italian university.¹⁹³ Finally, the government proposed alternatives. An Italian-speaking chair was created in Innsbruck, deep in the Alps, where there was a lesser risk of irredentist agitation. The Italians recognized the dilatory maneuver of the government and the Italian students registered in Innsbruck did in fact provoke agitation. Demonstrations of Italian students also took place in Vienna and ended in violent confrontations with German fellow students and the police. The most serious incident occurred in Innsbruck on November 4, 1904, and ended with the death of a German worker.¹⁹⁴ Upon hearing this, the audience of the *Teatro Verdi* in Trieste shouted slogans like: "Viva Trieste italiana" or "Viva l'universita a Trieste" followed by applause and tumult; people sang the hymn of the *Lega nazionale* and the Triestine patriotic song *Nella patria di Rossetti*.¹⁹⁵

192 Ruggero Fauro (Timeus), *Trieste: Italiani e slavi; il governo austriaco; l'irredentismo* (Rome: Gaetano Garzoni Provenzani, 1914), 72.

193 *Il Cittadino: Giornale triestino di Politica commercio e varieta*, no. 189, July 10, 1891.

194 *Il Piccolo*, no. 8332, November 5, 1904.

195 *Il Piccolo*, no. 8333, November 6, 1904.

For the Italians, their demand was not negotiable: the university had to be created in Trieste and nowhere else. No other city in the region could compete against Trieste in terms of population and economic importance. Although Trento (Trient) was sometimes mentioned but was never seriously considered. The argument that then the Slovenes would ask for reciprocity was swept aside by the Italians, who considered the Slovenes too backward or on the way to assimilation.¹⁹⁶ Yet, some were worried about a possible alliance between Slovenes and Croats to demand a south Slavic university in Istria.¹⁹⁷ The Tries-tines viewed every achievement by other nationalities with anger, and had the impression that they were victims of Austrian arbitrariness. All Italian cultural associations, beginning with the *Lega nazionale*, started to lobby for the university, and the topic became essentially a daily subject of the Italian press. As in other cases, brochures were published, and mobilization campaigns were launched. Committees were also set up in Italy, for example at Padua University where students sent a petition to the Italian government asking it to pressure the Austrians.¹⁹⁸ Another association in Pavia was later involved, and published an appeal for the university in which prominent names were listed, among them Tomáš G. Masaryk, philosopher, politician and later the first president of Czechoslovakia. The committee presented its work as a follow-up of that in Padua and called for a referendum on the question.¹⁹⁹

The violent encounters with German students in Innsbruck and Vienna sparked protests and solidarity actions. Students' associations were the bearers of these initiatives. The *Circolo accademico italiano di Innsbruck* and the *Societa degli studenti trentini* published a brochure attempting to demonstrate the necessity of creating the university. The booklet took the form of an inquiry and justified the demand with the number of potential students, the question of the professors, and comparisons to other universities, such as Czernowitz, however, the financial aspect was not mentioned. The inquiry was sent to 300 Italian personalities of the *Regno* who were asked for a literary contribution: composer Arrigo Boito, historian Benedetto Croce, playwright Luigi Pirandello, and poet Gabriele D'Annunzio did in fact send a few lines.²⁰⁰ The fol-

196 *Atti del III Congresso della federazione degl'insegnanti Italiani della regione Giulia*, 18.

197 "L'appetito vien mangiando," *Il Piccolo*, no. 5030, October 17, 1895.

198 *Per un grande amore: Pubbl. degli studenti italiani delle tecniche dello stato a vantaggio della "Lega nazionale"* (Trieste: Zottu & Co, 1913), 69.

199 *Per l'universita italiana a Trieste: Pubblicato a cura del comitato universitario Pavese* (Pavia: Tip. Popolare di Piero Mozzaglia, 1913).

200 *Per l'Universita Italiana a Trieste: Inchiesta promossa dal Circolo Accademico Italiano di Innsbruck e pubblicata per cura del Circolo Trentino di Roma* (Milan: Fratelli Treves, 1904), 35–37.

lowing year an appeal in three languages (Italian, Slovene, and German) was published titled “For the Italian University in Trieste.” The three-page brochures were absolutely identical; their editors were students. Remarkably, the German and Slovene versions were solely the work of Alessandro Dudan from Spalato (Split), who, judging by his name, was of Slavic origin.²⁰¹

There were also demonstrations in Trieste. The writer Scipio Slataper recalls one in his book devoted to his native land, *Il mio carso*:

In my city there were demonstrations in favor of the Italian university in Trieste. They marched arm in arm, eight in a row; they were shouting: “Long live the Italian university in Trieste” and stomping their feet to annoy the police. Then I joined the first line, and I too stomped my feet. So, we marched along the *Acquedotto*. Suddenly the first line stopped and stepped back. From the *Caffe Chiozza* a large file of gendarmes with their bayonets raised was coming toward us. They were marching as if on parade with stiff legs, at a slow pace, impassive. Each of us felt that no obstacle would stop them. They had to go forward until the emperor said: Stop! Behind those gendarmes there was the whole of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. There was the power that had once ruled over the world. There was the will of a huge monarchy from Poland to Greece, from Russia to Italy. There was Charles V and Bismarck. Each of us was aware of that and we escaped terrorized, pale, pushing, and banging into each other, losing our sticks and hats. I stayed and looked at them in a stupor. They were marching straight ahead, without smiling or laughing. For them, the people escaping were the same as the compact file of demonstrators demanding the Italian university. I could not stop watching them, and I was arrested.²⁰²

Despite such demonstrations, no real mass mobilization took place in Trieste, and the press criticized the citizens who seemed to care only about material preoccupations; this was a recurrent reproach made as soon as cultural institutions were concerned. Politically there was a consensus on the question, with even the socialists in favor of the Italian university. They were a significant force behind the *Comizio per l’istituzione dell’universita italiana* which

201 *Per l’universita italiana a Trieste* (Trento: Soc. tip. ed. Trentina, 1905); *Die italienischen Studenten Oesterreichs für die italienische Universität in Trieste* (Vienna: Vorwärts, 1905); *Italijanski Dijački Avstrije za italijansko vseučilisce v Triestu* (Vienna: Vorwärts, 1905). The other editors were Mario Gius from Trieste, Oliviero Ponis from Capodistria (Koper), Mario Scotoni from Trentino, and Ugo Pellis from Gorizia (Gorica, Görz).

202 Scipio Slataper, *Il mio carso* (Florence: Giunti, 1995), 45. Eventually, Slataper succeeded in running away from the gendarme who was about to get hold on him.

even counted Slovenes among its leaders, including its Vice President Carlo Ucekar.²⁰³ The socialists had some difficulty justifying their support for the university and therefore also advocated for the creation of a Slovene university in Laibach. The Slovene press for its part mocked the Italian ambitions for the university and made fun of the lack of results, claiming that the Italians for their intransigence would end up without any Italian-speaking faculty because they put their eggs in too many baskets in case they would not succeed with Trieste.²⁰⁴ Faced with Italian agitation for the university, the Slovenes founded their own *Comizio per l'universita slovena* in December 1908, and organized a meeting on the occasion in the recently opened *Narodni dom*.²⁰⁵ A program of action in favor of the university was published in the press by one of the leaders of the *Narodni dom*, Matko Mandić.²⁰⁶ Since the project of a Slovene university in Laibach had been abandoned, the Slovenes started to openly tease the Italians by demanding their own university in Trieste. Here as well as in Brünn, most of their leaders were conscious of the impossibility of their claim but used the topic as a way to irritate the Italians.

The school question in the monarchy was never about education only: schools had a crucial role in the struggle to construct national cultural discourses. Educational institutions became part of a competition among the national groups over access to culture and the right to create institutions dedicated to the development of national consciousness. This competition had a reciprocal nature: each group responded with its own projects to the claims or achievements of the others. Although there was a constant escalation, aptly reflected in the press, citizens, apart from some moments of extreme tension, did not engage in the struggle for schools as much as the national activists would have liked them to. They persisted in seeing multilingual education as a benefit for their children and continued to look for the best, most pragmatic solutions. The multiplication of cultural opportunities did not cause cities to become more “national” but rather more diverse, a fact that went unseen by

203 *Il Lavoratore: Organo del partito socialista*, no. 550, May 12, 1902. The article is a necrology of Ucekar who died on May 11, 1902.

204 *Škrat*, no. 12, March 25, 1905, 5.

205 “Il comizio per l’universita slovena,” *Il Lavoratore*, no. 1888, December 7, 1908. On *Narodni dom*, see Borut Klabjan and Gorazd Bajc, *Ogenj, ki je zajel Evropo: Narodni Dom v Trstu 1920–2020* [The fire that engulfed Europe: Narodni dom in Trieste 1920–2020] (Ljubljana: Cankarjeva založba, 2021).

206 “Za slovensko sveučilišče” [For the Slovene university], *Narodni Delavec: Glasilo “Narodne delavske organizacije” v Trstu* [The National Worker: Paper of the National Workers’ Organization in Trieste], no. 19, December 12, 1908.

national leaders who interpreted each new school as a gain for their cause. Even in seemingly centralized Hungary, spaces were left for other, non-Hungarian languages and Magyarization showed its limits, due to resistance by mainly Romanians and Serbs, and to financial and structural constraints. The nationalization of the school system thus never erased the multicultural context in which schools operated.

Cultural Institutions: Multiculturalism and National Discourse

The creation of institutions presenting national discourse precedes the adoption of the Constitutional laws of 1867, but the liberalization those laws introduced and the following democratization of the empire enabled a growing number of people to gain access to what became increasingly considered as national “high culture.” The expansion of public instruction and freedom of association were the major factors of this evolution. Before 1867 the main cultural institutions were concentrated in the capitals, and the first symbols of “national” awakening (theaters, libraries, museums) had already been created there during the *Vormärz*. In the smaller cities some private initiatives were possible alongside church and state institutions, but they remained a limited field of action. Decentralization after 1867 made it possible for cities and provinces to initiate and finance their own cultural institutions, as we have already seen in the case of schools. This was encouraged by the state as it was believed to strengthen patriotism for the land. The creation of museums and libraries focusing on local cultural heritage had been favored by the state at the beginning of the nineteenth century as a means to foster loyalty to the Habsburg dynasty; this was combined with initiatives from provincial authorities. For this purpose, multiculturalism was clearly emphasized in these institutions. The discovery of ethnography, which occurred at the same time helped to promote the languages and folklore of the empire’s peoples, who began to see themselves as entitled to the same right to develop their respective cultures. But the leading German elite looked at them condescendingly as soon as they began trying to produce their own literature, and their growing demands for national institutions were met with reluctance by the state, who sensed a danger for the unity of the empire. This movement started with Italians, Poles, Hungarians, and Czechs, before spreading to other groups in the course of the nineteenth century. The beginning of the Constitutional era

enabled practically all of them to promote their own cultural agenda. Thus, as John Boyer states: “The nationality conflict in Austria was not merely the destructive, centrifugal process that usually appears in the historiography. It was also an emancipatory, centripetal process that reshaped the 1867 state in ways that allowed all bourgeois ethnic groups to be agents, as well as subjects, of their political destiny.”¹ Most people demanded the possibility to participate in public life, but this demand was not directed against the state, which actually provided the means for a greater expression of various forms of identity. The state authorities were caught between two fires: a liberal attitude on the one hand which fostered cultural diversity seen as the main characteristic of the empire and as the expression of its strength; and caution and defiance on the other hand regarding the conflict emerging from the confrontation between national groups. As a result, the state put significant effort into preserving *utraquist* institutions, causing the leading national groups in *Cisleithania* (Germans, Poles, and Italians) to feel that the state authorities were favoring the minorities (Czechs, Slovenes and Ruthenians) when in fact they were only trying to prevent the hegemony of the dominant group over the others. Those dominant groups’ response was to develop so-called “Defense” associations (*Schutzvereine*),² which led to the growing separation of groups “constructing” their identities. The situation in *Transleithania* was not comparable as the Hungarians had all the levers in their hands to give Hungarian culture a decisive lead over the others.

The cities were the places where cultural competition was at its highest. There the three levels of authority (state, province, and town hall), along with the population, were the protagonists of the conflict. The vibrant civil society set the framework in which the fight raged for the appropriation of existing institutions, including schools, as we have seen, as well as theaters, libraries, and museums. Significant efforts were devoted to creating new “national” institutions, which doubled the *utraquist* or older institutions that were generally seized by the leading group. This evolution went hand in hand with the struggle over the schools. Adults who had not had the possibility to be schooled in their native tongues were to be given associations, libraries, theaters, and newspapers where they could “catch up” with the language and become convinced of their national identity. Later on, when at least one generation had

1 John Boyer, *Culture and Political Crisis in Vienna: Christian Socialism in Power, 1897–1918* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995), xii.

2 Haslinger, *Nation und Territorium im tschechischen politischen Diskurs*, 157.

benefited from “national” instruction, these institutions were to become the instruments for the cultural affirmation of the group. The utraquist institutions tried to resist this with the elaboration of a discourse focusing on patriotism of the land. The associations belonging to the Catholic Church were also in an uncomfortable situation, as universalism was increasingly contested by nationalism. The same trend was even more visible in case of other confessions: Orthodox churches increasingly represented the interests of Serbs and Romanians, and the same happened with the Greek Catholic Church for the benefit of the Ruthenians in Lemberg. Even charity organizations began to be divided along national lines.

The principle of freedom of association, which was formulated even before the adoption of the constitutional laws, on November 15, 1867, was never complete. The statutes of each planned association had to be presented to the authorities, and the creation of the association was possible only if they did not object to it within a period of four weeks.³ In each part of the empire, associations were under the control of the Ministry of Interior, which was also in charge of the police. In Croatia-Slavonia after the Compromise with Hungary, associations were put under the control of the *Präsidialamt*, an office of the local government,⁴ and were thus considered as an internal affair such as the police and the courts. There was an ongoing debate on the legal status of the associations, namely whether they should be considered responsible bodies and thus in possession of the rights of citizenship (*Staatsbürgerrecht*), or as bodies composed of individuals. During the many legal proceedings initiated by the associations the state always maintained the second argument in order not to give groups a legal existence as a minority. Only churches and religious communities (*Religionsgesellschaften*) were recognized as having such legal status.⁵ The other category of collective bodies was composed of municipalities and organizations such as chambers and corporative organizations (like guilds) in which membership was not considered voluntary.

The authorities were conscious of the potential danger caused by explicitly “national” associations. In this respect Austrian and Hungarian authorities were equally severe, as both tried to prevent associations of nationalities from

3 Werner Ogris, “Die Rechtsentwicklung in Cisleithanien 1848–1918,” in *Die Habsburgermonarchie 1848–1918*, vol. 2 *Verwaltung und Rechtswesen*, ed. Wandruszka and Urbanitsch, 648.

4 Sirotković, *Die Verwaltung im Königreich Kroatien und Slawonien 1848–1918*, 449.

5 Gerald Stourzh, “Die Gleichberechtigung der Volkstämme als Verfassungsprinzip 1848–1918,” in *Die Habsburgermonarchie 1848–1918*, vol. 3/2 *Die Völker des Reiches*, ed. Wandruszka and Urbanitsch, 1153.

gaining ground on the political scene. This was easier in Hungary thanks to centralization and the absence of universal suffrage. Austrian authorities were particularly cautious toward irredentism and closely watched the Italian associations, which were periodically suspended. Many of the political associations of the nationalities were thus “disguised” as gymnastic and cultural activities.

The liberal inspiration of the law at the same time enabled the creation of workers’ associations that were regarded as less sensitive from the national point of view than peasants’ organizations and those of national minorities. The social democratic organizations, for example, which began to spread all over the territory from 1890 onwards were less persecuted because of the loyalty their leaders displayed toward the monarchy and their apparent indifference to nationalism. The creation of the trade unions was permitted according to the law on associations and was never questioned even in times of workers’ unrest. Neither were Catholic workers’ organizations or parties suspected of undermining the state. Religious organizations were considered harmless as long as they did not engage in explicit national demands. This was rarely the case since the Churches were one of the strongest pillars of the monarchy, so much so that some of their leaders were criticized by national activists for their docility toward the state. Afraid of “losing” souls and minds, some religious associations became more nationally oriented, the best example being the Cyril and Methodius Association active in Brünn and in Trieste.

Associative life in the Habsburg Empire developed at a considerable pace from the 1870s on. Until the adoption of universal suffrage in Austria in 1907, associations were an alternative to the lack of political expression through elections, but their success did not slow after suffrage was enacted. In Hungary, too, associative life came to be part of the social environment. The national divisions multiplied the number of associations as each group wanted to have its own organizations. Emulation and competition played a decisive role in the social life of a town. The already mentioned student associations were a mirror of this diversity. Associations were a part of the famous Austro-Hungarian sociability, together with other popular habits like cafés and balls. They completed the range of social codes: one had to be a member of a corporation and of associations in order to exist in the elite of the city. But soon associations also gathered people belonging to the more modest layers of society. Access to education was an accelerating factor for the entry to the associations’ networks. Before 1867, only churches and corporations were available as gathering places for men and women. The development of associations contributed to the secularization of society by offering a wider choice for collective action.

Charity remained an important field of activity for women, but it was no longer the only one. As workers struggled to obtain the reduction of working hours, they aimed to get more free time not just for rest but also for associative life, and cultural and political action. Associations were able to organize entertainment, education, and demonstrations that made the town livelier and more open. The more multicultural the city, the more diverse and numerous the associations were. Unsurprisingly, Temesvár was one of the most diverse towns in this respect, and a comparison of the annuals and records of the associations shows that many people belonged to more than one.⁶ The local nobility, entrepreneurs, and city elites were expected to act as leaders and benefactors of the associations, and they often supported two or three associations at a time.⁷

The typology of the associations grew increasingly diverse up until World War I. From a general cultural aspect, they diversified into more specialized actions: culture encompassed a wide range of activities from education to libraries, reading circles, and amateur theaters. Instruction for adults who had dropped out of school was an important matter as well as access to books and journals. Charity developed from the traditional care for the poor to help needy students. Economic associations evolved into credit institutions and banks with a distinctive national goal. Gymnastics was an expression of the *zeitgeist*, and the model of the German *Turnverein* led others (Slavs, Italians) to create their own gymnastics movements in order to train body and mind, a goal shared by most national movements aiming at the strengthening of their respective nation's vitality. Other sports, such as cycling, football, sailing, swimming, ice skating and tennis, also became popular, and clubs were created to organize their practice. The range of action of these many associations was either national, with implications all over the monarchy or at least in the province; or they were limited to local action inside the city and its immediate vicinity. Many of them were short-lived and were not able to maintain their activity for lack of sufficient membership and financial support.

Associations depended for their existence on the generosity of their members and on subsidies. The latter could be obtained directly from the state if the association had a national range, or from the province or the municipality for local ones. Thus, the authorities were able to "choose" which associations they

6 This multiple membership, and sponsoring, was already pointed out by Gary B. Cohen in his book *The Politics of Ethnic Survival*.

7 See some examples for Western Hungary in *Vállalkozó polgárok a Dunántúlon a dualizmus korában* [Entrepreneurial citizens in Transdanubia at the time of the Compromise] (Veszprém: Laczkó Dezső Múzeum, 1995).

would help, giving a clear indication of their orientation. Municipalities led by a strong national majority were not willing to finance the activities of associations belonging to the minority. Provincial diets were generally more balanced, and their support could offer an appreciable alternative. Therefore, Czech associations in Brünn could expect nothing from the town hall but could hope for support from the Moravian Diet where the Czechs had gained the majority; the same situation may be assumed for the Slovenes of Trieste. To some extent the municipality may also have had an interest in maintaining ultraquist associations which benefited all citizens, including local institutions like museums, hospitals, the Red Cross, the voluntary fire fighters, or the rescue brigade.

CULTURAL ASSOCIATIONS AS POLITICAL ACTORS

Most associations were cultural, while other categories included charity, entertainment, and sports. One association could well belong to more than one category, combining charity and culture, or culture and entertainment, and so on. The “political” organizations were generally hidden behind cultural or charity associations, as well as sports in the case of gymnastics movements. National groups began to organize their own associations as soon as the constitutional laws allowed it. Their first aim was to “educate” their compatriots by teaching them national feelings that they were not necessarily aware of. The associations played a key role in the “invention” of traditions, historical consciousness, and memory.

In the Slavic lands, this task was fulfilled by the various *Matices*, which were created well before 1848 but transformed into more political organizations after 1867. They had a regional dimension, and their activity encompassed the whole province or *Kronland*. Their goal was to promote the language—if not to help define and build the literary language of a people—and culture of the nation, and they worked parallel to schools where the national idiom was not taught. They published dictionaries and literary works in order to provide enough written material in the given language. In the *Vormärz* period, the authorities had nothing to say against their activities, in which they saw innocent folklorist ambitions. All Slavic peoples were able to constitute their own national cultural associations, starting with the so-called historical nations who could claim historical rights. The Serbs were first, with their *Matica srpska* founded in 1826 in Karlowitz (Sremski Karlovci),⁸ followed by the Croats with the *Matica ilirska*

⁸ It was transferred in 1864 to Novi Sad (Újvidék, Neusatz).

created in 1842 and transformed in 1874 into the *Matica hrvatska*, and a distinct Dalmatian *Matica* founded in Zara (Zadar) in 1862. Most of the associations were created later during the 1860s as the liberalization of the neo-absolutist system proceeded. The Slovaks created their *Matica slovenská* in Turócszentmárton (Turčiansky svätý Martin) in 1863; one year later the Slovenes founded the *Slovenska matica* in Laibach. The Ruthenians had various cultural organizations reflecting their national-political division between Russophiles and Young Ruthenians, though a Galician-Ruthenian *Matica* (*Halyc'ka-Rus'ka Matyca*) was founded in the wake of the People's Spring in 1848. One of the main cultural institutions was the Shevchenko Society founded in 1873 in Lemberg, where most of the other associations were also based.⁹ From the beginning of the nineteenth century the Czechs concentrated their activity in Prague and were able to build many organizations promoting language and literature. Moravia came to the movement later and here the Czechs had specific provincial organizations that were often not linked to the Prague associations. Such was the aforementioned *Matica školská*, an organization deriving from the *Matica Moravská* that covered the entire territory of Moravia in order to compete with the network of the German *Schulverein*. The Romanians were divided religiously as well as territorially, a fact that prevented the creation of a central association: those in Banat were more active and urbanized than the Transylvanians and backed by a stronger religious structure (Orthodoxy) that also enabled them to establish better contacts with the Romanian kingdom (*Regat*).

In the course of the second half of the nineteenth century all these movements were able to gain ground thanks to growing literacy and the increased mobilization of their membership. Urbanization played a decisive role in this phenomenon. An exception was constituted by the Slovaks whose *Matica* was suppressed by the Hungarian authorities; the rural character of the population did not allow the creation of significant associations in the cities of Upper Hungary and only the Budapest Slovaks were able to create their own organizations (workers, banks, etc.). As in Cisleithania, peasants were slow to be convinced of their "national" belonging; activists long had difficulty making themselves heard in the countryside.¹⁰ The absence of schooling in the national language at the secondary level also did much to prevent the development

9 See for all these associations the respective chapters in Wandruszka and Urbanitsch, eds., *Die Habsburgermonarchie 1848–1918*, vol. 3/1–2, *Die Völker des Reiches*.

10 For Galicia, see Kai Struve, "Peasants and Patriotic Celebrations in Habsburg Galicia," in *Galicia: A Multicultural Land*, ed. Christopher Hann and Paul R. Magocsi (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005), 103–37.

of a real associative movement of the Slovaks; the same is true of the Romanians, who, however, did a little better thanks to church organizations and their leaders. The Serbs in Hungary had a long tradition of autonomy, but this was essentially a religious one and the trend toward secularization was slow and characterized by conflict. The “capitals” of the national movements were not always located in the bigger cities but in places where the group had its cultural centers—often linked to a religious authority—and a significant number of inhabitants. Among our cities, only Lemberg qualified as the center of Ruthenian culture because of the concentration of the population. Zagreb played a particular role as well for the Croats because of historical tradition and the fact that the city became the uncontested capital of Croatia-Slavonia after 1868. No other Dalmatian city could compete with Zagreb where the main cultural institutions were concentrated. The homogenization of the city led to the near extinction of German cultural life at the end of the century.

Hungarian associational life

Aware of the national diversity of the Hungarian kingdom, the Hungarian authorities were eager to provide the tools for Magyarization beyond the schooling system. For that purpose, they created or appropriated cultural associations that worked in the various parts of the land in order to “nationalize” public life. As far as our cities are concerned, two of these associations were the main actors of this policy. The cultural association for Transylvanian Hungary (*Erdélyrészi Magyar Közművelődési Egyesület*, abbreviated in EMKE) was created in 1885 and in the following years opened chapters in most of the important towns of the province. The association also tried to encourage the foundation of local cultural associations named after a more or less native intellectual.¹¹ In Nagyvárad, for example, this led to the creation of the *Szigligeti-társaság* (Szigligeti Society) named after Ede Szigligeti (1814–1878), born in Nagyvárad, who had been director of the National Theater in Budapest.¹² The EMKE was the second of such initiatives, the first one having been established in 1882 in Upper Hungary (*Felvidéki Magyar Közművelődési Egyesület*) under the same principles.¹³ The earlier mentioned Toldy Circle in

11 József Láng, *A szigligeti-társaság első tíz éve* [The first ten years of the Szigligeti Society] (Nagyvárad: Láng József kiadása, 1902), 7.

12 The town's theater was later named after him. Dezső Fehér, ed., *Bihar-Bihar megye: Oradea-Nagyvárad kulturtörténete és öregdiákjainak emlékkönyve* [Cultural history of the Bihar County and memorial of former students] (Oradea: Sonnenfeld Adolf, 1933–1937), 69.

13 Puttkamer, *Schulalltag und nationale Integration in Ungarn*, 207.



Figure 5.1. Szigligeti Theater, Nagyvárad, 1907. Source: Fortepan, 86865, Magyar Földrajzi Múzeum, Mór Erdélyi.

Pozsony was one of its offshoots, and its action was directed against German and Slovak minorities.

At the beginning of the 1900s, an organization for southern Hungary (*Dél-magyarországi Közművelődési Egyesület*, DMKE) was created under the same pattern. Branches began to open in other cities, and Antal Glacz, the prefect of Nagyvárad, wanted it to be present there as well although, Nagyvárad being more on the east than south, there was no real geographical justification for it. Therefore, he proposed to give it a regional dimension by putting it under the control of the county. Supported by the Ministry of Religion and Public Education, he succeeded in founding the *Biharmegyei Magyar Közművelődési Egyesület* (Bihar County Cultural Association) at the end of 1908. Bihar County was at the time considered by Hungarian activists to be a sensitive borderland, and they wanted to “define and defend the Hungarian-Romanian border.” The region was “constructed” as a barrier against the Romanians and at the same time as a bridge for the Hungarians living there.¹⁴ This, however, was merely an imaginary border that corresponded more to geographical and ecclesiastical administrative boundaries than to genuine linguistic divisions.¹⁵ Ultimately, the Bihar County Cultural Association, which was created as an alternative to

14 Robert Nemes, “Mapping the Hungarian Borderlands,” in *Shatterzone of Empires*, ed. Bartov and Weitz, 210.

15 *Ibid.*, 212.

DMKE, became a branch of the latter, gathering the elite of Nagyvárad with the prefect being elected its chairman, the prefect adjunct named vice-chairman, and the local bishop also appointed to the board.¹⁶

The choice of the seat for DMKE gave rise to a conflict between the two rival cities of Szeged and Temesvár; just as in the case of the university in Pozsony, the authorities of Temesvár insisted on the necessity to install the institution there because the Hungarian language was still not predominant, while Szeged was seen as already homogenously Hungarian. The government ultimately chose the bigger city, but in order to ease the discontent of Temesvár and other towns, chapters were created in nearly all of the county seats of southern Hungary.¹⁷ Still, Temesvár advocated for the creation of a second regional center of the association by pulling together the branches of Temes, Krassó-Szörény, Békés, and Arad counties, which would automatically enhance the regional ambitions of Temesvár.¹⁸

The justifications put forward combined historical as well as geographical factors, along with ethnographical ones by demonstrating the necessity to Magyarize the Banat.¹⁹ Activists drew imaginary borders that rarely followed historical boundaries, revealing a clear political agenda. The demands of Temesvár were supported even by Arad, which was otherwise always ready to challenge the Banat capital. Arad's Mayor Károly Telbisz declared publicly his support for Temesvár becoming a regional center of the DMKE, arguing in favor of Magyarization as well as for obvious reasons of proximity.²⁰ Ultimately, however, this ambition was not fulfilled and instead in 1905, a branch of the DMKE was founded in Arad whose activity extended over Banat, Bács-Bodrog, and Maros counties.²¹ Szabadka was also interested in participating in the activities of the DMKE but the city was not considered important enough to justify the opening of a chapter there. Therefore, the local authorities pragmatically gave their support to Szeged as the seat of the organization, despite the rivalry between the two cities.²²

16 *Szabadság: Politikai, társadalmi, kereskedelmi és közgazdászati lap; A közjogi ellenzék közlönye*, no. 294, December 22, 1908.

17 Adolf Steiner, *Temesvár és a DMKE* [Temesvár and the DMKE] (Temesvár: Mangold Sándor nyomda, 1905), 4.

18 *Ibid.*, 7.

19 *Ibid.*, 13.

20 *Temesvarer Zeitung*, no. 285, December 15, 1903.

21 *Arad és Vidéke: Politikai, társadalmi és közgazdasági napilap*, June 17, 1905.

22 "Temesvár Szeged ellen" [Temesvár against Szeged], *Bácskai Hírlap: Társadalmi, közgazdasági és szépirodalmi lap*, June 10, 1903.

Associations in Cisleithania

All Hungarian associations enjoyed a position of hegemony, which, however, did not prevent competition between them. The same could be said for German associations in Cisleithania, but there democratization had reached a higher level, enabling national minorities to challenge German domination more seriously. Many German associations were organized in a centralized way, such as the education and gymnastics movements, the *Deutscher Schulverein* and *Turnverein*, allowing them to cover Cisleithania from Trieste to Czernowitz, and build networks that paralleled those of the political parties. The associations of defense (*Schutzvereine*) contributed undoubtedly to what Pieter Judson calls the “nationalization of the landscape” by being present in the smallest towns.²³ Since Germans were present in all provinces, the range of action of these associations was wider and more efficient than any other national organization, most of whose influence remained circumscribed in a regional frame. The German associations also had the advantage of being older and more rooted in the cities than the ones created by the minorities that had to struggle to gain ground.

Though Italian and Polish associations were also in a dominant position, their influence remained limited to the immediate environment of their respective provinces. In the Italian case, irredentism allowed the creation of associations that were disguised political movements such as the *Lega nazionale* and its branch for the teachers, the *Lega degli insegnanti*.²⁴ In the same category the gymnastics movement openly agitated for irredentism and was subsequently forbidden. The *Lega nazionale* was created in 1891 following the outlawing of a first patriotic society called *Pro Patria* that the authorities had dissolved in 1890.²⁵ The *Lega nazionale* started its activities outside Trieste, and though its actions were significant inside the city, its main results were obtained in the *territorio* and in Istria. In its first years it remained a

23 Pieter M. Judson, “Tourismus, Nationalisierung der Landschaft und lokales Identitätsmanagement um die Jahrhundertwende: Böhmen, die Steiermark, und Trentino/Südtirol,” in *Regionale und nationale Identitäten: Wechselwirkungen und Spannungsfelder im Zeitalter nationaler Staatlichkeit*, ed. Peter Haslinger (Würzburg: Ergon, 2000), 113–28.

24 *La Lega degli insegnanti: Sua attività e onestà* (Trieste: Amati & Donoli 1906), 5. See also Diana De Rosa, *Gocce di inchiostro: Gli asili, scuole, ricreatori doposcuola della Lega nazionale; Sezione adriatica* (Udine: Del Bianco editore, 2000).

25 Attilio Tamaro, *Trieste et son rôle antigermanique* (Paris: Georges Cres & Cie, 1917), 57. The same anxiety about the spread of irredentism led authorities to forbid another society in 1891, the *Società del progresso*, see *Diario Triestino 1815–1915: Cent'anni di lotta nazionale* (Milan: Rava & Cie, 1915), 17. See also De Rosa, *Gocce di inchiostro*, 18–23.

cultural and educational organization whose purpose was nevertheless extremely clear: Italianizing the Slavs and promoting Italian nationalism. The association was cautious not to attract the attention of the authorities and was thus able to develop at a spectacular rate; by the end of 1911, the *Lega* had 179 groups counting 42,000 members, and had opened 113 libraries. In Trieste itself the *Lega* claimed to have 11,000 members and its libraries registered 34,000 readers.²⁶ The *Societa di ginnastica* was less careful about hiding its subversive motives, and the authorities were suspicious of it from the beginning. The movement, created in 1863, was banned five times, but each time succeeded in resuming its actions. The police searched its rooms many times on suspicion that they might set off bombs or otherwise threaten public safety, and indeed starting in 1879 small explosives were periodically thrown during celebrations organized by the *Luogotenenza*, or against Austrian personalities. In July 1904, the president of the *Societa di ginnastica* was even arrested when the police discovered bombs in the offices of the association. Its leaders claimed they were deposited by the police itself in order to accuse them of subversion. Following this, the association was again suspended but soon re-created; in December 1913 it was able to celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of its existence and despite the interdictions claimed to have 3,200 members.²⁷ In the meantime the municipality created its own *Associazione triestina di ginnastica* that was responsible for organizing gym lessons in the public schools of the town and was completely uninvolved in politics.²⁸

Faced with the proliferation of Italian associations, in 1887 the Slovenes founded their own, the *Bratovščina sv. Cirila in Metodija* (Confraternity of Saints Cyril and Methodius) located in the quarter of San Giacomo, while the Croats of Trieste had their own association under the name of *Družba Sv. Cirila i Metoda*, which originated from Istria.²⁹ Both associations fought against the Italianization of their compatriots, but the fact that they were under the control of Catholic priests made them prey to anticlerical critiques even from their own compatriots. The Catholic character of Slovene associative life in Trieste was strengthened by the existence of another religious association for women, the *Marijina družba za katoliške Slovenke v Trstu* (Marian

26 Ibid., 26.

27 Ibid., 29.

28 *Cenni statistici sulle scuole comunali*, 51.

29 Johann Androvič, *Die Triester Frage in ihrem Verhältnis zu Österreich und Italien* vol. 2 (Triest, 1917), 123. On the confrontation with Lega nazionale, see De Rosa, *Gocce di inchiostro*, 54–55.

association for the Catholic Slovene women in Trieste) notwithstanding the fact that the Cyril and Methodius Association had its own women's section (*Ženska podružnica*). The Slovene newspapers, including the women's newspaper *Slovenka* and the newspaper of the Slovene faction of the Christian Social Party, regularly appealed for support for the association.

The two Slavic apostles also gave their name to the Czech Catholic association in Brünn that pursued more or less the same goal as its South Slavic counterparts, along with charity and education. Here, however, the expression of national identity through Catholicism was subject to debate, and there was an undeniable competition between Czech secular organizations and the Cyril and Methodius Association. "Our national community is a Catholic community," exclaimed a publication reporting on the first gathering of Catholic associations in Brünn in 1894.³⁰ The Cyril and Methodius Association was founded in 1885, well after other Czech associations of "defense." Catholics and the Church hierarchy were slow to adhere to nationalism, the development of which was thus left to lay organizations. There was a clear imitation of the *Sokol* movement already in the greetings the members used to address each other: instead of the secular salutation "*Na zdar*" (Good luck) the Catholics said "*Zdar Buh*" (Hail to God). In the beginning, the Cyril and Methodius Association was exclusively devoted to charity, but this was extended to support for Czech students in the town's Czech schools. The association then turned to workers in order to "save" them from socialism and from Czech anticlerical political movements, and at the beginning of the twentieth century they opened a dormitory in town for young workers and students.³¹ A ladies' committee was created, which was a significant step because previously women had tended to be indifferent to the national cause and engaged mainly in utraquist Catholic charity organizations. The association also opened a savings bank, the *Cyrillo-Methodějská záložna*, which was an instrument of charity and provided scholarships as well as loans. It was in obvious competition with the first Czech savings bank, *Živnostenská banka*, that had already established a branch in Brünn, and the other savings banks and financial institutions that were being created all over Bohemia and Moravia to help Czech capital invest in "national" firms.

30 "Náboženství národa našeho jest náboženství katolické," *První Sjezd katolíků česko-slovanských v Brně 1894* [First gathering of the Czech Catholics in Brünn on July 30 and 31, 1894] (Brünn: Benediktinerdr. 1894), 12.

31 *Stanovy Cyrillo-Methodějského domu v Brně* [Statutes of the Cyril and Methodius House in Brünn] (Brünn: Benedikt. Knihtisk., 1902).

Political associations such as the *Lega nazionale* created their own marketing strategies. They collected money through the selling of stamps or matchboxes. For example, the *Lega* sold stamps for its benefit, while the socialist newspaper *Lavoratore* sold matches with the portrait of “Carlo Marx.” Matches were also produced for the benefit of the Hungarian EMKE by a local factory in Temesvár that employed 380 workers in 1908.³² But most of the activity of the associations concentrated on social and cultural events with publicity being used as a demonstration of strength and power. Apart from the educational work of teaching, libraries, and reading circles, public activities served the purpose of reassuring their compatriots of the legitimacy of the national cause and showing the other groups their potential for mobilization. As seen in the case of Brünn in October 1905, confrontations could reach dramatic dimensions, but most of the time the celebrations went on peacefully. There were many occasions for staging such events: commemorations of the great names and dates of the national consciousness were some of the most frequent reasons, as were the inaugurations of buildings, statues, and memorials of persons associated to one particular group.

Associations also succeeded in inventing their own calendars. The most significant example of that was the *Sokol* festival held each year at the end of June in all Slavic lands of the monarchy. Started in 1862 in the Bohemian lands, the gymnastics movement initiated by Miroslav Tyrš and Jindřich Fügner was an imitation of the German *Turnverein*. It rapidly spread all over Bohemia and Moravia, and by the end of the 1860s more than sixty chapters existed. From there it reached the other Slavs of the monarchy and soon each national group created its own *Sokol* movement. Thus Poles, Slovaks, Ruthenians, Slovenes and Croats organized their annual gymnastics show (*slet*), generally at the end of June; bigger gatherings also took place which delegates from all the *Sokol* associations of the monarchy joined. Slavic solidarity and relations between Slavic nationalities was expressed by visits to these occasions. The Croats visited the first Polish meeting of the *Sokol* in Cracow in 1884, and in Lemberg in 1891. The famous Prague meeting of 1903 was attended by the Lemberg delegates. The Croats for their part sent a delegation to the Slovene “*zlet*” staged in 1904 in Laibach. The Czechs organized an excursion to Zagreb

32 Jenő Lendvai, *Temesvár város közgazdasági leírása* [Economic description of Temesvár] (Budapest, 1908), 34.

on the occasion of the local *slet* in 1906.³³ Most of these movements published their own journals to inform people of their activities, arouse interest, and appeal for membership.

Slavic solidarity, however, was not universal. In towns where Slavic populations were the majority, there was no objection to the association. In Zagreb, for example, the municipality gave the authorization to build a house for the *Sokol*,³⁴ and the building was inaugurated in January 1885.³⁵ But when later a Serbian *Sokol* was formed there, it participated in the Croatian gatherings but was sometimes suspected of pan-Serbian intentions. An example of open hostility took place at the announcement of the Sarajevo assassination of Archduke Francis Ferdinand on June 28, 1914, when a furious mob shouted insults and broke the windows of the Serbian *Sokol* on Preradović Square.³⁶

Tensions between Poles and Ruthenians in Lemberg also touched the *Sokol* organization, which was divided into two distinct associations. There the Polish *Sokol* (*Towarzystwo gymnastyczne "Sokol Macierz"*), founded in 1879, enjoyed a position of quasi hegemony and was responsible for the gym lessons in the town's schools.³⁷ The reports in the Polish press about the *Sokol* showed regard for Czech and Croatian "brothers" (the word used between members), but practically none for Ruthenians.³⁸ There was a small Czech association (*Czeska beseda*) in Lemberg that participated in the gatherings organized by the Poles. The Ruthenians took part as well, but the reports made by the press gave the impression that everyone had their own version of the event. Indeed, in reporting on the gathering in Prague the Ruthenian newspaper *Golos Naroda* presents the "Galician-Ruthenian" delegation only from the Ruthenian point of view. The pictures chosen to illustrate the marches prominently showed Russian, Bulgarian, and Ruthenian delegations, without mentioning the Poles.³⁹

33 *Výletní Listy české obce sokolské k I. sletu "Chorvatského Sokolstva" v Záhřebu dne 1.–4. září 1906: Pak k výletu do Dalmacie a na Černou horu dne 4.–12. září 1906* [Excursion bulletin of the Czech Sokol at the Croatian Sokol in Zagreb on September 1–4, 1906] (Prague: Gregr & sons, 1906), 3.

34 "Hrvatski sokol," *Agramer Zeitung*, no. 100, May 1, 1882.

35 "Hrvatski sokol," *Agramer Zeitung*, no. 26, February 3, 1885.

36 "Demonstracije u gradu" [Demonstrations in town], *Jutarnji List*, no. 702, July 1, 1914.

37 *Sprawozdanie dyrekcyi prywatnego gimnazyum żeńskiego z prawem publiczności im. Juliusza Słowackiego za rok szkolny 1912–13* [Report of the board of the Julius Slowacki private gymnasium for girls for the school year 1912–13] (Lemberg: Nakładem towarzystwo prywatnego gimnazyum żeńskiego, 1913), 29.

38 "Zjazd Sokolów" [Meeting of the Sokol], *Gazeta Narodowa*, no. 135, June 5, 1892.

39 *Golos Naroda: Iljustrovannaja politično-prosvetitel'naja gazeta dlja ruskogo naroda*, no. 27, July 6/19, 1912.

In towns like Trieste, where Slavs were a minority, the groups worked together. The Slovene *Sokol* association in Trieste (*Tršćanski sokol*) was joined by the local Croats. The board was composed of delegates coming from Trieste as well as from the hinterland, and meetings and exercises took place in the room belonging to the Slovene reading hall (*slovenska čitalnica*).⁴⁰ The demonstrations of the Triestine *Sokol* took place in the Slovene villages of the *territorio* (Prosecco-Prosek, Opicina/Opčina), where angry Italians often disturbed them before the arrival of gendarmes sent to restore order.

Though to a lesser extent, tensions also characterized the activities of the *Sokol* in Brünn, which was older and rooted in a larger territory extending into Bohemia. The Moravian *Sokol* (*Tělocvičná jednota Sokol*) was created in 1872, and by the turn of the century had around 35 chapters in the province with 4,500 members.⁴¹ At the end of 1909, the Brünn association counted 532 members. The recently constituted women's section there had fourteen members but in the wider association, where women had been accepted as early as the end of the 1870s, there were a total of 130 active female members. The group enjoyed a vast room inside of the *Besední dům* and organized some of its training sessions in the Czech technical school. One of the largest gatherings was to take place on the last weekend of June 1914 but the festivities were interrupted by the news of the Sarajevo murders. Some 35,000 participants had come to Brünn at this occasion and the local German *Burschenschaften*, as well as groups coming from Vienna and Graz, had planned a protest, but everything stopped after news of the assassination broke.⁴² The *Sokol* was not accepted unanimously by the Czechs. The Catholic associations saw it as an anticlerical movement and even forbade their members to join it,⁴³ while leaders of the youth movement *Orel*, patronized by the Christian Social Party, organized concurrent gatherings also called "*slet*" to attract young participants.⁴⁴ The second and third of these took place in Kroměříž, and the leaders argued over the number of participants and tried to show that they had a greater audience than the *Sokol*.

40 *Vestník Tržaške Sokolske župe* [News bulletin of the Triestine Sokol Group] (Trieste: Edinost, 1912), 15.

41 Frantisek I. Bauer, *Brno* (Telč: Emil Scholz, 1892), 199.

42 Selke, "Die Technische Hochschule zu Brünn und ihr Korporationswesen," 69.

43 *Křesťanský Sociál* [The Christian-Social] (Brünn: Vseodborove sdružení), Almanac for 1913, 51.

44 On Sokol in the Bohemian lands and its relations with Orel movement, see Nolte, *The Sokol in the Czech Lands to 1914*, 154.

THE SONG OF THE NATION: CHOIRS

One of the most significant expressions of the construction of national culture was the creation of choirs, which went along with the rediscovery of folk songs and the development of national operas.⁴⁵ As had happened with gymnastics movements, Slavic choirs were formed parallel to German *Gesangvereine*, and there was both a competition to prove that Slavic folklore was as powerful as German folklore, and an attempt to create new operatic music to challenge German opera and Lied. The German choirs mainly performed works by Schubert, Brahms and of course Wagner, whose popularity grew constantly in the second half of the nineteenth century. Some composers also worked entirely for choirs, especially in smaller towns where original choral works were written for local churches. But soon choirs came to have a secular character too, even if many of them still performed for religious services. One of the most famous Czech composers, Leoš Janáček (1854–1928) was a native of Moravia and worked all his life in Brunn as a choirmaster and composer, starting his activity as a young man working for local churches. Inspired by Moravian folk music he composed choral church music as well as profane works for the various choirs he taught and performed with. Active on many levels of musical life in Brunn (schools, churches, opera, and theater) he was the leading figure behind the choirs of the town, and can be considered an utraquist personality because he worked for German choirs, while still helping Czech associations, and remained for a long time confined to local fame without enjoying the reputation of Smetana or Dvořák. He more or less chose his side, however, when he wrote a piano sonata to mark the death of the worker František Pavlík during the 1905 demonstration; entitled “1.X.1905,” the sonata was performed for the first time in Brunn in January 1906 by pianist Ludmila Tučková (1882–1960) and from then on took the name “From the Street.” Thanks to Janáček’s action, which was followed by many others, Moravian choirs became famous all over the empire and were called to perform in various choral festivals. Choral competitions became a popular feature of entertainment in many towns, and choral associations multiplied, their development going hand in hand with the increased recognition of folk music. In Hungary this was due in large part to the ethnographical work done

45 On this, see Didier Francfort, *Le chant des nations: Musiques et cultures en Europe 1870–1914* (Paris: Hachette, 2004); particularly the chapter concerning choral music, 271–98.

by Béla Bartók in Transylvania, and Zoltán Kodály in both Transylvania and Upper Hungary (Slovakia).

The Germans in Brünn had the *Brünner Männergesangverein*, founded in 1861 by Otto Kitzler, who was also among the initiators of the *Musikverein* one year later. Other German choirs were linked to corporative associations like the *Brünner Typographen Sängerbund* and the *Akademiker Gesangverein*. The *Frohsinn* choir was founded in 1871, and the *Deutscher Sängerbund* in 1886;⁴⁶ the latter was explicitly nationalist and its motto, with words by Friedrich Müller and music by Kitzler, said: “*Ein Mahnruf geht durchs Mährerland, seid deutsch und treu mit Herz und Hand. Treu, ja treu mit Herz und Hand.*”⁴⁷ Both *Männergesangverein* and *Sängerbund* were regular performers at the celebrations of the *Turnverein* and appeared at every German festivity. A women’s choir (*Damenchor*) was later created inside the *Männergesangverein*. Members and sponsors of the German choirs included the municipality, represented by Mayor d’Elvert; important personalities of the town like the Jewish families Gomperz and Bettelheim; and local aristocrats such as Counts Belcredi, Kaunitz, and Stadion, Princesses Lobkowitz and Liechtenstein, and Prince Windischgrätz.⁴⁸ The Czechs had their own agenda that closely followed the German one; their musical association was even founded one year before the *Musikverein*, in 1861. Named the *Beseda brněnská*, it became Janáček’s main source of work, and he composed for it from his arrival in town in 1878 until his death. He also founded the women’s choir of the association. Unable to gather the same means and infrastructures as the Germans, the *Beseda* started as a choir, but it was able to quickly expand and attracted considerable membership, with around 300 persons at the beginning of the twentieth century.⁴⁹ The association professionalized its activities by organizing concerts with orchestras and musicians from Prague, mainly the Czech Philharmonic, which played for the celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of the association in April 1910.⁵⁰ The repertoire included of course German and international pieces but

46 Bauer, *Brno*, 65.

47 “A call is spread throughout Moravia, be German and true with heart and hand. True, yes, true with heart and hand.” In Jitka Bajgarová, *Hudební spolky v Brně a jejich role při utváření “Hudebního obrazu” města 1860–1918* [The music associations in Brünn and their role in the formation of the “Musical image” of the city 1860–1918] (Brno: Centrum pro studium demokracie a kultury, 2005), 27.

48 Josef Effenberger, *Denkschrift des Brünner Musik-Vereines zum Jubiläum seines am 22. November 1887 erreichten 25jährigen Bestandes* (Brünn: Carl Winiker, 1887), 51.

49 Bauer, *Brno*, 59.

50 *Pamatník Filharmonického Spolku Besedy Brněnské: 1860–1910* [Memorial of the Philharmonic Association of Brünn Beseda] (Brünn: Kalous, 1910), 78.

works by Smetana and Dvořák were performed regularly from the beginning of the 1880s onwards. Other Czech associations had their own choirs, like the academic choir *Zora* (Dawn) founded in 1866, and *Hlahol* (Carillon) created in 1885 from a workers' initiative.⁵¹ Czech typographers also formed a choir together with their association *Veleslavin*, as had the German typographers.

As soon as Germans were present in a town, they created a men's choir. This was even the case in Trieste, despite the strong tradition of Italian opera, where the *Triester Männergesang-Verein* was founded in 1886 with the motto: "*Des deutschen Liedes Hort an den südlichsten Marken der Monarchie*" (The stronghold of German song at the southernmost margin of the monarchy). It was housed in the premises of the association *Austria* and its members were mainly Austrian civil servants. In 1894, it had 207 members and was officially supported by the *Luogotenenza*. The association was linked to comparable choirs of the region (Tyrol, Carinthia), which it visited, and received guests from Austria to animate its celebrations. Festivities united other local Austrian choirs like the Railways' choir, and the association contributed to many activities organized by German-speaking groups; the mention of Brünn among the partner associations in Cisleithania is not a surprise.⁵² The association was one of the leading organizations behind the initiative, launched in 1895, to build a German house in Trieste, though the project ultimately did not succeed,⁵³ and the association occasionally rented the house built by the *Turnverein* in 1903.⁵⁴

There was often cooperation between associations in order to show a united national profile, even more so when the group represented a small minority, but again this was not an absolute rule and political differences could present an obstacle. The Italians reacted relatively late to the creation of German and Slovene choirs—most of the Slovene associations had their own—probably out of the claim to be a people of "natural" singers. The Italian choirs association was founded only in 1901 on the occasion of the death of Giuseppe Verdi, whose name had been given to the main theater. The purpose of the *Unione corale Giuseppe Verdi* was to form a group of professional choir singers of both genders to be employed in the city's theaters.⁵⁵ Just as in Trieste, the Hungarians in Fiume created their own choir (*Magyar daloskör*), and the Royal

51 Bauer, *Brno*, 63.

52 August Sever, *Triester Männergesang-Verein: Vereins-Geschichte über die Zeitperiode vom 1. Nov. 1893 bis 31. October 1896* (Trieste: Buchdr. des österr. Lloyd, 1897), 81.

53 *Ibid.*, 43.

54 Karl Schuler, *Festschrift zur Fünfzigjahrfeier des "Turnverein Eintracht" in Triest 1864–1914* (Trieste: Buchdruckerei Lloyd, 1914), 20.

55 *Statuto della Societa "Unione corale Giuseppe Verdi" in Trieste* (Trieste: Morterra, 1901), 1.

Hungarian Railways had their choir as well (*MÁV altiszti kör*). Here the main competitor seems to have been the Croatian choir *Jadranska vila*, founded in 1898, which had its seat in Sušak where most of the activity of the association took place in the reading room.⁵⁶

The multicultural character of Czernowitz gave rise to many choirs. Without taking into account corporate choirs like those of the typographers and printers (*Bruchdrucker-Gesangsclub*), each group had at least one. Here the situation was enriched by the tradition of Orthodox Church choirs, and religious singing was a subject of teaching at the seminary. Thus, the Romanians had their choir association *Armonia*. The Germans had of course a *Männergesangverein* which celebrated its jubilee in 1893 in the presence of other choirs including the Brünner homologue.⁵⁷ The Jews had a *Jüdischer Gesangverein* that apparently remained neutral and did not engage in the debate about Zionism. Apart from the *Männergesangverein* and the church choirs, most associations included men and women in their singing activities. A new association was founded in 1910 at the initiative of conductor and composer Johann Julius Josefowicz under the name of *Lyra*, which was open to both genders.⁵⁸

As already mentioned, Temesvár was one of the most dynamic cities in terms of associative life, partly because of the mobilization of the Germans who were eager not to be “swallowed up” by growing Magyarization. The first choir was created there in 1867 and by 1908 there were thirteen choirs with 1,326 members.⁵⁹ The main German association, the *Philharmonischer Verein*, was created in 1871 by restaurant owner August Pummer, who remained the chairman until his death in 1893. Shortly thereafter the association mutated into the Hungarian *Zenekedvelő Egyesület* (Association of Music Lovers), which immediately came into competition with the already existing Hungarian choirs. Both choirs had female singers that enabled them to perform the entire lyrical repertoire.⁶⁰

Choirs were created in each of Temesvár’s districts, explaining the variety of choral associations: in Gyárváros (*Fabrik*) there were the Hungarian *Temesvár-gyárvárosi zene- és dalegylet* (Music and Singing Association of Temesvár-Gyárváros), *Magyarország nagyasszonyáról címzett temesvár-gyárvárosi*

56 *La Voce del popolo: Giornale quotidiano*, no. 3088, May 16, 1898.

57 *Bukowinaer Rundschau*, no. 1319, July 18, 1893.

58 *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung*, no. 1927, June 19, 1910. It is relevant to note that Josefowicz was also the author of a “patriotic chorus” entitled *Heil dir Habsburg! Patriotisches Festlied (für Männerquartett)*, Op. 82, based on a text by Josef Erler.

59 Lendvai, *Temesvár város közgazdasági leírása*, 13.

60 Geml, *Alt-Temesvar im letzten Halbjahrhundert*, 342–43.

róm. kath. egyházi ének- és zeneegylet (Our Lady of Hungary Roman Catholic Church Music and Choral Association of Temesvár-Gyárváros), the *Temesvári "Turul" cipőgyár férfitalárda* (Men's Choir of the Turul Shoe Factory), as well as the Romanian Greek Catholic choir. There was another Romanian choir in Erzsébetváros and a Serbian one in the city center. The district of Ferencváros also had its own choir (*Ferencvárosi dalkör*), and the new district of Józsefváros its own Hungarian reading and singing circle (*Lelkesedés olvasó- és dalkör*).

Other choirs were active in the city center, among them those belonging to corporations including typographers (*Typographia dalegylet*), industrial workers (*Ipar-Összhang Temesvár*) and the fire brigade (*Tűzoltó dalegylet*). The two main Hungarian choirs, *Temesvári dalkör* and *Temesvári magyar dalárda* were also based in the inner district.⁶¹ The diversity of the national expressions of the choirs seems not to have been a problem in Temesvár even if there was an undeniable attempt to Magyarize the German associations. In August 1903 the annual choir festival was apparently a moment of real multiculturalism with each group attending with its respective associations.⁶² The Serbian choir was able to attract visitors from the Zagreb theater,⁶³ and choirs from other southern Hungarian towns also came, such as for the occasion of the installation of the new Serbian bishop Letić in May 1904.⁶⁴ Two months later the festivities organized for the foundation of the *Magyardalárda* united all the existing choirs of the town, including the Romanian and Serbian ones.⁶⁵

THE POLITICS OF SINGING

The utilization of singing for political purposes was not new at this time, as shown by famous Belgian and Italian examples; the latter being related directly to Habsburg domination in Lombardy and Veneto, and then in Trieste. The demonstrative singing of patriotic songs and hymns was a way for nationalists to affirm their claims. At the end of the nineteenth century practically all the nationalities of the Habsburg Empire possessed a national anthem that they sang at celebrations and demonstrations. The dynastic hymn "*Gott erhalte*" coexisted with various national songs. In Hungary there was not much space for other anthems and opposition to the omnipresence of the Hungarian

61 Kornél Farkasfalvi, *Temesvári kalauz* [Guide of Temesvár] (Temesvár: Uhrmann, 1914), 93.

62 *Temesvarer Zeitung*, no. 184, August 14, 1903.

63 *Temesvarer Zeitung*, no. 37, February 16, 1894.

64 *Temesvarer Zeitung*, no. 108, May 11, 1904.

65 *Temesvarer Zeitung*, no. 151, July 5, 1904.

Hymnusz was risky. An occurrence of that happened in Szabadka, an otherwise rather quiet town, when the city council asked the Bunjevac priest Mátyás Mamuzsics to play the Hungarian national anthem in church on the twenty-fifth anniversary of the coronation of Francis Joseph as king of Hungary (June 8, 1867), which was both a national and royal commemoration. Apparently, the priest did not want to shock his parishioners who were mostly Serbs (the first sentence of the anthem says: “God, preserve the Magyars!”). The priest succeeded in bringing the question to the agenda of the town council—he belonged to the mayor’s family—and his request puzzled the assembly. Mamuzsics gave three reasons for his refusal: first, the anthem was a secular, not a religious, song and thus did not belong in a church; second, the authors of the text were “heretics” (i.e., Protestants); and third, its performance could arouse national conflict, which had no place in a church.⁶⁶ The affair agitated the Szabadka press, where the liberals had to justify the attitude of the priest to the partisans of the independence movement who accused the Bunjevci of Pan-Slavism, a strategy obviously aimed at embarrassing the mayor whom the independentists accused of being too closely linked to the Serbs. Simon Székely, editor of the *Szabadkai Hirlap*, tried to explain the problem and had to fight against the independentist paper *Szabadság* and its editor, lawyer László Szalay, who depicted the Bunjevci as Pan-Slavic agitators undermining the Hungarian state. Admitting that the priest had indeed been wrong in his obstinacy, Székely nevertheless dismissed the conspiracy theories formulated by Szalay as “absurdities,” and saw them merely as instruments in a political campaign launched by the independentists against the mayor.⁶⁷ The affair went well beyond Szabadka and reached Budapest, where the local situation was not understood in all its complexity. Finally, the town council authorized the performance of the anthem; among the votes in favor were most of the town’s prominent personalities.⁶⁸ But *Szabadság* printed the names of the 45 “traitors” who had voted against the resolution and argued that they should have taken into consideration the fact that their opposition alienated the Bunjevci who, regardless of their language, had “a good Magyar heart.” The priest, however, refused to comply and the matter was referred to Archbishop of Kalocsa, György Császka, who after a meeting with the mayor summoned Mamuzsics and ordered him to obey. *Szabadság* rejoiced about

66 *Szabadkai Hirlap: Társadalmi, közművelődési és szépirodalmi heti közlöny*, June 12, 1892.

67 *Szabadkai Hirlap*, November 6, 1892.

68 *Szabadság*, June 19 and 21, 1892.

this “lesson” given to an obstinate priest and congratulated the archbishop as well as the town’s representatives.⁶⁹

NATIONAL INSTITUTES

Rivalry between national institutes in a given town could produce conflict but it could also encourage the development of cultural production that benefited the city and each of the groups within it thanks to education, artistic activities, and publications. One of the oldest institutions in this respect was the *Ossolineum* in Lemberg. It was founded by Joseph Maximilian Ossoliński, who also participated in the creation of the University of Lemberg. Born in Galicia in 1748 Ossoliński collected libraries from extinct families and in 1817 bought the former Carmelite Convent of Saint Agnes in Lemberg to house his collections.⁷⁰ Soon, however, the project transformed into a Polish national institution and Ossoliński is considered by other Slavic “awakeners” as a pioneer. As a foundation (*Zakład Narodowy imienia Ossolińskich*) the institute was active in the field of education as well, promoting the Polish language. Its founder died in 1826 but his work was continued by other Polish aristocrats of the land, mainly the Lubomirski family, who were the curators of the library and constantly extended its collections. Both revolutions of 1831 and 1848 caused serious setbacks in the development of the institute. At the beginning of the 1850s curator Jan Ślachtowski tried in vain to create a *Macierz Polska* on the Czech model of the *Matica* in order to “irrigate” all Galicia.⁷¹ The *Ossolineum* started to grow again in the decades following 1867. A museum and a music collection were added as well as a publishing house, thus turning it into a real research institution and library open to the public; in 1913, 2,751 readers borrowed 5,807 volumes. The library was the second largest collection of books after the university library, and well ahead of the other libraries of the town (which included the library of the polytechnical school, the public library, the Jewish library, and the private Baworowski and Pawlikowicz libraries).⁷² The *Ossolineum* played an important role after 1870, when the Polish language prevailed in Galicia and

69 Szabadság, October 23, 1892.

70 Adam Fischer, *Institut national Ossoliński: Esquisse historique* (Lemberg: Institut national Ossoliński, 1928), 27.

71 Ibid., 52.

72 *Wiadomości statystyczne o mieście Lwowie*, vol. 14, 1914, 178.

Lemberg.⁷³ The institution was backed by tradition, excellence, and the continuous involvement of local elites. Compared to this, the Ruthenians started from zero, but nevertheless they were able to build their own national institute, the Stavropigian brotherhood (*Stavropigijskij bratstvo*), whose origins were mythologized to make it appear older than the Polish institutions and to claim the precedence of the Ruthenians in the province. The institute had a clear religious (Greek Catholic) dimension. It started in the seventeenth century as a network of schools.⁷⁴ After 1848 and especially in the 1860s, it was involved in the political dispute over the written language of the Ruthenians: clerics and “old” Ruthenes wanted to maintain the variant combining church Slavonic and Russian, eventually deciding to write Ruthenian using the Russian written language, whereas the “young” Ruthenians promoted a “folk” version of the language following a modernized writing. The Stavropigian Institute stood for the Russian solution, thus alienating the younger members of the community that progressively detached themselves from church institutions. New organizations began to spread, challenging the authority of the Stavropigian as a leading institution, though it nevertheless remained an important actor of the Lemberg Ruthenian cultural life since its publishing house controlled all religious institutions.

A more classical opposition between two nationalities and their organizations characterized Sarajevo, where the main associations facing each other were the Serbian *Prosvjeta* (Enlightenment) and the Croatian *Napredak* (Progress). *Prosvjeta*, created in 1902, started as a foundation to help Serbian students and apprentices and to coordinate with other Serbian associations. Thanks to strong mobilization it was soon able to send Serbian students to universities and to publish an almanac as well as a newspaper. *Prosvjeta* established branches all over Bosnia and Herzegovina, and had links to the Serbian *Matica* working in southern Hungary, the Serbian organizations of Dalmatia, and the Academy of Sciences and Arts in Zagreb and Belgrade.⁷⁵ In spite of contacts with “Yugoslav” institutions *Prosvjeta* was associated with Serbian national goals and accordingly attacked after the assassination of Francis

73 The *Ossolineum* was transferred to Wrocław after 1945 together with other Polish institutions and memorials. Moritz Csáky, *Das Gedächtnis der Städte: Kulturelle Verflechtungen—Wien und die urbanen Milieus in Zentraleuropa* (Vienna: Böhlau, 2010), 324.

74 Yakov Fedorovich Golovatsky, *Nachalo i deystvovaniye L'vovskogo stavropigijskogo bratstva po istoricheskko-literaturnomu otnosheniyu* [The founding and activities of the Stavropigian Brotherhood in Lemberg] (Lemberg: Tipom' Stavropigijskogo institutu, 1860), 12.

75 Dimitrije Djordjević, “Die Serben,” in *Die Habsburgermonarchie 1848–1918*, vol. 3/1 *Die Völker des Reiches*, ed. Adam Wandruszka and Peter Urbanitsch, 768.

Ferdinand, when its house on the Miljačka embankment was assaulted by demonstrators, who were bombarded from the inside with rooftiles.⁷⁶

Napredak was also created in 1902, with the same regional profile as *Prosvjeta*; it developed ties with Croatian associations in Croatia-Slavonia, Dalmatia, and Istria. *Napredak* had started in the capital of Herzegovina, Mostar,⁷⁷ where Croats enjoyed a better situation in terms of population figures. Its founders were clerics, and the first chairman was a professor of theology, Radoslav Glavaš. Two years later the association moved to Sarajevo and became more secularized as people less involved with the Catholic Church were elected to the board. The board of *Napredak* was a mixture of civil servants and jurists working in private practice or for the local authorities; yet one of the two vice-chairmen remained a priest, Anton Alaupović, who was the holder of the newly established Catholic parish of New-Sarajevo.⁷⁸

Both associations offered scholarships for students at the female teachers' school. The Serbs gave more scholarships than the Croats there, with 14 for the school year 1912–13, but this makes sense considering that the Orthodox students were the majority (67 to 47 Catholic and 7 Jewish students).⁷⁹ Indeed, the annual reports of this school show a constantly growing number of Orthodox students. Reflecting the religious and national balance of the provinces, Orthodox students were also more numerous at the men's teachers' school. The main Muslim organization *Gajret*, founded in 1903, was not able to compete with the two "national" associations in spite of the efforts made by the authorities to arouse national consciousness among Muslims. The creation of the national Bosnian identity was a failure both because of the strength already acquired by the Croatian and Serbian national movements, and because Muslims were not united in their attitude toward the modernizing trend imposed by the authorities, particularly in regards to the interpretation of secularization, and push from the authorities to enroll women in the school system.

Both organizations also had women's groups, either formed inside the movement or affiliated to it. Their main goal was originally to encourage schooling and these groups were therefore the main private sponsors of scholarships at the Sarajevo gymnasium and other schools, including the girls' secondary

76 "Patriotische Kundgebungen und antiserbische Demonstrationen," *Bosnische Post*, no. 145, June 29, 1914.

77 Vesna Ivanović, *Hrvati u bosansko-hercegovačkom društvu: Ljudi, krajolici, vremena* [Croats in the society of Bosnia and Herzegovina: People, landscapes, time] (Zagreb: Tipex, 2005), 72.

78 *Sarajevoer Tagblatt*, no. 128, June 8, 1914.

79 *Prvi Izvještaj Ženske preparandije u Sarajevu* [First report of the female teachers' school in Sarajevo] (Sarajevo: Zemaljska Stamparija, 1912–14), 35, 37.

school.⁸⁰ Their scope of activity extended, however, with time. For example, the ladies' group of *Napredak* regularly organized "tea sittings" (*sijelo sa čajom*) which went beyond simple conversation: "This sitting will have the character of a conversation but certainly everybody who feels a Croat will attend."⁸¹ This reflects the associations' consciousness of the necessity to attract women to the national movement, especially in a town like Sarajevo where Muslim women were practically excluded from the associative life. In this respect both Serbs and Croats wanted to distinguish themselves from the "backwardness" of Islam that had long governed the province, whereas the Austro-Hungarian authorities wanted to "civilize" the Muslims by bringing all instruments of modernity to the town. More than anywhere else this process was linked to women's access to education and work.

WOMEN'S ASSOCIATIONS: NEW WAYS OF ACTION

The traditional scope of women's associations remained charity and was usually controlled by religious authorities, but even within this field the range of women's activities expanded greatly. An important part of their action was devoted to feeding and supplying school children and students. Since education developed for all national groups, charity was often oriented toward the group's own children, but women were also active in neutral fields such as the Red Cross and Catholic organizations like the White Cross that were—at least at the beginning—not necessarily national. Women's associations were also active in supporting other women, mainly to prevent prostitution and sexual trade. National discourse was slow to penetrate women's associations because of the dominance of religious institutions and the slow progress of education. Working women were still a minority and were active in subordinate professions and traditional activities such as midwives. The exception was female teachers, whose number rose considerably and who began to lead schools; these were consequently often chosen to administrate women's associations. Except for nationally homogenous territories, women aristocrats avoided implication in national movements. In Moravia they were the bearers of *utraquism* and thus remained confined to charity.

80 *Godišnji Izveštaj državne više djevojačke škole u Sarajevu objavljen na kraju školske godine* [Annual report of the state secondary school for girls in Sarajevo] (Sarajevo: Vogler, 1911–12), 41.

81 *Sarajevoer Tagblatt: Unabhängige Zeitung zur Wahrung der österr.-ung. Interessen auf dem Balkan*, no. 27, February 4, 1909.

Most of the women's associations linked with a national movement were sections or chapters of larger organizations. *Matice*, *Sokol*, and other associations were either mixed—accepting women members and sponsors—or created their own women's sections. Teachers' associations were all open to both genders, as were workers' movements. In charity organizations women were able to gain ground and occupy leading functions more easily than in national organizations where they were confined to the women's sections, and even there the leaders were often men who relegated women to less significant functions. Feminism was a marginal phenomenon but there were nevertheless some towns where suffragettes or feminists were invited to give lectures or lead public meetings. The main public concern with regard to women, however, remained to focus on national dedication. The press targeted the less "conscious" women who did not engage in national behavior. In this respect women were still reduced to their role as mothers and were supposed to educate their children along national lines.

National discourse was hidden behind charity work: women were to help their own nation.⁸² *Matice* and *Sokol* preferred to leave charity to the Church and engaged women in more political activities by creating schools for girls and providing them with access to better employment. In towns where women tended to be monolingual, it was considered an act of resistance to create associations where they could work for the "defense" of the language: such was the case for Germans in Brünn, Pozsony, and Temesvár, and for the Italians in Trieste. But, as already shown, women were sometimes more flexible than men regarding the use of language. In Hungary, already a pioneer in the field of women's employment, as well as for legislation on divorce, the authorities favored the creation of secular women's societies (*Nőegylet*) that were to encourage the trend toward Magyarization through cultural and charitable activities.⁸³ Here the local nobility was crucial through their presence on the boards of these organizations. Many Jewish ladies were elected as well, thus accelerating the adhesion of the Jews to the national cause. Indeed, the

82 On the "nationalization" of women, see Ida Blom, Karen Haggemann, and Catherine Hall, *Gendered Nations: Nationalism and Gender Order in the Long Nineteenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000). For the Czech case, Jitka Malečková, "The Emancipation of Women for the Benefit of the Nation: The Czech Women's Movement," in *Women's Emancipation Movements in the Nineteenth Century: A European Perspective*, ed. Silvia Paletschek and Bianka Pietrow-Ennker (Palo Alto: Stanford University Press, 2004), 167–88.

83 Susan Zimmermann, "Frauenbewegungen und Frauenbestrebungen im Königreich Ungarn," in *Die Habsburgermonarchie 1848–1918*, vol. 8/1, *Politische Öffentlichkeit und Zivilgesellschaft*, ed. Helmut Rumpler and Peter Urbanitsch, 1448.

presence of Jewish ladies in many associations—including those affiliated with the Jewish community—was an important factor in the development of associative life. Since they were generally more educated and multilingual, they could work as intermediaries between national groups, and the secularization of charity and associative life enabled them to enter non-Jewish organizations. Their association with German, Hungarian, and Italian culture made them important vectors of nationalism that went along with assimilation. On the other hand, there were very few women's associations belonging to the minorities that were not controlled by churches. One example can be found in Nagyvárad where the *Reuniuca femeitor din Oradea și Bihar* (Feminine union of Nagyvárad and Bihar) was founded only in 1914.⁸⁴ Indeed, feminism seems to have been significant in Nagyvárad thanks to a local feminist association, which organized regular lectures by feminist leaders touring Hungary, to great success.

JEWISH ASSOCIATIVE LIFE: COMING OUT OF THE GHETTO

Jews were essential actors in the associative life of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, but more as members of secular societies (cultural, national, professional, sports) than as members of specifically Jewish associations. The assimilatory trend of the last decades of the nineteenth century made most of them reluctant to appear linked too closely to Jewish groups, even if they were often members of more than one association: one could be at once a member of a philharmonic society, a sports club, and a Jewish charity association. Jews were overrepresented in organizations such as the professional chambers and public instruction. Associative life blossomed and diversified in the last decades of the nineteenth century and at the beginning of the twentieth. Jews followed this general trend and sometimes anticipated it, as they were often among the leading figures of a town, and some of them were wealthy enough to finance several associations. After decades of isolation from the core of society there was a need to “catch up” with the mainstream. The “way out of the ghetto” led the Jews to more secular activities and they diversified their options for social life, sometimes to the displeasure of those who accused them of abandoning their community. Secularization of associative life was one of the many aspects of Jewish assimilation.

84 “Román kulturünnepségek Nagyváradon” [Romanian cultural festivity in Nagyvárad], *Szabadság*, no. 127, June 5, 1914.

In terms of political associations, Jews in general were mainly active along two political orientations: German, Hungarian, and Italian liberals (for the cities concerned here), and Social Democrats. In Hungary, some also joined the Independent Party at the end of the nineteenth century, though the majority remained true to the Liberal Party even after 1919. In Hungary, Freemason associations willingly accepted Jews, who were consequently very visible, unlike in Cisleithania where Freemasons were prosecuted. Nevertheless, many men's circles, the so-called "casinos," remained a stronghold of the Christian nobility and did not admit Jews, sometimes not even converts. Faced with continuing discrimination, some Jews turned to Zionism, and Zionist associations appeared in a number of cities of the Dual Monarchy. Yet, Jews encountered fewer obstacles to entering the chambers of commerce and industry where confession as well as nationality played a secondary role. Many of them were known as sponsors and benefactors regardless of their origins.

Very few specifically Jewish associations appear in the registers of each town, and those that do are mostly concerned with religion, charity, and health care. At the end of the nineteenth century in Brünn, for example, of 283 associations only twelve were specifically Jewish (for comparison, 93 of them were specifically Czech);⁸⁵ in Trieste there were only four.⁸⁶ In most of these towns there was also a Jewish hospital or health center that was not considered an association because it was directly administered by the community but welcomed everybody who was in need of medical care. The same can be said for other cities, where Jewish associations such as the burial society (*Hebra Kadisha*) and schools were linked to the leading bodies of the community. Thus, specific Jewish activities still depended on the community for their existence and preservation. The new phenomenon that emerged during the constitutional era was the multiplication of associations and the diversification of their purposes.⁸⁷ Religious activities were still the main focus of the community, as health care, education, and burial were subject to rules which were strictly respected, even by the Neologue communities in Hungary. In Hungary, the existence of three different communities led to the creation of a large number of associations, however, the associations of the Neologue and Status Quo

85 *Adress-Buch von Brünn und den Vororten* (Brünn: Verlag C. Winkler, 1898).

86 *Fraternita israelitica di mutuo soccorso Maschil El Dal Fondata nell'anno 5689–1829: Congresso Generale Ordinario pel triennio 5657–5659=1897–1899 che avra luogo Domenica 3 Dicembre 1899* (Trieste: Morterra, 1899). *Statuto riformato della fraternita israelitica di misericordia* (Trieste: Morterra, 1899).

87 Catherine Horel, "Jewish associations in the multicultural cities of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy around 1900," *Colloquia* 18 (2011): 88.

communities focused only on religious and burial services, while depending on secular or Christian organizations for other services.

Aside from religion, charity for the poor was one of the traditional obligations for Jews. This was mainly the occupation of the wives of the richest community members, who created many women's associations as early as the *Vor-märz* period and developed new activities after 1867. Indeed, one of the first women's associations was the *Pesti Izraelita Nőegylet* (Pest Israelite Women's Association) founded in 1866.⁸⁸ The growing access to education led to associations supporting poor students, educating women, and providing employment for girls. These actions were not limited to Jewish students, and the organizations worked to encourage public instruction, which was of course easier after the introduction of compulsory primary school. As previously discussed, Jews were overrepresented at schools, and therefore education came to symbolize one of the particularities of Jewish associative life by combining charity (support for poor students), the creation of private schools (kindergartens, trade, arts, and crafts), and the encouragement of higher education (scholarships and students' organizations).

Jewish women's organizations were also interested in morals and culture, organizing concerts and conferences. Some were openly feminist and invited renowned female activists to the debates. In May 1909, for example, the *Aradi nőtisztviselők egyesület* (Association of women employees of Arad) invited Vilma Glücklich, the president of the *Magyar feminista egyesület* (Hungarian Feminist Association) to give a lecture, the major topics of which were women's employment and access to the vote.⁸⁹ In Brünn, Jewish ladies maintained many of the so-called utraquist groups while men had already separated into national associations. The main utraquist association was the Red Cross, in which Jewish patronesses, such as women from the Löw-Beer family and Karoline Gomperz-Bettelheim, played an important role;⁹⁰ Gomperz-Bettelheim was also one of the major sponsors of the *Frauenerwerb-Verein*.⁹¹

Jewish charity organizations were all instituted in the course of the nineteenth century. In Arad, for example, the orphanage for boys (*Izraelita fiúárvaház*) was established in 1870 by the ennobled brothers Bernát and Ignác

88 Zimmermann, "Frauenbewegungen und Frauenbestrebungen im Königreich Ungarn," 1364.

89 *Aradi Híradó*, May 3, 1909.

90 *Bericht über die Thätigkeit des patriotischen Landes-Hilfsvereines (vom Roten Kreuze) für Mähren* (Brünn: W. Burkart, 1904), 26.

91 *Festschrift zur Erinnerung an den 40-jährigen Bestand des Frauenerwerb-Vereines in Brünn 1873–1913* (Brünn: Burkart, 1913), 11.

(Hatvany) Deutsch,⁹² the relatives of the famous collectors and patrons of the arts Ferenc and Lajos Hatvany, who were born in Arad. At the beginning of the twentieth century, two other charity institutions were created by wealthy Jews: an old people's home was opened in 1910 by a foundation created by Ignác Spitzer and Béla Haász, and an orphanage for girls was established in 1910 by Mrs. Eliz Fischer in her own house. The Jewish community also had its own charity association (*Izraelita jótékony egyesület*) as well as another managed by ladies (*Izraelita jótékony nőegylet*) both founded before 1848. The Jewish hospital also dated from the 1840s and was successively expanded in 1861, and then again at the beginning of the twentieth century.

Szabadka had a more modest Jewish community and no sponsors comparable to the Hatvany-Deutsch (the wealthiest citizens of the town were Hungarian and Bunjevci landowners), but Jewish charity was active there nevertheless. One of the first associations of the town was the women's Jewish society (*Izraelita nőegylet*), founded in 1852, which helped the poor and established a soup kitchen that served thousands by the end of the century.⁹³ Despite not having a Jewish hospital like most big towns, the community maintained two other charity associations to support the poor, an indication of the rather precarious condition of the Jews: the *Zion* charity association, and the *Izraelita Szent-Egylet* (Israelite Holy Society).⁹⁴ The first might have been linked to the autonomist and nearly Zionist movement surrounding the newspaper *Autonomia*, discussed below. In June 1914, a chapter of the National Jewish Protection Association (*Országos Izraelita Patronage-Egyesület*) was created in Szabadka under the patronage of the prefect and the city authorities: its purpose was to support children from needy families.

In Brünn the Jews were more numerous and more prosperous, and several big entrepreneurs in the textile industry acted as sponsors for the benefit of the whole town, not only the Jewish community. As an industrial city, Brünn also had a significant Jewish proletariat. But here too specifically Jewish associations stayed focused on religion and charity. In addition to the *Hebra Kaddisha* there existed an association of cantors for the Moravian lands (*Mährischer Cantoren-Verein*). Charity was provided by the association for the support of the sick, *Bikur Holim*, founded in 1880, and the Moravian section of the *B'nai Brith*, created in Brünn in 1895. The *Jüdischer Verein* combined health care and

92 Lendvay and Gellér, *A százéves Arad 1834–1934*, 103.

93 István Frankl, *Szabadka szabad királyi város ismertetése* [Report on the Royal Free Town of Subotica] (Szabadka: Krausz és Fischer, 1899), 128.

94 *Ibid.*, 130.

other forms of support for people in need; in 1898, its chairman was also the head of the *Hebra Kaddisha*, Hermann Eppl. Brünn also had a Jewish association for orphans (*Mährisch-jüdischer Waisen-Hilfsverein*).

Starting in 1861 the women of the community had their own association, the *Israelischer Frauen-Verein in Brünn*. In 1908 it was led by the three most influential women of the town, with Karoline Gomperz as chairwoman, and Karoline Placzek (the chief Rabbi's wife) and Pauline Löw-Beer as vice-chairwomen. The same women were also at the head of the association *Ferienheim für jüdische Kinder*, whose aim was to send ailing children to the countryside.⁹⁵ The entrepreneurial family Löw-Beer was one of the most important donors to this association and for every charity initiative, including non-Jewish ones like the Red and White Cross. To help poor students, the Jews founded a soup kitchen, the *Israelitischer Freitischverein*, that served 41,473 meals (lunch and dinner) in 1906–7.⁹⁶ In order to compliment this men's initiative, in 1901 women created the *Israelitischer Mädchen-Freitisch- und Fürsorge-Verein* with the help of the *B'nai Brith*.⁹⁷ The association was renamed *Kaiser-Franz-Josef-Freitisch- und Fürsorge-Verein für Israelitische Mädchen in Brünn* in 1908 at the occasion of the emperor's jubilee, and in 1910 it was able to open an orphanage for girls.⁹⁸ But Jewish benefactors were also active in German associations with the same purpose: records list a number of Jewish names among the members of the *Verein zur Pflege und Unterstützung unbemittelter, kranker Schüler an den deutschen Mittelschulen und verwandten Lehranstalten Brünns*.⁹⁹

In Trieste most Jewish associations were also involved in charity, but to a lesser extent than in Brünn because of the modest number of Jews. Those in need of charity were primarily migrants coming from Romania and Corfu, most of whom would stay only for a short time in Trieste before emigrating overseas. The main associations were created at the beginning of the nineteenth century, like the *Fraternita israelitica di mutuo soccorso Maskil el Dal*, founded in 1829, and the *Fraternita israelitica di misericordia*. But the most

95 *Jahresbericht über die Tätigkeit des Vereines "Ferienheim für jüdische Kinder" in Brünn* (Brünn: Rohrer, 1909).

96 *Jahresbericht des israelitischen Freitischvereines in Brünn* (Brünn: Burkart, 1907).

97 *Jahresbericht des Israelitischen Mädchen-Freitisch- und Fürsorge-Vereines in Brünn* (Brünn: Bauer, 1902).

98 *Jahresbericht des Israelitischen Mädchen-Freitisch- und Fürsorge-Vereines in Brünn* (Brünn, 1913).

99 *Verein zur Pflege und Unterstützung unbemittelter, kranker Schüler an den deutschen Mittelschulen und verwandten Lehranstalten Brünns: Verwaltungs- und Rechenschafts-Bericht* (Brünn: Rohrer, 1914), 17. The names in question were a certain Jonas, as well as Aron Jakob, Pauline Löw-Beer, and Emil Tugendhat.

famous foundation was the *Pia Casa Gentilomo per invalidi israeliti* named for the family of the donator. The chief Rabbi Raffaele Melli was the chairman of both the *Fraternita di mutuo soccorso* and the *Pia Casa* in 1898.¹⁰⁰ The Jewish community also administered its own hospital, and in January 1871 an orphanage was founded, the *Asilo infantile israelitico*.

In practically every town of the empire with a large enough Jewish population, Jews created associations to encourage the education and culture of their coreligionists. They often combined charity and educational activities in founding associations to support poor students. Even in Szabadka where Jewish associative life was relatively modest, there existed a Jewish kindergarten, founded in 1894 under the direction of the wife of a certain Ede Krausz. It was housed in the community hall and was particularly aimed at girls who made up half of the pupils and were all Hungarian-speaking. An elementary school was also maintained by the community, but it was of modest attendance and dimensions. The tradition of Jewish schooling was very strong in Arad thanks to the initiatives undertaken by Rabbi Aron Chorin, who founded the first Jewish secular school in 1826 following the example of the Austrian *ratio educationis*. Later two elementary schools were added, one for boys in 1832 and one for girls in 1855. At the beginning, the language of instruction was German (Hungarian was taught as a foreign language), but they were merged and Magyarized in 1862. After the introduction of compulsory education, the school lived on as a strictly confessional institution.

Brünn proudly considered itself a “*Schulstadt*,” a feeling shared by Jews attached to German culture. In order to help the students of the German technical high school (no Jew attended the Czech one) the *Unterstützungsverein für mittellose, jüdische Techniker* was founded in 1903. The sponsors were the community, the *jüdisches Landesmassafonds*, the *B’nai Brith*, and many generous individuals.¹⁰¹ Students had their own charity associations, partly to vie with the German *Burschenschaften*, which no longer admitted them as members. There were two such groups in Brünn. The first, *Hazepirah (Jüdisch-akademische Ferialverbindung)*, functioned between 1896 and 1904 and was dedicated to organizing recreational activities; from 1903 on it had its own reading room. The second was called *Veritas (Jüdisch-national-akademische Verbindung freisinniger Hochschüler)*. Private Jewish schools existed as well but began to

100 *Almanacco e guida scematica di Trieste per l'anno 1898* (Trieste: Libreria Julius Dase editrice, Tipografia del Lloyd Austriaco, 1899), 210.

101 *Bericht des Unterstützungsverein für mittellose, jüdische Techniker in Brünn über das Sommersemester 1903/04* (Brünn: F. Schischak, 1904).

disappear toward the end of the century; by 1890 there were still four schools, each with a few dozen pupils.¹⁰² Two other associations existed on the border between culture and education: the *Israelitisches Proseminar*, which offered lectures on religious and secular topics accessible to everyone and whose director was in 1898 the chief Rabbi Jakob Baruch Placzek; and the male choral society *Koshat*, which was a cultural as well as a religious undertaking.¹⁰³ Most of the Jewish sports associations were created after World War I except for the *Jüdischer Turnverein*, which was obviously formed to challenge its German homologue where Jews were no longer welcome.

Trieste lacked this variety of educational organizations, but it had something no other town of the empire except Vienna had: a chapter of the Paris-based *Alliance Israélite Universelle*. The Alliance was mostly active in Asia, Africa, and the Ottoman Empire, where it supported Jewish communities; one of its more visible activities was the creation of secular schools for boys and girls. The *Alleanza Israelitica di Vienna in Trieste* was established at the end of the 1870s, and in 1903 it opened a branch in Gorizia (Görz, Gorica).¹⁰⁴ Its main task was to distribute scholarships to Jewish students of the town going to study abroad. The directors of the association remained the same for decades, as did the chief Rabbi Raffaele Melli; this permanence may signify that the association did not raise the interest of the community—thus not producing enough candidates for these functions—or that the families were wealthy enough to pay for their sons' school fees. There was practically no Jewish secular school in Trieste and the *Scuola popolare* that had existed since 1782 was turned into a private school for boys and girls in the 1890s.¹⁰⁵

Double belonging was still possible even if it was of course easier for wealthy and established families to practice it. Horizontal and vertical belonging was not unusual: one could remain within the community and be a member of more than one Jewish association, but one could also “cross the line” and combine Jewish (religious and/or secular) with non-Jewish associations. This pattern was obvious in the cities concerned here but it can easily be extended to the whole territory of the monarchy. More contested was the attitude of Jews toward national conflict and the choice they made to join one of the

102 Christian Ritter d'Elvert, *Neu-Brünn: Wie es entstanden ist und sich gebildet hat* (Brünn: Verlag der histor.-statist. Section, 1888), 256.

103 *Adress-Buch von Brünn und den Vororten*, 58–59.

104 *Il Corriere Israelitico: Periodico mensile per la storia e la letteratura israelitica e gli interessi generali del giudaismo*, no. 9, January 31, 1903, 247.

105 Tomasin, *Die Volksstämme im Gebiete von Triest und in Istrien*, 83; Marinaz, *Memorie scolastiche*, 93.

ethno-linguistic groups of the city. This choice alienated them from the other nationalities, as in the case of Arad for example where they could not join Romanian or Serbian associations that remained mainly religious. The Czech and Slovene press was highly anti-Semitic and accused the Jews of siding with the German and Italian “oppressors.” In the meantime, Zionism made its way through the empire, trying to attract the Jews “back to Judaism” by explaining that they had nothing to gain in adopting national discourses. The national struggle contributed to polarizing associative life in each city and the Jews were sometimes caught in the middle of the field.

Associations grew parallel to each other and tended to adopt a national profile: charity was then reserved for one’s own group. In some cases, there was identification between nation and religion, and the Jews were not spared this process. They chose the language and the society that best allowed them to integrate (if not to assimilate); this is obvious in the Hungarian case where they adopted the Hungarian language and national discourse without abandoning bilingualism. The Slovene and Czech national movement was not as attractive (at least not yet in the Czech case and certainly not in Brünn, whereas in Prague the process was already at work): on the one hand these groups rejected them, and on the other hand they did not provide a cultural and social integration superior to the one they were already part of. Bilingualism did not necessarily lead to participation in national associations belonging to another minority. Themselves a minority in these cities, there was no point for the Jews to join another declassified group. The difficulty arose as soon as the majority, i.e., the Germans in Brünn, began to exclude them from some associations. Although challenged by the rise of Czech nationalism, the Germans did not accept the Jews as worthy allies in this “battle,” whereas Italian and Hungarian national discourses were eager to welcome anybody. This led, at least among the majority not attracted to Zionism, both to assimilation and to a confessionalization of specifically Jewish associative life, or to its limitation to strictly charitable actions.

THE CITY AS A STAGE: NATIONALIZING THE THEATER

At the beginning of the Constitutional era, practically none of our cities possessed a permanent theater company, and most of them did not even have an adequate building to give performances. Travelling companies were hired by the municipality and played part of their season in the town before going to another place. In some cases, there were agreements between companies and

cities so as to provide a more stable offer: in Pozsony and Temesvár, as it will be discussed later in more detail, directors Maximilian Kmentt and Károly Mosonyi had an agreement in 1889 to establish a system of alternating companies sharing the season in both cities, and in Szabadka the Serbian theater was provided by a company that came from Újvidék (Novi Sad). But the ambition of each city was to build a proper theater with a resident company.

The construction of theaters was a significant element of urban modernization from the 1870s on and each city was able to build at least one prestigious edifice. In his work on operas in Central Europe, Philipp Ther rightfully claims that all towns with at least 50,000 inhabitants were able to mobilize their elite for the building of a theater.¹⁰⁶ During the summer the theatric life of cities was often complemented by touring companies that came to play operettas and comedies, often in parks or along the river, depending on the facilities provided by the town, whereas drama and opera were reserved for the winter season. Yet, for some towns deprived of a real theater season, summer was often the only moment when a company from another town came to play. Such was the case in Nagyvárad, one of the last towns to be able to build its theater in 1900, leading to many critiques and complaints in the press comparing the city to Arad, which had had a real theater life since the middle of the century. Here as well there was much rivalry between cities over the construction of the building and the quality of the company, with each aiming to do better than their neighbor. Just as cities wanted to be known as a “*Schulstadt*,” they also wanted to be a “*Theaterstadt*,” since both characteristics were seen as a sign of development and modernity. Complicating this was, naturally, the debate about in which language drama was to be played and opera sung, since works were often translated in this period. It was not only important to have drama in the national language, but also to produce original works in that language.

In many cities the introduction and spread of the usage of national languages was the result of changes in the status of the province they belonged to. In Lemberg, the autonomy obtained by the Poles turned Galicia into a Polonized territory. All institutions that until then had been administered by Vienna were put under the control of the province, and consequently Polish was made their language of expression. Thus, the theater switched from German to Polish. The Austrian authorities had allowed the creation of a theater at the initiative of Count Stanisław Skarbek in 1830, thus leading the way for the creation of an Association of Entrepreneurs for the Polish Theater in

¹⁰⁶ Ther, *In der Mitte der Gesellschaft*, 343.

Lemberg (*Prywatne Towarzystwo Przedsiębiorców Teatru Polskiego ve Lwowie*) by local nobles.¹⁰⁷ The building was designed by architects Jan Salzman and Ludwig Pichl in 1837 and was inaugurated in 1842, and was named after its founder (*Teatr Skarbkowski*). Performances were held in German and Polish, but as soon as Galicia became autonomous, German performances were banned by an imperial decree from October 20, 1871, to the displeasure of many inhabitants. The *Towarzystwo Przyjaciół Sceny* (Friends of the Stage Society) started its activities not much later, at the beginning of 1872.¹⁰⁸ Still, German culture was not absent from Lemberg and there were even sometimes demonstrations against performances of translated German works. Indeed, most Lemberg critics were enthusiastic about Wagner operas and preferred them to Polish ones.¹⁰⁹

The fifty-year concession that had been granted to Count Skarbek in 1842 was up for renewal in 1892, providing the occasion to prepare projects for the construction of a new theater, the existing one being by this time obsolete. It was also a sign of changing times, as aristocrats were no longer the “owners” of the theater that was now occupied by the “middle of society” sociologically as well as geographically, as Ther demonstrates.¹¹⁰ The intelligentsia insisted on performances in Polish and against the permanence of German, to which the aristocrats were indifferent.¹¹¹ The tender for the new theater was answered by Polish and Ruthenian architects as well and the winner was Zygmunt Gorgolewski. Work started in June 1896 and the building, now called *Teatr Miejski* (City theater),¹¹² was inaugurated on October 4, 1900.¹¹³ The Skarbek theater remained active and from 1902 became the seat of the philharmonic.

Two other groups aimed to have their own theater associations and performances in Lemberg. The Ruthenians received the approval of the Austrian authorities and had nearly succeeded in obtaining authorization to build their theater in 1864, but once the Poles ruled the city, the Ruthenian theater was

107 Ibid., 81–82.

108 Anna Chojnacka, “Kronika teatru lwowskiego” [Chronicle of the Lwów theater], in *Teatr polski w Lwowie* [Polish theater in Lwów], ed. Lidii Kuchtówny (Warsaw: Inst. Sztuki Polskiej Akademii Nauk, 1997), 250.

109 Anna Wypych-Gawrońska, *Lwowski teatr operowy i operetkowy w latach 1872–1918* [Operas and operettas at the Lwów theater from 1872 to 1918] (Cracow: Universitas, 1999), 247.

110 Ther, *In der Mitte der Gesellschaft*, 11.

111 Ibid., 86.

112 Zofia Zielinska, “Beziehungen der Wiener Theater zum polnischen Theater in Krakau und Lemberg bis 1918” (Ph.D Dissertation, Vienna University 1963), 41.

113 Chojnacka, “Kronika teatru lwowskiego,” 257.

confined to associative and amateur performances held in the *Narodnyi dim*.¹¹⁴ Performances were irregularly held at the *Rus'ka Besida*, a Ukrainian cultural-educational society, until in 1892 an organization made up of members of the National Democratic Party tried to collect funds to establish a permanent theater.¹¹⁵ The campaign was supported by *Dilo* and other Ukrainophile groups, but the authorities always used the same arguments against it: first, that it would only favor the Russophiles of the Ruthenian associations; and second, that the Ruthenians were not yet a *Kulturnation* able to produce enough original dramas to justify the creation of a theater that would only perform translations.

The Ruthenians repeatedly sent appeals to the municipality, for example in July 1903 when they formed a committee composed of some members of the intelligentsia (a priest, lawyers, and academics). Mayor Godzimir Małachowski and Deputy Mayor Michał Michalski received them and promised to put the question on the agenda after the forthcoming elections, saying that the choice of the location would be left to the decision of the committee. The Ruthenian daily *Dilo* announced that the municipality would also contribute to the project but expressed doubts about the realization that seemed again to be delayed *ad calendas graecas*.¹¹⁶

Nevertheless, one year later the committee was given permission to build the theater after it had been able to purchase a plot located near Saint George's Cathedral. The promoters wanted to follow the Czech model and tried to mobilize the public to raise funds, but this proved too ambitious and was even criticized by members of the Ruthenian elite. Others saw the theater as a luxury foreign to most Ruthenian inhabitants of the city and felt that the money would be better used to improve their everyday life and the conditions of the rural populace.¹¹⁷ The fact that the committee planned to commission the acclaimed specialists of theater construction Ferdinand Fellner and Hermann Helmer, who had already built many theaters in the monarchy, to build the theater indicates clearly what was at stake: the committee wanted to demonstrate that Ruthenian culture was now equal to Polish cul-

114 Jerzy Got, *Das österreichische Theater in Lemberg im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert: Aus dem Theaterleben der Vielvölkermonarchie*, *Theatergeschichte Österreichs*, no. 10/4 (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1997), 672.

115 Hugo Lane, "The Ukrainian Theater and the Polish Opera: Cultural Hegemony and National Culture," in *Lviv: A City in the Crosscurrents of Culture*, ed. John Czapicka, *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 24 (Cambridge, MA: Ukrainian Research Institute, 2000), 159.

116 "Sprawa budowy teatru ruskiego" [The affair of the building of the Ruthenian theater], *Gazeta Narodowa*, no. 152, July 7, 1903.

117 Lane, "The Ukrainian Theater and the Polish Opera," 160.

ture, and was less concerned about the audience and the financial viability of the theater.¹¹⁸ In the end, a more reasonable project was drafted by architect Ivan Levynskyi but the committee failed to collect enough funds to see even this modest building realized.¹¹⁹

The Jews were also able to found a theatrical society in Lemberg. The beginning of the Jewish (Yiddish) theater life came after emancipation in 1867; the first performances were held in an inn.¹²⁰ At the end of the 1880s two companies existed in Lemberg, which also travelled around Galicia and even toured in other places of the monarchy. The *Evrejskyi dramatičnyi Ensemble* led by famous comic actor Yankev Ber-Gimpel was the first to start its activity and was later joined by the company of Abraham Goldfagen. Both companies coexisted for a time before merging into one.¹²¹

Zagreb did not show such diversity. As soon as Croatia-Slavonia gained autonomy and control over its cultural policy, the theater was Croaticized in Zagreb as well as in other towns of the country; only Osijek was able to maintain its German language theater until 1907. The first theater had been founded—as usual in those years—by a private initiative, but not an aristocratic one. Merchant Christoph Stanković invested his earnings from the *Staatsloterie* to build a theater. The first stone was laid on August 12, 1833, and the theater was inaugurated on October 4, 1834, with a play by Theodor Körner figuring the Croatian hero Petar Zrinski.¹²²

Performances were held in German, but Croatian was introduced in 1840 and from then on demands were made constantly to “nationalize” the theater. The company from Újvidék came here as well to perform in the “Illyrian language.”¹²³ The theater was finally put under the control of the province after the 1848 Revolution, but the repertoire was still too poor to play only Croatian works and the direction had to alternate between Italian operas and German dramas. In the 1860s, there were repeated demonstrations that disturbed German performances. Coinciding with the renewal of parliamentary life, the *Sabor* voted on August 17, 1861, to make the theater a “subsidized

118 Ibid., 161.

119 Ibid., 162.

120 Tetjana O. Stepančykova, *Istorija jevrejskoho teatru u L'vovi: kriz terny - do zirok!* [History of the Jewish theater in L'viv: from the thorns to the stars!] (L'viv: Liga-Pres, 2005), 46.

121 Ibid., 83.

122 The building was later renamed the “old theater” and transformed in 1897 by the municipality into an office building. Hinko Vinkovic, *Hundert Jahre Theatergebäude in Zagreb: 1834 – 4. Oktober – 1934* (Zagreb: Jugoslov. Stampa, 1934), 14.

123 Ibid., 22.

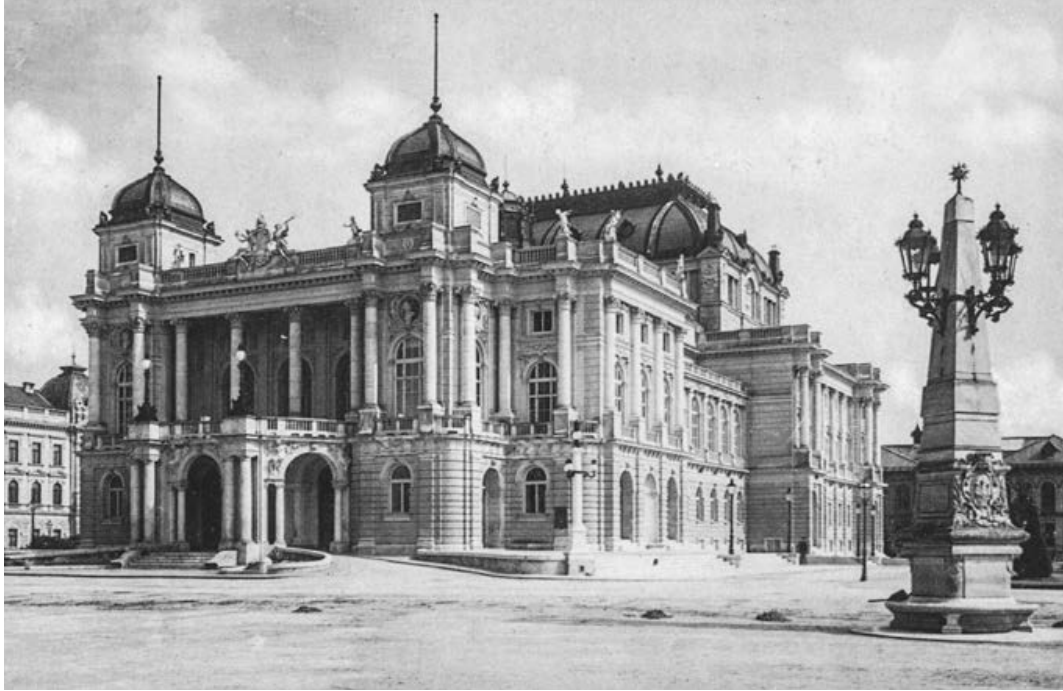


Figure 5.2. Theater, Zagreb. Source: Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, AKON – Ansichtskarten Online, AK114_197.

institution of the land” and to sponsor it properly.¹²⁴ From then on works in German disappeared from the program, and the local government commissioned the writer August Šenoa to compile volumes dedicated to the *Hrvatski Repertoar* to provide enough works in the national language. The first volume was published in October 1872, with the preface proclaiming its aim to “make the best dramatic products in a pure and correct language accessible not only to the Zagreb audience but also to the entire nation.”¹²⁵

But the theater was soon deemed inadequate, and plans were drawn up for a new one by Fellner and Helmer,¹²⁶ for a plot of land at one end of Ilica Street that Ban Josip Jelačić had given for this purpose.¹²⁷ But there were many delays in the urban planning of the city and Ban Khuen-Héderváry, the viceroy (Ban of Croatia) representing the Hungarian Crown, decided to choose another location. In 1894, an adequate place was found, and the edifice was planned to be one of the prestigious buildings of the Zagreb “Green horseshoe”

124 Ibid., 33.

125 “Bühnenliteratur,” *Agrarer Zeitung*, no. 249, October 29, 1872.

126 “U pitanju o gradnji kazališta” [On the question of the city theater], *Narodne Novine*, no. 86, April 15, 1886.

127 Gerhard M. Dienes, ed., *Fellner & Helmer: Die Architekten der Illusion; Theaterbau und Bühnenbild in Europa* (Graz: Stadtmuseum, 1999), 218.

(*zelena potkova*). The new plans were drawn by Helmer, and construction accelerated to an infernal speed when it was announced that Francis Joseph was to visit the city in October 1895; he was indeed able to attend the inauguration on October 14, 1895.¹²⁸

Magyarizing theaters in Transleithania

The same trend toward the nationalization of the theater was already underway in Hungary before 1848 but did not reach the multicultural cities where German was still the language of drama thanks to the presence of German burghers and Jews who made up a major part of the audience. The Hungarian public was German-speaking and attended the performances as well. The Magyarization of the theater outside of the capital started in Kolozsvár through the introduction of opera and the commission of a local company. The process then reached the other towns of the region, where Hungarian intellectuals created associations in order to encourage Hungarian theater and struggled to Magyarize the local stage. If we take the example of Arad, we see that the process started well before 1848. The first theater was built in 1820 thanks to money given by the Jewish Hirschl family. In the 1830s travelling German and Hungarian companies performed there, but there were increasingly demonstrations against the German actors. Still, the Hirschl family insisted on sponsoring both languages, a fact that was not exceptional then.¹²⁹ After the setback of 1849 that led to the complete Germanization of the theater, the revival started in 1862 when German and Hungarian companies again alternated, enabling the audience to enjoy a complete theater season. In these years of liberalization and tolerance, Romanian companies as well as a Serbian one came to Arad from Bucharest (Matei Pascaly) and Belgrade (Svetozar Kristić).¹³⁰ The complete Magyarization of the town's cultural environment prevented Romanians and Serbs from establishing a theater in Arad, though Romanian theater was present elsewhere in Transylvania and companies travelled regularly, as well as those coming from the *Regat*.

At the beginning of the 1870s, the growth of Arad necessitated a new theater.¹³¹ Construction extended over three years because of financial difficulties,

128 Vinković, *Hundert Jahre Theatergebäude in Zagreb*, 34.

129 Béla Váli, *Az aradi színház története: 1774–1889* [The history of Arad theater, 1774–1889] (Budapest, 1889), 28.

130 *Ibid.*, 105.

131 *Ibid.*, 110. This old theater was not destroyed, and it was later to house one of the first cinemas of the town, named *Urania*.

but the theater was inaugurated on September 21, 1874, in the presence of the king and archdukes Albrecht, Joseph, and Johann, who were all attending the autumn maneuvers in the region. The theater was administered by an association, the *Szinügy-Gyámolító Egylet* (Association for the Promotion of the Theater). The main force behind the theater association was Kálmán Institoris, who combined the profile of a civil servant (he was the chief notary of the town) with a talent as a baritone. The son of a local civil servant, during the neo-absolutist period he dedicated the first part of his life to the theater, coming back to Arad only in 1872 to enter the local administration and quickly become the principal initiator of theater life in the city.¹³² In February 1883, a fire destroyed the theater building but it was immediately reconstructed following plans made by local architect Andor Almay.¹³³ When the new theater was inaugurated in 1884 the editor of *Alföld* stated its task: “Let us Magyarize and make present the Hungarian language and soul.”¹³⁴ Finally in 1887 the theater association was able to hire a permanent company, which had come from Nagyvárád in 1885 to perform in Arad.¹³⁵ From 1900, the city’s theater offering was complemented by an open-air theater on the banks of the river Maros, established following an initiative by theater director András Leszkay, offering in the summer a lighter repertoire.¹³⁶ By the beginning of the 1910s, the building of the main theater was again considered insufficient and plans were made to build a new one, these, however, were left unrealized because the municipality had more urgent projects, and then the war interrupted the process.

In Arad there was no such rivalry between Hungarians and Germans, and thus no discussion about the nationalization of the local theater, but the situation was different in places where German theater had a more ancient heritage and an audience that was not willing to abandon it. All the more so as there were many Hungarians who had no objection to a bilingual theater for it offered more variety; most of them were fluent in German and preferred to listen to Schiller in the original than to translations. Yet at other cities, like in Pozsony and Temesvár the Magyarization of the theater was seen as a symbol of the national cause. Yet, the apparent victory over the domination of German culture (and the exclusion of other competitors) was to prove illusory

¹³² Lakatos, *Arad története*, vol. 3, 59.

¹³³ *Ibid.*, 130.

¹³⁴ *Alföld*, October 1, 1885.

¹³⁵ Váli, *Az aradi színészet története*, 132.

¹³⁶ *Arad vármegye és Arad szab. kir. város néprajzi leírása*, vol. 3/1/2, 38.

and ephemeral as Magyarization did not survive the post-Trianon changes in these cities, even if German never recovered its cultural significance.

Pozsony was home to one of the oldest theaters in Hungary (along with Buda and Temesvár) but at the beginning of the 1870s it was still a German institution. Since the town was the seat of the Diet until 1847, an association for the promotion of the Hungarian theater had already been created in the 1820s and reactivated in the 1840s with the rise of the national demands voiced at the Lower House of the Diet. The association wanted to attract a permanent company to perform in Hungarian in Pozsony, but the enterprise was not successful and the association had to be content with performances held by travelling companies coming mostly from Budapest and staying for only one part of the season.¹³⁷ Eventually the Relle Company from Sopron (Ödenburg) was given a three-year contract, but this temporary solution did not satisfy the promoters of Hungarian theater so a new association was founded in 1899 under the name of *Pozsonyi magyar színpártoló egyesület* (Pozsony Association for the promotion of Hungarian theater).¹³⁸

The situation at the time of the creation of the association was complex: a new theater had been opened in 1886 but it was still shared by German and Hungarian companies, based on an agreement between the directors of the German and Hungarian companies that stipulated that the German company was to perform for three months during the winter in Temesvár while the Hungarian company from Temesvár was to be a guest in Pozsony. Germans as well as Hungarians were displeased about this situation; the German press feared that their company might definitely settle in Temesvár where there was an association named *Theater-Unterstützungsverein* sponsoring both companies.¹³⁹ A similar association was formed in Pozsony but it was apparently used by the Hungarians as a Trojan horse: the *Preßburger Zeitung* laments that its members “*rekrutiren sich beinahe ausschließlic aus dem magyarischen Element*” (are recruited nearly exclusively among Magyars), a fact that the editor considered unfavorable to the preservation of the German theater.¹⁴⁰ One of the actors of this intrusion into the theater committee was the Toldy Circle, which tried to counteract the German domination over the theater. Its members also repeatedly pleaded city administration for the creation of a

137 Antal Németh, *Színészeti lexikon* [Dictionary of theatrical art], vol. 2 (Budapest, 1930), 692.

138 *Magyarország vármegyéi és városai: Pozsony vármegye* [Counties and towns of Hungary: Pozsony County] (Budapest: Apollo, n.d.), 138.

139 “Das letzte Stadium in der Theaterfrage,” *Preßburger Zeitung*, no. 128, May 9, 1886.

140 “Preßburgerisches,” *Preßburger Zeitung*, no. 18, January 18, 1891, morning edition.

Hungarian theater; after each change in the municipality, they sent a delegation to the new mayor, but in vain.¹⁴¹

The 1886 inauguration of the theater was a considerable event whose importance reached well beyond the cultural sphere. Prime Minister Kálmán Tisza made his first visit to the town at this occasion, accompanied by Minister of Religion and Public Education Ágoston Trefort, and Minister of Finances Gyula Szapáry.¹⁴² All the performances held at the inauguration were in Hungarian, including the Hungarian opera *Bánk Bán* by Ferenc Erkel¹⁴³ and a prologue written by the great author Mór Jókai, both attending the event.¹⁴⁴ However, the theater was not transformed immediately into a Hungarian stage. The Toldy Circle regretted that the Hungarian aristocrats of the county did not work harder to benefit the theater. Dr. Gábor Pávai Vajna—mentioned earlier as the advocate of the local university—became engaged again, this time to defend the cause of the Hungarian theater. He challenged the arguments of those claiming that the performances held in Hungarian were avoided by the public, but he had to admit that the audience was made up of mostly German or bilingual persons who did not object to the situation. However, he also noted the example of Budapest, where new theaters opened regularly and attracted crowds, a fact that no one could dispute.¹⁴⁵ Discontent rose and the topic was put at the agenda of the town council in 1901, but the assembly voted against the demands for the nationalization of the theater.¹⁴⁶

While Hungarians and Germans continued to share the city theater, the Germans maintained their dominance over the summer theater, *Arena*, located on the opposite bank of the Danube in the park of Ligetfalu (Augarten, Petržalka). The theater was open from May to September for the summer season. Sharing both theaters caused many problems and was the subject of constant fighting between Hungarians and Germans.¹⁴⁷ None wanted to be at a disadvantage: there was a “better” season for each theater. Both groups tried to attract as large an audience as possible in order to justify the validity of the national claims. In 1905, there was a plan to rebuild the *Arena* that did not mention the possibility of keeping it open to Hungarian performances.

141 *Preßburger Zeitung*, no. 113, April 24, 1884.

142 “Vom neuen Theater,” *Preßburger Zeitung*, no. 261, September 20, 1886.

143 Dienes, *Fellner und Helmer: Die Architekten der Illusion*, 139.

144 *Preßburger Zeitung*, no. 247, September 6, 1886.

145 Gábor Pávai Vajna, *A pozsonyi színiügyi kérdésről* [The question of the theater in Pozsony] (Pozsony, 1901), 8.

146 *Ibid.*, 13.

147 “Zur Arenafrage,” *Preßburger Zeitung*, no. 117, April 29, 1902.



Figure 5.3. City theater, Pozsony, 1911. Source: Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, AKON – Ansichtskarten Online, AK017_029.

The Hungarians were alarmed because they feared that a new, modern theater would attract the Hungarian audience away from the city theater, which was then performing in Hungarian at the beginning of the season.¹⁴⁸ At this time of the year the students of the law school were also returning to town and they were a potential audience for the *Arena*, where lighter repertoire was offered.

The question of the theater and its quality was a recurrent topic all over the monarchy, regardless of national conflict. The press was obsessed with the theater, which it regarded as an instrument of prestige for the city and a sign of its cultural level. Thus, the Germans in Pozsony were concerned not only about Hungarian pressure over the theater but also about the quality of the German performances. Stefan von Dobay, editor in chief of the *Pressburger Salon-Blatt*, wrote that there were three problems facing the theater: the proximity with Vienna; the theater committee; and Dualism.¹⁴⁹

In fact, only the third factor was clearly linked to national conflict, but the main complaints concerning the theater were not motivated by national arguments. During the winter, the “noble circles” stayed in Vienna, where the level of cultural life was incomparably higher than in Pozsony, and when they came back to town they were expecting too much, behaving like “an Größenwahn

¹⁴⁸ *Pressburger Zeitung*, no. 78, March 19, 1905.

¹⁴⁹ *Pressburger Salon-Blatt*, no. 1, October 1, 1889.

leidenden Musiknarren und Wagner-Anbetern” (music fanatics and Wagner admirers suffering from grandeur) who demanded that the theater offer two great operas per week. In another article, Dobay argued that the town deserved two theaters—one for each group—in order to put an end to the custom of two alternating companies sharing the season, a practice that he called an “absurdity” that prevented good artists from coming to Pozsony and in general led to the quality of the performances deteriorating in both Pozsony and Temesvár because the Hungarians themselves were not interested in bad theater.¹⁵⁰ He was not alone as many editors and local personalities criticized the alternate theater seasons with Temesvár that was, to their minds, doing more harm than good to both cities. Considering that Pozsony was a wealthier city than the Banat capital, there were arguments in favor of ending this system that was considered costly and complicated. The decision was left to the municipality, which was much criticized for not taking the question seriously.¹⁵¹

The situation in Temesvár was different, for here the Hungarians succeeded in nationalizing the theater. The first theater was built in 1794 on the site of the former Serbian town hall. It was reconstructed in 1832 and modernized in the 1860s, but was still considered insufficient. In 1872, a shareholding society was created (*Színház, vigarda és szálloda részvénytársaság*) to administer the theater, the ballroom, the café, and the hotel that were housed in the same building.¹⁵² The society was also in charge of raising funds to build a new theater. Eventually the municipality took over the enterprise, and the new theater, built by Fellner & Helmer, was inaugurated in 1875 and named after the king, an indication of undeniable loyalty and respect for the heritage of the Habsburg Monarchy in Banat.¹⁵³ Although it was still a German-speaking institution, the new building offered an opportunity to introduce Hungarian performances, then to systematize them, and finally to reduce the part devoted to the German language.¹⁵⁴ In 1881, a theater committee was created that quickly turned into a Hungarian-speaking body.¹⁵⁵

150 *Pressburger Salon-Blatt*, no. 8, April 15, 1891.

151 “Die Presßburger-Temesvárer Theatersaison,” *Pressburger Humoristische Blätter*, no. 14, July 4, 1886.

152 After the construction of the new theater, the site was transformed into the *Realschule* that is today the Lenau gymnasium.

153 *Temesvári Thalia: Képes színházi album 1901–1902* (Temesvár: Csanád-Egyházmegyei Könyvnyomda, 1902).

154 Maria Pechtöl, *Thalia in Temeswar: Die Geschichte des Temeswarer deutschen Theaters im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert* (Bucharest: Kriterion Bücherei, 1972), 18.

155 *Ibid.*, 158.

In the meantime, Hungarian performances also began in the summer theater, also called *Arena*, which had until then been only German-speaking. The theater was destroyed by fire on April 30, 1880, during a performance given by a Hungarian company. The architects delivered new plans and the building was quickly reconstructed.¹⁵⁶ The system of alternating seasons continued but, as in Pozsony, it was criticized by both groups: Hungarians wanted a permanent company for the entire season, while Germans claimed that the population was not yet Magyarized and could thus not be deprived of German performances. This was the argument put forward, for example, by the town counselor Eduard Schlichting, extending it with the claim that women did not yet speak the Hungarian language sufficiently.¹⁵⁷ In order to regulate things and end the quarrel the municipality decided to sign an agreement with the Pozsony theater. Maximilian Kmentt, director of the German company, and Károly Mosonyi, director of the Hungarian company, now alternated in both cities. The Hungarian company had the best part of the season, from October to February, whereas the German season lasted from February to April. The municipality, unlike in Pozsony, was at this time mostly in the hands of the Hungarians and therefore subsidized the Hungarian company more than the German one.¹⁵⁸ But the same critiques were heard here as in Pozsony. At the core of the argument was the patriotism of both cities, and the Temesvár press—even the German papers—accused the Pressburgers of being lesser patriots. They were also seen as pretentious and contemptuous towards the quality of the Hungarian company, which was considered good enough in Temesvár.¹⁵⁹

In 1883, the Hungarians had created a new society for the promotion of the theater (*Szingyámolító Egylet*) as well as an association for the propagation of the Hungarian language (*Magyar Nyelvterjesztő-Egylet*) that contributed to the sponsoring of the theater.¹⁶⁰ This led to the progressive elimination of German performances until they finally stopped in March 1899. The season that started in October 1899 was entirely Hungarian. There was no significant protest by the German-speaking public, which was then at least bilingual.¹⁶¹ In the past as soon as the Hungarian performances had started

156 Ibid., 179.

157 Ibid., 183.

158 Ibid., 190.

159 "Preßburger Patrioten," *Temesvarer Zeitung*, no. 281, December 8, 1887.

160 Steiner, *Temesvár és a DMKE*, 16.

161 Felix Milleker, *Geschichte des deutschen Theaters im Banat* (Wrschatz: Verlag der J. F. Kischners Druckerei, 1937), 51.

the quality of the German theater had been questioned because the repertoire had consisted mainly of operettas and farces (*Possen*).

These performances had in fact financed the theater but there had not been enough money to stage real operas and classical dramas. The Hungarian theater was not necessarily better but was expected to play a crucial role: "It has to be a national stage, an institution of education in the ethical meaning of the word, a real representative of the Hungarian art."¹⁶² The press was conscious of the constant decline of German theater in Temesvár when confronted with the growing trend toward Magyarization. The fact was obvious all over Hungary where practically no more German-speaking performances were held at the turn of the century, with the noticeable exception of Pozsony. In the article dedicated to the two last performances of the Temesvár company led by Emanuel Raul, the editor stated that the German theater had been able to maintain its importance in the town "until finally the victorious pressure of the national movement conquered this last strong bastion of German art."¹⁶³

By the time the German theater ended, the city was able to offer other forms of entertainment as well: there was a second summer theater functioning from May to the end of September in the garden of the *Délvidéki kaszinó*; operetta and cabaret were performed in the *Orpheum*, a stage set in the *Otthon* café in the district of *Gyárváros*; and finally another theater opened, called *Apollo*,¹⁶⁴ where motion pictures were also shown. The *Apollo* as well as another cinema in *Gyárváros* were city owned.¹⁶⁵

Romanian theater was also performed occasionally in Temesvár. The association *Astra* (*Asociațiunea Transilvană pentru literatura Română și cultura Poporului Român*), founded in 1861, created a Society of Amateurs (*Societatea diletanților din Timișoara*) in 1870 with thirteen members who were to perform in Temesvár.¹⁶⁶ The first performances were held in cafés and in the *Tigrul* hotel in the *Gyárváros* district where most Romanians lived.

Romanian traveling companies came regularly to the town, such as the company led by Matei Pascaly from Bucharest. In 1871 he had created the

162 "Das ständige ungarische Theater in Temesvár," *Neue Temesvárer Zeitung: Organ für Politik und Volkswirtschaft*, no. 226, October 4, 1885.

163 "Schluß des deutschen Theaters," no. 71, *Temesvarer Zeitung*, March 28, 1899.

164 Farkasfalvi, *Temesvári kalauz*, 69.

165 Josef Bellai, *Kleiner Führer für Temesvár und Umgebung* (Temesvár: Buchdruckerei Moravetz, 1914), 32.

166 Gheorghe Leahu and Ion Crișan, *Coloanan unui secol de teatru românesc Timișoara 1870–1970* [Chronicle of one century of Romanian theater in Timișoara] (Timișoara: Comitetul pentru cultură și artă, 1970), 15.

Societatea dramatică română dedicated to Banat and Transylvania, whose first performance was held in Temesvár on August 20, 1871.¹⁶⁷ Still, most of the time theater was performed by amateurs under miserable conditions. Travelling companies came more frequently from the 1880s onwards. Romanian associations in Temesvár dedicated some of their actions to amateur theater and musical performances. The *Reunionea română de lectură* promoted theater and was followed later on by the *Reunionea română de cîntări și muzică*, which started to organize performances in 1909.¹⁶⁸ The initiatives to found a Romanian national theater were all in vain, including the one launched in Nagyvárad by Iosif Vulcan, who was one of the leaders of Romanian associative life in the town.¹⁶⁹ In 1870, he created the *Societatea pentru crearea unui fond de teatru român în Ardeal* (Society for the Creation of a Romanian Theater in Transylvania), which he directed for many years. The society was able to organize concerts and performances by amateurs but could never play in the town's theater, although at least one of Vulcan's dramas was staged there in March 1903, but in Hungarian translation.¹⁷⁰

German theaters in Cisleithania

If the cause of the German theater was irremediably lost in Hungary, the situation was different in Cisleithania. Although, here too, the domination of German culture was challenged in multilingual cities, Germans were much more able to develop a discourse of resistance and represented their temples of culture as besieged fortresses. Such was the case in Brünn where German theater seemed to enjoy an indisputable dominance. The first theater in the city was built in 1734 on the *Krautmarkt*, and a permanent company was established in 1771, relatively early in comparison to other cities.¹⁷¹ The old theater burned down in 1870 and a temporary "*Interimstheater*" was built by Fellner & Helmer while plans for the construction of a prestigious new building were drawn up, a process which lasted many years. In 1878, Fellner & Helmer were again commissioned to build the new theater, which was inaugurated in October 1882.¹⁷²

167 Ibid., 19.

168 Ibid., 22.

169 He was for example among the founders of the choir *Hilaria*. See Robert Nemes, *Another Hungary: The Nineteenth-Century Provinces in Eight Lives* (Palo Alto: Stanford University Press, 2016), 139.

170 Ibid., 144–45.

171 Gustav Bondi, *Fünfundzwanzig Jahre Eigenregie: Geschichte des Brünner Stadttheaters 1882–1907* (Brünn: Friedr. Irrgang, 1907), 1.

172 Dienes, *Fellner und Helmer: Die Architekten der Illusion*, 143.

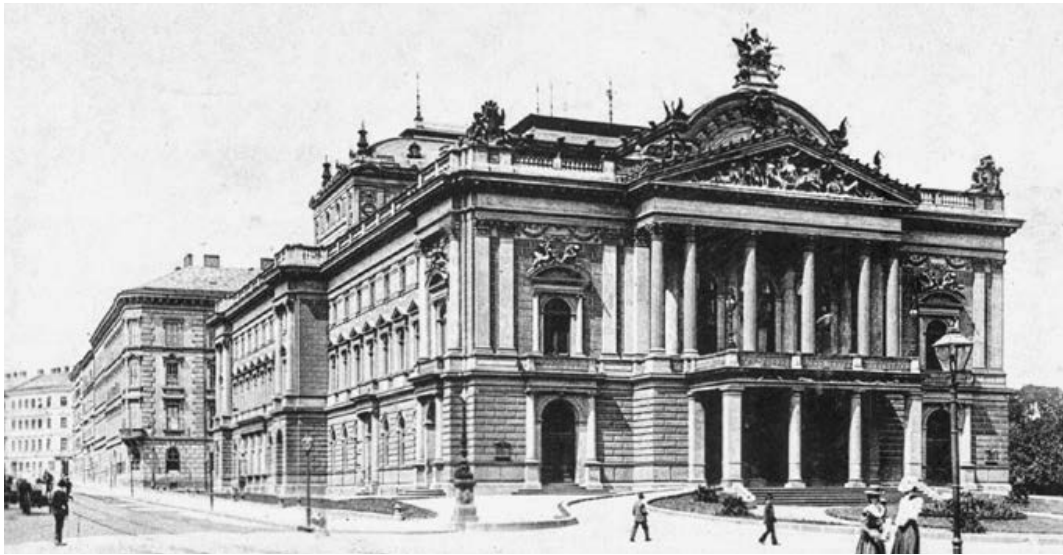


Figure 5.4. City theater, Brunn. Source: Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, AKON – Ansichtskarten Online, AK024_536.

The particularity of the Brünner theater was its administration, which depended directly on the town hall. In all cities the theater committee emanated from the city but here the control was stricter since the chairman of the committee was the mayor himself. The *städtische Theaterkommission* nominated the director, and the committee was composed of eight members who were city counselors and personalities of the cultural and economic life of the town. One of the main sponsors was Heinrich Gomperz, president of the Chamber of Commerce and one of the richest men in Brunn.¹⁷³ As usual, the theater served more than just entertainment, as stated in the foreword of Gustav Bondi's work: "In order to show how this struggle ended victoriously, now the evidence was made that the city of Brunn, encircled by Slavic invasion, needed a visible milestone of its Germanhood, a durable and worthy place to nurture German art." The offer of German theater was completed by the *städtische Redoutensaal*, an annex of the city theater where performances were held in German on Sundays and holidays, but it was less subsidized and therefore criticized for the bad quality of its plays. In 1908, the city created the May Festival during which theater productions were staged.¹⁷⁴ The theater commit-

173 Bondi, *Fünfundzwanzig Jahre Eigenregie*, 2–3. Gomperz belonged to the main sponsors of the city's cultural life. According to his last will, his art collection was given in 1894 to the city and open to the public from 1896 on. See Jaroslav Klenovský, *Brno židovské: Historie a památky židovského osídlení města Brna/Jewish Brno: History and monuments of the Jewish settlement in Brno* (Brno: ERA, 2002), 21.

174 Gustav Bondi, *Geschichte des Brünner deutschen Theaters: 1600–1925* (Brunn: Verl. des Deutschen Theatervereines, 1924), 46.

tee was eager to attract the public and therefore made a special offer for the pupils of the (German) schools who were given discount tickets. From 1899 on performances intended for schools (*Schüleraufführungen*) were held.¹⁷⁵ Financial difficulties characterized the German theater in spite of its dominant situation and the considerable amount of money spent to maintain it was criticized by the Social Democrats who would have preferred to see it invested for more social purposes such as public libraries.¹⁷⁶

Faced with this hegemonic position, the Czechs had to struggle in order to gain ground and have their own theatrical experience. The first performances were held in the *Besední dům*. A theater committee was created as an association, *Družstvo českého národního divadla v Brně* (Association for the Czech National Theater in Brunn), but soon the municipality forbade it to hold performances in the *Besední dům*, arguing that the place was not fire safe.¹⁷⁷ The authorities were understandably extremely concerned about this danger because many theaters—among them the Viennese *Ringtheater*—had burned down, causing deaths and casualties. Following this interdiction, the Czechs began looking for an appropriate place and appealed to their compatriots to support the project of building a Czech theater in Brunn. This initiative



Figure 5.5. Czech theater, Brunn, before 1905. Source: Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, AKON – Ansichtskarten Online, AK053_572.

175 *Festschrift zur Feier des 350-jährigen Bestandes des deutschen Staatsgymnasiums in Brunn* (Brunn: Karafiat & Kucharz, 1928), 26.

176 *Volksfreund*, no. 18, April 30, 1896.

177 “Böhmisches Theater in Brunn,” *Brünner Beobachter*, no. 15, April 7, 1883.

aroused the displeasure of the Germans who now saw themselves challenged by Czech ambitions. The theater was established on the corner of Eichhorn-gasse (Veveří ulice) and Zierotin Square (Žerotínovo náměstí) in a prominent place not far from German institutions such as the German House and the *Turnverein*, but since the urban space was not segregated in Brünn the theater was also next to Czech buildings.¹⁷⁸

The Czechs succeeded in maintaining a small permanent company with the occasional help of local amateurs and volunteers, especially musicians. Over the years the company grew and was finally professionalized, a feat achieved thanks to financial contributions and popular mobilization.¹⁷⁹ The cause was constantly recalled in the Czech press and appeals were made to support the theater; a letter calling for help and signed by the chairman of the theater association, the lawyer and parliamentarian František Šrom, was published in every Czech newspaper in December 1887.¹⁸⁰ The satirical newspaper *Brněnský Drak* exalted the Czech theatrical art as “pure,” as opposed to the German theater that was influenced by Jews.¹⁸¹ As soon as it began to exist, the German press unceasingly attacked the Czech theater. Nationalist newspapers such as *Der treue Eckart* were particularly aggressive and accused the Czech pretensions of endangering the city. The paper had a column called “From our adversaries” in which the Czech theater was a regular target. Arguments were often incoherent and contradictory: in January 1886 for instance a journalist said that the public coming out of the Czech theater made too much noise in the streets after the performance, “as a way to make up for the gaping void in their hut of a theater.” He called for the intervention of the police to defend “our German city for God’s sake.”¹⁸²

By the beginning of the twentieth century, the Germans had become used to the Czech theater and there was no more such virulence; it seems that the German press preferred to ignore the institution and concentrate instead on the activity of the German theater. Yet, the Czechs continued to improve their theater and were constantly looking for sponsorship. An appeal to “Moravians! Brothers and sisters!” was made in November 1902 by the theater association and published in all Czech papers of the town.¹⁸³ Of all the causes that were

178 *Průvodce Brnem a okolím* [Guide through Brünn and its surroundings] (Brünn: Burkart, 1912), 150.

179 Bauer, *Brno*, 134.

180 *Brněnský Drak*, no. 23, December 10, 1887.

181 *Brněnský Drak*, no. 19, October 5, 1888.

182 “Wer schädigt Brünn?,” *Der treue Eckart*, no. 1, January 1886.

183 “Moravané! Bratři a sestry!” *Lidové Noviny*, no. 252, November 1, 1902.

to be fought for, the theater was always on the top of the list.¹⁸⁴ The *Družstvo českého národního divadla v Brně* was composed of prominent personalities whose names and implication in the association were significant and intended to attract sponsors: the chairman was a representative at both the *Reichsrat* and the Diet, Baron Otakar Pražák, and the other functions were occupied by teachers and civil servants of the Czech banks active in Brünn, *Živnostenská* and *Hypoteční banka*.¹⁸⁵ Entertainment of a less serious type was provided as well for the Czech public when a summer theater called *Kontinentální Divadlo Eden* was opened on Winterholler Square; it was more reminiscent of funfair attractions with magicians, dances and pantomime.

The importance of promoting German culture was crucial in Czernowitz but the creation of the theater came relatively late in the history of the city. Performances were organized in the *Bürgerkasino* as well as in the *Volksgarten* during the summer, but sometimes also in cafés and hotels before the construction of the first theater in 1878.¹⁸⁶ The building, designed by architect Josef Gregor to look like a French castle theater,¹⁸⁷ was soon insufficient and in 1884 Governor Count Kielmannsegg presided over the foundation of a committee tasked with building a new theater. The realization of the project took some time, and it was not until 1900 that construction could start. Architect Ferdinand Fellner was in charge of the plans and presented a mixture of neo-baroque structural features and modern Secession decorations.¹⁸⁸ The construction of the new theater was an enterprise of prestige for the town that was considered a showcase of Austrian civilization, but here again there was much criticism about the costs and the apparently unnecessary grandeur for a city that was in need of more practical and urgent buildings. An article of the *Bukowinaer Rundschau* attacked the municipality acting as a Maecenas: “We have no streets, no police, no lighting, no good water, no epidemic hospital (*Siechenhaus*), no asylum, no orphanage, few schools: but a theater!” The journalist compared the city to a man wearing a top hat as his only piece of clothing.¹⁸⁹

184 *České Brno: Neodvislý list hájící zájmy národní, kulturní a hospodářské Brna a okolí* [Czech Brno: Paper for the defense of the national, cultural, and economic interests of Brno and its surroundings], no. 1, September 7, 1910.

185 *Hlas*, no. 28, July 8, 1904.

186 It was transformed in 1904 into a cinema. Georg Drozdowski, “Zur Geschichte des Theaters in der Bukowina,” in *Buchenland: 150 Jahre Deutschtum in der Bukowina*, ed. Franz Lang (Munich, 1961), 454.

187 Dienes, *Fellner und Helmer: Die Architekten der Illusion*, 196.

188 Svitlana Bilenkova, *Jugendstil in Czernowitz: eine Topographie der Schönheit* (Innsbruck: Traditionsverb. “Kath. Czernowitzer Pennäler,” 2002), 55.

189 “Der Gemeinderath als Maecen,” *Bukowinaer Rundschau*, no. 129, May 24, 1885.



Figure 5.6. City theater, Czernowitz, 1908. Source: Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, AKON – Ansichtskarten Online, AK019_357.

The repertoire of the theater was, as everywhere else, a combination of classical drama, opera, and operetta. The purists criticized of course the direction for programming these lighter works. Very few incidents of national conflict happened in the theater. One notable occasion was in December 1909 when students belonging to the Jewish National Party organized a demonstration to protest against the operetta *Herbtsmanöver* (by Hungarian author Emmerich [Imre] Kálmán, himself Jewish) in which Jews were mocked for their supposed unsuitability for the military profession. The director received a delegation who asked him to change the names of the Jewish characters, but the next performance was held without any alteration, causing an uproar from the students who shouted and whistled so loudly that the show had to be suspended. The guards (*Wachtleute*) seized some of the students who were escorted *manu militari* to the police station: sixteen of them were fined.¹⁹⁰

The other nationalities of the town had diverse experiences with the theater. Romanians were able to invite travelling companies to perform, but this happened only after 1913. The company named after famous Bucharest actor Petru Liciu and led by another actor, Casimir Belcot, came to Czernowitz in June 1913 on a tour of “the main Romanian centers of our country.”¹⁹¹ The company was able to come again in June 1914, suggesting that regularity could

¹⁹⁰ *Bukowinaer Post*, no. 2476, December 21, 1909.

¹⁹¹ *Viața Nouă: Organ politic național*, no. 74, May 18, 1913.

have been achieved. The performances were held in the theater at the end of the season, and the works were original Romanian ones as well as translated dramas. Ruthenian theater was even more modest and remained at the level of amateur performances staged by the association *Ruskyj selanskyj teater* (Ruthenian peasant theater). The association wanted to propagate “art among the people” and was therefore—as its name indicates—directed towards rural people. The inauguration festivities were held at the *Musikvereinssaal* on April 14, 1905, but no significant performances were held later on, as the association concentrated on performing in the countryside “in the most remote places of Bucovina where only Ruthenians live.”¹⁹²

Local patriotism and the sponsoring and financing of theaters

Sharing the stage was a common problem in most cities where one group clearly dominated the cultural landscape, be it an ancient and rooted domination like the German and Italian, or a relatively new one like the Polish and Hungarian. Still, there was no fatality in the confrontation of national cultures on the theater field. The necessity to share the stage was imposed by pragmatism, but this did not exclude the possibility of cultural transfer. In a city where cultural entertainment was relatively limited, each opportunity was welcome. Apart from Lemberg, none of the cities studied here had an aristocratic theater. Instead, the creation of theaters throughout the monarchy was a consequence of embourgeoisement and access to education. Still, the noble elites were key actors of the theater as sponsors and audience, though they often “neglected” the linguistic aspect that national activists wanted to underline. Attendance of the theater was practically an obligation for well-to-do citizens, and also for the less privileged since there were cheap tickets. Elite members had their own boxes, rented for the entire season. Looking at the Szabadka theater, we see that the mayor had a box (number 38) and there was one reserved for the officers of the *Honvéd* (number 27), despite the fact that Szabadka was not the seat of an important regiment. Others shared boxes that were rented for even or odd numbered days. The list of the boxes’ tenants shows a majority of Magyarized Serbian names, which is not surprising since the season was equally divided between Hungarian and Serbian companies that came to perform in Szabadka.¹⁹³ This was both because the town was not able to support a permanent company, and because it was a good way to offer a program in

192 *Czernowitzer Tagblatt*, no. 643, March 22, 1905.

193 *Szabadkai Közlöny*, November 8, 1888.

both languages that apparently satisfied everybody. Besides the municipality provided for the orchestra and had no necessity to call for the services of the local garrison—like in many other towns—to perform at the theater. When this was discussed in 1909, some of the town’s counselors advocated the solution of Nagyvárad, where the theater committee enrolled the *Militärkapelle* to perform, because of reduced costs. While some had concerns that the imperial and royal regiment might not be willing to play Hungarian patriotic music, and wondered how they would encourage music teaching in the town if there were no opportunities for a local career, others cautioned against exaggerating “*lokálpatriotizmus*.”¹⁹⁴ Possibilities for a local musical career were indeed limited for there was no permanent theater company and the orchestra must also have been a modest one. This did not prevent the press from being polemical about the theater and the respective quality of both companies. The Hungarian press constantly lamented the poor quality of the Hungarian company compared to the alleged excellence of the Serbian one. While the recurrence of these complaints shows that the problem was never solved, it also indicates that editors were able to appreciate performances in Serbian and as such is a proof of the bilingualism of the town.

While the Hungarian theater was criticized, the Serbian one was openly and honestly praised, showing that the Hungarians, though they were ashamed about it, sincerely enjoyed Serbian theater. This is a relatively rare fact worthy of mention if we compare it with other towns where the theater of the minority was systematically denigrated. This difference was already mentioned at the beginning of the 1880s and remained true until the 1910s. The Serbian company that came from Újvidék sometimes brought guest stars from Belgrade, whereas the Hungarian one was not always able to invite prominent actors from Budapest. The competition with Szeged was again relevant because people in Szabadka complained that great names went to perform in Szeged but did not stop in their city. At the beginning of June 1881, at the start of the Serbian season, the editor of the weekly *Bácskai Ellenőr* described the opening night in ecstatic terms: the theater was full, the atmosphere was excellent, and the audience was pleased; on the whole it was a real moment of grace.¹⁹⁵ In May 1892, the Serbian company arrived with guest stars from Belgrade and the success was again overwhelming.¹⁹⁶ Thanks to this shared season, the theater was able

194 *Bácskai Hirlap*, July 16, 1909.

195 *Bácskai Ellenőr*, June 5, 1881.

196 *Szabadság*, May 5, 1892.

to offer performances over a very long period and thus to make money, a relative exception regarding most theaters. As soon as the lake resort of Palics was created, entertainment was also provided there with occasional theater performances from 1891 on, but there was no real rivalry with the city's theater.¹⁹⁷ Naturally the Serbs also advertised for their theater season and the press provided information and programs in order to attract the public, but there was apparently no real need for that since the theater was well attended anyway. Parallel to the Hungarian theater committee, founded in 1871 under the name of *Színügyi egyesület* (Theatrical Association),¹⁹⁸ there was also a Serbian one, the *Srpski mesni pozorišni odbor* (Serbian Municipal Committee for the Theater) which took great care in organizing the season of the *Družina srpskog narodnog pozorišta* (Company of the Serbian National Theater) generally starting in May.¹⁹⁹ The same system functioned with season tickets and rented boxes, and most of the names of the holders were identical in both seasons.

Peaceful sharing of the theater does not mean that the parties involved would stop advocating the cause of their respective nationality; a few days after the start of the 1892 season, for example, *Subotičke Novine* insisted on the fact that the Serbs and the Bunjevci were “one and the same” with identical blood and language, and therefore the theater must be considered “ours” for it belongs to the common Slavic cause.²⁰⁰ These arguments were enhanced when a company came with guest stars from Belgrade. An article of the *Szabadkai Közlöny* published at the beginning of the 1906 season explained why the Serbian theater was seen as superior to the Hungarian: while the two performed the same plays by the same authors, the Serbian company's acting was judged to be more modern and “natural.” This was compared to the reform of the theater that was then spreading in western European cities. The editor of the paper wrote that the Serbian company could be compared to the Lessing company of Berlin, and he encouraged the Hungarians to emulate it because “not only our Serbian citizens deserve to enjoy the Serbian literature presented by these artists.”²⁰¹

197 Béla Garay, *Az ekhósszekértől a forgószinpadig: A szabadkai magyar színjátszás története* [From the wagons to the revolving stage: History of Hungarian theater in Szabadka] (Újvidék: Testvériség-Egység, 1953), 72. See also from the same author, *Proslava 130-godišnjice pozorišne zgrade i 40. sezone Narodnog pozorišta - Népszínház u Subotici* [Celebration of the 130th anniversary of the foundation of the theater and the 40th season of the National Theater/People's Theater in Subotica] (Subotica: Narodno pozorište, 1984).

198 *Ibid.*, 50.

199 *Subotičke Novine*: *Bunjevačko-šokački nediljni list za misne obće stvari, prosvitu, zabavu i gazdinstvo*, May 10, 1896.

200 *Subotičke Novine*, May 17, 1896.

201 *Szabadkai Közlöny*, May 6, 1906.

Sharing the stage in Fiume was certainly not as easy. Here the Hungarians were the minority and could impose performances in their language only because of their authority over the town. Italian theater was clearly dominant, and the Hungarians got the smaller part of the theater season. Most inhabitants were not Hungarian-speaking, so the performances were intended for civil servants and other expatriates. Unlike the situation in Pozsony, the inauguration of the new theater on October 5, 1885, featured a performance of Italian opera, parts of *Aida* and *La Gioconda*.²⁰² The building was constructed on the site of the former Adamich theater, built in 1805, that had proved insufficient, and was again a work by Fellner & Helmer, whom the municipality had commissioned without tender.²⁰³ The theater was the second in the monarchy (after Brünn) to be equipped with electric lighting. There was a *Café Grande* and a restaurant called *Al teatro* on the ground floor; both were among the best in town, and “with their luxurious design they would honor any big city.”²⁰⁴

The season included at least four great balls during Carnival season, 30 operas in the spring and 24 operettas during the autumn, as well as 30 dramas in the winter.²⁰⁵ The Hungarians were not able to compete with the Italian productions and were lucid enough not to attempt to regularly fill the 1,200 seats of the theater with Hungarian works. They took possession of the summer theater *Amfiteatro Fenice* located in Via San Andrea, built on private land, and where Italian companies performed as well during the summer.²⁰⁶ The Hungarians were able to organize a spring season with travelling companies, and during the visit of the Krecsányi company in April 1901 the press was pleased to note that the Hungarian theater also interested Italian audience.²⁰⁷ The companies alternated and no regular one was appointed for the Hungarian theater. From 1903 to 1905 the press was particularly happy to welcome the Szendrey Company from Arad because it was “today one of the strongest and largest companies of the Hungarian province.”²⁰⁸ If the Hungarians were relegated to a second theater in Fiume, the Croats were not even allowed to enter the town in

202 Morgani, *Ebrei di Fiumee di Abbazia*, 21.

203 Dienes, *Fellner und Helmer: Die Architekten der Illusion*, 183.

204 Ludwig Fischer, *Fiume und Abbazia: Originalzeichnungen von Paul Bleuler* (Zürich: Städtebilder-Verl., n.d.), 14.

205 Michelangelo Polonio-Balbi, *Almanacco e guida scematica di Fiume per l'anno 1899* (Fiume: stabilimento tipo-litografico), 98.

206 *Ibid.*, 102. See also *Magyarország vármegyéi és városai: Fiume és a magyar-horváth tengerpart* (Budapest: Apollo), 149.

207 *Magyar Tengerpart: Közgazdasági, társadalmi és irodalmi hetilap*, no. 96, April 28, 1901.

208 *Magyar Tengerpart*, no. 83, April 11, 1905.

order to give theater performances; they had to limit their cultural activities to the suburb of Sušak where they could invite travelling companies to perform. In March 1910, there was the possibility to make a “*dramsko-operetna sezona*” (drama-operetta season) at the Hotel Sušak, though the “season” lasted only one month. The guest company came from Osijek but it was a significant one, with sixty actors and musicians plus a conductor.²⁰⁹ The same company performed for the commemoration of the execution of Zrinski and Frankopan in the Capuchin church before travelling further to the sea resort of Abbazia (Opatjia).²¹⁰ The Croats again enjoyed a theater of the highest quality a few months later when the Zagreb national theater visited Sušak on its way to a tour of Dalmatia and Montenegro. Four performances were held to the great satisfaction of the audience.²¹¹

THE PRESS: ACTOR AND ENEMY OF MULTICULTURALISM

The December Constitution of 1867 eased the censorship of the press, which was reintroduced in 1851 in the wake of the neo-absolutist restoration following the fall of the 1848 revolutions. Concerning the press, the 1867 legislation amended the Press Law of 1862, which had already eased the printing, diffusion, and circulation of newspapers. These two laws established the basic principles of the regulation of the press until the end of the monarchy. When it comes to the 1862 laws, three of them concerned the freedom of the press: the Press law (*Pressgesetz*), the law on procedure in matters of press (“*über das Verfahren in Presssachen*”), and the complementary law on criminal procedure.²¹² These laws abolished most of the previous limitations, and censorship was maintained only for posters not of a local or economic nature (i.e., political content). It is to be noted here though that these texts never referred specifically to drawings or caricatures but only to “printed material” (*Druckschriften*), implying that censorship was to be exercised against text and not against images.

Censorship was thus replaced by the practice of self-censorship, under the responsibility of the chief editor who would be tried if the law were broken. All the more so as the 1862 laws did not change the practice that editors were required to pay a deposit (*Kaution*, which would be used to cover any fines levied against the paper) before being authorized to publish a periodical, nor

209 *Riečki Novi List*, no. 58, March 9, 1910.

210 *Riečki Novi List*, no. 104, May 1, 1910.

211 *Riečki Novi List*, no. 211, September 3, 1910.

212 Ogris, “Die Rechtsentwicklung in Cisleithanien,” 570.

was the possibility of the temporary suspension of a periodical eliminated. As before, the editor, publisher and printer remained responsible for violations, and trials were again put under the jurisdiction of the Crown court (*Schwurgericht*), which focused on attacks against the government and the persons representing authority. This role of the Crown court was ended by the Constitutional law of 1867, after which cases of *corpus delicti* were then judged by a jury.²¹³ While this could be seen as a sign of liberalization, these juries were often the subject of public criticism and were accused of acting as political, rather than independent, bodies. Yet, most of the trials ended with fines and very rarely with prison sentences.

Although the 1862 *Pressgesetz* was less liberal than the revolutionary laws of 1848 had been, especially in Hungary, it still enabled considerable development of the press from this date forward. Subsequent regulations did not change the essential spirit of the law, rather strengthened it, creating an obstacle to any further liberalization. This does not mean that there were no such attempts. The sanction of suspending a paper, for example, was removed in 1868, while the mandatory deposit was abolished in 1894 (*Pressgesetznovelle*).²¹⁴ The 1894 regulation also eased the economic situation of the newspapers: the articles that were censored were “confiscated” and the newspaper could be edited without them, rather than being seized as a whole.²¹⁵ Further attempts to reform the press laws did not succeed and little changed before the outbreak of the war, when censorship was immediately strengthened and enforced for all matters concerning military operations.

When it comes to the application of censorship regulations, there were some differences between Austria and Hungary. Viennese editors complained constantly that they were being treated more severely in the capital than elsewhere in the empire, particularly Hungary, where the press seemed to have enjoyed more freedom. When parliamentary life was reestablished at the beginning of the 1860s, parts of the legislation were again put under Hungarian authority, namely the press laws that were thus separated from the Austrian jurisdiction, but were nearly identical to the Press law enacted in 1862. The main difference with Austria was that the Austro-Hungarian Compromise

213 Thomas Olechowski, “Das Preßrecht in der Habsburgermonarchie,” in *Die Habsburgermonarchie 1848–1918*, vol. 8/2, *Politische Öffentlichkeit und Zivilgesellschaft: Die Presse als Faktor der politischen Mobilisation*, ed. Helmut Rumpler (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2006), 1513.

214 *Ibid.*, 571.

215 *Ibid.*, 1515.

contained a provision that basically reenacted the Hungarian 1848 liberal Press Law (No. XVIII), resulting in a more liberal legal environment in Hungary than Austria in terms of press freedom. The *Kaution* was also abolished in Hungary in 1872. Despite the growing national and social tensions that characterized Hungary, the press benefited from a more liberal censorship regime than in Austria. As in Austria, self-censorship was a common practice and the centralized Hungarian authorities tried to control press matters at another level through the judicial system. Juries and courts were appointed, not elected, and nearly all courts were situated in Hungarian-speaking regions.²¹⁶ Jurors were recruited from among the electors and had to master the official language of the state (*Amtssprache*), that is, Hungarian. Only a judge could order the confiscation of a newspaper.²¹⁷

The legislation was again different in Croatia-Slavonia under the regulations of the Hungarian-Croatian Compromise of 1868. Press matters belonged to the autonomous government and followed the model set by the Austrian regulations of the 1862 Press law and was thus moderate in its liberalism. The law was reformed by the *Sabor* in 1875, which enacted a specific Press law sanctioned by the local government. The *Kaution* was compulsory until 1907 and the editor had to be an Austrian or a Hungarian-Croatian citizen and resident in the place of publication. Despite the fact that the justice system was one of the fields left to Croatian sovereignty, the local government was nevertheless supervised by Budapest. As the nationality conflict grew stronger, the Ban increasingly tried to interfere with the press and judicial matters. Ban Slavko Cuvaj, nominated in 1912, was particularly hostile to the nationalist press: he ordered that confiscations could not be made obvious by the inclusion of blank spaces and reestablished the *Kaution*.²¹⁸

After the occupation of Bosnia-Herzegovina, at first the press remained within the remit of the military authorities. Only in 1907 did it receive a specific press law, modeled after the Austrian legislation, which was not changed after the annexation of 1908. The editor had now to be a citizen of Bosnia-Herzegovina, Austria, or Hungary, with local residence, and the *Kaution* was compulsory. The outbreak of the Balkan Wars led to the first limitation of press freedom, and censorship of military news was enforced in May 1913;

216 Ibid., 1521.

217 Catherine Horel, "Austria-Hungary 1867–1914," in *Political Censorship of the Visual Arts in Nineteenth-Century Europe: Arresting Images*, ed. Robert Justin Goldstein and Andrew M. Nedd (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), 90.

218 Olechowski, "Das Preßrecht in der Habsburgermonarchie," 1530.

this regulation was soon rescinded but was reestablished one year later, in July 1914.²¹⁹

The range of criteria for which newspaper's articles and, to a lesser extent, illustrations could be censored was rather large and could be interpreted in a more or less liberal way throughout the Habsburg Empire. The emperor, the heir, and the entire imperial family were an absolute taboo and were not supposed to be attacked, criticized, mocked, or caricatured; any attempt to do so would be prosecuted under the accusation of *lese-majesté* (*Majestätsbeleidigung*). Regardless of the fact that he was unpopular, Francis Ferdinand was thus spared from caricatures; this was even more true for Charles I, who became Crown Prince and later accessed the throne under the very specific context of war censorship. In accordance with the empire's motto, "*indivisibiliter ac inseparabiliter*," and the emperor's "*viribus unitis*," the indivisibility of the empire could not be questioned, and the army was considered untouchable.

This was also the case in Hungary where the Personal Union with Austria was basis of the Compromise of 1867, and the same can be said of the union of the Hungarian Kingdom with Croatia. On the whole, the integrity of the Lands of St. Stephen's Crown was untouchable. Blasphemy and attacks against the Church as an institution as well as religion in general (*Gotteslasterung, Religionsstörung, Beleidigung einer Religionsgemeinschaft*), were also prosecuted, though caricatures of Jews were not considered religious in nature. Also forbidden was disruption of moral order (*Verletzung der Sittlichkeit*) and pornography. Less obvious were accusations of "disruption of the public order" (*Störung der öffentlichen Ordnung*), "vilification and agitation against the State and/or local authorities" (*Herabwürdigung der Verfügungen der Behörden and Aufwiegelung gegen Staats- oder Gemeinde-Behörden*), and "provocation of hatred against a national and/or religious community" (*Aufreizung zu Feindseligkeiten gegen Nationalitäten, Religionsgenossenschaften, Körperschaften*).²²⁰ Those who felt they had been subject to slander (*Verleumdung*) or insult (*Ehrenbeleidigung*) were given the possibility to sue the editor or to challenge him to a duel.

The easing of censorship after 1867 facilitated the creation of satirical newspapers in the largest towns, and in some smaller ones, but most of them were short-lived, as indeed most papers were. Not every satirical paper was

219 *Ibid.*, 1532.

220 Murray G. Hall, ed., *Die Muskete: Kultur- und Sozialgeschichte im Spiegel einer satirisch-humoristischen Zeitschrift 1905–1941* (Vienna: Edition Tusch, 1983), 11.

politically oriented, and some simply entertained their readers with jokes and anecdotes. The majority of them were edited in German, Hungarian, Polish, and Italian, the languages of the authorities in Austria, Hungary, Galicia, and Trieste; later there appeared satirical newspapers in Czech, Slovene, and Croatian. Drawings and caricatures sometimes appeared on the front page of political newspapers, mainly during elections or if there was a particular event, such as a crisis in Vienna. Papers had to cope with the fact that a part of their potential audience was still illiterate, and with the threat of censorship. The press was indeed essential as a means to educate people, but images were not regarded as effective as text, with the exception of historical paintings and illustrations, reproductions of which were sometimes published. Indeed, the national awakening of the peoples of the Austro-Hungarian Empire was considered best expressed through painting. An ambitious young painter from a small town did not want to “end up” as a caricaturist, but could start as one. The Czech painter Mikulaš Aleš began as a caricaturist for the satirical newspaper *Rašple* (The Rasp) in Brünn, but later achieved success with his paintings exalting Slavic history.²²¹

The image of the various nationalities and Jews was a constant topic of the satirical press. In Vienna and Budapest, and in each *Kronland* easily recognizable stereotypes circulated about local peoples and foreigners. Anti-Semitism and xenophobia seem to have been theoretically censored, although importantly text and image were not treated equally in this respect, with an apparently more lenient approach toward the latter than the former. Newspapers were mostly read by men at the café or delivered to homes through subscription, the latter were generally dailies published in the capitals. The local press was available at newsstands and cafés and could be subscribed to as well in order to be accessible in even the most remote villages.

In Hungary, Budapest dominated the press landscape, but some provincial towns had their own papers too; most of these were short-lived due to the extreme mobility of journalists, who were often not professionals but teachers, priests, or civil servants, since the press was a risky business. The long-lasting provincial newspapers were often in German. Those wanting to make a name for themselves as journalists tried to settle in Budapest, as the provincial audience was thin and not yet receptive enough for satire. The satirical newspapers that became famous and lasted until 1914 were mostly founded at the end of the 1860s, a phenomenon comparable to what took place in Austria. Unlike in

221 Horel, “Austria-Hungary 1867–1914,” 93.

Austria, however, no satirical newspaper in Hungary was published in a language other than Hungarian outside of Croatia, where the autonomous government had authority over cultural and educational matters. On the whole, very few papers could be published in other languages. Most of them were in Romanian and Serbo-Croatian, but they were permanently under scrutiny by the authorities and could not reach a large audience because people were either illiterate or educated in Hungarian schools and thus unable to read in those languages. The press was not systematically distributed in villages, and one had to go to the next marketplace to have access to printed material. Peddling was permitted but it did not contribute much to the diffusion of papers, which remained the privilege of village notables.

Many satirical newspapers had a specifically political bent. The satirical monthly *Rašple*, published in Brünn from 1890 to 1924, had a rather social democratic orientation, and was one of the longest running of its kind in the Bohemian lands. At the beginning of its existence the paper's cartoons were drawn by Mikulaš Aleš and thus had an artistic quality never reached again in the following years, although another caricaturist, Friedrich Kasteline created remarkable cartoons for the same paper.²²² Anti-Semitism was widespread, and even became the sole focus of some satirical newspapers, such as *Brněnský Drak*, published in the years 1887–1894 by V. V. Klapka and Josef Liebel. Issued twice a month, the paper was often censored for its articles but more rarely for its cartoons, which were extremely virulent and aggressive against Jews.

The Italian and Slovene satirical newspapers published in Trieste had a long history of attacking each other. Most of them were short-lived, though the Italian ones were somewhat more successful. The first Italian satirical papers appeared at the end of the 1870s, like *Sandro*, published twice a month from 1876 to 1881. Its tone was rather innocent and its attacks against Slovene politicians remained rather moderate in words and images, and it was therefore not often censored. *Il diavoletto illustrato* (The illustrated little devil), founded in 1886, was somewhat more virulent but lasted little more than a year. More durable was *La Pulce* (The Flea), a weekly published from 1887 to 1897: its tone was more political and international, it had more cartoons, and it was on the whole more ambitious and of better quality than the first papers. It contained many anecdotes and jokes about local life, sometimes in Triestine dialect, and focused on theater and social criticism.

²²² Ibid., 102.

At the turn of the 1890s, the cartoons began to be increasingly aimed at Slovenes, as in many other papers. Most of them were not signed but the name of V. Schiavon is sometimes to be found under some of them, a very eloquent local name but also possibly a pseudonym. Most local satirical papers were weeklies or monthlies, but the short-lived *La coda del diavolo* (The Devil's Tail), published from March 1909 to the end of 1910, was a daily paper. Its ambition was expressed in this ironical sentence: "We said to ourselves: if we print without a program, the public will laugh; so, here's our program: make the public laugh." In fact, the paper had the same program as the Italian nationalists, and was anti-Slavic and mainly targeting the South-Slavs of the monarchy, especially the Slovenes. It was hostile to the Social Democrats and Austrian authorities, accusing them of favoring the Slovenes. Finally, the weekly *Marameo* was the last satirical Italian newspaper published before the war, from 1911 to 1914. It was even more anti-German than *La coda del diavolo*, and was also focused on the international situation, which is not a surprise considering the years of the Balkan Wars and other crises around the Mediterranean; the Ottoman Empire and the Turks in general were popular targets of the cartoons and jokes. It followed an irredentist line, promoted the creation of an Italian university, railed against the use of the Slovene language in courts and the Slovene national ambitions on the whole, and featured racist caricatures of the Slovenes. Here again the Socialists were considered traitors and allies to the Slovenes, and the socialist weekly *Il Lavoratore* was nicknamed the "*Slavoratore*." In general, the Italian satiricals, in contrast to the German papers of the Bohemian lands, did not have anti-Semitic prejudices.

Two Slovene satirical papers were published in Trieste, both of which attacked Italian nationalism. Like their Czech counterparts, the two Slovene papers were very anti-Semitic, ignoring the differences between Germans, Jews, and Italians. They were also Catholic, and hostile to social democracy. The first paper, *Jurij s puso* (George with the Flint) was published in 1884–85. The second, *Škrat* (Goblin), was printed and edited by the Slovene National Society in Trieste, *Edinost* (Unity) in 1903–5. The front page showed the goblin himself as well as a Jew thrown to the ground by a Slovene. Both weeklies were highly anti-Semitic, but some differences existed which can be explained by the evolution of time; *Škrat* was decidedly anti-German and slightly anti-clerical. The last point may seem surprising when one considers Slovene Catholicism and the influence of the clergy in political life. Significantly, the paper was not published in Laibach (Ljubljana) but in Trieste, where the Slovenes were mainly workers, domestics, and merchants, so the

paper had to take into account the fact that many of them sympathized with social democracy. Expressing its solidarity with the Croats, the weekly was also violently anti-Hungarian.²²³

In Croatia, the satirical press had slow beginnings and only a few significant papers can be mentioned. Most of these early newspapers were the product of the major Croatian political party, the Party of the Right (“right” here referring to Croatian historical rights). Some attempts were made at the beginning of the 1860s to launch satirical papers but all of them stopped after just a few issues.²²⁴ *Zvekan* (The Idiot), was more successful; it appeared in January 1867 in Zagreb and was published twice a month by chief editor Marko Manasteriotti, who was also its main cartoonist. The man behind the paper was actually the leader of the Party of the Right, Ante Starčević and he also wrote regularly in its pages. The paper accused the other main party in Croatia, the National Party, of siding with the Hungarians and called them “*Madžarolci*.” But the paper did not meet the needs of its audience and stopped at the end of the same year. More demanding in terms of literary and artistic excellence was *Humoristički list* (Humorous paper) published in Zagreb in 1877, which had among its collaborators the renowned writer August Šenoa. Its editor was the journalist Vjekoslav Raić, who had already launched other newspapers and was a key personality of Croatia’s intellectual life. In spite of all its qualities, the paper quickly ceased publication without having professed any clear political line.

In 1883–85, another right-leaning paper was published in Zagreb, *Bič* (The Whip). It was often censored by the authorities, and, unusually for the time, this happened with its cartoons more frequently than with the text.²²⁵ In the wake of the appearance of the nationalist movement *Obzor* (Horizon), a satirical newspaper named *Satir* was founded in 1901. As expected, it attacked Ban Khuen-Héderváry but had other targets such as the clergy. The painter Menci C. Crnčić drew *Satir*’s high-quality caricatures, and the editors included other renowned writers, dramatists, and artists that gave the paper an unprecedented excellence in the Croatian press, but it, too, quickly shut down.²²⁶ Finally, *Koprive* (The Nettle), the last Croatian satirical paper,

223 Ibid., 103.

224 Vlasta Švoger, “Das kroatische Pressewesen,” in *Die Habsburgermonarchie 1848–1918*, vol. 8/2, *Politische Öffentlichkeit und Zivilgesellschaft: Die Presse als Faktor der politischen Mobilisation*, ed. Helmut Rumpler (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2006), 2164.

225 Ibid., 2165.

226 Ibid., 2166.

appeared in 1902 in Zagreb and continued publication during the war, and even afterwards in the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes. Most satirical papers ceased their publication during the war due to censorship and the limitations on political life, but the survival of this paper is an example of the relative lenience of Hungarian censorship. Unlike in Austria, the Hungarian parliament was not suspended and therefore provided material for critique in the press. During the war, the paper followed the currents of the Austro-Hungarian war strategy and was virulent in its treatment of the enemies, especially Russia and Italy.²²⁷

Under the laws enticement to hatred toward other national groups was punishable and should have led to prosecution of particularly virulent caricatures, but this almost never happened in Austria and even less in Hungary. Since texts were censored but images rarely were, there were times when a caption or article accompanying a cartoon was censored but the image remained to speak for itself. In cases of confiscation, the newspaper had to publish the decision of the authorities in the next issues with an explanation of the reasons, and while this was done regularly for the articles, the mention of the confiscated cartoons was generally missing and only blank space enabled the reader to guess that a caricature had been censored. Censored caricatures (and caricatures in general) can be defined along three categories: those referring to the international situation; those referring to local, i.e., national, political contexts; and those illustrating social behavior (including many about women and sex, prostitution, etc.). Some images belonging to the first category had much in common with those in the second one; the general depreciation of the Slavs, for example, was extended from Russia and the Balkans to the Slavic populations of the monarchy, who were then portrayed as supporting Russian imperialism and Pan-Slavism. By contrast, for the Czech press the dislike of Germans extended well beyond the borders of the empire and included the German *Reich* that was perceived as an enemy of the Slavs and characterized as aggressive and imperialist.

Each nationality was immediately recognizable to the audience thanks to a panoply of visual stereotypes, usually including a headdress and sometimes a national costume, which were shared on both sides of the Leitha. Hungarians were depicted as magnates with egret headdress and the attire of the nobility (*díszmagyar*); Czechs had a cap or a small melon hat; Slovenes wore a conic hat and were represented smoking a pipe; Serbians were shown with the Turkish

227 Horel, "Austria-Hungary 1867–1914," 105.

fez; Poles—who were often represented in noble costume, like the Hungarians—wore fur hats and coats; Italians had a characteristic hat with a panache or the conic stripped hat of South Tyrol. Some groups that were only present in Austria (Slovenes, Ruthenians) appeared less in the Hungarian press, and likewise Romanians and Croats were less present in the Austrian papers outside of Trieste (where Croats were depicted in both the Slovene and Italian press, with different meanings). Interestingly, Germans inside and outside of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy were both represented by the same character, “*deutscher Michel*,” and thus no particular character was ever created to personify Austrians as distinct from the Germans, for citizens did not consider “Austrian” to be a national designation. After the German unification, German militarism was represented by Bismarck even well beyond his death, as well as by Emperor William II and other military figures wearing the typical *Pickelhaube* (spiked helmet). In the Slavic press, the Germans were either seen as Michel with a bonnet or as the representation of the authorities with top hats. The cartoons were often completed with the addition of national symbols and emblems: the Austrian eagle, the Bohemian lion, the Russian bear, personifications of Austria, Hungary, Trieste, etc., as feminine allegories, or historical figures known to everyone. Specific groups were also recurrent and easy to identify by their attire: the German students’ groups (*Burschenschaften*) with their hats, swords, and uniforms; the *Sokol* members with their hawk’s feather headdress; and, of course, the clerics. The physical stereotypes went along with the dress code: the Hungarians were systematically adorned with a long black moustache in all regions of the monarchy, while at home the social differences were more precise. Most caricatures referring to these stereotypes represented ordinary people, with politicians always portrayed wearing “Western” clothes.²²⁸

Caricatures reflected the ethnic and political situation, and most of them referred to local quarrels as well as to the attitude of their respective governments. In this respect many caricatures were censored not because they depicted the other nationality in a racist and depreciative way but because they criticized the authorities, as was often the case in Trieste. The satirical daily *Marameo* was censored twice in spring 1914 for “the mocking of the functionaries of public safety intended to prejudice illegally the prestige of this authority.” The decision relied on “the accusation of partiality intending to incite hatred and disdain against the functionaries of the local authority

²²⁸ Ibid., 109.

for public safety.”²²⁹ The authorities were sensitive to the perception of their prerogatives and impartiality, but tolerated attacks on the strict political level, so it was possible, for example, to caricature the mayor as a political adversary but not as the personification of local authority. This complex situation allowed the press to bypass censorship but kept it ever unsure of the reaction of the authorities. While most of the characters depicted were anonymous stereotypes, many were also perfectly recognizable for the readers because they knew them from personal experience, as was the case of local personalities, or through the images diffused by the general press.

A great deal of racism infused political conflict. The representation of the Slavs was highly prejudiced in the lands where the population was mixed: since they were perceived as immature, they were portrayed as the prey of exterior agitators (Russia) who were trying to undermine the monarchy. This accusation could be turned around and used against the Italians in Trieste, who were perceived as agents of irredentists, which was implicitly promoted by the kingdom of Italy despite its alliance with Austria-Hungary. In the particular case of Trieste the lines dividing the three major groups corresponded to the political balance: the Italians saw the Slovenes as manipulated by the Germans and therefore criticized both; the Slovenes mainly attacked the Italians, accused of not letting them enter the political and social life of the town, but had also grievances against the Germans in Istria and Carniola; and (though there was no German satirical press in Trieste) the Germans portrayed the Italians as convinced irredentists and the Slovenes as brutes, though this referred more to the context of Austria than of Trieste. Racism was present in this context at more than one level: the Italian and German satirical press presented a pejorative image of the Slovenes, but they did the same with the Jews whom they depicted as the main promoters of *Irredenta*. The representation of the Slovenes as stupid, filthy, and primitive was very similar to the image of the Czechs, but there were significant differences too. The political existence of the Slovenes in the empire was problematic because they could not claim historical rights comparable to those of Bohemia or Croatia, and their national movement was more modest because they were a less numerous population that was mainly rural and had not yet produced a significant elite. Therefore, any claim to participation was regarded as unjustified and pretentious by the Italians in Trieste, and also by the Germans. The image of the Slovenes as a primitive people was expressed through physical features such as large peasant faces, thick

229 *Marameo*, no. 157, May 9, 1914; no. 164, June 27, 1914.

lips, and filthy clothes; they were shown coming from the poor rural hinterland of the *Karst* and associated with donkeys or pigs, another popular image of the Slavs all over the monarchy and beyond (Serbia). In the Italian press of Trieste, the Slovenes were also pictured as clerics as the local Catholic hierarchy was accused of supporting the Slovene demands and the clergy was generally seen as sympathetic to their cause, if not already infiltrated by them.

The nearly simian faces of the Slavs in German (but not Italian) caricatures can also be found for the Czechs, whose faces were sometimes devoid of any human features in order to make them look like monstrous beings prone to violence. Women associated with nationalities were portrayed generally as allegories or associated with courting (another nationality) or sexual activities. In this image both Slavic (Slovene and Czech) women are pictured in the traditional attire of maids, a function many of them occupied in Vienna (and Trieste) together with that of wet nurse and cook. The violence of the German caricatures of the Slavs was unique, and nothing comparable can be seen in Italian or Hungarian papers. One element common to many images was that of a possible eruption of violence on the part of the Slavs, a reflection of a time of nihilist assassinations, threats of war, and fear of revolutionary movements. In many caricatures the Slavs were also coupled with Social Democrats and this party is seen as a social and national danger.

In the Czech *Feindbild*, or “image of the enemy,” in which some racist elements were also present, the imperialist German Reich was characterized as brutal and aggressive. Some caricatures also suggested that the Germans were not as educated as they claimed and that their supposed intellectual superiority was a way to hide their will for hegemony over the Slavs. An example for this is a caricature in the December 19, 1903 issue of the Prague weekly *Šípy*, which addressed the German attitude to the Italian and Czech demands to open their own universities in Trieste and Brünn, respectively. It shows two figures stumbling in the middle of a street, identified as members of the German student fraternity (*Burschenschaft*)—and with features resembling Arthur Lemisch, a German representative of the *Reichsrat*, and Karl Hermann Wolf, a partisan of Georg von Schönerer in the Bohemian lands—who react to the sight of Slavic and Italian students by ridiculing their alleged cultural inferiority (see Figure 5.7).²³⁰

²³⁰ *Šípy*, no. 2, December 19, 1903. Lemisch was also one of the authors of the German-national Linzer program from 1882 and a representative of the *Reichsrat*. Wolf took part in the violent demonstration of October 1, 1905, in Brünn, and was an ardent supporter of Georg von Schönerer, one of the leaders of the German-National Party from the 1880s on. Starting as a liberal,



Figure 5.7. Cartoon in *Šípy*, no. 2, December 19, 1903, titled "Only for them shines the sun of education" (*Jen pro ně slunce vzdělanosti svítí!*). The first student, "Buršák," bears the traits of Arthur Lemisch, and says: "Look, over there are those Slavic and Italian barbarians who want their own university, how ridiculous!" (*Hled', tamhle ti slovanští a italiánští barbaři chtějí taky university pro sebe; k smíchu!*), to which the second *Buršák*, looking like Karl Hermann Wolf, answers: "Cheeky bunch who see themselves as equal with us *Kulturträger* [cultural bearer]. Science is only for us, German superior beings" (*Drzá banda, s nami kulturägry se to chce měřit. Věda jen pro nás, germánské nadlidi!*). The text on the stick Lemisch is holding reads "German culture."

The other method with which the Czech press chose to represent the Germans was anti-Semitic imagery, widely practiced by the satirical press of the period. As observed above, Jews were often associated with the leading group: the Italians in Trieste and the Germans in the Bohemian lands. But interestingly, Czech and German cartoonists also coupled the Jews with the Hungarians. The Czech satirical papers as well as the general press had an obvious anti-Semitic tone with the exception of the Social Democratic papers that in turn were critical to both German and Czech nationalists. When they were not stigmatized as violent pan-Germanics, the Germans bore the traits of the Jews who

Schönerer became increasingly pan-Germanic and anti-Semitic. It is generally admitted that his ideas about the superiority of the Germans and the subsequent inferiority of the Slavs influenced the young Adolf Hitler.

were seen as exploiters of the Czechs. The Jews were considered, with some truth, the defenders and bearers of German culture in the Bohemian lands.

The same range of arguments was used in the Slovene press, but with a less elaborate style and content. As in Austria, two images were associated with the Jews: first, the modern assimilated Jew, “colonizing” the nation to his own benefit in the Austrian case and serving German and Italian interests in the Czech and Slovene ones; and second, the supposed massive immigration of poor traditional Jews from Galicia and Russia. Both stereotypes were alternatively used, but the second was less frequently used in the Czech press because of the near absence of these immigrants in the Bohemian lands. That many of them then succeeded and integrated into the society they had come to live in gave birth to a third stereotype frequent in the Hungarian press, the assimilated Jews pretending to be a native Magyar. The accents and errors made by Jews in their pronunciation of German (as well as Czech and Hungarian) were mocked in the captions of many cartoons, though this was also the case for other groups. Only the Germans were not mocked in this respect, for the majority of them did not bother to learn the language of the nationalities. The Germans of Hungary were on their way to assimilation and were therefore not stigmatized for something everybody welcomed. The Jewish jargon, mixing Yiddish, German, and Hungarian, was, however, a source of amusement, while at the same time many of such idioms became part of the slang enriching the Hungarian language. To this one might add that many editors, journalists, cartoonists in Hungary were Jews. Adoption of Hungarian names by Jews was also the source of many jokes.

The satirical newspapers of Brünn, where many Jews were significant entrepreneurs and bankers, used the traditional image of the wealthy Jew profiting from the local workforce. The Jewish characters were mocked for their poor knowledge of Czech and for their opportunism. Both papers had a recurrent Jewish character generally called “*Icik*,” but the *Brněnský Drak* was once censored in November 1892 for the defamatory appellation of “*Židáček*” and “*Fricek*;²³¹ in this case, as in other contexts, the text was considered insulting but not the picture. *Rašple* was also censored a few times because of caricatures, but more often for the texts.²³² The common representation of Jewish men included a big, buckled nose and, in many cases, traditional Jewish clothes,

231 *Brněnský Drak*, no. 22, November 21, 1892.

232 Already the first issue of the newspaper was censored. The “first” issue became no. 2 of April 28, 1890. Unusually, a cartoon of the front page that was to appear in the August 27, 1896 issue was “confiscated.” There were more confiscations in 1900 and 1902, but they did not concern car-

while women were shown as obese, with enormous noses and curly black hair. The connection between the Jews and money was frequently illustrated by the image of a Jewish king to whom his German, French, and Slavic subjects brought sacks of cash, or constitute the pillars sustaining his throne. To fight this supposed domination, the motto of the *Brněnský Drak* on the front page read: “buy from Christians.” Finally, there was even the suggestion that the Jews might make money out of anti-Semitism itself: a cartoon in *Rašple* from March 1896 shows the characters “Icik Silberstein” and “Mojžíš Goldberger,” the latter accompanied by his son in a boy’s typical sailor’s costume wearing Western clothes. They are having the following comical dialogue:

Silberstein: Nü, žekni mi pšec, co z tvého malého Jakhuba bhudeš udělat ?

Goldberger: Phü, wie heisst? Jak phánbu bhude chtít; udhělám z něj anthisemit.

Silberstein: Gott über die Welt! Jsi thy meschügge?

Goldberger: Nix bin jach meschügge! Tho je dnes thuze dobrý kšeft.

(*Silberstein: Tell me, my friend, what are you going to do with young Jakob?*)

Goldberger: What do you mean? What God will decide: I would make him an anti-Semite.

Silberstein: God in Heaven, are you mad?

Goldberger: I am not mad at all! That’s a rather good business nowadays.)

The Slovene periodicals were less subtle and associated the Jews with Italian hegemony in Trieste. In the *Jurij s puso* a recurrent character was the “*Židovski Quartet*” composed of four Jews wearing traditional clothes and presented as having come from the “North” by train (that is, with the Southern Railway from Vienna), an example of the stereotype of the Eastern Jews migrating into the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Two of them, called “Fajteles” and “Jajteles,” appeared in nearly all issues of the paper. The characters were shown sympathizing with the local elite by participating in business deals. The Jewish deputy-mayor of the town, Felice Venezian, was a popular and regular target of *Škrat*, which was apparently never censored because of these cartoons and not sued for defamation by the victim. Venezian was attacked as an individual—“*žid Venezian*” as the paper called him—but not as a person invested with authority. Many cartoons of March and April of 1903 showed him as being

toons. Things seemed to calm down after the introduction of universal suffrage and a few confiscations happened again in 1912.

linked to the Austrians as well,²³³ and in May he was shown holding in his hands marionette figures of the 47 members of the Chamber.²³⁴ In general the Jews of Trieste were pictured as turning the economic potential of the city to their—and the Italians’—benefit. Two other cartoons in the spring of 1903 have the same theme. In the first a cow identified as “Triestine trade” is milked by Jews. The caption explains: “The Jerusalem-Jewish Chamber of Commerce in Trieste is such a poor cow that it needs now some care and better breeding.”²³⁵ In the second cartoon we see the editors of the “Italian Liberal” press represented as Jews licking the feet of a fat Jewish woman who is identified as the press itself. Recalling the Czech context mentioned above, the caption makes fun of the supposed cultural superiority of the Italians, namely the “cultural” action of the Triestine Italian Liberal press, suggesting that it is only a pretension and that the Italians need the help of the Jewish press for that purpose.²³⁶

Together with the stereotype described above, images of Jewish migration into Austria-Hungary were associated with the fear of revolution. *Škrat* often showed Jews as being behind the agitation and assassinations in Russia and perpetuated the stereotype that they would come to Austria in order to exploit the underprivileged Slavs and foster unrest. The “invasion” of poor traditional Eastern Jews was often brought up as an issue in the conservative Austrian press that associated the Jews, at best, with the liberals, and at worst with the Social Democrats. This perception was shared by the pan-German as well as by the Christian-Socialist papers.²³⁷ The same representation appeared in many Viennese satirical papers. Here again, languages and names were easily recognizable for the readership used to this everyday anti-Semitism. Doubts were instilled about the loyalty of the Jews in the case of a war with Russia, and Jews were shown as having military officers in their hands because the latter were badly paid and had to resort to Jewish “usurers,” undermining the credibility of the army. The Austrian press also used a racist representation of the Hungarians through Jewish characters, not only in the German press but also in the Czech papers that mixed German-Jewish and Hungarian-Jewish figures: both were considered oppressors of the Slavs. There were also many “Jewish” papers, as the Jews were well represented in the press in general, and especially in Hungary where the former German papers had lost much of their power, the press of the nationalities

233 *Škrat*, no. 15, April 18, 1903.

234 *Škrat*, no. 17, May 2, 1903.

235 *Škrat*, no. 12, March 28, 1903.

236 *Škrat*, no. 19, May 16, 1903.

237 Horel, “Austria-Hungary 1867–1914,” 115.

was practically non-existent and concentrated on the defense of its own people, and there was thus room for Jewish journalists. The assimilation of the Jews had a lot to do with urbanization and access to the Hungarian language; in the *Vor-märz* the first Jewish journalists wrote their papers in German but then quickly turned to Hungarian. In the German papers, in which they still wrote, Jewish journalists advocated for the assimilation of Jews through the adoption of the language and values of the Hungarian nation. As a result of these changes, the press became a largely Jewish business in the years following the Compromise.

It was not before the 1880s that open anti-Semitism began to appear in the Hungarian press. In these years, an anti-Semitic party was formed (it was short-lived but still an indication of changing times), and the trial over an alleged ritual murder in the village of Tisza-Eszlár did the rest.²³⁸ Although the press remained to be dominated by liberal papers well into the 1890s, opposition papers did not spare their charges against the “scandal” that the liberal press was overwhelmingly Jewish. Other publications tried to combat the growing anti-Semitic tendencies in Hungarian political life, like the main satirical Budapest newspaper *Borsszem Jankó* (Johnny Peppercorn), which had encouraged assimilation. The editor of the paper, Adolf Ágai, courageously led his crusade against prejudice by writing satirical articles and inventing characters that supposed to characterize trends he criticized. In so doing, Ágai also poked fun at various aspects of Jewish life, including Orthodox Jews shown as backward, and Jewish parvenus pretending to be better Magyars than the Magyars themselves, parading in *díszmagyar* and wearing swords (the Jews were not considered “*satisfaktionsfähig*” and could theoretically not duel, though they did anyway). The character that supposed to personify Orthodoxy was an imaginary Rabbi who bore the funny name of “Reb Menachan Czicziszbeiser,” and was always portrayed as furious at the “perversities” of modern life, and at the Jews who adopted them. This kind of self-criticism was also present in the provincial papers, such as the *Rakéta* of Szabadka, whose editors were mainly Jews, and who mocked the Magyarization of family names.²³⁹ The same could be said of some satirical characters that appeared in the majority of provincial newspapers with Jewish publishers.

²³⁸ In this small village of north-eastern Hungary, the alleged murder of young Eszter Solymosi was turned into a blood libel accusation. The country was troubled for months by anti-Semitic agitation until the members of the local Jewish community accused of having abducted and killed the girl were acquitted. See György Kövér, *A tiszzaeszlári dráma: Társadalomtörténeti látószögek* [The drama of Tiszaeszlár: Social-historical perspectives (Budapest: Osiris, 2011)].

²³⁹ *Rakéta* was published from August 1906 to March 1907. The editor was Emil Havas together with Gábor Oroszlány (his surname is certainly a Magyarized version of “Löw” or “Löwy”); the caricatures of the front page were drawn by Béla Borsos.

Newspapers generally mirrored the political context of the empire with local and national (Austrian and Hungarian) specificities. The constitutional era and wider access to education favored the multiplication of newspapers and readers, and one newspaper could naturally be read by more persons than the number of subscribers and sales indicates. In both parts of the monarchy the liberal parties were the first to create their own dailies, published in the capitals and as local versions. The diversification of the political scene in the 1880s was mirrored by the multiplication of newspapers. The new mass parties like the Christian Socials and the Social Democrats founded their own press, as did Agrarians. Every nationality had its own press that reflected its political diversity. At the beginning of the constitutional period each nationality possessed a major national newspaper claiming to represent the interests of their ethnic community, and as civic liberties extended so did the variety of political currents. Expanded suffrage was a crucial element, and the enactment in 1907 of universal male suffrage in Cisleithania for general elections was a decisive moment in the development of the press. From then on, the Social Democratic Party was less persecuted by censorship and could issue newspapers more freely. The situation was different in Hungary, where the lack of universal suffrage prevented successful accession of the minorities and the Socialist movement to the political scene. Although Hungarian censorship was less strict than the Austrian, the government still made efforts to control the press with respect to the “danger” posed by these two movements, targeting social democratic organs, still very modest at the turn of the century, and the newspapers of the nationalities. Thus, when it came to charges of incitement to hatred towards another national group, these were levied less against anti-Semitic or overtly nationalistic organs than against national minority papers accused of agitating against the Hungarian nation.

The press in Transleithanian cities

Most cities had local dailies, but these were slow to take the place of national ones in part because the readership had not yet been “created.” In this respect the growth of literacy was essential, though not the only factor leading to the creation and maintenance of dailies. In a city where cultural life was weaker, such as Szabadka, running a daily newspaper was difficult, and all newspapers existing at the end of the nineteenth century there were weeklies. The first daily newspaper, *Szabadkai Friss Ujság* (Szabadka Fresh News), appeared in March 1901, being also the first in Bács county, and in the first editorial the

chief editor Géza Löw justified the creation of the newspaper by the progress accomplished in terms of education and culture in the town.²⁴⁰ It was in open competition with the *Bácskai Hirlap*, founded in October 1897 with the ambition to become a daily newspaper, but then publishing just four days a week. Politically, the Hungarian dailies expressed the two major political currents of the time, liberalism (as represented by the government party) and independence (as manifest in the oppositional Independence Party). This reflected national as well as local politics, and when the municipality belonged to one of them, it was systematically attacked by the other. National politics also played a role, as in Szabadka where Mayor Lazar Mamuzsics was suspected of Slavic sympathies because of his origins and the fact that he was obviously elected—many times—thanks to Bunjevci voters.

In the other Hungarian cities national politics interfered less, with the exception of Pozsony and Temesvár, but neither of these towns had real “national” parties challenging the Hungarian domination. German newspapers turned into advocates of the Hungarian liberal party early on, and also supported Magyarization and Hungarian patriotism, thus constituting no real danger for the authorities. Already in the 1830s, Jewish editors writing in German had pleaded for the adoption of the Hungarian language and values by Jews. This attitude continued in the 1860s and most of the newspapers that still published in German in Hungary were led by Jews who were partisans of Magyarization and assimilation. In towns where German readership was still powerful and numerous these newspapers could maintain their influence.

This was the case in Pozsony and Temesvár, but not in Arad where the leading German newspapers disappeared one after another. The *Arader Zeitung* that dominated the landscape in the 1870s was itself the successor of the *Arader Anzeiger* of the 1850s. The *Arader Zeitung* had to cease publication in 1875 for financial reasons; it was followed by the *Neue Arader Zeitung* that was obliged to stop issuing in the 1890s.²⁴¹ Both newspapers had to deal with a declining German-speaking readership and a growing number of Hungarian newspapers, and with political opposition since the municipality was by then governed by the Independence Party. The liberal German press, often led by Jews, was this party’s declared enemy. In Pozsony and Temesvár, on

²⁴⁰ *Szabadkai Friss Ujság*, no. 1, March 2, 1901.

²⁴¹ The *Arader Zeitung* was resuscitated in 1920 with the aim of “Rückverdeutschung der madjarisierten Bevölkerung” (re-Germanizing the Magyarized population).

the contrary, the German-speaking elite was still numerous and influential enough to maintain newspapers; both cities had long-serving quality newspapers that turned into patriotic Hungarian ones without abandoning the German language, such as the *Temesvarer Zeitung*, one of the longest-serving newspapers (1852–1949) of the Banat.²⁴² But even this prestigious newspaper had to merge with the *Neue Temesvarer Zeitung* in 1902 because German-speaking readership had declined, and many of them had moved either to Catholic or to declared nationalist newspapers.²⁴³

The other German journals in Banat had less impact and most of them were corporative or niche publications. The *Preßburger Zeitung* was also able to survive until after World War I. Published from 1764 to 1929, it was one of the oldest Hungarian newspapers and undoubtedly the town's leading daily; its influence spread all over the region and it was read by both Germans and Hungarians. It was challenged from 1896 on by the *Preßburger Tagblatt*, the daily newspaper of the Christian Social movement and its Hungarian version, the Catholic People's Party (*Katolikus Néppárt*).²⁴⁴ The Hungarian Social Democratic Party was aware of the multiculturalism that characterized the country in spite of Magyarization and published different versions of the party's newspaper *Népszava*, which ran weekly starting in 1902 with its main demand being universal suffrage.

The disappearance of German from the Hungarian press landscape was of course more obvious in cities where it had never been the dominant language. In Szabadka, for example, the initiators of the Zionist journal *Autonomia* mentioned the possibility of issuing a German version if there was a demand for that; this apparently lacked as ultimately no German copy was published.²⁴⁵ When it came to the national press landscape, the languages other than Hungarian and German were nearly absent: in the cities under discussion Romanian and Serbian newspapers were issued but they had neither the regularity nor the diffusion of their Hungarian or German counterparts.

242 Luzian Geier, "Die Temesvarer Zeitung: Das wichtigste bürgerliche Presseorgan im Banat bis 1944," in *Die Zeit in der Zeitung: Beiträge zur rumäniendeutschen politischen Publizistik*, ed. Eduard Eisenburger and Michael Kroner (Cluj-Napoca: Dacia Verlag, 1977), 95.

243 *Ibid.*, 103.

244 The other German newspapers were weeklies like the *Pressburger Presse: Unabhängiges Organ für communale und locale Interessen*, the *Westungarische Grenzboten*, and the Social Democratic newspaper *Westungarische Volksstimme: Organ der ungarländischen sozialdemokratischen Partei für die arbeitende Bevölkerung Westungarns*, which was later simply called *Sozialdemokratisches Organ Westungarns*.

245 *Autonomia: Zsidó felekezettársadalmi és politikai lap*, no. 2, March 6, 1914.

Romanians were somewhat more successful in issuing newspapers and journals in Transylvania and Banat. One of the most important was *Tribuna poporului*, started in Arad in January 1897. The daily was clearly a national-minded paper opposing the Magyarization policy and expressing solidarity with the other peoples of the Hungarian kingdom. In Temesvár, the leading Romanian newspaper was *Dreptatea* (Righteousness), which was more significant than the many publications that had preceded it but was unable to live beyond a few issues. *Dreptatea* was published from 1894 to 1898 at the same time as *Foaia de duminică* (Sunday Paper) by the same editors. The local Serbs tried also to publish newspapers but this effort did not succeed beyond the modest *Narodni glasnik* (National Gazette) and *Smotra* (Review) at the turn of the 1880s.²⁴⁶ They were more successful in Szabadka thanks to a larger readership, which was also present in the hinterland, and to the influence of the Serbian cultural center of nearby Újvidék. The newspaper *Neven* (Marigold) was accompanied by the popular almanac *Subotička Danica*, both of which were the expression of the Bunjevci's Catholicism and thus stayed in the local frame. The editors were, however, conscious that there may be Orthodox readers and therefore mentioned both calendars and addressed the public beyond Szabadka. When the *Subotičke Novine* (Subotica News) was launched in 1893 it was clearly to counteract *Neven*, which was judged to be insufficiently devoted to national activism. The first editorial explained that the paper was intended for the Bunjevci of Szabadka, and accused them of not engaging enough in the defense of their language. The tone was resolutely local and aimed to rely on the Serbian elite who were already present and active in town, such as the Mamuzsics (Mamužić) family. But there was no space for two Serbian newspapers in Szabadka; *Subotičke Novine* struggled to survive and finally disappeared at the end of 1897.

Two exceptions to the domination of the Hungarian language were to be found in Fiume and Zagreb due to the juridical situation of those cities. In Fiume, the Hungarian press was the ally of the state, and its task was to promote the city's role as the Hungarian port in the spirit of Kossuth's call "*Tengerre, magyar!*" (To the sea, Magyar!) toward the domestic audience, and to present Fiume to the external world as rivaling Trieste. Correspondingly, the articles of Hungarian press expressed more wishful thinking about the future of Hungary's Adriatic ambitions than reality. The journal *Fiume*

²⁴⁶ *Magyarország vármegyéi és városai: Temesvár* (Budapest: Országos Monographiai Társaság, n.d.), 255.

was bilingual, carrying the subtitle: *Kereskedelmi, tengerészeti és társadalmi lap: Giornale commerciale, marittimo e sociale*. But the paper was only a semi-monthly publication. The other Hungarian papers were two weeklies: *Magyar Tengerpart* (Magyar littoral) and *Fiumei Szemle* (Fiume Review), founded respectively in 1893 and 1903. The Hungarian authorities tried to create a daily newspaper in 1908, and the *Fiumei Estilap* (Fiume Evening Paper) was already expressing its satisfaction with the rise of the number of subscribers and readers by 1909. Yet, none of these could compete with the Italian daily *La Bilancia*, founded in 1875, as the oldest and most important newspaper of the town. The other Italian newspapers were imported from Trieste, among them the socialist *Il Lavoratore*. The Croats also aimed to have their local newspapers distinct from those published in the rest of Croatia-Slavonia and Dalmatia. The first daily was *Riečki Novi List* (Rijeka's New Paper) founded in 1907, followed by *Riječke novine* (Rijeka News) starting in 1912. Both papers were edited in Sušak and could count on the contribution of Croatian nationalist leaders like Frano Supilo, who was one of the editors of the *Novi List*. The latter spread throughout Istria and became one of the leading Croatian newspapers of the region. Thus, multilingualism was a reality in Fiume as in many Dalmatian cities.

The situation was radically different in Zagreb where the autonomy granted by the *Nagodba* enabled the Croats to nationalize the press. From a largely German press landscape before 1868 only the *Agramer Zeitung*, the oldest newspaper of the town, survived. Founded in 1853, the editors succeeded in maintaining the quality of the paper to attract readership until World War I. In the meantime, the Croatian press had multiplied and diversified politically. The first major Croatian newspaper of the town and consequently of all Croatia-Slavonia was the daily *Narodne Novine* (National News) founded by Ljudevit Gaj in 1835 as *Ilirske Narodne Novine* (Illyrian National News). The main competitor was the newspaper of the so-called "National" party *Dnevni List* (Daily Paper), published by the supporters of the *Nagodba* and the Hungarian-friendly elite. Mirroring the *divide et impera* tactics of the Budapest government, the paper regularly addressed Serbian readers by issuing articles in Cyrillic alphabet. Also close to the local government was *Jutarnji List* (Morning Paper). This relatively homogenous linguistic landscape was extremely diverse in terms of political expression: parties were divided on many questions, especially the attitude toward Hungary and Serbia. This led not only to major trials like the *Agramerprozess* in 1909 and the Friedjung affair, but also

to press trials and streets fights where all parties were involved together with the editors of their respective papers.²⁴⁷

The press in Cisleithanian cities

The press landscape was similarly colorful in Cisleithania with each situation reflecting the national and political balance of each town. In places where German was mainly an administrative language of the authorities, civil servants, and educated people, there was at least one major German-language daily. Such was the case in Trieste, where the diversity of the press was remarkable. The newspapers most in tune with Austrian authorities were the two dailies published by the insurance company Lloyd in German, *Triester Zeitung*, and in Italian, *L'osservatore triestino*. Both were official papers where political comments were reduced to total loyalty to the state. The Italian national-liberal party was the main force behind *Il Piccolo*, to this day the leading Triestine daily. Other newspapers were more politically engaged, like the Socialist *Il Lavoratore*. Apart from these, all Italian newspapers were nationalist, anti-Slovene, and for some, strongly anticlerical. The latter included the *Il Cittadino* and its rival, the somewhat less anticlerical *L'indipendente*. The Slovenes were able to launch their own national newspapers, including the paper *Edinost* (Unity), named after the national society issuing it, which became the major Slovene organ. Subtitled “*Glasilo slovenskega političnega društva tržaske okolice*” (Organ of the political association of the Slovene in the Trieste region), *Edinost* monopolized the expression of the Slovenes. It was launched in 1876 and apart from editing the homonymous newspaper, *Edinost* functioned as a publishing house issuing most Slovene papers, including the satirical *Škrat*, the Christian Socialist *Svetilnik* (later renamed *Narodni Delavec*); the *Vestnik Tržaške Sokolske župe*, the bulletin of the local *Sokol*; and finally, the women’s monthly *Slovenka*. *Edinost* also claimed to speak for the Croats living in Trieste and published some of their papers as well. Most of the Croatian papers issued in Trieste were weeklies or monthlies, and were not long-lasting, though some could live over a couple of decades such as *Nasa Sloga: Poučni*,

²⁴⁷ Both affairs erupted after Austria-Hungary’s annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1908. In the first one, 53 Serbs from Croatia-Slavonia were accused of high treason; they were later acquitted for lack of evidence and after an enormous campaign that reached well beyond the empire. In the second one, the Austrian historian Heinrich Friedjung had produced evidence of contacts between Croatian politicians and Serbian leaders, but the documents proved to be forgeries issued by the Austro-Hungarian embassy in Belgrade. Here both Austria and Hungary had tried to convince public opinion of the danger represented by Serbia, but the scandal turned out to be a disadvantage for the authorities.

gospodarski i politični list (Our Concord: Educational, economic, and political paper) founded in 1870 and undeniably the most significant of all Croatian newspapers in Trieste.

The German dominance of Brünn was reflected in the number and variety of newspapers available there, but was also the result of the fact that the vicinity to Vienna enabled many cafés and individuals to read the fresh news from the capital. The Czechs also had quick access to the Prague dailies since the town was located half-way between both cities. The prestige of the Prague papers and the resistance of the local German community partly explains the late development of the Czech press in Brünn. The German landscape was dominated by the liberal *Mährischer Correspondent*, founded in 1861, which turned increasingly anticlerical in the late 1880s. It was the expression of the German *Landespatriotismus* that became growingly intolerant of Czech demands. The other German newspapers mostly sided with Pan-Germanism and consequently turned towards anti-Semitism. One exception was the Social Democratic *Volksfreund*, which was founded in 1882. Another was *Der Beobachter*, founded in 1894, with the subtitle proclaiming Moravian autonomy to be its political position, and which made *utraquism* its motto and advocated for the obligation of bilingualism throughout the province. The Czech newspapers reflected the variety of Czech parties: opposition between Old and Young Czechs was expressed through *Narodní Listy* and *Lidové Noviny*, but newcomers like the Christian-Socialist movement changed the press landscape in a town where Catholicism was omnipresent. Thus, anticlericalism became one of the lines of division between Czech parties. Anti-Semitism also became one of the leitmotifs of the Czech papers like the clerical dailies *Moravská Orlice* (The Moravian Eagle), *Hlas* (The Voice), and *Den* (The Day), founded in 1912 as the official organ of the Christian Social Party. The exception was once again the Social Democrats who rejected both nationalism and anti-Semitism in their paper *Rovnost* (Equality).

In Lemberg, the Ruthenian press also aimed to challenge the elite of the town, where Polish newspapers developed considerably after 1870. The political division of the Ruthenians was reflected in their press, which was consequently under attack from the Polish papers, which had a more unified profile. The main Polish dailies were *Gazeta Lwowska*, the oldest founded in 1811, *Gazeta Narodowa*, and *Polski Dziennik* (Polish Daily) founded in 1862. They were followed by *Kuryer Lwowski* in 1872. The other Polish dailies were not so long-lasting and addressed more specific layers of the readership, as did the Catholic weeklies and monthlies. The anti-Semitic tone was relatively absent

here due to the increasing assimilation of the Jews to the Polish element; in contrast to that relative tolerance there was much prejudice against the Ruthenians and their Russophile as well as supposed Socialist tendencies. Socialists were also present among the Poles but the fact that Lemberg was not a significant industrial town explains why Social Democratic papers were rare in the local press landscape. The Ruthenian newspapers arrived on the scene later but thanks to the growth of the population and the rise of literacy they could claim enough readers to maintain various papers.²⁴⁸ The first, *Slovo* (The Word), starting in 1861, addressed Ruthenian readership all over Galicia, but as the organ of the Russophiles it was suspect to the authorities. The offer diversified at the turn of the 1870s but there was as yet no Ruthenian daily for the potential readership was still too small, and until 1887 *Slovo* continued to dominate.²⁴⁹ Harald Binder notes that five out of the ten defendants of the Russophile trial of 1882 were editors of various Ruthenian papers, among them Venedykt Ploshchansky, *Slovo*'s chief editor.²⁵⁰

On the other side of the political spectrum the "Ukrainophile" movement developed simultaneously with a proclaimed Austrian patriotism and demand for a better integration of Ruthenians in Galicia, going as far as to advocate a federal solution for the territory that would give them autonomy. Their first publications were modest and did not succeed in becoming daily papers. The cooperation with the Poles against the Russophiles did not bring substantial results. More effective was the *Kulturarbeit* of the Ukrainophiles in the 1870s, which created an audience for the movement, even in the countryside, after which a larger readership was able to subscribe to newspapers.²⁵¹ The turning point was the foundation of *Dilo* (The Work) in 1880 by Volodymyr Barvins'kyi. The 1880s saw the creation of many more Ruthenian publications along the two main lines of the national movement. The national democratic tendency of the Ukrainophiles was embodied by *Dilo* while the Russophiles struggled to create new papers after the disappearance of *Slovo*. Eventually they launched two dailies: *Russkoje Slovo* (Ruthenian Word) in 1890 (until 1914), and *Halyčanin* (The Galician) in 1893 (until 1913).

248 Harald Binder, "Das Ruthenische Pressewesen," in *Die Habsburgermonarchie 1848–1918*, vol. 8/2, *Politische Öffentlichkeit und Zivilgesellschaft: Die Presse als Faktor der politischen Mobilisierung*, ed. Helmut Rumpel (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2006), 2091–2126. The contribution also addresses Ruthenian press in Bucovina.

249 *Ibid.*, 2099, 2102. In 1887, Ploshchansky emigrated to Russia and *Slovo* stopped.

250 From 1882 on, leaders of the old-Ruthenian movement were accused of Russophilia and prosecuted; this led to a decline of their influence that grew again in the years before World War I.

251 *Ibid.*, 2105.

The Russian Revolution of 1905 provoked the emergence of a “new course” in which Russophiles demanded the recognition of a “Russian” nationality in Galicia. The split between “old” and “new” (*novokursnyky*) in 1909 required organs speaking for both orientations; *Russkoje Slovo* and *Halyčanin* remained in the hands of the “old” course but slowly declined, whereas radical Russophiles launched new papers in other towns. Those issued in Lemberg such as *Holos Naroda* (The Nation’s Voice) published from 1909 to 1915, were directed toward the rural population.²⁵² On the opposite side, the so-called *Narodovci* were the main representatives of the Ruthenians. *Dilo* was behind the foundation of their political organization, the *Narodna Rada* (National Council). Until the 1890s, the paper sought understanding with the Poles, thus coming under attack from other currents that soon brought a split in the political leadership between moderates of the national-democratic tendency and radicals. The latter had already founded their own organ in 1890 that was simply called *Narod* (Nation); one of the editors was the writer, Ivan Franko.

The turn of the century saw the multiplication of Ruthenian papers echoing a broader political offer including social democratic and clerical. Indeed, many of the Ruthenian papers had a declared religious character but the emergence of the Christian-Socialist movement gave a new impulse to the clerical press. However, the new Metropolitan Bishop Andrey Sheptytsky, appointed in 1901, tried to maintain a balance between the national and Russophile parties. Satirical newspapers existed in both languages and made fun of opposite things: the Ruthenian ones were openly anti-Semitic, and also commented on local situations. The monthly *Zhalo* (Sting) for example mocked the backwardness of Bucovina and was anti-Russian.²⁵³ The Polish weekly *Psikus* mocked everyone: Jews, the army, Prussians, women, etc. In all cases these papers played with words indicating that the readers were multilingual enough to appreciate the jokes.

In Czernowitz, the multicultural city par excellence, the press was predominantly German, reflecting the Austrian aim to “civilize” the province. Still the German papers fought against each other, each of them claiming to speak for the interests of the town and the province. They all agreed on the fact that Bucovina was neglected by the central authorities, but the reasons and the solutions they formulated differed. The oldest paper was the *Bukowinaer Rundschau*, issued twice a week from 1883 on, which the other

²⁵² Ibid., 2113.

²⁵³ *Zhalo: Satyrychno-humorystychnyy ilyustrovanyy chasopys*, no. 1, February 1913.

papers later accused of instigating national hatred between the peoples of the province, and argument that was obviously exaggerated. The paper was not anti-Semitic, and though anti-Semitism was indeed present in the Czernowitz press, it was a dangerous game since the Jews represented one-third of the population of the town and were essential to the preservation of the German language. The low industrialization of Czernowitz meant that the social democratic press was not influential, and the only socialist paper was the semi-monthly *Volkspresse*, started in January 1897. The other newspapers that began to appear at the end of the 1880s were also published two or three times a week. The *Bukowinaer Nachrichten* started in 1888, and at the beginning had a resolutely liberal and Jewish-friendly tone that became less tolerant over time. It was followed by two other papers which were stigmatized by the Romanian press as “Jewish:”²⁵⁴ the *Bukowinaer Post* created in 1893, and the *Czernowitzer Tagblatt*, one of two dailies founded in 1903.²⁵⁵ Both were edited by Jews and criticized the growing Pan-Germanic tendency of the *Bukowinaer Nachrichten*, which they accused of driving a wedge between Germans and Jews to the detriment of the province.

There was a Romanian press, but the papers suffered from a lack of money and devoted readership. One of the most significant papers, the *Gazeta Bucovinei*, founded in 1891 and issued twice a week, was openly anti-Slavic and protested constantly against accusations of anti-Semitism. *Patria* was issued three times a week from 1897 on and advocated for the national cause and the Orthodox Church; it was also more openly anti-Semitic. Other Romanian organs were the weeklies *Voința poporului* (The People’s Will) and *Viața Nouă* (New Life) that started in 1912, and semi-monthlies like *Deșteptarea* (Awakening). They all shared *Landespatriotismus* and feared the “Slavization” of Bucovina. The Ruthenian papers were also periodicals, and at first they expressed the Russophile tendency before being challenged in the 1880s by national papers. The *Narodovci* took over the existing associations, *Rus’ka Rada* and *Rus’ka Besida*, and from then on they dominated the press landscape thanks to their daily *Bukovyna*, started in 1885. Even more anti-Russophile was *Rus’ka Rada* (Ruthenian Council), founded in 1898 as the mouthpiece of its namesake association,²⁵⁶ which was a semi-monthly reflecting the Ukrainian national movement of Ivan Franko, who regularly sent articles for

254 *Patria*, no. 88, December 12, 1909.

255 The other was the *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung*.

256 Binder, “Das Ruthenische Pressewesen,” 2124.

the paper.²⁵⁷ The semi-monthly social democratic *Borba* (Struggle), started in 1908, was no more successful than the *Volkspresse*. Its tone was anti-Russian for two reasons: a social one because of Russia's autocratic regime, and a geopolitical one because according to the editors Ruthenians had nothing to expect from Russia as a "liberating" power.²⁵⁸ Nevertheless there was also a paper representing Russophiles, the semi-monthly *Narodna Rada* (National Council), founded in 1904. The editorial was extremely clerical and against the Independents (Ukrainians) who were attacked as "imbeciles," "cheaters," "fouls," and "woolly-minded."²⁵⁹ Considering Orthodoxy more important than anything else the movement made agreements with the Romanian Radicals.

Sarajevo offers a different picture and may be compared to some extent to Czernowitz one century earlier. There was practically no press before the arrival of the Austrians in 1878. Associative life and cultural activities were extremely limited and tied to the religious field. The high illiteracy rate prevented the quick and large diffusion of the press outside of the towns, in which readership was nevertheless scarce. The authorities had to initiate the first newspaper in the German language, the *Bosnische Post*, in January 1884. It was intended for civil servants, the military, and Austro-Hungarian expatriates, and was at the beginning issued only on Thursdays and Sundays. The first editorial proclaimed the paper's intention to inform the local readership as well as the homeland about the situation in the new provinces. The ambition was to awaken "the feeling of belonging together" (*das Gefühl der Zusammengehörigkeit*) among the population and to be a "spiritual bridge" between Bosnia-Herzegovina and Austria-Hungary.²⁶⁰ The discourse was strongly inspired by the ideas of modernization and education and was thus marked by a certain similarity to colonialist conceptions. The publications of the local government—civil and military—were systematically produced or translated into Serbo-Croatian and so, eventually, was the *Bosnische Post*, of which a copy was edited under the name of *Bosanska Posta* from 1897 on. In the meantime, the press landscape of Sarajevo had matured. Numerous newspapers and journals had

257 For example, the editorial "Narodna ekonomija?" [National economy?], in *Ruska Rada*, no. 5, February 25/March 9, 1900.

258 "Moskofilska bezličnist" [Multifarious Russophilia], *Borba: Ukrainskij social-demokratyčnyj robitnyčyj organ* [Struggle: Organ of the Ukrainian Social Democratic workers], nos. 2–3, February 25, 1912.

259 "Šcho to est 'radikal'" [What is "radical"?], *Narodna Rada: Gazeta dlja pravoslavnogo bukovinsko-russkogo naroda* [National Council: Gazette for the Orthodox Bucovinian-Ruthenian people], no. 14, September 24/October 7, 1904.

260 "An unsere Leser," *Bosnische Post: Organ für Politik und Volkswirtschaft*, no. 1, January 3, 1884.

begun publication. The originality of the *Bosnische Post* lay for many years in the fact that it was led by a woman, Milena Mrazović, who can be considered the first local feminist without having ever affirmed it.²⁶¹ She was the romantic companion of the paper's first chief editor, Eugen von Töpffer, who took it over when it was privatized in 1886. When he died in July 1889, she progressively assumed control over the paper, the publication, and the printing room. She was also active as a writer.²⁶² She ran the paper until 1898, making it a meaningful actor of Sarajevo's cultural scene, and herself a pioneer of female entrepreneurship in the country.

The first daily newspaper in German appeared in June 1908, a few months before the annexation. The *Sarajevoer Tagblatt* was a morning paper focusing on the news on local associations, a mission it considered essential to enliven the city. Toward 1910 the paper had turned more openly anti-Serbian, and in spite of its proclaimed neutrality favored news coming from Austrian, Croatian, and Jewish circles. The authorities also launched an official newspaper in Serbo-Croatian printed in Latin alphabet, *Sarajevski List* (Sarajevo Paper), oriented more toward Croatian interests. The Muslims benefited as well from the liberalization of the press and from the policy of Governor Benjamin Kállay who tried to foster "Bosnian" identity among them to counteract Serbian and Croatian nationalism. Thus, newspapers were edited specifically for the Muslim population. The most significant was *Bošnjak*, subtitled "*List za politiku, pouku i zabavu*" (Paper for politics, education, and entertainment). It was a weekly founded in 1891, and its editor was Mehmed-beg Kapetanović who was to become Sarajevo's mayor two years later. The editorial line followed the authorities' wish to make Muslims the "real" Bosnians, and in one of the first issues a declaration of South Slavic identity was made through the exaltation of the local language.²⁶³ The message was clear: Muslims belong in Bosnia-Herzegovina just like other confessions.

The establishment of the Diet in Sarajevo in 1910 gave a considerable impulse to political expression, and new press organs were created in the wake

261 On the paper and Milena Mrazović's activities, see Carl Bethke, "The *Bosnische Post*: A Newspaper in Sarajevo, 1884–1903," in *Language Diversity in the Late Habsburg Empire*, ed. Markian Prokopovych, Carl Bethke, and Tamara Scheer (Leyden, Brill, 2019), 98–103.

262 She contributed also to the volume dedicated to Bosnia and Herzegovina in the *Kronprinzenwerk* with the article "Landschaftliche Beschreibung Sarajevos," *Die österreichisch-ungarische Monarchie in Wort und Bild: Bosnien und Herzegowina*, vol. 22 (Vienna: Hof- u. Staatsdruckerei, 1901), 46–55.

263 "Čuvajmo materinski jezik" [Let us listen to the mother tongue], *Bošnjak: List za politiku, pouku i zabavu*, no. 5, July 30, 1891.

of the elections for the assembly. A second important publication for Muslims was *Zeman*, founded in 1911. It was, like *Bošnjak*, openly anti-Serbian and thus in line with the unofficial policy of the government. The paper was the mouthpiece of the United Muslim Organization (*Ujedinjena muslimanska organizacija*), the political party created by the Muslims before the elections. Another publication related to this party was *Muslimanska Sloga* (Muslim Unity). Both papers criticized the opposition between Serbs and Croats, refusing to get involved in the quarrels of their respective organs: *Srpski Riječ* (Serbian Word), and *Hrvatski dnevnik* (Croatian Daily). The former was the leading Serbian newspaper of the town, and was virulent, often censored, and violently attacked by all the others, thus enhancing the conviction of the Serbs that they were unjustly persecuted. On the Croatian side the polarization of society that followed the creation of the local parliament led to a split between clericals who stood behind Archbishop Stadler, and anti-clericals belonging to the faction led by Deputy Mayor Nikola Mandić; the latter even launched its own paper *Hrvatska Zajednica* (Croatian Alliance).

Many other publications emanating from associations and religious groups multiplied in Sarajevo around the turn of the century, but the still very high illiteracy rate prevented most of them from surviving beyond a few issues. Their proliferation showed certainly the convergence of political, cultural, and social dynamics, but there was as yet no readership to support them, nor enough professional journalism to edit them. From the linguistic point of view, Sarajevo was less diverse since most papers were published in Serbo-Croatian and German, with only a few publications appearing in other languages: Turkish for Muslim periodicals, and Ladino for Jewish ones. The near absence of industry prevented the development of a significant social democratic movement, but still from 1910 on there was a newspaper belonging to this orientation, *Glas Slobode* (Freedom's Voice).²⁶⁴

Jewish press

A specifically Jewish press appeared in most towns, often, but not only, associated with Zionism. The choice of language varied: Yiddish was limited to Galicia and Bucovina for the Jews of the other parts of the empire would have already been unable and unwilling to read it. At the end of the nineteenth century, Zionism became an option for some mainly because of the growing national conflicts in different parts of the monarchy. Zionists were yet not

²⁶⁴ *Sarajevoer Tagblatt*, no. 18, January 22, 1910.

able to create political parties but joined the international movement initiated by Theodor Herzl and his predecessors. There is an echo of this participation in the general press, which was in many cases a Jewish enterprise, but also in specific newspapers and journals sympathizing with the idea. The oldest Jewish journal in Trieste was the monthly *Corriere Israelitico*, founded in 1862, which from 1897 on, became increasingly interested and sympathetic to Zionism, encouraging the Trieste Jews not to conceal their identity and stigmatizing the “traitors” who converted. The journalists alarmed their readers about the Russian pogroms and tried to “awaken” the Western Jews to more consciousness. It regularly provided news from the “*movimento sionistico*” and announced that the chief Rabbi Raffaele Melli had joined the movement in 1897, after which each Zionist congress was reported on in detail.²⁶⁵

The same preoccupation presided over the birth of the *Jüdische Volksstimme*, created in 1900 in Brünn. Issued three times a month, then later on weekly, the paper was born out of the observation that there was no room for the Jews between the German and Czech nationalisms. Germans were increasingly anti-Semitic, and Czechs continued to see the Jews as the allies of the Germans. The local Czech press was notoriously anti-Semitic and pictured the Jews as enemies of its national struggle. Before openly turning to Zionism, the paper advocated the adoption of national autonomy for the Jews in the Bohemian lands. This is actually what happened after the war, and we may assume that President Tomáš G. Masaryk was aware of the existence of the paper. Besides this, the paper was completely ignored by the rest of the Brünner press. Just as in Trieste, the paper tried to convince the Jews to defend their identity and was outraged by the generalization of practices like the Christmas tree,²⁶⁶ and the opening of shops during Jewish holidays.²⁶⁷ The paper seems to have supported the local Zionist association *Machsike Hadas* whose aim was to collect help for victims of the pogroms in Russia and to promote the teaching of Hebrew.²⁶⁸

Autonomia, a monthly founded in 1914 in Szabadka, could show no such ambition: there the size and importance of the Jewish community was far from that in Brünn or Trieste. One of the editors of *Autonomia* was the Neologue chief Rabbi Bernát Singer, but despite this the paper promoted a slightly Zionist tone, whereas the Neologue hierarchy was definitely opposed to Zionism because of its loyalty and policy of assimilation into Hungarian society. The

265 *Il Corriere Israelitico*, no. 5, 1897.

266 *Jüdische Volksstimme*, no. 2, January 15, 1906.

267 *Jüdische Volksstimme*, no. 39, September 28, 1910.

268 *Jüdische Volksstimme*, no. 7, February 14, 1912.

editorial line was therefore not very clear, which may explain why the paper did not succeed. The editors seem to have wished for the abolition of the separation of the Hungarian communities by addressing the issue of the Status Quo community.

Hungarian Jews were less tempted by Zionism, but there was at least one Zionist-inspired paper in Pozsony. The Jewish communities of Upper Hungary, especially the eastern part of it, were in contact with Galicia and Bucovina where many of their members had come from, and they were susceptible to Zionism, as the post-war period shows. The *Preßburger Jüdische Zeitung* was founded by the local Zionist association *Ahavat-Zion* in 1908, but was issued very irregularly, although it was planned as a semi-monthly, and the address changed repeatedly. After two years of difficulties, the paper was moved to Budapest, but it continued to report on the situation in Pozsony. A supplement in Hebrew titled *Hajehudi* was added from 1911, but the paper never returned to Pozsony and moved definitively to Budapest on the eve of World War I. A banquet organized on May 2, 1914, at the famous Hotel Blau celebrated the “Farewell to Pozsony” with the attendance of journalists from the other papers of the town *Westungarische Grenzboten* and *Preßburger Zeitung*.²⁶⁹ A *Machsike Hadas*, comparable to the one mentioned for Brünn, was founded in Pozsony in September 1910 by members of the Orthodox community. The association had already opened chapters in other towns of Upper Hungary, Kassa (Košice, Kaschau), and Nyitra (Nitra, Neutra), and the branch created in Pozsony was supposed to extend to nearby Moson county. The president was the chief Rabbi of the Orthodox community, and the two vice-chairmen were the rabbis of Dunaszerdahely (Dunajská Streda) and Galánta.²⁷⁰

Nowhere were Zionism and the Jewish “national” movement as overlapping as in Galicia and Bucovina, with the addition of another political current, namely socialism. In Lemberg all the Jewish newspapers and journals were edited in Yiddish with Hebrew characters. Claiming in its title to represent the “real” Jews was *Der wahre Jude: Organ für die Gesamtinteressen des Judenthums* (The real Jew: Organ for the overall interests of Judaism), founded in February 1904 and the explicit organ of the Zionist association *Machsike Hadas*.²⁷¹ There was apparently a quarrel about which paper was to speak for Zionism in

269 “Abschied der Ungarländische Jüdische Zeitung von Pozsony,” *Ungarländische Jüdische Zeitung*, no. 10, May 15, 1914.

270 “Die Konstituierung der Machsike Hadass in Pozsony,” *Preßburger jüdische Zeitung: Organ für die gesamten Interessen des Judentums*, no. 16, September 23, 1910.

271 *Der wahre Jude: Organ für die Gesamtinteressen des Judenthums*, no. 15, February 1904.

Lemberg because one month earlier another paper had been created under the same motive and by the same publishing house named Salat: *Der Strahl: Monatsschrift für Literatur und Leben*. Neither paper lived long as there was not enough readership. There were also more specific papers, for example the socialist *Der Šnaider-Arbaiter: Organ fun dem Ferband fun Šnaider-Arbaiter un Arbaiterinen in Estraich*, also edited by Salat publishing house from 1912 to 1914. All these papers were weeklies, but there was also an attempt to create a daily newspaper, *Tagblat*, again published by Salat (by this time run by the widow of the founder). Founded in 1904, it was a relative success, and lived until the end of World War I. In all these papers there were appeals for the preservation of the “Jewish” language in Galicia. This preoccupation was common among some Jews in Czernowitz who wanted Yiddish to rank among the *Landessprachen*. But the fact was that the elite were increasingly assimilating, in Lemberg to the Poles, and in Czernowitz to the Germans.

Zionism was a significant factor in Czernowitz and had various organs over the course of the years. One of them was *Der Jüdische Volksrat*, published in 1912–13. Its main goal seems to have been to attack Benno Straucher, a liberal-Jewish representative and a dominant figure of the town whom the “nationalist” Jews considered with growing disdain, accusing him of “selling” himself to anybody in order to maintain his position. The Zionist orientation of the *Volksrat* was obvious from the support it gave to the opening of the Toynbee Hall, an associative house created in opposition to the *Jüdisches Haus* where the liberal Jewish elite gathered.²⁷² In 1913, the paper was behind the foundation of the Zionist political party which took the name of the paper: *Volksratspartei*. It was opposed to the *Jüdische Nationalpartei* led by Straucher. The party was able to gain seats at the Diet as well as in the town council. One of the delegates was the lawyer Dr. Mayer Ebner, the leading Zionist personality of the town.²⁷³ The fighting continued inside of the Jewish community whose chairman was the omnipresent Straucher. The inauguration of the Toynbee Hall on November 15, 1913, was to be a moment of triumph for the Zionists, and the paper noted that this kind of institution already existed in many towns; in the Habsburg Monarchy itself such halls had been built in Lemberg, Kolo-meja, and Przemyśl.²⁷⁴ There was an aspect of *Landespatritismus* here as well

272 *Der Jüdische Volksrat*, no. 87, September 11, 1912.

273 Mayer Ebner, “Unser Sieg,” *Der Jüdische Volksrat*, no. 112, March 7, 1913.

274 “Die jüdische Toynbeehalle,” *Der Jüdische Volksrat*, no. 139, November 14, 1913. On the Lemberg Toynbee Hall inaugurated in 1901, see Shanes, *Diaspora Nationalism and Jewish Identity in Habsburg Galicia*, 179.

because Czernowitz thus managed to affirm its cultural position vis-à-vis Galicia that the locals always looked at with envy.

The Zionist movement also reached Sarajevo, but not through the local Sephardic Jews who were less affected by persecutions. At first the German orientation of the movement circumvented the Balkan Jews, who were more attracted to the *Alliance Israélite Universelle*, among other reasons because they were nearer to the French language. The Zionist newspaper founded in Sarajevo in 1909 was a bilingual German-Croatian paper called *Židovska smotra*, but its impact was nearly nonexistent for the local Sephardic Jews stayed within their own organizations and the Ashkenazim were all assimilated Austrians, Croats, and Hungarians who were not interested in Zionism.

The spread of access to the press by all national and religious groups, corporations, and political movements created an explosion of newspapers, many of them short-lived. But those that aimed to “make the opinion” of a town were eager to gain ground, which led to the constant exaggeration of supposed “threats” in the confrontation with the others. Nationalist papers saw their own group as being in acute danger and tried to mobilize their readership; such manipulations could end in death, as seen in the demonstration that took place in Brünn in 1905. There is no question that the press only mirrored certain realities, and that the daily life of the town was far from being a permanent struggle. Indeed, some articles tell us implicitly that people did not respond to these nationalist appeals and continued “business as usual” without paying much attention to the “national” duty that the press urged them to perform. The “battles” that were fought over cultural institutions reveal that the public was not always responding to the patriotic calls: subscription drives lasted for years, and projects were abandoned. Though the press tried endlessly to mobilize the populace, the editors were engaging in wishful thinking when they assumed that their readership was animated by the same goals they struggled to convince them of. The biggest part of the debate was still about *Landespatriotismus* and more precisely about the quality of life in town. The building of schools and theaters was not necessarily interpreted as the achievement of a particular group, but more often as a sign of modernity that all citizens could be proud of. Audiences attended performances regardless of the supposed meaning activists wanted to impart on them. Some schools were privileged over others because of better quality and future opportunities. City patriotism was not systematically divided but tended to be increasingly debated.

Spaces and Landscapes of the City

In the scope of the forty years this book examines, the landscape of the cities underwent radical changes. Not only did the cities expand and absorb nearby territory, but they also transformed their inner features. Fortifications were demolished and suburbs were unified with the city. Roads had to be laid out to link the center to the new periphery; later these were to become the routes of the tramway lines generally leading to the train station. The arrival of the railway in town necessitated the building of a station and meant the opening of the city to a larger horizon. The sanitary conditions of the city also had to be improved to clean the landscape. Asphalt was not yet a dominant feature in the city except on main roads, and smaller streets were sometimes not even paved. Mud and dust were still the characteristics of many streets. The physical changes to the city landscape were described as an “embellishment,” the need for which was first expressed in the asphaltting of roads, improvement of older buildings, and construction of transportation. Then came the transformation of the town’s image by creating larger avenues, parks, and prestigious buildings. Many towns established their “embellishing” commission on the model of what had been invented in the Hungarian capital in 1808 following the joint initiative of Palatine Joseph and Pest’s city council.¹ The Viennese model on the contrary was based on the decision and generosity of the dynasty; the main incentive in this respect came after the destruction of the bastions and the planning of the *Ring*.

The changes were indeed the expression of the *zeitgeist* (modernization, sanitary progress, etc.), but they also served political aims and ambitions. There was a “fight for the city” involving many actors, including the state, the municipality, and ethnic and confessional groups. Industrialization and the building of railways also changed the face of the town and accelerated the

1 Horel, *Histoire de Budapest*, 91–93.

mobility of its citizens. Economic factors came to play a part in the definition of the urban space, and urban planning was the result of these modifications. But is it true that all Habsburg cities resembled each other? Similar “ring” streets, theaters, cafés, and school buildings all over the monarchy were often the work of the same architects and tended to look alike in terms of their external aspects and generic names. Yet, we must question the significations hidden behind the walls. People had the impression that their city was unique and assigned different meanings to buildings, squares, and statues. If we use the concept of “reading” the city, as it was formulated first by Kevin Lynch and adapted by Karl Schlögel to the specificity of Central and Eastern Europe, I agree that the citizens identified the levels of “readability” of the city thanks to the mental representations they had of the urban landscape. Thus, each of them felt linked to some parts of the city and constructed his or her own image of it through meaning and memory.² The elements of the “image of the city” were roads, boundaries (*Grenzlinien*), districts (quarters), key locations (center, railway station), and landmarks (monuments), and they were all combined in the representation that the inhabitants had of “their” city.³

In the Hungarian kingdom the progress of urbanization was intrinsically linked with Magyarization: the cities indeed offered better opportunities for education, jobs, and careers, but they were also sites of the adoption of the Hungarian national model and cultural patterns. The villages were often composed of only one national group (but often with two confessions) whereas the towns tended to be more mixed or already completely Magyarized, at least on the surface. The bigger cities (especially Budapest) attracted even more people as soon as they were modernized and above all industrialized, a trend that was, however, progressing rather slowly. The migrants came mainly from the nearby countryside and some cities retained the aspect of big villages for a long time. This is particularly obvious in Szabadka, where photographs from the 1890s show only low houses dominated by a few church bell towers. The same could be said for Arad, where the city center was indeed transformed in order to show the ambitions of the city, but the neighboring streets lead directly to the rural outskirts. There was still no definitive break between urban and rural landscape, and multistory buildings were still rare in the city. Tenements comparable to those built in Vienna or Budapest did not appear in the provinces until the end of the 1880s, and in 1890 only 9.2 percent of the houses of

² Kevin Lynch, *Das Bild der Stadt* (Braunschweig: Vieweg, 1989), 10.

³ *Ibid.*, 60.

Lemberg had more than two stories; the number was 15.7 percent in Brünn, and “highest” in Trieste with 38.4 percent.⁴

In Transleithania the immigrants were mostly Hungarians, who were better educated because of the pressure of the state and the greater opportunity of schooling and came in higher numbers to the cities than other national groups, who either stayed in the villages or migrated overseas. No real segregation derived from this since only few cities were industrialized and in need of workers’ dwellings. The newcomers dispersed to all parts of the town; some suburbs came to house more immigrants because they had many empty spaces where cheap lodgings could be built. The first tenements were constructed generally in the city center on spots made free by urban planning. The arrival of migrants in the cities changed their look. New streets were designed, the naming of which enabled the authorities to enforce a national discourse, as Hungarian kings, ministers, heroes of 1848 were honored by the planners. Transnational and dynastic names were also given to hotels, cafés, schools, and railway stations.

The cities Magyarized their appearance, to make it clear that one was in Hungary, but at the same time the signs of shops and liberal professions showed how diverse and mixed the towns were. The Hungarian nation accomplished in those cities (as well as in other more homogenous ones) a demonstrative policy of assimilation; Hungary wanted to show her modernity in order to convince others of her superiority. The country mobilized its best forces for this purpose: the nobility, historical memory, intellectuals, and teachers, engineers, and architects. But the cities had already become melting pots, just like their larger models Vienna and Budapest. The attraction of a city brought even more multiculturalism, as the more modern it was or claimed to be the more people settled. Certainly, the cities were led by Hungarian culture, but its domination was not complete, and there were alternatives that put the Hungarian model in question, especially in Pozsony, Temesvár, and Szabadka, not to mention Fiume where Hungarians were not the leading cultural group. Urban planning and the new faces of the cities were to some extent Western, due to the adoption of universal European patterns (sanitation, entertainment, transportation, etc.), but primarily Austro-Hungarian because of local influences, and local because of the meaning that people chose to give to the place they lived.

4 To compare with other cities: 11.8 percent in Cracow and 36 percent in Prague (but without the suburbs). Rauchberg, *Die Bevölkerung Österreichs*, 74.

Cisleithania followed the Viennese model but there was also genuine local inspiration, such as in Galicia or Trieste. To what extent the Austrian model was a German one is a relevant question because in many cities German symbols were added to the function of the buildings as well as to the city landscape. But these initiatives were generally undertaken by the local elite and were not the expression of the will of the central power, which on the contrary maintained its transnational intentions. The best examples of this policy in terms of urban transformation can be seen in Czernowitz and Sarajevo, where the state was eager to impose its transnational conception. The process that took place in Vienna, the destruction of the bastions and the urbanization of the glacis, was implemented in the other cities, though not all of them had such military structures. The municipality had much room for maneuvering and was able to make decisions in matters of urban planning, but it remained dependent on the ministries for many aspects. Buildings like state schools, railway stations, provincial parliaments (Diets), and town halls had to be approved by the central authorities in both parts of the monarchy, and thus the local government played a considerable role and could encourage or limit the intentions of the municipality. It could then be accused of partiality—a frequent reproach in the case of Trieste—or at least of avarice. The notion of competition between cities must again be mentioned here because in their decisions, the local government or the central authorities were often suspected of favoring the rival town.

MODERNIZING THE CITY

While town planning often meant expansion, the creation of new settlements, and the urbanization of the suburbs, an important part of it was also destruction. Sometimes destruction came about by chance. On November 9, 1880, a violent earthquake destroyed a significant part of the lower town of Zagreb, which became an opportunity to implement urban planning. The local elite had already been demanding the urbanization of the lower town (*Donji grad*) since the turn of the 1870s because of the connection with the commercial routes (from north to south) and the future construction of the *Südbahn*. The opening of the Sisak-Zagreb-Zidani Most railway as a branch of the Southern Railway had connected Zagreb to Trieste and Vienna,⁵ and in 1873 it was also linked to Budapest and Fiume. Zagreb had thus been transformed into a

5 Božena Vranješ-Šoljan, "Zagrebs Aufstieg zur kroatischen Hauptstadt," in *Hauptstädte in Südosteuropa*, ed. Heppner, 207.

significant hub for the transport of people and goods. Thus on the day following the earthquake, which caused damage to most public and religious buildings in the lower town and destroyed half of the private houses,⁶ the press announced that Ban Pejačević had made a declaration on the necessity of an immediate urban planning project for the city.⁷ The architect Hermann Bollé, who was then working on the renovation of the cathedral, was put in charge of establishing a new urban plan for the city, which he produced in 1883 and revised in 1887.⁸ The upper town (*Kaptol* and *Gradec*) was left out of this project, while the flat lower town was laid out following the Viennese model. As in other cities, straight streets were laid out, along which important buildings housing cultural institutions were planned, providing the possibility to implement national narratives. Looking at the map of Zagreb below, we see that the new railway station (one of the biggest in the whole empire) was placed at the bottom of the “green horseshoe” (*zelena potkova*), a horseshoe-shaped strip of green spaces, which was to become the *Ring* of the city.

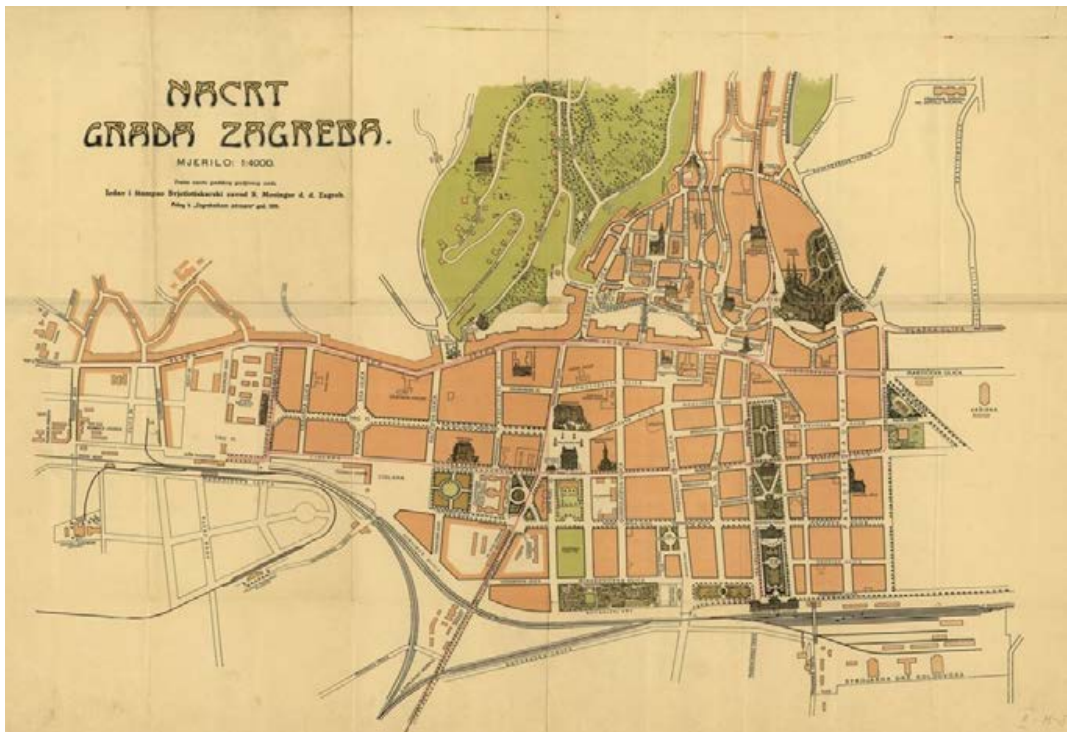


Figure 6.1. Regulation plan of Zagreb, 1911. Source: Digital collections of the National and University Library in Zagreb.

6 Franz Wähler, *Das Erdbeben von Agram am 9. Nov. 1880* (Vienna: k.k. Hof- u. Staatsdr., 1883), 36.

7 “Strahote potrese” [The terror of the earthquake], *Narodne novine*, no. 257, November 9, 1880.

8 Hermann Bollé i *Obrtna škola u Zagrebu*, 65.



Figure 6.2. *Baščaršija* in Sarajevo, 1903. Source: Fortepan, 76316.

At the time of the Austrian occupation Sarajevo was a city where many houses were still built with wood, like in the rest of the Ottoman Balkans. As a result, the town had been frequently damaged by great fires, which generally started in the *Baščaršija* (Bazar), whose narrow streets and contiguous shops facilitated the spreading of flames. On August 19, 1879, just a few months after the establishment of the Austro-Hungarian administration, a large fire broke out, after which the authorities drafted a plan for urban development that concerned not only the burned part of town but the nearby *mahale* (suburbs) as well. After a second fire in 1891 the plan was revised, as it was again two years later to reflect changes. Its goals were manifold: to check the property rights;⁹ to renovate and preserve the *Baščaršija* as a characteristic of Sarajevo's "oriental" past; to expand the town toward the north-east in what was to become New-Sarajevo; and to construct buildings for the administration, the newly installed authorities, and the populace of all faiths.¹⁰

The destruction of fortifications and military barracks was a long-term process in Temesvár. The capital of Banat was still a strategically important place in the empire and was therefore a town where the military was more present than anywhere else, even after the Compromise and the dismantling of the military frontier. In 1900, the military (k.u.k. Army and Hungarian *Honvéd*)

9 Although the cadaster authority was introduced in the Ottoman Empire after the Crimean War following the French model (*Bureau du cadastre*) to register real estate, it did not map or classify land.

10 Holm Sundhussen, *Sarajevo: Geschichte einer Stadt* (Vienna: Böhlau, 2013), 226.

still occupied 18 buildings, all but one of which were all located in the city center.¹¹ The bastions had long dominated the landscape of the town, and before 1868 it was practically impossible to reach the suburbs directly from the center. Most of the military belonged to the Imperial and Royal Army and therefore any contact with them had to go through the *Kriegsministerium* in Vienna. The army was slow and reluctant to give way to civil authorities and saw urban planning not as a necessity but as a danger. In Vienna, the connection of the suburbs was interpreted as favoring revolutionary agitation, something which could not be said for Temesvár. The municipality and the Hungarian state began to transform Temesvár at considerable speed during the 1870s, but the fortress remained a large obstacle for redrawing the city center.¹² The insistence of the Hungarian government finally found the ear of the commander of the VII Army Corps, General Johann Waldstätten, at the beginning of the 1890s; the doors of the fortress were pulled down in 1892 and an agreement was made with the *Kriegsministerium* to dismantle the barracks. But the process was slowed by difficulties concerning the ground owned by

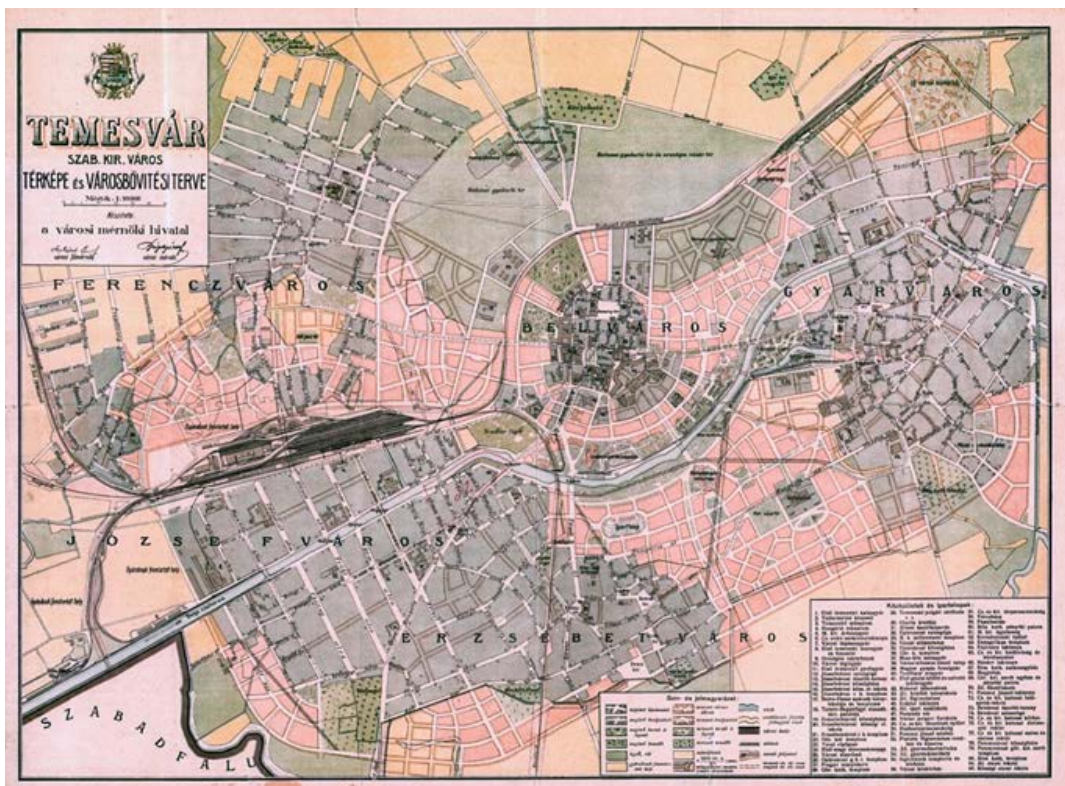


Figure 6.3. Regulation plan of Temesvár, by Emil Szilárd and József Bríger, 1913.

11 Berkeszi, *Temesvár szabad királyi város kis monographiája*, 50.

12 *Magyarország vármegyéi és városai: Temesvár*, 122.

the military, and the army tried to obtain exaggerated compensation. In the meantime, the suburbs had developed and the problem of communication with the center had become serious.

A new urban plan was adopted in 1894, designed by the chief engineer of the town, Aladár Sebestény-Kovács, and the architect Lajos Ybl. It was implemented starting in 1895 and revised and extended in 1901–1903 under the supervision of Professor László Szesztay from the Technical University (*Műegyetem*) in Budapest.¹³ The main goal was the connection between former Turkish *mahale* and the center, and two large streets were designed for this purpose. The railway station, located in *Józsefváros*, was connected to the center and later equipped with public transport thanks to the expropriation of military grounds; boulevards were traced following the model of the *Ring*, and a large square was created in front of the theater. The main part of the plan concerned the *Gyárváros (Fabric)*, the most populous and dynamic suburb, which was connected to the center by a tramway line and a large street crossing the Bega River.¹⁴ The map in figure 6.3, dated 1913, shows



Figure 6.4. Temesvár, the Liget-sor in Gyárváros with local tramway, 1904.
Source: Fortepan, 86452, Magyar Földrajzi Múzeum, Mór Erdélyi.

¹³ Ibid., 130.

¹⁴ Ibid., 132.



Figure 6.5. Railway station, L'viv. Photo by the author.

the unfinished look of urban planning in Temesvár: the lighter areas around the center with unnamed streets (compare it with the map in figure 1.6) show the plans for development that had not yet been realized at that point.

A large focus of modernization was the transportation of people and goods, so the construction of a railway station was seen as the entry of the town into modernity. Notwithstanding the utilitarian aspect of this kind of buildings, they were also designed to showcase the importance of the town in the region and toward possible competing cities, so their dimensions were often exaggerated for prestige and political reasons. The latter is obvious in Lemberg, where the new railway station built in the years 1901–1904 was the largest of its kind in the empire. It was a demonstration not only of the importance of Lemberg, a city of 200,000 inhabitants, but also an affirmation of its status as Galicia's capital and a sign of Austria's presence in front of Russia. Designed by architect Władysław Sadłowski, the building was an expression of Polish Secessionism; the interior decoration, furniture, and equipment were provided by the Cracovian firm J. Gorecki. Habsburg and Austrian loyalty were represented by the portrait of Archduke Karl Ludwig, then governor of the province, which adorned the first-class waiting room. The Galician railway between Cracow and Lemberg was also named after him.¹⁵

15 *Lemberg/L'viv 1772–1918: Wiederbegegnung mit einer Landeshauptstadt der Donaumonarchie*, Exhibition Catalogue (Vienna: Historisches Museum der Stadt Wien, 1993), 88.

In the stations whose dimensions enabled it, a separate lounge was created to host prominent visitors, especially the sovereign and members of his family. Most stations also featured a portrait of Francis Joseph in the main hall or in the waiting-rooms, and the sovereign inaugurated many of them himself, a fact that was systematically commemorated by a plaque placed in the main hall. The new railway station (*Staatsbahnhof*) of Sant'Andrea in Trieste was inaugurated by the heir to the throne Francis Ferdinand in 1906, a frequent guest of the nearby Miramare Castle. Here again the station was the expression of the zeitgeist and decorated in the Secessionist (Art Nouveau) style. The architect, Robert Seelig, was a specialist of this kind of construction and had already built the stations of Görz and Linz.¹⁶ As in Lemberg, the modernity of the design appeared more in the interior than in the exterior of the building, and indeed the new station in Trieste looked rather similar to the older one serving the *Südbahn*.

The expansion of the towns' population and territory necessitated many improvements that fell within the remit of the municipality, including sanitation, the canalization of rivers, the creation of slaughterhouses, the regulation of markets, lighting (gas and later electricity), and public transport inside the city and toward the outskirts. The construction and improvements were debated, criticized, and praised in the press, and were a crucial aspect of city patriotism which nourished the competition between cities. For example, the Lemberg public had high expectations for the introduction of a horse-drawn tramway not only for practical reasons (no less than six lines were planned) but also because of "*lokalny patryjotyzm lwowski*" in competition with Warsaw where a tram was already operating.¹⁷ Temesvár was proud to be among the first Hungarian cities to introduce an electric tramway in 1898–99, practically at the same time as Szabadka and Pozsony,¹⁸ when most other towns still had horse-drawn tramways. The tram soon became a successful business, and it was acquired by the municipality in August 1903, when new lines were opened to serve the suburbs. In 1909, Temesvár had a network of 10,9 kilometers, more than double than that of Nagyvárad, comparing favorably to Pozsony's 11 kilometers and to the 5,3 km of network in Fiume. The number of passengers on the lines in Temesvár was higher than in other towns because the city was badly connected to its suburbs, so that the 39 carriages were crowded

16 Rovello, *Trieste 1872–1917: Guida all'architettura*, 243.

17 "Tramwaj lwowski a Lwów" [The Lemberg tramway and Lemberg], *Gazeta Narodowa*, no. 112, May 16, 1880.

18 *Temesvár szabad királyi város statisztikája 1898-ik évben*, 81.

with 320,043 users in 1909, whereas the other cities had fewer carriages that were less crowded.¹⁹ Moreover, the travelers were not only the inhabitants of Temesvár since the town had become an important railway hub serving the whole region and beyond. Seven railway lines crossed in Temesvár and made it the second railway hub of the Hungarian kingdom after Budapest, which also connected to Serbia and Romania. Consequently, there was a necessity to build a new station to replace the older one (built in 1857). The new station was proudly considered “a grandiose railway palace whose size and elegance are well above other stations of the Hungarian provinces.”²⁰

The canalization of rivers not only helped to prevent flooding but also enabled navigation and the creation of places of leisure. Steam navigation was introduced on the Bega River between Temesvár and Titel in 1894 but what the inhabitants considered most important was the opportunity to bathe in the river during the warm season. This activity became popular but was also a source of accidents, as many people were unable to swim. A rescue brigade was created in 1886 with the help of medical students who spent the summer in town, and later two lifeguards were also recruited.²¹ In Czernowitz baths were established on the Prut River, and as soon as the electric tram was inaugurated in 1897, a plan was drawn up to extend the line from the train station to the swimming pool.²² In Arad, too, the canalization and regulation of the Maros River led to the creation of bathing establishments. The first opened in 1885 near the newly created Baross Park.²³ In 1892 a larger swimming pool, the *Neptun Marosfürdő*, was founded as a shareholding society; built on six pontoons,²⁴ it had 200 cubicles and quickly became a popular venue. Apart from the seaside towns of Fiume and Trieste, Arad was probably the city where the most nautical activities were organized and appreciated by the population, a fact strengthened by the creation of two big parks near the riverbanks that facilitated access to the water, which were used for public events and promenades. In Pozsony as well, the Danube was obviously integrated into the life

19 *Magyarország vármegyéi és városai: Temesvár*, 160.

20 Felix Milleker, *Die Banater Eisenbahnen: ihre Entstehung und Entwicklung 1847–1917* (Bela Crkva: Peter Kuhn, 1927).

21 *Asociația voluntară “Salvarea” din Timișoara: 50 ani de activitate 1886–1936* [Voluntary association “Rescue” of Temesvár: fifty years of activity] (Timișoara: Tipografia Rapid, 1936), 40.

22 “Die elektrische Trambahn,” *Bukowinaer Rundschau*, no. 2441, May 26, 1897.

23 *Arad sz. kir. város közegészségi művei és műveletei* [Works and hygienic institutions of Arad free royal town] (Arad: Gyulai István könyvnyomdája, 1894), 29.

24 *Ibid.*, 31.

of the city for economic reasons, but it was also used as a landmark and as a backdrop for leisure activities.

Associations for modernizing the city

Most associations for the embellishment of the city emanated from the town hall and civil society.²⁵ From the latter it was expected that wealthy sponsors would finance public facilities or donate their properties to create libraries, parks, and other places of common interest. It was undeniably a bottom-up process with much paternalism and belief in the virtues of progress that dominated this period. Such was the initiative leading to the founding of the committee for the embellishment of the city in Zagreb; it was created at a meeting of the town council on April 28, 1885, and it was eventually made up of six delegates from the city council and nine “burghers,” whose names were not communicated in the press article relating the event.²⁶ Later, however, the *Agramer Zeitung* lamented that the committee seemed to exist only on paper and demanded its transformation into a purely civil association.²⁷

In Brünn the embellishment of the city was initially the personal ambition of Mayor Christian d’Elvert, who worked hard for the transformation of the landscape. After he left office, some people, led by a civil servant from the tribunal, Ludwig Odstrčil, worried about the future of urban planning and decided to create an association for the embellishment of the town. The *Brünner Aufforstungs- und Verschönerungsverein* was created in 1878 with former Mayor d’Elvert as chairman and Odstrčil as secretary. Odstrčil was particularly interested in creating gardens and improving the suburbs that he felt had been neglected in the most recent plans; he was an amateur expert on these matters, and we find him also as secretary of the *Obst-, Wein- und Gartenbau-Verein*. The association was able to purchase grounds that were turned into gardens, and its main activity was then to maintain and improve them.²⁸ Parallel to this association there were private initiatives facilitated by the fact that Brünn had many industrial magnates eager to leave their mark on the city’s landscape. The Wawra brothers, for example, notorious benefactors of the local life, sponsored the embellishment of the gardens designed on the former glacis (*Glacisanlagen*) with fountains and pavilions.²⁹

25 See the example of Transdanubian city elites in *Vállalkozó polgárok a Dunántúlon*.

26 “Stadtverschönerungs-Comité,” *Agramer Zeitung*, no. 91, April 22 and no. 97, April 29, 1885.

27 *Agramer Zeitung*, no. 142, June 24, 1885.

28 Elvert, *Neu-Brünn: Wie es entstanden ist und sich gebildet hat*, 146.

29 *Ibid.*, 175.

Alongside Brünn, one of the oldest associations of this kind was founded in Pozsony in May 1868 as the *Stadtverschönerungsverein*. One of the leading aristocrats of the town, Count Stefan (István) Pálffy, was among the first members of the association.³⁰ He was typical of the utraquist attitude of the Hungarian nobles of the town who participated in both German and Hungarian initiatives. But in the scope of nearly forty years the association was progressively “infiltrated” by the Hungarians, a fact that the *Preßburger Zeitung* deplored in 1902, lamenting that the town’s Germans were not interested in its action although it was sincerely apolitical and concerned only with embellishing and improving the city.³¹ In Trieste, the *Società per l’Abbellimento della città di Trieste* was undeniably Italian with the mayor himself, Dr. Ferdinando Pitteri, as its chairman, but a look at its board members reveals the diverse character of the city; from the Jewish community it included the municipal counselor Eugenio Geiringer, and Baron Marco Morpurgo and Signor Vivante from the wealthiest families of the town, along with the chairmen of the Greek and Serbian communities Alessandro Afenduli and Cristoforo Scuglievich, respectively.³²

More controversial was the equivalent committee in Czernowitz, called *Verein zur Verschönerung der Stadt Czernowitz*, which did little until a general assembly on June 19, 1903, chaired by Mayor Anton Kochanowski, requested “all interested individuals” to join it. Though the presence of the mayor indicated that the municipality was playing a role, the committee that emerged from the vote was composed of the local elite: the chairman was a university professor, the vice president a lawyer, and the cashier a pharmacist. Among the members were civil servants belonging to the municipality, such as the chief gardener and the town’s architect, though the majority were teachers of all ranks.³³ The new association was later received and encouraged by the *Landespräsident*, head of the local government.³⁴ In the first years of its existence the association seems to have met the expectations of at least the local press, as it designed gardens and embellished them with statues and fountains. The association launched or supported initiatives like the creation in 1906 of an open-air museum and the project to build an exhibition hall, but

30 “Vereinsleben in Pressburg,” *Preßburger Zeitung*, no. 21, January 27, 1869.

31 “Unser Verschönerungsverein,” *Preßburger Zeitung*, no. 155, June 7, 1902, morning edition.

32 *Guida generale amministrativa, commerciale e corografica di Trieste, il Goriziano, l’Istria, Fiume e la Dalmazia* (Trieste: Luigi Mora, 1895), 85.

33 “Verschönerungsverein-redivivus,” *Czernowitzer Tagblatt*, no. 116, June 18, 1903.

34 *Czernowitzer Tagblatt*, no. 124, June 27, 1903.

these endeavors were not successful and the association began to attract criticism.³⁵ Chairman Professor Johannes Kromayer was attacked for his repeated long holidays, and the association was criticized for inaction and for failing to utilize its abundant collected funds. Members began to leave the association, which returned to inaction.³⁶ Even the departure of Kromayer from the board does not seem to have revived it and there are practically no reports about any of its activities by 1913.

Parks in the new urban landscape

To escape the unfavorable conditions of the streets, parks were created that offered possibilities for promenade, recreation, entertainment, and public gatherings. They were designed as places of multicultural encounters and were used accordingly by all segments of society. Many activities of the city were organized in parks (May Day, open-air concerts, and summer theater) but they were primarily the preferred places for promenade since they were separated from traffic, noise, dust, and mud. For cities that could combine gardens and water, like Arad, Sarajevo, or Pozsony, the parks became a real asset for the urban landscape. In other cities, they were located on hills (Pozsony, Czernowitz, Lemberg, and Brünn) thus providing fresher air and a view over the city and its surroundings. Public parks began to be created at the beginning of the nineteenth century thanks to the generosity of aristocrats who opened the gardens of their city palaces; the same happened with parks surrounding archbishop's palaces. Two models emerged: the city garden modeled after the *Volksgarten* in Vienna that was later integrated into the planning of the *Ring*; and the natural landscape turned into a public park like the Margaret Island in Budapest. In the cities under consideration here, parks belonged to both models.

In Pozsony, the right bank of the Danube was used to create the park *Liget-falu* (*Aupark, Petržalka*). The space was both natural and constructed: this is where the summer theater was built and there were restaurants and pavilions, but a part of the park leading to the so-called *Vadászház* (*Jägerhaus*) remained "wild." From the *Ligeti Kávéház* (*Aucafé*) customers had panoramic view of the Danube, the city, and the castle.³⁷ Bilingual postcards and advertising were issued to praise the place and its distractions.

35 *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung*, no. 1294, May 3, 1908.

36 *Bukowinaer Post*, no. 2366, April 4, 1909.

37 Peter Salner, *Bratislavské kaviarne a viechy* [Cafés and wineries of Bratislava] (Bratislava: Marenčin PT, 2006).



Figure 6.6. Park in Ligetfalu (Augarten/Petržalka), Pozsony. From the author's collection.

Another example of a natural landscape turned into a park is to be found in Zagreb, where the *Maksimir* (*Maximir* in German spelling) woods were designed in the same manner, except for the absence of water and perspective. The *Maksimir* was connected to the city by one of the first tramway lines; it was the place where May Day was celebrated. Thanks to its large dimensions the park could house cafés and taverns as well as providing space for exhibitions, flower shows, sporting events, and so on. At the end of summer 1905 there was an initiative by local entrepreneurs, merchants, and civil servants who wanted to make the *Maksimir* more dynamic and turn it into a place of entertainment comparable to Vienna's Prater,³⁸ but since it was relatively far away from the city center it was accessible to the working classes only on the weekends, so the attempt to create permanent attractions did not succeed. Urban planning in Zagreb provided green spaces along the already mentioned "green horseshoe" that became the pride of the city and popular gardens. Particularly valued were the Botanical garden and *Zrinjevac*, which was adorned with a music pavilion where the *Militärkapelle* performed on Sundays just as in the other garrison cities of the monarchy.

In Arad, the municipality's initiative to design parks was facilitated by the natural landscape overlooking the Maros River, and the two main gardens were created on its banks. Baross Park was named after Minister of Transport Gábor Baross, while Salacz park was named for a local personality, Gyula

38 "Prater u Zagrebu," *Dnevni List: Glasilo narodne stranke*, no. 49, August 1, 1905.

Salacz, who served as Arad's mayor from 1875 to 1901 before being elected to the Budapest parliament.³⁹ Both parks were favorite places for promenade, adorned with statues, cafés, and entertainment pavilions. Three islands located nearby on the Maros were also visited and used for bathing and boating.⁴⁰ In 1899, the municipality wanted to improve Baross Park with the project of building a summer theater, but Mayor Salacz was concerned that the building might be too big and destroy the unity of the place. An article in the *Aradi Híradó* argues that the previous summer theater had already stood there so that there was no reason to look for another spot. Moreover, the garden was considered so pleasant and popular that there would certainly be enough space left for the promenade.⁴¹ Finally the theater was indeed built in Baross Park.

City elites were concerned with the improvement of parks and gardens and there was an ongoing debate over their location, with green spots being designed both inside of the town centers and outside. Many gardens were created thanks to the dismantling of bastions, walls, and gates; as in Vienna, gardens marked the transition between center and suburb, which were connected by larger streets comparable to the *Ring*. This was clearly the case in Zagreb and also in Czernowitz, where the first public park had been designed in 1830 on the model of the Viennese *Volksgarten*.⁴² There the *Verschönerungsverein* designed the *Schillerpark* somewhat outside the city center yet still oriented towards it, and new buildings like the theater and the law court were to be built in its immediate vicinity, creating a perspective leading to the residence of the Orthodox Metropolitan.⁴³ The hill located behind the Metropolitan palace was also designed as a park in 1888, and for the occasion its name was changed from *Bischofsberg* to *Habsburghöhe*. The municipality was also able to create the *Franz Josef-Garten*, and the university's botanical garden offered another place for promenade.⁴⁴ Thanks to the neighboring hills and the low level of industry, Czernowitz was indeed a "green" city. Since there

39 He was born in Gyula in 1832. He served as a national guard during the 1848–49 War of Independence. After his law degree he went to Arad in 1862 where he worked as a lawyer. Zsigmond Illés, ed., *Jubileumi Album az "Arad és Vidéke" huszonöt éves fennállásának emlékére* [Jubilee album for the twenty-fifth anniversary of the newspaper *Arad and its Surroundings*] (Arad: Arad és vidéke ny., 1905), 2.

40 *Arad vármegye és Arad szab. kir. város néprajzi leírása*, vol. 3/1/2, 70.

41 *Aradi Híradó*, April 17, 1899.

42 Emanuel Turczynski, "Czernowitz am Pruth, Hauptstadt der Bukowina," in *Hauptstädte in Südosteuropa: Geschichte—Funktion—Nationale Symbolkraft*, ed. Harald Heppner (Vienna: Böhlau, 1994), 74.

43 *Czernowitzer Tagblatt*, no. 698, May 28, 1905.

44 Turczynski, "Czernowitz am Pruth, Hauptstadt der Bukowina," 79.

were neither local aristocrats nor wealthy entrepreneurs, the municipality was the only actor in terms of design of public gardens.

In Brünn there were better opportunities for private sponsoring and a part of the hills around Spielberg were turned into gardens on the initiative of Karl Ritter von Offermann. He was the son of textile magnate Johann Heinrich Offermann, who in 1786 founded the first wool-spinning mill in Austria. The Offermanns were prominent Lutheran citizens of Brünn and significant sponsors: Karl designed the *Augarten* and the *Franzensberg* which he then gave to the city to be used as public parks.⁴⁵ One of the main places for excursions as well as for public festivities was the *Schreibwald* woods and lake. The Spielberg thus acted as the “green lung” of the city, all the more so as there were no other important gardens in town due to the high density of population and buildings, though large squares were built that became places of gathering.

Centers and suburbs in the modern city: garden cities

Cities were divided between centers and suburbs, but the latter were not necessarily the poorest zones; they were generally the remnants of rural settlements, and the separation was more a question of urbanization than of wealth. As urbanization progressively reached towards the surrounding villages, industries and railway yards were established on the outskirts. Workers were first recruited from the nearby population but soon factories developed and there was a need for new manpower, which had to be imported from the countryside. These immigrants settled both in and out of the town.

Only in cities where industry became significant did the need for workers' dwellings appear. In Trieste, the workers who largely came from the nearby villages above the *karst* were employed in shipbuilding and at the dockyards. This is the only city in our study with a distinctive national segregation; a product of the municipality's policy, as seen in the case of the schools, it prevented Slovenes from settling in the city center. But the industrialization of the town due to the activities of the port also attracted many Italian workers, many of them from the Italian kingdom, and thus the Triestine proletariat, as in other cities, was multinational. As socialism appeared and developed, the municipalities, fearing social unrest, began to take into consideration the living conditions of the workers. These preoccupations were later formulated by Ebenezer

45 Alfred Oberländer, *K.K. priv(ilegierte) Militär-Feintuchfabrik Joh(ann) Heinr(ich) Offermann in Brünn 1786–1911: Ein Erinnerungsblatt anlässlich des 125-jährigen Jubiläums der Firma* (Brünn: Rohrer, 1912).

Howard, but the first initiatives in the Habsburg Monarchy to create “garden cities” predates his turn-of-the-century writings. This was particularly the case in Brünn, called the “Austrian Manchester” because of the predominant textile industry. There paternalism coincided with morals and the first attempts at ameliorating the quality of housing were linked to fighting alcoholism and prostitution, and to providing better schooling. In concordance with the ideas expressed later by Howard, there was an attempt at integrating city and countryside: the attraction of towns was “in offering better-paid employment than agriculture, together with amusements. The countryside is characterized by fresh air, space, and sunlight, but offers long working hours or unemployment and lacks society and public spirit.”⁴⁶ The city still had empty spots in the suburbs where decent houses could be built and others renovated.

Already in the 1870s, there was concern for workers’ moral and physical health, and an association was founded in 1885 to promote the construction of cheap housing for them. The *gemeinnütziger Verein zur Erbauung billiger Wohnungen* was a joint initiative of Mayor Gustav Winterholler and the local association of industrials, the *mährischer Gewerbeverein*. Among the board members was Deputy Mayor Rohrer, who later succeeded Winterholler, and one of the richest and most important entrepreneurs of the town, Julius Gompertz, was the first vice-chairman.⁴⁷ The model of the association was explicitly the *Arbeiterverein* of Copenhagen, and its goal was to encourage workers to save money to buy their own houses. In 1889, the board started buying ground with a loan from the local savings bank (*Erste mährische Sparkassa*),⁴⁸ and from 1893 three types of houses were built, all surrounded by small gardens where families could grow their own vegetables. The success was immediate, and by 1896 there were already 28 homes housing 210 people, though the owners were not industrial workers but mostly craftsmen and employees.⁴⁹ However, this was absolutely insufficient considering the fact that Brünn had around 20,000 workers of both genders at the turn of the century, and only a few companies, generally the older ones, had provided housing for

46 Quoted by Malcom Miles, “Garden cities and city gardens,” in *Small Cities: Urban Experience beyond the Metropolis*, ed. David Bell and Mark Jayne (London: Routledge, 2006), 141.

47 He was also the chairman of the Chamber of Commerce and Industry as well as the head of the Jewish community. Friedrich Fux, *Thätigkeits-Bericht der Direction des gemeinnützigen Vereines zur Erbauung billiger Wohnungen in Brünn für die Zeit von der Gründung bis Ende 1896* (Brünn: W. Burkart, 1898), 5.

48 *Ibid.*, 7.

49 *Ibid.*, 10.

their workers.⁵⁰ Later on a specifically Czech association called *Samostatnost* (Independence) was founded for the same purpose and bought ground in Brunn and its surroundings for the construction of cheap family houses.⁵¹ The workers' political and charity organizations, and the *mährischer Gewerbeverein* remained utraquist bodies but were unable to contribute significantly to the housing problem.

Pozsony was, after Budapest, Hungary's main industrial center but here as well few initiatives were undertaken to ameliorate the workers' housing conditions. In March 1908, an editorial in the *Pressburger Zeitung* stated that there was no real lack of lodgings in town, but that speculation and high rents prevented people with modest salaries from having decent living conditions. Flats were small, expensive, and very often in a bad state of repair, while new construction was of large dimensions and generally designed for wealthy people, and there seemed to be no solution. The paper admitted that there were already a few workers' houses but lamented that their number was far from sufficient.⁵² Indeed one of the objectives of the *Baugesellschaft* that was created in April 1909 by entrepreneurs and delegates of the town council was the construction of workers' houses, but that was only small part of its work, which also included a slaughterhouse, streets, a museum and library, the *Reduta*, and a canal, not to mention the works already decided on behalf of the government (customs house, extension of the railways, military barracks and a parade square.)⁵³

In Hungary there was great interest in garden cities and workers' houses, and articles appeared regularly in the newspapers about those in Germany and England. The *Pressburger Presse* for example published a series on this topic in July-August 1907. The first project of this kind was the *Wekerle-telep*, built in Budapest from the beginning of the 1910s, but the number of workers remained relatively low in the smaller cities and thus it had no equivalent in the provinces.⁵⁴ Only in Temesvár did the municipality make real efforts to solve the problem. Starting at the end of the 1880s, the city built houses in

50 Eduard I. Deutsch, *Beiträge zur Brünner Arbeiterfrage: Rundschau und Kritik über die zum Wohle der Arbeiter in Brunn bereits bestehenden Einrichtungen* (Brunn: Břej & Winiker, 1869), 10.

51 *Stanovy "Samostatnosti" spolku pro stavbu rodinných domků dělnických v Brně* [Statutes of the association "Samostatnost" for the building of workers' family houses in Brunn] (Brunn: Benedikt. knihtisk., 1904), 3.

52 "Arbeiterhäuser," *Pressburger Zeitung*, no. 4195, March 15, 1908.

53 "Die Gründung einer Baugesellschaft in Pozsony," *Pressburger Zeitung*, no. 112, April 23, 1909, morning edition.

54 Horel, *Histoire de Budapest*, 201.

the newly urbanized parts of *Gyárváros* and then in *József-* and *Erzsébetváros* in the 1890s. The town remained the owner of these tenements and rented them at reasonable prices.⁵⁵ The city also built a house dedicated to the workers of the railway yards on the left bank of the Bega, called the “*Tizház*” (Ten Houses), and the city-owned brickyard, one of the largest industries in town, was given two tenements to house its workers, though this was still far from sufficient.⁵⁶ In the suburbs workers’ dwellings were created where the factories stood; these were more like slums than real settlements and were inhabited by extremely poor people like workmen and day laborers. In the old suburb of *Mahale* there was also a settlement called *Rónácz-telep* for railway workers with a hundred houses inhabited by around 1,000 people.⁵⁷

A project for the construction of workers’ houses was adopted by the city council in 1906 but it was slow to start because of a lack of money. In the meantime, the municipality decided to build its own houses for the workers out of the budget devoted to social works. Not surprisingly, the project was realized in the district called “factory city” (*Gyárváros*), where 200 family homes were planned. The price was partly financed by a building loan, but the families had to bring at least 400 crowns from their own savings. The first 20 houses were finished in 1909, 26 were added in 1910, and 44 in 1911.⁵⁸ Here again the owners were craftsmen and employees because the price was too high for industrial workers, whose number had reached around 13,000 at this time. Nevertheless, the municipality was interested in them too, since the city was plagued by constant strikes, and undertook the construction of tenements. The authorization of the Ministry of Trade was obtained as were state funds, and the two- and three-story buildings of one or two-bedroom flats were planned on Magyar Street leading to *Gyárváros* so that people would have access to the main tramway line. The process was slow since the Ministry of Trade was not ready to sponsor the construction in 1910, and it really started only two years later.⁵⁹ The press was critical of the fact that these efforts had to be supported by the town instead of by entrepreneurs. Sigmund Szana, a journalist of the *Temesvarer Zeitung*, dedicated two articles to this question in 1906; he was in favor of the creation of *Arbeiterkolonien*, as he called them, but he felt that

55 József Geml, *Temesvár lakáspolitikája* [Housing policy of Temesvár] (Temesvár: Uhrmann Henrik, 1906), 69.

56 *Ibid.*, 106.

57 *Ibid.*, 112.

58 *Magyarország vármegyéi és városai: Temesvár*, 142.

59 *Ibid.*, 143.

their construction and administration should be financed equally by the city, factory owners, and tenants.⁶⁰

THE APPROPRIATION OF PUBLIC SPACE

Urban planning, however, was not the only way by which a city could shape its outlook. When it came to defining their spatial or cultural dimensions, cities had a wide range of means. One of the first ways by which the city presents itself lies in its layout; by producing maps the city defines its space and possible extensions. The connection between the heart of the town and its suburbs can be problematic, as shown in the example of Temesvár, but in all cases the suburbs are drawn together with the city in order to make it appear bigger. This was true even if the suburbs were not part of the city, a fact not necessarily known by the reader. Thus, the image that the city projected of itself toward the center (Budapest, Vienna, or a regional center) and neighboring rival cities reflected often a wishful thinking rather than reality. In this respect the publication of maps was both a strategy of communication, and an appropriation and valorization of the past that produced “the conscience of heritage.”⁶¹ City maps produce a system of political meanings and set down symbols in public space.⁶² This goes along with the professionalization of the city administration, where knowledge about the city is shared among experts who contribute to make the city an “urban object.” These actors are the main protagonists of the definition of this project. By mapping the territory of the town, they also transmit the content of the project together with its representation.

Systematic mapping and the creation of postcards began as soon as the city had significant results to show, which were sometimes deliberately exaggerated, for example by depicting tramway carriages and photographs of every important building of the city. At the beginning of the century the most modern postcards presented multiple views, like this postcard of Czernowitz.

Fantasy was not absent from these depictions, which used collage and futurism to show how modernity would come to the city, as in the postcard of “Pozsony in the future” (see Figure 6.8) where existing modes of transportation

60 “Die Wohnungsfrage,” *Temesvarer Zeitung*, no. 47, February 28 and no. 48, March 1, 1906.

61 Stéphane Van Damme, “Les atlas historiques de ville et l’administration du passé métropolitain au XIX^e siècle,” *Critique Internationale* 68, no. 3 (2015): 24.

62 Peter Stachel, “Stadtpläne als politische Zeichensysteme: Symbolische Einschreibungen in den öffentlichen Raum,” in *Die Besetzung des öffentlichen Raumes: politische Plätze, Denkmäler und Straßennamen im europäischen Vergleich*, ed. Jaworski and Stachel (Berlin: Frank & Timme, 2007), 15.



Figure 6.7. Postcard of Czernowitz, 1909–1914. Source: Center for Urban History, L'viv, Urban Media Archive, Helmut Kusdat Collection, ID: 2568.

(bicycle, automobile, tramway) are paired with brand new (airplane and zeppelin) or imaginary ones; the portrayed buildings were also meant to excite imagination by their height and “American” look.⁶³

To mark the extension of the city, many maps often featured an inset showing either the extended suburbs or the center, which generally focused on aspects that the city wanted to promote: for example, Brünn tried to balance its image as an industrial town by showing a green hill; Zagreb was particularly proud of its urban planning; and Pozsony focused on the historical role of the city.

Another aspect of defining a city and its visual outlook was the naming of its public spaces. Toponymy reflected the leadership of a town, but it was subject to change and resistance, and citizens could continue to use the denomination they were more familiar with. Since the local population was multilingual, the mapping of the city would often follow the same rule so, for example, German and Hungarian maps of Pozsony and Temesvár were issued simultaneously by the same publisher. In other towns the leading language imposed its definition of the toponymy and only private businesses could balance it—meaning that multiculturalism was written in the public space, but the domination of the leading group was nevertheless obvious—while the others had to

63 A similar postcard exists about Szabadka, but with less futurist features.

struggle for visibility and were often prevented to “enter” public space. Groups who felt excluded from the mainstream contested the public space, which could lead to violence. Henri Lefebvre has identified this conflict as the claim for “differentiated space” and indeed people created abstract or differentiated space competing with the discourse imposed by the majority.⁶⁴

As already shown in the choice of the language of shop signs and street names, naming was a controversial issue. Yet, the decision-making process regarding squares, parks and streets was even more difficult. Indeed, in Czernowitz—as the *Bukowinaer Rundschau* noticed in January 1905—naming a place took more time than designing it. The article proposes guidelines to help the town’s delegates: first the great names of German literature (Goethe, Schiller, and Uhland); then the Austrian authors (Grillparzer and Lenau); musicians (Wagner, Beethoven, Mozart, and Haydn); foreigners who worked for the sake of the humanity; and finally “the local great names who have well served the city and the land can be honored this way; but this has to be people who are really remembered, who are unforgettable.”⁶⁵ Invoking this, in 1906 the Zionist students of the association *Hasmonea* together with other



Figure 6.8. Postcard titled “Pozsony in the future,” depicting an imaginary futuristic look of the city.
Source: Author’s private collection.

64 Quoted by Mitchell, *The Right to the City*, 29.

65 *Bukowinaer Rundschau*, no. 4690, January 14, 1905.

lobbyists managed to get a small square, the *Alten Markt* next to the *Juden-gasse*, renamed Theodor Herzl-Platz.⁶⁶ The Ruthenians were much less visible in the landscape of Czernowitz. In May 1914, Mayor Weißelberger received a delegation composed of representatives from the Diet and the local elite who argued that less than 2 percent of the 240 streets names of the town were Ruthenian and that those streets were situated outside of the center (by comparison, 10 percent of streets had Romanian names and around 5 percent Polish names). They demanded that Russischgasse be renamed Szewczenkogasse (Shevchenko street) to honor the Ruthenian national poet.⁶⁷ They put forward political arguments, saying that the name “*Russisch*” creates unwanted connotations given the assumptions about the supposed Russophile attitude of some Ruthenians, and that the monarchy had just been shaken by the Redl Affair and the atmosphere was extremely tense toward Russia.⁶⁸ The mayor accepted the proposal and said that it would be put on the agenda of one of the next sessions of the town council, however neither this renaming nor the erection of a statue representing Shevchenko, also demanded by the Ruthenians, would be realized before the outbreak of the war.⁶⁹

The naming of streets in Hungarian towns was simpler and reflected the growing Magyarization of the urban landscape. Old German names disappeared and were replaced either by neutral Hungarian ones (toponyms), or specific Hungarian figures. In Arad, the changes were made during the summer of 1880, in which process the city landscape was Magyarized; for example, *Lammgasse* became Petőfi Street. Magyarization often came hand in hand with historicization. Among the names recalling great Hungarians there was a chronological process starting from the distant, mythical past (Attila to Árpád, and Béla IV), and moving to the Reformation (Bocskay), the struggle against Ottomans and Habsburgs (Hunyadi and Rákóczi), the reformers of the *Vormärz* (Dessewffy, Sina, Kazinczy, Verbőczy, Kölcsey, Vörösmarty, and Wesselényi), the heroes of 1848 (Damjanich, Batthyány, and Kossuth), and finally the “father” of the Compromise of 1867, Ferenc Deák. Even Rabbi Aron Chorin, the personification of the *Haskala* reform movement of Judaism,

66 *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung*, no. 829, October 14, 1906.

67 1914 was Taras Shevchenko’s birth centenary and the occasion of many celebrations in Galicia. He died in 1861.

68 In 1913, it was discovered that Colonel Alfred Redl, head of the counter-intelligence service of the Imperial Army had spied for Russia. He committed suicide on May 25, 1913. See Verena Moritz and Hannes Leidinger, *Oberst Redl: Der Spionagefall, der Skandal, die Fakten* (St. Pölten-Salzburg-Vienna: Residenz-Verlag, 2012).

69 *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung*, no. 3461, June 3, 1914.

was among them, one of the only examples of this in Austria-Hungary.⁷⁰ This sent a clear message affirming Hungary vis-à-vis Austria by exalting Hungarian genius. In a newspaper article, the lawyer György Ebesfalvai noted that local personalities—including Serbian and Romanian ones—were given street names, and gives the example of Lázár Mihálovits who was the city's notary when the city became a free royal town; another notary, János Popovics (Popovici), sponsored Romanian students and was the headmaster of a private Romanian school located on the street that was given his name. Furthermore, Sziget Street was renamed to honor the Bohus family, one of the wealthiest landowners of the region, whose contemporary head had participated in the 1848 Revolution and had later been a parliamentarian and prefect.⁷¹

In Fiume, the Hungarians could not impose their historical memory completely because of most of the locals' unfamiliarity with Hungarian history and to avoid potential conflict. Yet, the town council felt the necessity of proclaiming Fiume's loyalty toward the monarchy after Italy's entry into the war in May 1915. A commission made up entirely of members of the town council was convened on October 29, 1915, to make changes to the toponymy. In the meeting it was argued that the new streets following urban development needed to be renamed, and that an eloquent message needed to be given because: "The present denomination of the streets and squares was the expression of an antipatriotic tendency that today more than ever needs to disappear."⁷² All the modifications took place in the new part of town whereas the *Città Vecchia* remained untouched. In the first sign of this discourse, the Via del Corso took the name of Francis Joseph: "By this act the city of Fiume wants to express her faithfulness and veneration for the sublime person of our august sovereign."⁷³ The royal family was honored further by the naming of the square in front of the government's palace after Queen Elisabeth, while the street formerly named after Palatine Stephen was renamed after her daughter, Archduchess Gisela, signaling a shift from Hungarian to a more contemporary Austrian patriotism.⁷⁴ Most of the changes indicated a message of Habsburg loyalty, as other streets and squares were baptized or renamed after dynasty members. The former heir to the throne Archduke Rudolph and his wife Stephanie were visible on the port,

70 *Neue Arader Zeitung*, August 25, 1880.

71 *Alföld*, August 7, 1880.

72 *Rapporto della commissione per la nuova nomenclatura delle vie e suo operato* (Fiume: Battara, 1916), 6.

73 The king had visited the town three times. Vincenzo Tomsich, *Notizie storiche sulla città di Fiume* (Fiume: Mohovich, 1886), 603.

74 *Rapporto della commissione per la nuova nomenclatura delle vie*, 17.

as the *Riva* built between *Molo Zichy* and the new pier were given their respective names. The fourth mole of the port was named after Francis Joseph's daughter Marie Valerie, and the *Riva* leading to it took the name of her husband, Archduke Francis Salvator.⁷⁵ Maria Theresia, the "mother of the Austrian peoples," was honored with a mole and a street. Finally, it was particularly meaningful in the context of war in the Adriatic that the Austrian victory of Lissa (Vis) be remembered by renaming the eastern part of the port after Admiral Tegetthoff.⁷⁶

The fact that Fiume belonged to Hungary was not forgotten; on the contrary, loyalty was expressed toward the Hungarian kingdom and many Italian toponyms were changed to honor Hungarian figures. The leaders of the reform era and the statesmen of the Compromise, such as István Széchenyi, Ferenc Deák, Gyula Andrásy, and Gábor Baross appeared along the major streets of the town.⁷⁷ Local politicians and governors were not forgotten either, and the name of Ferenc Ürményi, governor of the territory in 1823–37, returned to the square in front of the theater which had been renamed after Verdi and Rossini. Following the same process of *damnatio memoriae* towards Italy, Governor Géza Szapáry replaced Marco Polo at the occasion of the extension of the *Riva*.⁷⁸ The eradication of Italian artists left space for the glorification of Hungarian ones: the painter Mihály Munkácsy appeared in 1909 in via della Caserma and writer Mór Jókai replaced sculptor Antonio Canova.⁷⁹ The street next to the barracks and the hospital was renamed "*Honvéd*."⁸⁰ Allegories of the State and of the Central Powers crowned the process: via Volosca was renamed via Hungaria, itself located not far from via Germania.⁸¹ Local benefactors were also commemorated, including the founders of charity institutions like Ida de Kiss, wife of Governor Pál Kiss de Nemeskér who sponsored the infants' asylum, and Dr. Girolamo Fabris.⁸²

Following the liberalization of society, urbanization, and the expansion of public space, hotels and cafés mushroomed in every city. They had three kinds of names: universal neutral names such as "Grand," "Metropol(e)," "Palace," "Bristol," or "Central" (though the last referred to the homonymous cafés in Vienna and Budapest). Local names that referenced the town or region's

75 Ibid., 22.

76 Ibid., 41.

77 Other great names like Kossuth and Batthyány were already present.

78 Ibid., 46.

79 Ibid., 75.

80 Ibid., 79.

81 Ibid., 78.

82 Ibid., 49.

history and geography; or names relating to the wider monarchy, which could be specifically Habsburg names like “Kronprinz,” or “Zum Kaiser von Österreich,” Hungarian names like “Hungaria” and “Pannonia,” famous Austrian cities like “Wien” or “Abbazia,” or personalities, institutions, and firms like “Lloyd” or “Anker.” Animal names, like eagle, horse, and bear of various colors, were traditionally used as names of inns and hotels, and inns serving beer were generally given German or Bohemian names to prove their authenticity; Pilsner and Budweiser beers were advertised all over the monarchy. Specifically Slavic names were rare, the most frequent being “Slavia,” as in Brünn. The listing of Brünn’s hotels and cafés in 1913 shows the variety of names that were more or less similar in all Cisleithanian towns with some local differences: hotels were called *Grand Hotel*, *Hotel Padowetz* “*Zum Kaiser von Österreich*,” *Hotel de l’Europe*, *Pilsnerhof*, *Hotel Slavia*. Among the cafés distinct from those located in hotels were *Deutsches Haus*, *Thonethof*, *Margaretenhof*, *Stadttheater*, *Café de l’Europe*, *Café Biber*, *Café Bidmann*, *Café Habsburg*, *Café Française* (sic), *Café Dohnal*, *Café Filippi*, *Café Haimann*, *Café Neuhauser*, *Café Janiček*, *Café Royal*, *Caférestauration Nedorost*, *Café Wien*, *Café Bellevue*, *Café Altbrünn*, *Café Simon*, *Café Sklenař*, *Café Strompf*, *Café Uřidil*, *Café Viragh*, *Café Večera*, *Café Post*, *Caférestaurant Dania*, *Caférestaurant Bahnhofplatz*, *Caférestaurant Augarten*, *Café Zeilerhof*.⁸³ As we can see, six of them had explicit Slavic denominations that were actually the names of their respective owners, while most of the others can be qualified as transnational, German, or utraquist, with the notable exception of a Hungarian name (*Viragh* although without the required accentuation á).

The outlook of a city was also defined by the buildings that supposed to represent the whole community or at least municipal authority. Public buildings were the symbols of leadership, be it municipal, regional, or imperial. After the enactment of the constitutional laws and the restoration of municipal autonomy the main landmark of a city was the town hall. This was especially the case in Szabadka, where there were fewer locals to commemorate, due to the relatively peaceful coexistence of peoples and the lack of local personalities or crucial moments of Hungarian national history related to the town.⁸⁴ Therefore, the city had to create its own scenery, and its late development gave it the chance to become a conservatory of Secession (*Jugendstil*).

83 Burkart, *W. Burkarts Führer durch Brünn und Umgebung*, 29.

84 In German, the town was named Mariatheresiopel after Maria Theresia but she was not really commemorated.



Figure 6.9. Town hall, Szabadka. Source: Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, AKON – Ansichtskarten Online, AK009_023.

The building that became the symbol of the city (depicted on every postcard) was no other than the city hall itself, whose oversized construction made it the landmark of this agricultural town—as it still is today—and its tallest building for a long time. The rapid growth of the population had brought a considerable increase in administrative needs and the number of civil servants rose accordingly.⁸⁵ A foundation was created in 1906 to manage the enterprise and the municipality decided in December 1907 to raise funds for a new city hall, and the Ministry of the Interior authorized the construction. The architects Marcell Komor and Dezső Jakab from Budapest won the competition and would go on to build many more houses in Subotica that gave the city an obvious *Sezession* style; they built several villas in the nearby resort of Palić. Jakab was already known in Szabadka for his design of the house called the “White boat palace” (*Féherhajó palota*) in 1894. He had then gone back to Budapest where he associated with Komor in 1897. They worked together until Jakab’s death in 1932, Komor specializing on the structures, and Jakab on the exterior and ornamentation.

The festive inauguration of the city hall took place on September 15, 1912, by which time all employees had moved in their new offices and the ground

⁸⁵ *Szabadka város közigazgatása 1902–1912 években* [Administration of Szabadka in the years 1902–1912] (Szabadka: Szt. Antal nyomda, 1912), 73.

floor was occupied by shops.⁸⁶ Every modern technical achievement was available, including central heating, telephone, and electricity. It featured stained-glass windows and Zsolnay ceramics, two of the most frequently used materials of the Hungarian *Sezession*. The press of the whole region was impressed and the daily *Nagyvárad* reported on the event and advertised the commemorative album issued by Henrik Braun, chief editor of the Szabadka paper *Bácskai hírlap*.⁸⁷

This comment is all the more interesting because Nagyvárad was far away enough from Szabadka that it was not considered a rival, and on the contrary Szabadka was praised as the “big Hungarian city of the great plain.” At the time Nagyvárad was also redefining its urban plan and building many buildings in the Secession style. Furthermore, it had built its own impressive town hall a few years earlier, in 1902–3, which also stood in the middle of the town, and whose planning had enabled the extension of the square in front of it, creating an open public space where many significant buildings already existed. The square named after Saint Ladislaus (Szent László tér today Piața Unirii)



Figure 6.10. Nagyvárad, Szent László Square, 1905. Source: Fortepan, 115837, György Széman.

86 Ibid., 164.

87 *Nagyvárad: Társadalmi és közgazdászati napilap* [Nagyvárad: Social and economic daily], no. 213, September 15, 1912.

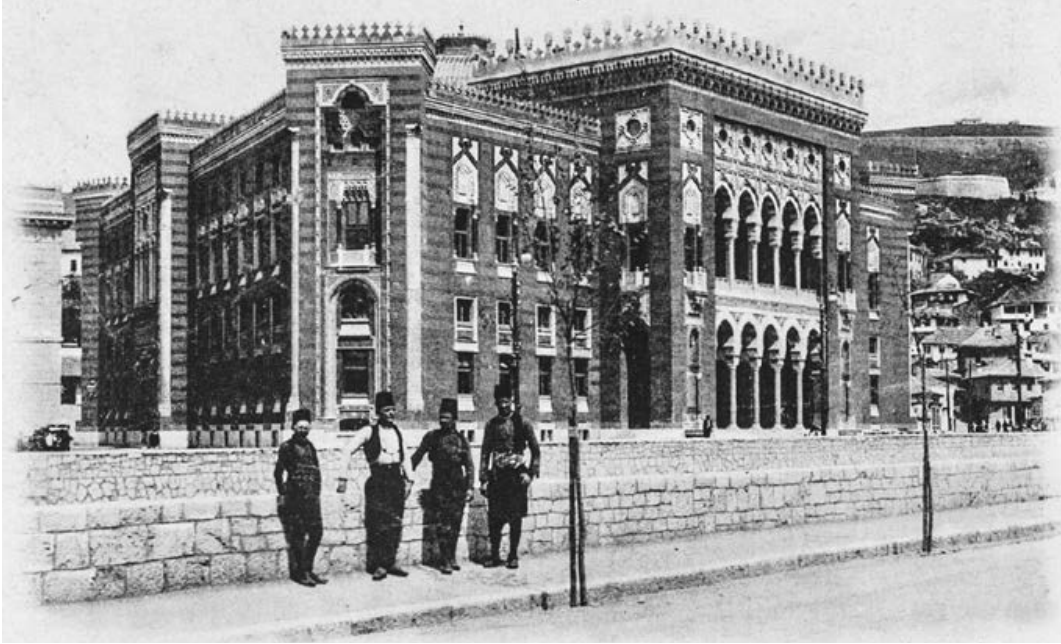


Figure 6.11. City hall, Sarajevo, 1901. Source: Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, AKON – Ansichtskarten Online, AK026_264.

was the starting point for the urbanization of the new parts of town after 1850, and by the turn of the century was already occupied by the Catholic Saint Ladislaus Church, the Orthodox Church, and the Greek Catholic Cathedral. Together with the new town hall the prestigious hotel *Fekete Sas* (*Vulturul Negru*) and the palace of the Greek Catholic bishop were built. The town hall was designed by Kálmán Rimanóczy, who mixed exterior eclecticism with interior Art Nouveau style. The building was undeniably the demonstration of Hungarian hegemony, like in Szabadka, but the space was shared with religious elements, balancing the Hungarian discourse. This gave the message that private expressions of identity were preserved but the Hungarian state was above them all. This is a perfect illustration of Magyarization: linguistic assimilation and loyalty to the state, but formal protection of national and confessional identities in the private realm.

The affirmation of the primacy of civil laws and civilization was the message of the Sarajevo city hall (*Viječnica*). The building was designed in the wake of Governor Kállay's attempt to create a Bosnian identity mainly based on the loyalty of the Muslims, and thus the style chosen was "neo-Orientalism." The commission was given to Viennese architect Karl Wittek who created a contemporary imitation of the Moorish features of Andalusia.⁸⁸ Situated in the

88 Donia, "Fin-de-siecle Sarajevo," 54.

northern part of the town near the bank of the Miljačka River, the town hall was realized after Wittek's death by Croatian architect Ciril Metod Ivetković in 1894.⁸⁹ The transfer of power from the Austrian civil and military administration was still an illusion at this time for Bosnia and Herzegovina which were still under a regime of occupation, but nevertheless the building was regarded as the symbol of the town's autonomy. This was to be the last place Francis Ferdinand visited on June 28, 1914.

The newly defined spaces had to be filled with symbols reflecting either moments and personalities from the city's history, or national and dynastical references. The memorials and statues erected in every town had a function of identification for the inhabitants, but the message was not necessarily shared by all of them. There was therefore opposition or at least criticism of a monument when the person represented or the location chosen was problematic for some citizens. Excluded groups tried to contest or appropriate public space by "taking the streets, plazas, and parks and transform them into space for representation."⁹⁰ In Hungarian towns only the location could arouse opposition, while the necessity of building memorials to the nation was never questioned.⁹¹ As a result, the last decades of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century were marked across the country by the erection of statues and monuments representing great men and events of Hungarian history. Since the country now possessed autonomy the government and the municipalities were even able to commemorate the 1848 Revolution, yet the exaltation of this episode of violent opposition to the Habsburgs was still problematic to Vienna. The return of the mortal remains of Lajos Kossuth to Budapest in 1894 signaled the end of the taboo concerning his person, and from then on a frenzy of commemoration swept through the country and statues were erected to him in nearly all Hungarian cities. However, in some of them citizens and municipalities were more favorable to the Compromise and did not share Kossuth's radicalism toward Austria, including—not surprisingly—Pozsony. When a project to build a memorial for Kossuth began immediately after his funeral in Budapest, the *Preßburger Zeitung* published a letter to the editor from the *Westungarische Grenzbote* listing reasons why it was unreasonable. He wrote that the city was already engaged in the construction of a memorial to Maria

89 Sundhaussen, *Sarajevo*, 229.

90 Mitchell, *The Right to the City*, 51.

91 On the Hungarian frenzy of building monuments, see Bálint Varga, *The Monumental Nation: Magyar Nationalism and Symbolic Politics in Fin-de-Siecle Hungary*, *Austrian and Habsburg Studies* 20 (New York: Berghahn, 2016).

Theresia, and furthermore in order not to seem ridiculous compared to Budapest the city would have to build a considerable memorial, for which there were no means; instead, he suggested naming a square for Kossuth.⁹² In the following weeks, many letters expressed the same concerns, but the real reason was of course political, as it seemed paradoxical to simultaneously honor the dynasty and a revolutionary who had contested it. A committee was formed to raise funds for the memorial, but it was never erected. In 1900 the newly designed Promenade along the Danube was named after Kossuth.⁹³

There were no such worries in Arad, considered one of the main sites of memory of the revolution and war of independence. Two significant memorials served this purpose. First was the Liberty memorial, which was inaugurated on the square of the same name at the very center of the city in October 1890, behind the theater. The initiative had been launched immediately after the Compromise of 1867, and a competition took place in 1873 that was won by sculptor Adolf Huszár, after whose early death the work was taken over by György Zala.⁹⁴ The memorial features a statue of *Hungaria* (an allegoric personification of the nation) standing on a pedestal and holding a crown of laurels, while below sit four allegories of the War of Independence.⁹⁵ The monument was unveiled on October 6, 1890, and the celebration was the largest event ever organized by the town and was attended by all communities, including prominent Romanian personalities.⁹⁶ Money was left over after the construction of the memorial which was used to publish a commemorative album and a medal.⁹⁷ The monument was the only one of this kind in Hungary and became the city's landmark, featuring on practically all postcards.⁹⁸ With it, the city not only commemorated its historical meaning but delivered the message that it was still at the forefront of the patriotic struggle.

92 "Ein Kossuth-Denkmal in Pressburg," *Preßburger Zeitung*, no. 106, April 19, 1894, morning edition.

93 The Promenade was one of the realizations of the *Verschönerungsverein* and it was hoped it might become the *Corso* of Pozsony. *Preßburger Zeitung*, no. 307, November 9, 1900, morning edition.

94 Huszár was a renowned sculptor who made the statue of Petőfi on the Pest bank of the Danube in 1882. Zala is known for the monument of the Heroes' Square in Budapest which he built together with Albert Schickedanz.

95 *Arad vármegye és Arad szab. kir. város néprajzi leírása*, vol. 2, 82.

96 The date commemorates the 1849 execution in Arad of thirteen officers of the Hungarian army. The same day the former Prime Minister Batthyány was executed by the Austrians in Pest.

97 *Alföld*, May 11, 1890.

98 The monument was dismantled by the Romanians after 1918 and put into storage. Since 2006, it stands again but on another spot, the so-called "Reconciliation Square."

The erection of a Kossuth statue in Arad in 1909 was more polemical. Ever since the execution of the “martyrs of Arad” on October 6, 1849, the city, together with Budapest and Komárom, became a symbol of the Hungarian struggle for independence. At the same time, the erection of a Kossuth statue here also demonstrated that the more important and disputed a city was, the more effort was devoted there to the construction of such landmarks of the nation. The memorial was intended as a companion to the Liberty monument and stood on the square next



Figure 6.12. Liberty memorial, Arad. Photo by the author.

to the town hall. It was thus a clear sign of the political orientation of the city, which was governed by the Independence Party. The monument showed Kossuth standing on a pedestal with his right hand raised; below him on one side a young *Honvéd* was shown bidding farewell to his mother and sister, and on the other a wounded soldier was held by comrades.

Less political monuments were devoted to men of culture, although in the case of Sándor Petőfi there was a double objective: Magyarization (the poet was born in Upper Hungary and was of Slavic origin) and independence. Even though he was a radical revolutionary and an iconic figure of the March 15 Revolution, his death on the battlefield, with his remains never to be found, not only saved him from post-1849 retribution, but helped transforming his figure into that of a tragic hero. Even more importantly, his role as the “nation’s poet” made it easier to bypass political reservations and make it possible that he could be honored in many towns—especially after the Compromise of 1867, as evident from the statue erected to him in Budapest in 1882. Such commemoration was easier if it could be justified with a local connection, as was in the case of Pozsony. Starting in 1900, a committee collected funds for the erection of the memorial, whose first action was to put a plaque on the house where Petőfi had lived in 1843, for which an old teacher who had been a witness of this time was

even invited to attend the dedication.⁹⁹ The committee was able to convince the sculptor János Fadrusz, already famous for having sculpted the Maria Theresia monument in the city, to work for them, but in the end the work was performed by another artist, Béla Radnai. A location was chosen in front of the theater, both because Petőfi had also been an actor, and because the theater was not yet a Hungarian institution and thus the statue of Petőfi could act as a signal to achieve this objective.¹⁰⁰ The process accelerated when chair of the committee was taken over by Mayor Tivadar Broly, and the statue was finally unveiled on September 8, 1911.¹⁰¹ The ceremony was conducted by Deputy Mayor Theodor Kumlik and in the eyes of the press represented an important step in the Magyarization of the town; those attending were actors in this process though many of them had come from Budapest. It is worth noting that the memorial replaced one for the composer Johann Nepomuk Hummel, which was moved to a park; the same process happened with Petőfi after 1918 for he was moved to the park in Petržalka where he still stands.

The Revolution of 1848 continued to symbolize the divide between Hungary and Croatia. As soon as Croatia gained considerable autonomy in 1868, historical memory was activated to “invent” the nation, and Ban Josip Jelačić came to personify the antagonism on the Croatian side. He was seen as the complete opposite to Kossuth: an officer of the military frontier who had succeeded in being loyal to the dynasty as well as to his nation. He was a source of Croatian self-identification not only against Hungary but in some sense also Austria, because in spite of his loyalty to the crown, the country had not obtained its national demands after 1849. A committee for the erection of a memorial started its activities in 1860 shortly after Jelačić’s death, and a site was chosen in Zagreb in the square situated below *Gradec* at the junction with the lower town: it was an open space dedicated to market activities dating to the earliest urban planning efforts of the 1850s.¹⁰² Following the urban development of the lower town after the 1880 earthquake, the square became the heart of the city at the northern end of the green horseshoe and adorned with significant buildings such as cafés and banks, justifying the original decision to locate the monument there.

The sculptor commissioned for the statue was the Viennese Anton Fernkorn, a sign of the continued faithfulness of the Croats toward Vienna. He

99 *Preßburger Zeitung*, no. 73, March 16, 1900.

100 *Preßburger Zeitung*, no. 172, June 24, 1905.

101 *Preßburger Zeitung*, no. 5417, September 10, 1911.

102 Željko Holjevac, “Temelji modernizacije,” 314.

was the acclaimed author of the twin statues of Archduke Charles and Prince Eugene standing on Heldenplatz in Vienna. Inaugurated on December 17, 1866, the monument thus preceded the Hungarian-Croatian Compromise and was therefore seen in Budapest as an offense, especially because Jelačić appeared to be pulling his sword out in the direction of the north, toward Hungary.¹⁰³ The statue was the place of commemorations from its inauguration, especially every May 20, date of Jelačić's death in 1859, when associations gathered at the feet of the memorial, young people danced the traditional *kolo*, wreaths were laid, and a service at Saint Mark's Church ended the ceremony in the presence of the authorities. The square with the statue in its center became the landmark of the town and was consequently renamed after Jelačić.

The Jelačić statue was an example for memorials to historical figures whose public meaning was open to interpretation. While they could be presented to the authorities as symbols to loyalism to the dynasty, at the same time they could be also seen by the people as symbolizing national resentment or even resistance. The narrative was less complicated when the historical figure embodied the national consciousness without being in conflict with the house of Habsburg. This was the case for the poet Adam Mickiewicz whose statue was erected in Lemberg to celebrate Polish autonomy in Galicia in the face of Russian oppression. Mickiewicz had played an important role in the



Figure 6.13. Jelačić Square, Zagreb, 1903. Source: Fortepan, 76291.

¹⁰³ The statue was removed after the Communist takeover in 1945. It was reinstalled on the square in 1991 by followers of President Franjo Tuđman but the statue was rotated and points now in the direction of the former Serbian enclave of Knin.

1830 November Uprising, and was subsequently exiled to France; the building of Polish national monuments was not possible in neither of the other two parts of Poland—controlled by Prussia and Russia respectively—thus building his statue in Galicia marked it as the territory where, thanks to the autonomy granted by Austria, Polish identity could freely blossom.

This was also the discourse formulated by Galician Poles. Cracow was home to the Wawel Castle where the Polish kings laid buried, and since the beginning of the nineteenth century the city had built other memorials to the Polish uprisings, among them Kościuszko hill (*Kopiec Kościuszki*) commemorating the insurrection of 1794 and the death of its main leader Tadeusz Kościuszko. Faced with these developments in Cracow, Lemberg wanted to affirm its role as the capital of Galicia. The Polonization of the city administration facilitated this process but it was not until the beginning of the 1880s that the necessity to create monuments on public squares appeared. From then on, the town's Polish citizens were seized by what Grzegorz Rossoliński-Liebe calls a “monument plague” (*Denkmalpest*).¹⁰⁴ There was actually a fiery competition between Cracow and Lemberg over the construction of memorials of Polish glories, and Lembergers were outraged at the Cracow municipality's project to build a statue of Kościuszko on *Rynek* (Market) square. Kościuszko had in fact made his oath of allegiance to the *Rzeczpospolita* in Cracow but the city already had the *Kopiec* and at the time Lemberg was felt to be desperately in need of Polish national landmarks, especially as the city, being more multicultural and disputed by Ruthenian nationalism, was eager to affirm its regional leadership.¹⁰⁵ Simultaneously Ruthenians began to be more visible in town outside of their traditional religious buildings so that the Polonization of the landscape was challenged by Ukrainization.¹⁰⁶ Cracow was indeed more homogenous with Polish dominance less challenged, and nobody could contest its role as a cradle of Polish identity.

Before the idea of erecting a Mickiewicz statue in Lemberg came up, the city was not able to build any memorials other than those devoted to Austrian-Polish personalities. The first person to be memorialized was the Polish king Jan Sobieski III, whose statue was inaugurated on their own *Rynek* square in

104 Grzegorz Rossoliński-Liebe, “Der Raum der Stadt Lemberg in den Schichten seiner politischen Denkmäler,” in *Kakanien Revisited*, 2009, <http://www.kakanien.ac.at/beitr/fallstudie/GRossoliński-Liebe1.pdf>, 4.

105 Prokopovych, *Habsburg Lemberg*, 173.

106 Harald Binder, “Die Polonisierung Lembergs im 19. Jahrhundert,” in *Stadtleben und Nationalität: Ausgewählte Beiträge zur Stadtgeschichtsforschung in Ostmitteleuropa im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*, ed. Markus Krzoska and Isabel Röskau-Rydel (Munich: Meidenbauer, 2006), 115.



Figure 6.14. Monument to Adam Mickiewicz, Marjacki Square, Lemberg. Source: Center for Urban History, L'viv, Urban Media Archive, Ihor Kotlobulatov Collection, ID: 793.

1898.¹⁰⁷ Sobieski had participated in the defense of Vienna in 1683, and being a figure celebrated by both Poland and Austria his statue was absolutely consensual. The lobbying for the erection of a monument to Mickiewicz that would be comparable to the one standing in Cracow began in 1903. The committee (*Komitet budowy pomnika*) was made up of a group of Polish intellectuals, most of whom were members of the literary society Adam Mickiewicz (*Towarzystwo literackim A. Mickiewicza*) created in 1890; the vice-chairman was Adam Krechowicki, chief editor of the *Gazeta Lwowska*, one of the most important Lemberg dailies, which was one of the leading actors lobbying for the monument.¹⁰⁸ Eventually the sculptor Antoni Popiel was commissioned, whose project bore more similarities to the Mozart monument in the *Burggarten* in Vienna than to “Polish” models, with Mickiewicz represented standing on a column, above whom an angel is shown who seems to inspire him.

107 Prokopovych, *Habsburg Lemberg*, 170.

108 *Stulecie Gazety Lwowskiej 1811–1911* [Hundred Years of *Gazeta Lwowska*] (Lemberg: Nakładem redakcyi Gazety Lwowskiej, 1911), 255.

The inauguration gathered the whole of Polish Lemberg: it started with a celebration at the Catholic and Armenian cathedrals, followed by a procession of all the associations and schools to Marjacki Square, where the monument was unveiled by the chairman of the committee, professor Bronisław Leonard Radziszewski who had replaced Krechowiecki, and Mayor Godzimir Małachowski. The atmosphere in town was festive with flags and decorations on all the houses. On the previous evening there had been a gala performance at the city theater.¹⁰⁹ The *Kurjer Lwowski* devoted a major part of its edition on October 30, 1904, to the unveiling of the monument, and the articles within are the expression of city patriotism and claim openly to “appropriate” Mickiewicz, who is made a “son” of Lemberg. An editorial written by the literary figure and activist, Maria Konopnicka (1842–1910), exalts the “soul” of the nation as evoked in the poetry of Mickiewicz.¹¹⁰ On the next day the newspaper described the ceremony and published the text of speeches made in front of the monument by various personalities of cultural and political life.¹¹¹

In the German cities there was an abundance of possible subjects to be commemorated by monuments, and emphasis was put on the implicit superiority of German literature, poetry, and drama. Most models were imported from Germany. On the Austrian side the most commemorated author was the dramatist Grillparzer, but his message was too closely related to the House of Habsburg. The literary duo of Goethe and Schiller was thus present in Austria, but it was the latter who appealed more to German citizens, as Goethe was seen as too cosmopolitan to please the national activists. Schiller, on the contrary, was considered to personify German genius. As soon as 1866, a Schiller Association (*Schillerstiftung*) was created in Brünn, which was a branch of that in Weimar thus linking it directly to Germany.¹¹² The purpose of the association was to organize performances of Schiller’s plays, to create a library, and to commemorate the birth of the author each year on November 10. The association was behind the decision to erect a statue of Schiller, but it seems that no particular lobbying was necessary because the two successive mayors, d’Elvert and Winterholler, were very supportive. The only question remaining was the appropriate place, which was found when the new theater was

109 “Odslonięcie pomnika Mickiewicza,” *Kurjer Lwowski*, no. 301, October 30, 1904.

110 “Pod pomnikiem” [At the foot of the monument], *Kurjer Lwowski*, no. 301, October 30, 1904.

111 “Lwów 30.X.1904,” *Kurjer Lwowski*, no. 302, October 31, 1904.

112 *Festschrift zur Feier des 30-jährigen Bestehens des Zweigvereines Brünn der Deutschen Schillerstiftung* (Brünn: Rohrer 1896), 10. The *Schillerstiftung* had been founded in Dresden in 1859 to commemorate the 100th anniversary of Schiller’s birth; it was later moved to Weimar.

under construction on the former site of the fortification (*Glacisanlagen*), and Schiller's bust was put in front of the building. The unveiling on May 18, 1888, was presided over by Winterholler, who called Schiller the "first ideal prince of the poets for the Germans" and praised the statue whose "view should be particularly enticing to the youth,"¹¹³ though the sculptor Johann Tomola had an obvious Czech name. Thanks to the statue in the following years the commemoration of the author's birth enjoyed a greater impact and was always accompanied by a performance in the nearby theater. All German associations of the town participated, and the message grew increasingly nationalist toward the turn of the century. The centenary of his death on May 9, 1905, was celebrated with national fervor: the theater organized a Schiller-cycle for the entire season,¹¹⁴ and the German associations appealed in the newspapers for the participation of everyone.¹¹⁵ Even the social democrat *Volksfreund* dedicated its front page on May 4 to the Schiller celebration, relegating its coverage of the demonstrations of May 1 to page four.

The centenary was also the occasion for the initiative to build a Schiller monument in Czernowitz. Here German symbols were closely associated with Austria and the Habsburg dynasty, so the city had no specifically German memorial. The commemoration of May 1905 was discussed at the town's council in January, and some German delegates asked for the active participation of the municipality and the naming of a street.¹¹⁶ The proposal was adopted, a commission was put in charge of its realization, and soon Schiller Street was located between Elisabeth-Platz and Altgasse. The remaining part of the celebration that took place in the *Musikverein* saw the participation of schools, and hence there was a particular focus on education through the classics of German literature, and not necessarily on German national symbols. In fact, all schools were involved, including Orthodox Romanian ones.¹¹⁷ Politically it was also an event that transcended divisions and the Social Democrats organized their own celebration a few days later. Eventually the project to erect a statue was also approved, and a Schiller-park was designed as well.¹¹⁸ Later

113 Elvert, *Neu-Brünn: Wie es entstanden ist und sich gebildet hat*, 178.

114 Bondi, *Fünfundzwanzig Jahre Eigenregie: Geschichte des Brünner Stadttheaters 1882–1907*, 140. After the 1907 season it was noticed that Schiller had been until then the author whose plays had been most performed: 180 performances among them 25 times *Wilhelm Tell*, 26 times the *Räuber* and 21 times *Don Carlos*.

115 As an example, see the *Brünner Wochenblatt*, no. 19, May 7, 1905.

116 "Aus dem Rathause," *Czernowitzer Tagblatt*, no. 580, January 5, 1905.

117 *Bukowinaer Rundschau*, no. 4784, May 9, 1905.

118 *Czernowitzer Tagblatt*, no. 646, March 25, 1905.

the debate on the relevance of the statue received a new impetus as the plans for a monument dedicated to Empress Elisabeth materialized. The Romanian delegates considered it to be a priority but the German delegate Wallstein, who had launched the Schiller's statue project, objected, fearing that the idea might be "forgotten." In fact, both monuments were to be next to each other: Schiller in front of the theater and Elisabeth on the square named after her. In the mind of the Romanian delegate Onciul, there was a clear distinction between the two: "The Schiller memorial is only a decoration for the theater whereas the Elisabeth memorial is a monument in itself."¹¹⁹ In the end the Schiller statue was erected as planned in front of the theater. Unveiled on May 9, 1907, it was the work of Viennese sculptor Georg Leisek, who specialized in such memorials and busts.

Although Dante Alighieri could certainly appear more consensual from the point of view of universal culture, he was also one of the inventors of the modern Italian language, which is the reason why his name had been chosen by the founders of the *Societa Dante Alighieri*, a nationalist-irredentist association created in 1889 in the *Regno*. This alone made his commemoration suspicious from the point of view of Habsburg authorities, and thus no monument would ever been built in the public space due to concerns that it would attract national agitation and the disturbance of public order, for which there were already many occasions. Two busts of him were erected in Trieste but they were concealed from the eyes of the public: one was placed in the main room of the cultural association *Minerva* on the occasion of the 600th anniversary of his death,¹²⁰ and the second one, a work by Ettore Ferrari, was put in the atrium of the *ginnasio comunale* on September 23, 1894.¹²¹

If it was difficult to claim a more neutral status for Dante, despite its universal cultural significance and distance in time, the same task was virtually

119 *Czernowitzer Tagblatt*, no. 735, July 15, 1905. On Onciul, who before taking an active part in Bucovinan politics had studied in Brünn, see Peter Urbanitsch, "Die Statthalter zwischen 'Wien' und 'Brünn,'" in *Brno Vidni, Viděn Brnu: Zemské metropole a centrum říše 19. Století/Brünn-Wien, Wien-Brünn: Landesmetropolen, und Zentrum des Reiches im 19. Jahrhundert*, ed. Lukáš Fasora, Jiří Hanuš, and Jiří Malír (Brno: Matices moravská, 2008), 114–15; Mihai-Ştefan Ceaşu, *Parlamentarism, partide și elită politică în Bucovina habsburgică* [Parliamentarism, parties and political elite in Habsburg Bucovina] (Iaşi: Junimea, 2004), 438. On his political activity as the leader of the Democratic Party, see Viorica Angela Craciun, "The Democratic Party of Bukovina and its National and Imperial Loyalties (1902–1918)," in *Exploring Loyalty*, ed. Jana Osterkamp and Martin Schulze Wessel (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2017), 121–36.

120 Attilio Gentile, *Il primo secolo della societa di Minerva 1810–1909* (Trieste: G. Copri 1910), 61.

121 Cesare Rossi, *Collocandosi il busto di Dante Alighieri opera di Ettore Ferrari nell'atri del ginnasio comunale di Trieste XXIII. settembre 1894* (Trieste: Amati 1894). See also *L'osservatore Triestino: Rassegna settimanale*, no. 260, September 17, 1894.

impossible with regard to Verdi. The composer was a herald of the national struggle and the arias of his operas had accompanied the road to Italian unity. The main theater of Trieste had been named after him, and performances of his operas were often disturbed by the audience demonstratively singing the most significant chorales so that the police had to intervene. For example, at the occasion of the centenary of his birth in 1913, a crowd started to sing the aria “*Va, pensiero*” on the Piazza Grande before being dispersed by the police. An article of *Il Piccolo* reporting the facts was censored because it accused the police of brutality against the demonstrators: “The police whistle, threaten, arrest; the people sing further.”¹²² Immediately after Verdi’s death in January 1901, an initiative was undertaken to erect a monument, and fundraising started at the occasion of a tribute at the *Politeama Rossetti*. Sculptor Alessandro Laforet was commissioned and the statue, which was placed on Piazza San Giovanni at the northern extremity of the *Borgo Teresiano*, and unveiled on January 27, 1906, to mark the fifth anniversary of the maestro’s death.¹²³ Trieste prided itself on being the first Italian town to have a monument dedicated to Verdi.¹²⁴ At the occasion of the abovementioned demonstration people also gathered near his statue, showing that it had become a significant place of memory for Triestine nationalists.

Each city had its own great men who were supposed to be remembered. The great mayors were local heroes either for the length of their presence at the head of the municipality or because their term had been particularly significant. This seemed to be the case in Brünn, where the first local personality to be honored was Mayor Christian d’Elvert. He was still alive when the town council proposed erecting a bust of him in the garden below the Spielberg fortress.¹²⁵ He himself tells the story in his book about Brünn’s history. The inauguration was performed by his successor Winterholler in the presence of the subject himself.¹²⁶ D’Elvert was certainly one of the most important personalities of the town: born to immigrants of the French Revolution who had settled in Brünn, he learned Czech in his youth but was also one of the first members

122 “Nel centenario della nascita di Giuseppe Verdi,” *Il Piccolo*, no. 11594, October 13, 1913.

123 It still stands there but the original was damaged in 1915 by Triestine people opposed to irredentism. After Italy’s entry into the war, the bronze was melted to forge cannons. Thanks to the cast kept by Laforet in his study the statue was remade in cast iron and re-erected in 1926.

124 Guido Botteri, *Trieste 1868–1918: storia e cronaca di mezzo secolo in cento pagine di quotidiani* (Trieste: Lint, 1968), 225.

125 Attesting to the esteem d’Elvert enjoyed is the fact that at the occasion of his 90th birthday in 1893, the historical section of the *k.k. Mähr.-Schles. Gesellschaft zur Beförderung des Ackerbaues, der Natur- und Landeskunde* published a book in homage, comprising of two volumes gathering contributions from the whole monarchy.

126 Elvert, *Neu-Brünn: Wie es entstanden ist und sich gebildet hat*, 161.

of the *Leseverein* founded in 1838.¹²⁷ He seems to have practiced utraquism all his life, which was not the case of his successors who inclined increasingly towards the German group. After having been elected to the *Reichsrat* he progressively detached himself from local politics (he served a long time as a delegate at the Diet as well) and resigned this mandate in 1882.

His successor Winterholler gave a new impulse to the development of the city; elected in 1880 he died in office in 1894. He was the main actor of the modernization of the city and not surprisingly a square designed in the wake of the improvement of the Glacis was given his name.¹²⁸ Yet, his case shows that the decision to create memorials of locals was not always without controversy. When the municipality decided to erect a bust of him on the square one year after his death, this was interpreted as an act of Pan-Germanism and criticized even in some German newspapers. The inauguration of the statue (a work by sculptor Anton Brenek who was already the creator of memorials to Joseph II and Grillparzer) served as the occasion of a demonstration of “*hochdeutsch-national*” feelings, as reported in the *Beobachter*. The paper was outraged at the “sanctification” of Winterholler, and even more at the fact that Jews seemed to have been the most active supporters of the process. Deputy Mayor Rohrer was accused of being the initiator of the event and of making “*Deuschtümelei*” (hyper-Germanness) his political business, as was Winterholler’s successor August von Wieser. The article concludes: “Are there still reasonable people here or is everything going on in a German mental home?”¹²⁹

At the end of the nineteenth century, Czernowitz was still considered poor in terms of monuments and the press constantly lamented the underdevelopment of the city.¹³⁰ Many were critical of the fact that the town was only graced by statues of saints. Indeed, the urban plan called for the decoration of newly created squares, but local personalities worthy of a monument were not numerous, and it was easier for the city to create Austrian memorials. Professor Constantin Tomaszczuk was the first Czernowitzer to be honored by a bust. He had been the leading local actor behind the foundation of the university and served as its first dean; after his death in 1889, his widow bequeathed

127 *Gedenblätter zu 90. Geburtstage, historisch-statistischen Sektion der k.k. mähr.-schles. Gesellschaft zur Beförderung des Ackerbaus, der Natur- und Landeskunde*, vol. 2 (Brünn: Rohrer, 1893).

128 The square was designed on the southern part of the *Augarten* (*Lužanký*) park and is today called *Náměstí 28. října. Průvodce Brnem a okolím* (Führer durch Brünn und Umgebung) (Brünn: Burkart, 1912), 198.

129 “Ein neuer deutscher Heiliger in Brünn,” *Der Beobachter: Autonomistisches Wochenblatt*, no. 42, October 12, 1895.

130 “Ein Denkmal,” *Czernowitzer Presse*, no. 152–53, January 15, 1897.

his personal library (*Bibliotheca Tomaszczuk*) to the university.¹³¹ The decision to dedicate a monument to his memory was made by the municipality strongly influenced by Mayor Kochanowski,¹³² and the bust was unveiled in the *Volksgarten* on October 17, 1897.¹³³ This achievement was an expression of the multiculturalism of Czernowitz, since Tomaszczuk was considered even in the German press as a Romanian, yet he had contributed to the creation of a German university and was honored by a Polish mayor. All of this was subsumed under patriotism of the land and Habsburg loyalty, and the city was characterized by monuments exalting both phenomena. The commemoration of the founder of the university symbolized culture at the farthest end of the monarchy. The town was then eager to celebrate Jakob Petrowicz, who had served briefly in the years 1864–66 but had been mayor at the time of the granting of municipal autonomy, and his action was regarded as essential for the town's history.¹³⁴ A committee was formed in late January 1896 to collect funds for the erection of a statue whose members were mainly Polish delegates of the municipality but also included the omnipresent Jewish delegate Benno Straucher as well as a Romanian and a German delegate.¹³⁵ Petrowicz was of Armenian origin but Bucovinian and Galician Armenians had largely assimilated to Polish Catholicism. However, the committee failed to rally enough support and funds so that in 1905 there was still debate about the opportunity to build the monument. Delegate Elias Wender addressed the assembly suggesting that there was no reason to commemorate Tomaszczuk and not Petrowicz. He accused the town's council of ingratitude toward Petrowicz and finally noted that the popular Austrian novelist Karl Emil Franzos was sadly right in describing Bucovina as "*Halb-Asien*."¹³⁶ Straucher felt he was being attacked (Wender was a Zionist) and recalled that he was the initiator of the committee but that there was still no agreement on the location of the statue. He suggested reviving the project in the perspective of the commemoration of autonomy, but the occasion was missed, and the statue was never erected.¹³⁷

131 Karl Reifenkugel, *Die k.k. Universitäts-Bibliothek in Czernowitz: 1885–1895* (Czernowitz: Pardini, 1896), 12.

132 Anton Freiherr Kochanowski v. Stawczan served two mandates: 1866–74 and 1887–1905.

133 *Czernowitzer Presse*, no. 173, October 15, 1897.

134 Kaindl, *Geschichte von Czernowitz von den ältesten Zeiten bis zur Gegenwart*, 105.

135 *Genossenschafts- und Vereins-Zeitung: Unabhängiges Organ*, no. 172, February 1, 1896.

136 For Franzos's description of the region as Half-Asia, see Karl Emil Franzos, *Aus Halb-Asien: Kulturbilder aus Galizien, der Bukowina, Südrufland und Rumänien*, vol. 3 (Stuttgart: J. G. Cotta'sche Buchhandlung, 1901).

137 "Aus dem Rathause," *Czernowitzer Tagblatt*, no. 585, January 12, 1905.

USES OF AND STRUGGLES FOR THE PUBLIC SPACE:
BUILDING A HOME FOR THE NATION

Art and culture were used to demonstrate that a town was keeping up with the zeitgeist; aside from education, fine arts and music were also used for asserting national identity. The achievement of this objective was not just the purview of the associations, but the cities played a role as well. Throughout the empire “houses of the nation” were built to signify the presence of a specific national group in the given urban landscape. They were mainly places for hosting the associations, holding meetings and organizing gatherings and celebrations. Although in Cisleithania these houses served to provide cultural infrastructure for the various national minorities, in the Hungarian context, such buildings were often instruments of state-sponsored Magyarization. The construction of so-called “palaces of culture,” as they were called in Hungary, were meant to symbolize the triumph of the Hungarian genius over others—although the need for such assertion often signified the lack of enthusiasm for this idea on the side of the minorities. In the Hungarian kingdom there was no possibility to build “houses of the nation” for other groups, thus it is no surprise that these palaces of culture were built in disputed contexts, although not in the most conflictual ones. Thus, in cities where Hungarian domination was either incomplete or genuinely contested, like Pozsony and Temesvár, such buildings were not constructed. However, the Germans in Hungary did not build their own houses either, since their assimilation was progressing more or less voluntarily, so they did not feel the need to counteract it. The situation was entirely different in Brünn, where Germans felt besieged by the challenge posed by the Czechs and thus believed that they had to demonstrate their position to a culture they considered inferior. It was somewhat the same as the Italian attitude towards the Slovenes in Trieste and the Poles towards the Ruthenians in Lemberg.

The most significant *Kultúrpalota* (Palace of culture) was built in Arad, which demonstrates the role municipalities played in promoting such projects. “*A város mint műmaecenas*” (The city as arts’ Maecenas) was the title of the front page of the daily *Arad és Vidéke* on October 25, 1905. The town invested significantly in cultural projects and decided to build a palace of culture for that purpose. The initiator of the project was the local Kölcsey Literary Society (*Aradi Kölcsey Egyesület*) in 1904, and the Hungarian government finally gave it support in 1909. The building was designed by architect Lajos Szántay in the years 1911–1913, and was supposed to house all the cultural institutions of the



Figure 6.15. Palace of Culture, Arad. Source: Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, AKON – Ansichtskarten Online, AK068_105.

city, each of which followed the construction enthusiastically.¹³⁸ Soon after its completion the Kölcsey Society and numerous organizations moved in the palace that also contained private libraries, collections of arts and crafts, and memorabilia from the War of Independence of 1848–1849.¹³⁹ This collection was then established as a museum (*1848–49 évi szabadságharcz emléktárgyak múzeuma*). The palace was inaugurated on October 26, 1913, by Mayor Lajos Varjassy, Minister of Religion and Public Education Béla Jankovich, and prefect Iván Urbán, and it is significant that the Romanian Bishop János (Ioan) Papp also attended and delivered a speech. All religious authorities were present as well, and indeed the palace was supposed to be accessible to all associations of the town, regardless of national belonging. Writer Ferenc Herczeg, who was then the president of the Petőfi Society, came from Budapest. The festivities ended with a gala performance at the city's theater.¹⁴⁰

A comparable initiative arose in Nagyvárád even before Arad, but this case shows that such ambitions were not always fulfilled. In December 1902, Ignác Radó, a local intellectual, collaborator of various newspapers and delegate

¹³⁸ *Arad vármegye és Arad szab. kir. város néprajzi leírása*, vol. 2, 86.

¹³⁹ *Arad szab. kir. város közművelődési intézetének szabályrendelete* [Statutes of the cultural institutions of the royal free city of Arad] (Arad: Zlinszky István és társa, 1913), 3.

¹⁴⁰ *Aradi Hiradó*, October 27, 1913.

at the town council wrote an article in *Szabadság* justifying the necessity to build a *Kultúrpalota* in Nagyvárad. He argued that the city had no proper place to organize exhibitions, and gave a list of the associations that could be housed in such a building. While he was well aware of the costs at a moment when much had been sacrificed to build the theater, he nevertheless claimed that the town had to finance the construction.¹⁴¹ Six years later, in October 1908, an article in the same newspaper had to admit that Nagyvárad was lagging behind the trend as other towns, such as Pécs, Sopron, Debrecen, Marosvásárhely (Târgu Mureș) and Sepsiszentgyörgy (Sfântu Gheorghe), some of which were much poorer and less significant than Nagyvárad, were already building their palaces of culture.¹⁴² Things seemed to progress in spring 1909 when the topic emerged again.¹⁴³ Discussions and meetings took place at the municipality and architect Rimanóczy, who had just built the new town hall, argued that the planned *Kultúrpalota* should house a permanent exhibition of applied art—a form of artistic expression that was then en vogue—as well as the town’s museum.¹⁴⁴ Finally in September three projects were delivered to the town council: the first was presented by the town’s chief engineer József Kőszeghy, the second by the town’s prefect Endre Hlatky together with chief notary Dr. László Thury, and the third by the mayor himself, Károly Rimler. The three projects envisaged different locations: the mayor wanted it to replace the *Kereskedelmi Bank* that the town would buy for that purpose, keeping costs modest. Hlatky and Thury planned to transform the storage units for the stage sets of the theater (located behind it): the town would buy a tenement house where the associations would have their rooms. Finally, Kőszeghy suggested a new construction on an empty space that still had to be determined.¹⁴⁵ In the end none of the projects was ever realized.

In cities where the dominant group saw the minorities as inferior from the cultural—not to speak of racial—point of view, the challenge for the minority was to create a “national” house where language and culture would be able to develop as an alternative to the lack of education in schools. Such was the situation in Lemberg where one of the first “houses” was built as early as the 1850s. The building was the result of the transformation of the old university

141 “A kulturpalota,” *Szabadság*, no. 300, December 25, 1902.

142 *Szabadság*, no. 228, October 4, 1908.

143 *Nagyvárad Napló* [Nagyvárad Chronicle], no. 89, April 15, 1909.

144 “Milyen lesz a kulturpalota?” [How will be the cultural palace?], *Nagyvárad*, no. 104, May 6, 1909.

145 *Nagyvárad*, no. 223, September 27, 1909.

that was housed in a former monastery: damaged in 1848, the building was “given” to the Ruthenians as an acknowledgement of their faithfulness to the crown during the revolution. It was a strategic decision of the Vienna government to balance the situation in Lemberg between Poles and Ruthenians. The latter were admitted in the city center, near to the town hall. Francis Joseph had come to Lemberg in 1851 and laid the first stone of the future *Narodnyj dom* whose construction was finished in 1864. This was remembered at the occasion of his second visit in September 1880 when he was shown the house and received the tributes of the Ruthenian associations.¹⁴⁶

The fact that the *Preobraženska* Church was also near the *Narodnyj dom* contributed to the creation of a Ruthenian “enclave,” which concerned the police because of the potential for conflict it could arouse.¹⁴⁷ Both buildings demonstrated the existence of the Ruthenians in Lemberg and made them a visible presence in the city center, challenging the Polonization of the town. From the stylistic point of view, the *Narodnyj dom* is neo-classic and, according to Anna-Veronika Wendland, “speaks no Ukrainian, rather Austrian *Behördendeutsch* [bureaucratic German].”¹⁴⁸ Despite the fact that the institute turned increasingly toward the Russophile tendency and conservatism it remained the point of identification for the Ruthenians. On the occasion of great celebrations and commemorations, all the associations representing the various currents met in the *Narodnyj dom* and forgot for a moment their political divisions. The journal published by the institution reflected this divide: starting as a publication that offered a platform for the various political expressions of the Ruthenians, it was very soon subject to tensions: the journal was progressively infiltrated by Russophiles, which the 1886 report even called “invaders” (*posiagatelstvi*), and gradually lost its pro-Austrian tone, though without turning openly anti-Habsburg.¹⁴⁹ Even the fact that the building was known by different names, *Narodnyj dom* by the Russophiles and *Narodnyj dim* by the Ukrainophiles, demonstrates the

146 *Otchet' russko-narodnogo instituta "Narodnyj dom" vo Lvov'* [Report of the Ruthenian national Institut “Narodnyj dom” in Lemberg] (Lemberg: Stavropigijiski institut, 1881).

147 Prokopovych, *Habsburg Lemberg*, 148.

148 Anna-Veronika Wendland, “Macht, Medien und öffentlicher Raum in galizischen National- und Gesellschaftshäusern: Der Lemberger ruthenisch-ukrainische Narodnyj dim in seinem Kontext,” in Haslinger, Hein-Kircher, and Jaworski, *Heimstätten der Nation*, 61.

149 *Vestnik "Narodnogo doma"* [Bulletin of the *Narodnyj dom*] (Lemberg: tipografia Stavropiginska-ja, 1886).

contention between the two groups.¹⁵⁰ Apart from academic activities (publications, library, and cultural associations) *Narodnyj dom* was important for the existence of the already mentioned *Rus'ka Besida*, founded in 1861, as the nucleus of the Ruthenian theater. Performances were held in the *Narodnyj dom* thus adding a popular activity without political content shared by many. Competition was provided inside of the Ruthenian camp by the new building of the *Prosvita* (Enlightenment) society that was located in the Lubomirski Palace on *Rynek* square. Founded at the end of the 1870s, the association was dedicated to the education of Ruthenians, mainly in the villages, while in Lemberg its main activity consisted of running adult courses and reading rooms.¹⁵¹ It was not very visible in Lemberg until it moved into this prestigious building at the beginning of the 1900s.¹⁵²

Apart from shop signs and the sound of their language in the streets of Trieste, the Slovenes had no real visibility in the city center for every attempt at building schools or other institutions had failed at the hands of the Italian majority ruling the municipality. Only private firms (craftsmen, merchants, and publishers) were able to demonstrate Slovene presence. Therefore it was a Slovene savings bank (*Tržaška Posojilnica in Hranilnica*) that in October 1902 took the initiative to build a complex where it would have its seat together with Slovene (and eventually Croatian) associations, flats, and other facilities such as a hotel and café.¹⁵³ The project was the response to an appeal made already in 1897 by the main Slovene newspaper *Edinost*, that had been followed from 1900 by a group of Slovene and Croatian intellectuals and clerics.¹⁵⁴

The place where the house was planned was an improvement zone and the former building was to be razed. The authorities put numerous obstacles in the way of the project, and it was rumored in the Italian press that the funds originated from Russia. There was an obvious fear on the part of the municipality to

150 Wendland, "Macht, Medien und öffentlicher Raum in galizischen National- und Gesellschaftshäusern," 59.

151 *Prosvitnyj stan ukraïnskogo naselenja L'vivskogo povitu i Zvitvy dilu filii tovarystva "Prosvita," u Lvovi za rik administraciinij 1911* [The level of education of the Ruthenian population of Lemberg district and report of the Lemberg branch of the association "Prosvita" for the year 1911] (Lemberg: Drukarna naukovogo tovaristva imeni Shevchenka, 1912).

152 Prokopovych, *Habsburg Lemberg*, 225.

153 Similar houses had already been built in Laibach in 1896, Cilli (Celje) in 1897, and Marburg (Maribor) in 1898. Görz was to follow in 1905. Monica Pemič, "Die eigene Präsenz manifestieren: Die Slowenen und Ihr Zentrum in Triest," in Haslinger, Hein-Kircher, and Jaworski, *Heimstätten der Nation*, 161. See also Marko Pozzetto, ed., *Narodni dom v Trstu 1904–1920* (Trieste 1995); Erik Dolhar and Marko Korosič, eds., *Narodni Dom-Balkan: Ob 80-letnici požiga* (Ljubljana: Nova Gorica, 2000).

154 Pemič, "Die eigene Präsenz manifestieren," 169.

see Slovenes gathering in the heart of the city, and they delayed their approval as long as they could, and the documents went back and forth many times because they were rejected for formal reasons. In the meantime, the Slovenes had found their architect: it was to be Max Fabiani who was then working in Vienna with Otto Wagner. He was born in the village of San Daniele sul Carso in a German-Italian family and sympathized with the Slovenes, and was later to build significant buildings in Laibach as well.¹⁵⁵ The choice of a “modernist” architect was deliberate, as the Triestine Slovene publisher Fran Polić, head of the Dolenc publishing house, had promised to contribute to the financing of the building but insisted that it had to be in “the newest style.”¹⁵⁶ Authorization to start work was finally issued in April 1903.¹⁵⁷ The land, located in the center (Piazza della Caserma), was very expensive but the Slovenes wanted to demonstrate their capacity to raise funds for the building, which was immediately called the “national house” (*Narodni dom*) and became one of the first examples of a multifunctional building.¹⁵⁸ Moreover, it was the first representative of functionalist architecture in Trieste, though it still combined some features of the Viennese Secession such as stained-glass windows and panels by Koloman Moser. A distinct visual marker of the building, and evidence of its multifunctionality, was a sign indicating it also being the “Hotel Balkan,” which was established by converting the originally planned flats into hotel rooms and giving it a name that was likely to stoke the fears of the Italians.

All the Slovene associations of the town moved into the *Narodni dom*, as did the savings bank which had started the project. Although all this occurred under the banner of national unity, this did not eliminate all political division among the groups sharing the space. The Christian Socials were afraid that the Social Democrats might take advantage of their newly acquired visibility, yet *Edinost* was eager to preach for the unity of the Slovenes, though it was indeed inclining towards the Christian Socialist movement.¹⁵⁹

As soon as it was finished, the *Narodni dom* became an object of hostility for the Italian irredentists, and of pride for the Slovenes. It is not surprising that the building was often surrounded by demonstrators from both sides. For example, on September 4, 1910, there was an appeal published in *Il Piccolo* for

155 Max Fabiani: *Architekt der Monarchie 1865–1962; Wien-Ljubljana-Triest*, Exhibition catalogue (Ljubljana: ABO Grafika, 2015).

156 *Novi List*, no. 144, October 4, 1902.

157 Rovello, *Trieste 1872–1917: Guida all'architettura*, 205–6.

158 Pemič, “Die eigene Präsenz manifestieren,” 171.

159 “Kateri je pravi ‘Narodni dom’?” [Which is the real “Narodni dom”?], *Edinost: Glasilo slovenskega političnega društva tržaske okolice*, no. 139, June 23, 1902.

a demonstration against “*la provocazione slava*.”¹⁶⁰ The purpose of the gathering was to protest against the “invasion” of the Slovenes (and Slavs in general) in the city, of which *Narodni dom* was now the most visible symbol. The gathering started at *teatro Eden* on Sunday morning, but the participants were closely watched by the police, and nothing happened before evening, when small groups gathered again and marched against a Slovene demonstration that had been formed in reaction to the Italian meeting. The Italian demonstrators gathered in front of the Slavic banks (the Trieste branch of the Czech *Živnostenská Banka*, and the Croatian *Jadranska Banka*), and the *Narodni dom*. The confrontation ended with violent encounters around the *portici di Chi-ozza* and the police arrested some of their actors and closed the nearby café. A report made by *Il Piccolo* in the Monday edition was partly censored because of attacks against the police force.¹⁶¹ It reveals its incoherence and partiality by claiming on one hand that the Slovene demonstration was mainly composed of women and children, while on the other stigmatizing them as “provocateurs.” The journalist wrote that the expected “thousands” did not come and praised the reasonable Slovenes of the *territorio* who did not respond to the boasting appeals of their leaders. The culmination of violence against the symbol of Slovene identity was yet to come: after the “reunification” of Trieste with Italy the town became one of the strongholds of the Fascist organization and its members set fire on the *Narodni dom* on July 13, 1920.¹⁶²

Violence against the “national houses” occurred in Brünn on the occasion of the bloody demonstration of October 1, 1905. Here the Czechs had formulated their claim for visibility in the city much earlier and had won many battles so that their presence was not contested. The building of representative “national” institutions was, however, a step in the escalation of the conflict between Germans and Czechs, and both projects were conducted in parallel.¹⁶³ However, the Czech national house (*Besedni dům*) was built before its German counterpart. The construction had been the expression of *utraquism*, which still animated the authorities in the 1870s. The men behind the project were both Czech entrepreneurs and province and city authorities, who created a

160 “La protesta cittadina contro l’incursione slava,” *Il Piccolo*, no. 10460, September 4, 1910.

161 “La gagliarda reazione cittadina contre la provocazione slava,” *Il Piccolo*, no. 10461, September 5, 1910.

162 The recognition and subsequent commemoration of this event by the town of Trieste had to wait until 2004 with the affixing of bilingual plaques on the façade of the former *Narodni dom* that is now a vocational school.

163 Jiří Mališ, “Vereinshäuser in Brünn und in den national gemischten Städten Mährens von 1914,” in Haslinger, Hein-Kircher, and Jaworski, *Heimstätten der Nation*, 13.



Figure 6.16. Czech national house (Besední dům), Brno. Source: Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, AKON – Ansichtskarten Online, AK024_534.

shareholding society in 1869 (*Akciová společnost Besedního domu*) composed of intellectuals, politicians, ministers, merchants, and entrepreneurs. Two local aristocrats, counts Friedrich Silva-Tarouca and Egbert Belcredi also gave their support.¹⁶⁴ Nothing made the underlying utraquist ambition and the corresponding financial means devoted to the project more evident than the fact that none other than Theophil Hansen, one of the major architects of the Viennese *Ringstrasse*, was commissioned.¹⁶⁵ Hansen was cautious not to display Czech folkloric ornamentation resulting in a building that was stylistically “neutral.”¹⁶⁶ Built at the same time as other constructions of the Brünner *Ring* below the Spielberg hill, which led from the railway station to the new part of the town, the *Besedni dům* was inaugurated in April 1873 and immediately entrusted with symbolic meaning. All important social events took place in the main hall—with the nearby garden also used as a place of meeting and entertaining—and all Czech associations were able to organize their assemblies and festivities there, though they could not all have their seats inside of it because of their growing number and diversity. The main organization that had its seat in *Besedni dům* was the *Sokol*.¹⁶⁷ Although the house was proclaimed, as in other cities, to represent unity among the Czech movements, the

164 Ibid., 24.

165 Zatloukal, *A Guide to the Architecture of Brno*, 66.

166 Mališ, “Vereinshäuser in Brunn und in den national gemischten Städten Mährens von 1914,” 28.

167 Bauer, *Brno*, 119.

increasing tensions between Social Democrats, Christian Socials, and other groups claiming to speak for the Czech people soon created new meeting places. Consequently, by the beginning of the twentieth century the *Besedni dům*, while still remaining a symbolic place, was no longer the only venue to represent the cause of the Czech community.

The rise of tensions between Germans and Czechs led to the creation of a *Deutsches Haus* provided with the same range of activities as the Czech national house. Its symbolic function was to grow proportionally with the conflict between the two groups so that both buildings were the sites of the demonstration of October 1905; they were considered as the incarnation of two nations “attacked” by the other and thus in need of “defense.” The Germans had been unable to compete with the Czechs in the 1870s and could not form a comparable committee for the building of a national house. Then most of them had still been undisturbed by Czech national affirmation and remained confident in utraquism, and since there were many associations representing German culture, people were “saturated” with associative life. Things changed in the 1880s, and the association *Verein Deutsches Haus* was created in 1884 under the auspices of entrepreneurs and politicians who felt that a *Burg* had to be built in order to fight the Czech threat.¹⁶⁸ The construction of the German house was facilitated by the municipality who enabled the association to buy ground on the former glacis, which was being progressively urbanized. The *Deutsches Haus* was inaugurated on May 17, 1891, a day later transformed in a national holiday for the local German population, and featured neo-gothic architecture inspired by German romanticism. It stood on a square at the southern end of Giskragasse and Neugasse. To complete its identification to German spirit, a statue of Emperor Joseph II was unveiled in front of it on October 16, 1892.¹⁶⁹ It is significant that a Habsburg figure was chosen and not an intellectual like Goethe (Schiller was already commemorated in the city) so as to moderate the message and to insist on dynastic loyalty.¹⁷⁰

To be sure, while at the level of state memorial culture, Joseph II embodied dynastic continuity, the narrative about him was composed of many elements—enabling practically every political party to commemorate him,

168 Mališ, “Vereinshäuser in Brünn und in den national gemischten Städten Mährens von 1914,” 25.

169 *Mährischer Correspondent*, no. 237, October 17, 1892.

170 The memory of Joseph II and its subsequent appropriation by the Pan-Germans has been extensively researched by Nancy M. Wingfield, “Emperor Joseph II in the Austrian Imagination up to 1914,” in *The Limits of Loyalty: Imperial Symbolism, Popular Allegiances, and State Patriotism in the Late Habsburg Monarchy*, ed. Laurence Cole and Daniel L. Unowsky (New York, Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2007), 62.

including liberals, Jews, Protestants, revolutionaries, Freemasons, and national activists. His memory had a special local importance in Brünn, as one of his commemorated deeds, when he picked up a plow to personally plow a field, happened in Moravia (in Slawikowitz, Slavíkovice); the plow itself was given to the governor's palace and from there ended up in the *Franzensmuseum* in 1863.¹⁷¹ Joseph II thus became a Moravian icon and has long been seen an *utraquist* figure. However, his memory was increasingly monopolized by the Germans after the commemorations of 1880 that had already shown a discrepancy in the interpretations of his legacy. The Germans capitalized on Joseph II's attempts to mandate the use of the German language all over the empire through the establishments of schools and administrative measures. Although this effort was motivated by a concern to rationalize state administration, it was seen, especially in Hungary, as an oppressive measure. Therefore, by the time his statue was erected in Brünn in 1892, Joseph II was seen by many as the expression of German identity, which explains why his statues stood in front of other German houses elsewhere in the empire, too. The Czechs were aware of the change of discourse; Social Democratic leader Josef David said at the occasion of the first anniversary of František Pavlík's death during the demonstration of October 1, 1905: "Today's Germans are unworthy successors to their great master who respected the freedom of everyone."¹⁷²

The German associations were so numerous in Brünn that it was not possible to house them all in the building, though some moved in. These included the *deutsche Lesehalle*, *Volksbücherei*, *Deutscher Club*, *Schlaraffia* in the eastern wing of the house, and *Gewerbeverein*, *deutsche Journalisten- und Schriftstellerverein* in the western wing, where the building's administration was also located. Nevertheless, all the German associations of the town were able to use the rooms of the building for meetings and festivities.¹⁷³ The *Deutsches Haus* itself functioned as an association and had more than 1,000 members at the time of its foundation, however, the board members struggled to make ends meet and their journal made constant appeals to wealthy Germans to contribute to the activities.

Czernowitz was a peculiar case in the Habsburg Monarchy because the plurality of its linguistic and confessional groups led to the foundation of a record number of "national houses," including German, Polish, Ruthenian, Jewish and

171 Wingfield, *Flag Wars and Stone Saints*, 20.

172 Quoted in Wingfield, "Emperor Joseph II in the Austrian Imagination," 80.

173 "Thätigkeitsbericht über das Jahr 1891," *Blätter vom Deutschen Hause* (Brünn: Friedr. Irrgang, 1892), 2.



Figure 6.17. German house with the statue of Emperor Joseph II, Brünn, 1907.
Source: Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, AKON - Ansichtskarten Online, AK028_242.

Zionist. Interestingly, the group claiming hegemony—the Romanians—considered the Orthodox seminary and seat of the Metropolitan as the incarnation of their national identity and thus did not feel the need to build a specific house in the city. This was also an indication of the conservatism of their leaders who did not want to secularize the Romanian national discourse in order to avoid conflict with the Ruthenians who were already pushing for a share in religious affairs. Thus the Romanians were slow to enter the competition for “national” houses, and it was not until 1889 when baron Alexandru Hormuzaki, one of the leaders of the *Societății pentru cultura și literatura română din Bucovina*, helped to buy the former Hotel Weiss in order to transform it into a “*Palatul național*.”¹⁷⁴ Public mobilization was organized by Valeriu Braniște, one of the editors of *Patria*, and substantial help came from the Romanian National Bank, but it took some time to realize the renovation work.¹⁷⁵ In a lecture held on December 9, 1894, the poet and folklorist Elena Niculiță-Voronca tried to mobilize the interest and the funds of the Romanians by explaining the danger the nation faced in Bucovina. She pointed to the situation in Galicia, claiming that the land was threatened by the Poles and Ruthenians, which she tended to associate with each other. She deplored the fact that the Romanians in Czernowitz did not have “their own house” despite being the dominant nation, urging

174 “Apelul ‘Societății pentru cultura și literatura română’ din Bucovina,” *Patria*, no. 300, July 21/August 2, 1899.

175 Mariana Hausleitner, “Fünf verschiedene Vereinshäuser in Czernowitz und ihre Entwicklung bis 1914,” in Haslinger, Hein-Kircher, and Jaworski, *Heimstätten der Nation*, 93.

that assimilation be reversed to benefit the Romanians.¹⁷⁶ She cautiously did not accuse the Austrians of “*divide et impera*” nor did she mention the German identity of the town or the influence of the authorities. Finally, she urged her compatriots to be as active as the Poles and stigmatized mixed marriages and conversions to Catholicism. In her mind the national house needed to be given the rank of a “national church.”¹⁷⁷ Arriving relatively late on the scene, the Romanians eventually built their national house only after World War I, with the facade of the building adorned with elements of Romanian folklore.

The Poles were the first group to organize their associative life around a national house. This may be explained first by the fact that they were a minority who felt relatively isolated from their Galician compatriots, and second that they had the privilege of precedence and of already possessing a functional network of associations.¹⁷⁸ The *Dom polski* gathered them all and was a popular place for entertainment: according to newspapers the Polish ball was the best in town. Czernowitz was home to 41 percent of the Polish population in Bucovina, and they had a significant presence in the middle class, as craftsmen, and through noble landowners residing in town.¹⁷⁹ This influence was particularly visible at the occasion of the *Sokol* festivities. As early as 1866 a fundraising campaign enabled them to buy a house for their associations; this soon became insufficient but they were unable to acquire another building until 1904 when a donation provided the necessary funds. The former mayor’s son, Anton Kochanowski, was one of the main actors of the project. A new house was bought at Herrengasse 40 that had a garden to accommodate receptions. The inauguration in 1905 gathered some 1,000 people.¹⁸⁰

The Ruthenians were next in line with the initiative to build a national house. Under the impulse of the *Rus’ka Besida* an association was founded for that purpose in 1887, which bought a house in the Schlangengasse (then Petrowicz-Gasse) with the plan of transforming it into the heart of Ruthenian associative life in Czernowitz. The Ruthenian project was not immediately successful and as late as 1898 there were still appeals to contribute to the construction, which was already planned and authorized. The newspaper *Ruska rada* was

176 Elena Niculiță-Voronca, *Casa națională: Conferință ținută în 9 Decembrie 1894 în folosul fondului pentru clădirea unui palat național* [House of the Nation: Lecture held on 9 December for the creation of a foundation to build a national palace] (Czernowitz: Tip. arch. Silvestru Morariu, 1894), 4.

177 Ibid., 12.

178 Kazimierz Feleszko, “Die Polen in Czernowitz,” in *Czernowitz: Die Geschichte einer ungewöhnlichen Stadt*, ed. Harald Heppner (Vienna: Böhlau, 2000).

179 Hausleitner, “Fünf verschiedene Vereinshäuser in Czernowitz,” 99.

180 Ibid., 100.

one of the leading voices in this campaign, later joined by the Ukrainophile *Bukovyna* showing that the project was as pursued by both political tendencies. The editorials repeated ceaselessly that the house was more than a mere associative building but the expression of the soul of the nation. In addition, religious terminology and symbols were also used to convince people to give money to a sacred cause.¹⁸¹ *Rus'ka Besida* created a special fund called *Ruska kasa* (Ruthenian fund) and was responsible for the construction of the building. Its directors were Erotej Pihuljak, a teacher at the Orthodox *Realschule*, and Omeljan Popovych; the two had founded the association *Rus'ka shkola*.¹⁸² In 1900, there was still a great need of money, and a new campaign was launched by the *Ruska rada* to collect funds in order to build a second story, which was finally possible thanks to a donation from the state lottery.

An article in the *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung* reporting on the Ruthenian endeavor deplored the fact that the Germans had not yet been able to build their own house, and urged the Germans to organize themselves because the other nationalities of Bucovina were mobilizing their compatriots.¹⁸³ A project to build a German national house was initiated in 1897 by the *Verein der christlichen Deutschen in der Bukowina*, a clear indication of its political background.¹⁸⁴ The association, founded by teachers, started modestly and its first building in the Siebenbürgengasse was of small dimensions, with a garden in which was erected a statue of Emperor Joseph II—a figure who enabled them to combine German identity with dynastic faithfulness.¹⁸⁵ By 1907 the association had around 2,500 members, rendering the building too small; it was supported by Deputy Mayor Fürth who became chairman of the committee in charge of building a new house. Thus the association was able to acquire a plot in the more central Herrengasse (today Olga-Kobyljanska) in 1908, and a new, enormous *Deutsches Haus* was designed by architect Gustav Fritsch, originating from the Sudetenland.¹⁸⁶ Inaugurated on June 5, 1910, it was far more visible than the Ruthenian one, and its location on

181 "Narodnii Dim v Chernivci" [National house in Czernowitz], *Ruska rada: Narodna gazeta*, no. 16, October 16/28, 1898.

182 Hausleitner, "Fünf verschiedene Vereinshäuser in Czernowitz," 97.

183 "Der ruthenische Verein *Narodni Dom*," *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung*, no. 430, October 20, 1887.

184 *Spurensuche: Czernowitz und die Bukowina einst und jetzt* (Sankt Pölten: Niederösterreichisches Landesmuseum, 2000), 130.

185 *Enthüllung einer Büste Kaiser Joseph II im Garten des Deutschen Hauses in Czernowitz: Pfingsten 1903* (Czernowitz: Buchdr. Gesell., 1903), 6.

186 Hausleitner, "Fünf verschiedene Vereinshäuser in Czernowitz," 102–3.

one of the major streets of the center indicated the importance of the German identity in Czernowitz and Bucovina.¹⁸⁷ The message was undoubtedly national and religious, making a comparison possible to some extent with the German house in Brünn; here too a historicist (neo-gothic) style was chosen, though with elements of modernism due to its later date of construction. The new *Deutsches Haus* was large enough to host the following associations and institutions: *Studentenbude*, *Warenhaus*, *Raiffeisenkassa*, *Landesverband*, *Verein der christlichen Deutschen*, *Schlaraffia*, *Pruthana*.¹⁸⁸ A restaurant and café were added on the ground floor and a wine cellar was located in the basement. A hall was dedicated to performances, assemblies, and balls organized by the various associations of the town.

As the name of the association of the “Christian” Germans makes clear, there was now a divide in the expression of German identity in Czernowitz; Jews were the “other” Germans and organized their activities separately. They initiated the construction of their national house in 1906. Among the founders was Moritz Stekel, chief editor of the *Bukowinaer Post*. The authorizations were quickly obtained and architects Schreiber and Bochner designed a house facing the newly designed Elisabeth-Platz, thus adding to the “modern” feeling of this part of town.¹⁸⁹ It was clear that the founders intended to build a “*Repräsentationshaus*” meant to become “the place of gathering for all of the Bucovinian Jews,” but this quickly failed due to the opposition of the Zionists, who disapproved of the leading bodies of the community and were consequently rejected by them.¹⁹⁰

The division between the two parts of the community led to conflict and separation. First, the authorities of the Jewish house systematically refused to accommodate events and meetings organized by the Zionists. In 1908, the *Jüdische Sprachkonferenz* was banned from the Jewish house because the community leaders were hostile toward the demands for the recognition of Yiddish as a national language; the conference had to relocate to the *Musikverein* and to the theater.¹⁹¹ Yet, this ostracism did not prevent the supporters of this idea from proceeding, and the conference became an annual event under the direction of a newly created committee established in Czernowitz. The

187 Bilenkova, *Jugendstil in Czernowitz*, 65.

188 “Das deutsche Haus.” *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung*, no. 1915, June 5, 1910.

189 *Bukowinaer Post*, no. 1974, September 27, 1906; “Jüdisches Nationalhaus,” *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung*, no. 891, December 30, 1906.

190 *Bukowinaer Post*, no. 1871, January 28, 1906.

191 “Jüdische Sprachkonferenz,” *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung*, no. 1391, September 1, 1908.



Figure 6.18. German house, Czernowitz. Source: Center for Urban History, L'viv, Urban Media Archive, Helmut Kusdat Collection, ID: 2567.

impossibility for the Zionists to gain visibility led them to build their own “Jewish house,” and the aforementioned Toynbee Hall was finally inaugurated in November 1913 after facing tenacious opposition from community leaders. As soon as it opened, a debate arose about the religious services that the Zionists wanted to perform there. The problem reached beyond confessional arguments when a prohibition was issued by Mayor Dr. Salo Weißelberger, himself a converted Jew and thus opposed to the Zionists. When asked to explain his decision by Mayer Ebner during a session of the town’s council, the mayor argued that Toynbee Hall lacked the fire safety features necessary for this kind of activity and would thus require protection by the police. Ebner countered that the municipality was not qualified to decide on matters regarding a religious community. The discussion degenerated and Ebner accused the municipality of acting systematically against Toynbee Hall because it was under the influence of liberal Jews, at which point another delegate—not Jewish—intervened saying that the Zionists were provocateurs, an opinion supported by Straucher who apparently waited for others to speak before him. The session was ultimately suspended amid insults and confusion.¹⁹²

192 *Czernowitzer Gemeinde-Zeitung: Amtliches Organ der Stadtgemeinde Czernowitz*, no. 41, October 14, 1913, 1–4.

The situation was very different in Sarajevo where divisions did not follow the same patterns. Here it was neither a question of language nor religion, since the lines between Catholics and Orthodox were precisely drawn. The rivalry was more about the ambitions of Serbs and Croats regarding the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina and therefore a conflict about the attitude of both groups towards Austria-Hungary. This would have been complex enough, but the conflict was made even more serious because of the relations of both groups to Hungary. In Sarajevo Serbs and Croats were fighting each other for visibility, as shown in the building of new churches, and they also had to cope with the Muslims and Austro-Hungarian authorities. Both groups felt that the authorities were favoring the Muslims while the Serbs also had the impression that the state favored Catholics. Building new signs of their presence in the urban space was crucial for both of them, to challenge the Muslims who were previously dominant thanks to the mosques and their minarets. Moreover, urban planning was about “civilizing” the city by creating institutions representing the empire and promoting Christian influence. The Bazar was indeed preserved but only as an ethnographic remnant of the Turkish past, which is how it was represented on postcards. All other modern buildings were built in the new parts of town. The national associations of the Croats and Serbs, *Napredak* and *Prosvjeta* respectively, were both created in 1902 and planned the building of their own houses. The Serbs were the first to achieve this objective, and in 1911 they inaugurated a house on the Miljačka embankment designed by Serbian architect Miloš Miladinović. It was thus integrated in the latest urban planning of the city and aligned with other representative buildings on the Appel-Quai. The building was called *Prosvjetin dom* and housed the Serbian associations.



Figure 6.19. Jewish house, Czernowitz. Source: Center for Urban History, L'viv, Urban Media Archive, Helmut Kusdat Collection, ID: 2472.

The Croats could not wait any longer to build their own house. It was built in the newly designed part of town as well, along Cemaluša-Gasse (today Maršala Tita), at a small distance from the cathedral. It was designed by the Zagreb architect Dioniz Sukno and inaugurated in 1913. Both houses are examples of the Secession style, but *Napredak* tends toward more modern features showing the influence of the later works of Otto Wagner and similarities with some buildings by Max Fabiani. The portal is framed by two allegories of knowledge and strength sculpted by Robert Frangeš Mihanović. On the small cupola stands a statue symbolizing Croatia. Here, as in other palaces of this kind, culture was combined with entertainment and a café. A cinema (the *Imperijal*) was established—the second in town—as was a café of the same name on the ground floor. There was no direct confrontation between Serbs and Croats in Sarajevo: young Croats demonstrated against the Hungarian policy towards Croatia, but Serbs did not take the streets. Things changed abruptly on June 28, 1914, when the *Prosvjetin dom*, along with houses and shops belonging to Serbs, was attacked and vandalized.

GOING BEYOND THE NATION: SOCIAL CONTEST

Confrontation in the city was not only a question of national conflict. Social unrest was becoming a common phenomenon and was naturally stronger in cities with an industrial profile. Industrialization and urbanization had multiplied the number of workers in town, and strikes were frequent in small and large factories.¹⁹³ Factories linked with construction works (brickyards and tile factories) were the first to experience massive strikes, and workmen employed in excavations also went on strike on many occasions to demand better work and living conditions. Typographers were a particular category of workers: they were literate and therefore mobilized earlier in favor of social democracy, but other professions also protested regularly in town, such as bakers' employees, apprentices in tailors' and dressmakers' workshops, and later even tram drivers. The proletariat was a mirror of the multicultural society and represented all nationalities. Even in a town where social and national segregation was obvious, like Trieste, there was a significant proportion of Italian workers, many of whom were actually immigrants from the *Regno*. The same

193 Amerigo Caruso and Claire Morelon, "The Threat from Within across Empires: Strikes, Labor Migration, and Violence in Central Europe, 1900–1914," *Central European History* 54, no. 1 (2021): 86–111.

could be said concerning Brünn where German workers were also numerous. In less industrialized towns such as Lemberg and Czernowitz the Jewish proletariat represented an important factor and its members were approached by both Social Democrats and Zionists, yet in Austria-Hungary there was no specifically Jewish workers' organization comparable to the *Bund* in Lithuania, Poland, and Russia.

From the beginning of its existence the Social Democratic Party in Austria-Hungary was confronted with national division, which it tried to solve by "inventing" Austro-Marxism. Here priority was given to social questions, the resolution of which was hoped to make national "egoisms" disappear. The national question was interpreted as the emanation of class alienation, as nationalism was seen as a bourgeois phenomenon that would have no reason to exist after the victory of socialism. In the context of Austria-Hungary this objective was clearly too ambitious; social democracy came too late to reverse the process of the construction of national identities. These were in the 1890s already well articulated and equipped with narratives, political discourses, symbols, and memory, so that the Social Democrats had to cope with them in order to formulate their own conception of the nation. In the multicultural towns they had to organize the party taking into account the various groups and the existing political divide between them. They also had to face another mass party that competed with them over the politicization of the workers, the Christian Socials. They also claimed to be universal in their approach to the working class, though in reality they addressed specific groups, thus politicizing religion and alienating the other nationalities. Only the Social Democrats succeeded in maintaining a transnational discourse, though it often fell on deaf ears. On the day after the confrontation of October 1, 1905, in Brünn they were the only ones justifying their refusal to participate in such demonstrations and to be involved in national conflict.

From the beginning of the 1890s, the Social Democrats tried to make May Day the workers' holiday, but it took a long time before all cities accepted the organization of a demonstration, let alone the suspension of work on that day. There was also competition for the appropriation of the streets on this specific date: May was traditionally celebrated by various festivities more or less associated with the Church (month of Mary), and May 1 saw the *Militärkapelle* parade through town in the early morning hours playing a serenade to the citizens. Municipalities hid behind concerns for public safety and forbade the workers to march in the city center. Social democratic demonstrations were indeed not only a march but also an occasion to ask for the implementation

of universal suffrage, which was not the remit of the municipality. However, the reduction of the working day, better living conditions, and decent salaries depended partly on the local situation. As early as May 1, 1883, the industrial workers of Arad wanted to demonstrate, but this was forbidden countrywide by the Ministry of the Interior. The mayor subsequently forbade the local gathering.¹⁹⁴ Later in 1893, the town's Social Democrats succeeded in publishing a newspaper distinct from the national social democratic press, but although Arad was a significant industrial city, the paper only lasted five years.¹⁹⁵

From the 1890s on, in cities which decided to permit local May Day demonstrations, these became to constitute an important milestone in the life of the community. The concert of the *Militärkapelle* was maintained in the morning but the rest of the day belonged to the workers. There was generally a meeting with various speeches expressing social demands followed by a march (unless it was forbidden), while the afternoon was dedicated to entertainment. The demonstrations took place in the city center, making the workers and their organization visible in town (whereas the factories were mostly located on the outskirts) and showing the multicultural profile of the proletariat to the inhabitants. Before 1907 and the adoption of universal suffrage in Cisleithania, the demands expressed during the meetings and demonstrations of May Day were similar in both parts of the monarchy and included the desire for an 8-hour working day. In the 1890s, the demonstrations were still a problem for the municipalities and bans were frequent. In Brünn for example, in 1892 the authorities forbade the meeting that was to take place on the *Weissen Berg* near the suburb of *Julienfeld*. Nevertheless, in the afternoon the workers succeeded in organizing a *Volksfest* in the *Schreibwald* that thousands joined, notwithstanding the pouring rain.¹⁹⁶ German and Czech workers' organizations cooperated on these demonstrations from the beginning, and the Czech Social Democratic paper *Rovnost* insisted on cooperation with the German paper *Volksfreund* for the preparations. Actually, the tavern where the festivities took place belonged to Czech restaurateur Pisánek.¹⁹⁷ Both newspapers had started their publication around the 1880s: *Volksfreund* in 1881, and *Rovnost* in 1885. In Temesvár the 1890s were characterized by repression too: in 1891 the demonstration was forbidden by the local police commander although the workers

194 *Arad és Vidéke*, May 2, 1883.

195 *Új Világ: A Magyarországi szociáldemokrata-párt Arad-kerületi közlönye* [New World: Bulletin of the Hungarian Social Democratic party in the Arad district].

196 *Volksfreund*, no. 10, May 12, 1892.

197 *Rovnost: List socialních demokratů českých*, no. 9, May 2, 1892.

had prepared for it. That year May 1 fell on a Sunday and therefore the *Temesvarer Zeitung* notices that no troubles were caused: only a handful of tailors' apprentices gathered but they were closely watched by the police.¹⁹⁸

More significant demonstrations created agitation in the cities around the turn of the century when the workers were allowed to march in the streets with banners and slogans. In Brünn the newly created Winterholler Square was chosen as the starting point of the demonstration. The political meeting was organized in the *Arbeiterheim*, an utraquist institution that housed all the May Day meetings in Brünn. The building had a garden that enabled the gathering of a considerable crowd. One of the first large demonstrations took place in 1898, which must have been massive; both social democratic newspapers agreed that the number of participants on Winterholler Square exceeded 10,000 people, while *Volksfreund* exaggerated the number to 25,000 people. The march was accompanied by *Musikkapelle Krunka*, a workers' orchestra, and the speeches held at the meeting at the *Arbeiterheim* were bilingual: Comrade Merta spoke Czech and Comrade Feitl German.¹⁹⁹ Both reports point to the success of May Day, but they diverge on the *Volksfest* (*Tábor lidu* in Czech) that followed because both nationalities went to entertain themselves in different places. This was to be the rule in all multicultural cities: party discipline and ideology commanded unity as long as politics were concerned but as soon as people were free from it, they socialized with their own group. The conclusion of the day was again celebrated in harmony at the *Arbeiterheim*. Unity was maintained in Brünn until the adoption of universal suffrage. May Day was commemorated in the same way and the number of participants varied, according to the exaggerations of the social democratic press from 15,000 to 50,000 people.²⁰⁰

Over the years more and more associations and workers' organizations took part; since the first part of the day was utraquist it enabled double the number of associations to participate, and the meeting was still held in both languages. Things changed after 1907, by which time social democracy was divided in Cisleithania and thus in Brünn as well. May Day 1910 made this division obvious. The Czech march departed from the station, where participants from the neighborhood had gathered, then followed Ferdinand Street to the Main Square (*Velké náměstí*), turned up Liechtenstein Street up to Lažanský Square

198 *Temesvarer Zeitung*, no. 100, May 2, 1891.

199 *Rovnost*, no. 35, May 4, 1898; *Volksfreund*, no. 18, May 5, 1898.

200 An example in the report of *Rovnost*, no. 53, May 3, 1903.

before turning left to reach the *Besední dům*. The speeches, one of which was made by the first female leader of the Czech Social Democratic Party, Božena Toužilová, were made in Czech.²⁰¹ There were no more common gatherings at the *Arbeiterheim*, which was apparently “left” to the German workers. For entertainment, the Czechs went to the newly industrialized suburb of *Kralové pole* whereas the Germans continued meeting in *Schreibwald*.

The same division characterized Lemberg, where Poles and Ruthenians celebrated May Day separately. The date coincided with the commemoration of the Polish Constitution of 1791, which discouraged the mobilization of Poles for a second day that was moreover supposed to be transnational. The first significant demonstration took place in 1896 with slogans demanding the 8-hour working day; it had modest dimensions and no marching, and the participants met in the associative rooms of the Hotel Imperial.²⁰² The only national difference noticed by the press reports was the presence of the Jewish organization *Jad-Hazuku*. Later the Social Democratic leaders succeeded in organizing a march in town that started from Gosiewski Square in the eastern part of the city, then followed Kochanowski and Batory streets, crossed Marjacki Square took Wały Hetmanskie Ring (Karl Ludwik Street, today Prospekt Swobody) before ending near the construction site of the new theater.²⁰³ This course along some of the main arteries of the city enabled the gathering of a crowd, making the workers visible to the inhabitants.

As already mentioned, the Social Democrats in Trieste were considered traitors to the irredentist cause, and they were also seen as bad patriots by the more moderate national-liberal leaders because of their internationalism. The Social Democratic Party in Trieste was strong enough to ignore these accusations, and social conflict was much more prominent than in other towns. The importance of industry and the size of the factories made national conflict secondary as far as socialism was concerned. The most dramatic demonstration, which happened in February 1902, was the result of social unrest, but even here Italian was the dominant language. Slovene Social Democrats were obliged to cope with this domination although their leaders did not miss the occasion to address the town council in Slovene.²⁰⁴ May Day was thus unified and there was no particular incident of nationalistic character.

201 *Rovnost*, no. 117, May 2, 1910.

202 “Dzień 1. maja” [May Day], *Gazeta Narodowa*, no. 122, May 2, 1896.

203 “Robotnicy lwowscy” [Workers of Lemberg], *Gazeta Narodowa*, no. 100, May 2, 1903.

204 “Il 1° Maggio,” *Il Gazzettino: Giornale democratico indipendente*, no. 1311, May 2, 1904.

The accusation of internationalism was used elsewhere to argue that the Social Democrats were diverting workers from real problems. An article of the *Preßburger Zeitung* in 1897 deplored the fact that May Day had lost its character of a spring celebration that concerned everybody and had been turned into a political instrument.²⁰⁵ The same regret was also expressed in Zagreb: the workers “polluted” Maksimir Park on that day, depriving the honest citizens of an innocent family holiday. Indeed, over the course of the years May Day had increasingly become a holiday with the press being one of the first professions to suspend work on that day. The *Preßburger Zeitung*, using the common accusation against the Social Democrats, called them “*heimatlose Kosmopoliten*” and “*exotische Demagogen*,” behind which hid explicit anti-Semitism. There was also a belief shared in many towns that Social Democrats were “imported” to pervert the honest workers, but in fact most leaders were genuine workers active in the town’s factories. This fact was obvious in these multicultural societies where the Social Democrats were able to address all groups. The meetings held on May Day were multilingual and it is interesting to see that the names of speakers did not necessarily correspond to the language used.

Pozsony was, after Budapest, the main industrial city of Hungary and therefore particularly concerned with social unrest and workers’ organization. The fact that universal suffrage was not introduced in Hungary sustained a high level of mobilization that was to culminate in violent demonstrations in the 1910s. The audience and importance of social democracy was growing in Pozsony, and the municipality could no longer ignore the demands to celebrate May Day. In 1902, the mayor received a workers’ delegation at the town hall, and finally authorized the demonstration and the march with music and banners. Like in nearly every other town the march was opened by a group of cyclists. The social democratic newspaper claims that 2,000 people participated, as most factories had stopped work, no newspapers were issued, and construction sites were silent: “There was a holiday atmosphere in town.”²⁰⁶ Speeches were made in three languages: German, Hungarian, and “Slavic,” the latter being certainly Slovak although many workers were technicians from the Bohemian lands. The linguistic diversity was also remarkable in Temesvár where speeches were made in German, Hungarian, and Romanian. For a comparable population, the number of participants was less considerable—around

205 “Der erste Mai, was er sein sollte und wozu er gemacht wurde,” *Preßburger Zeitung*, no. 121, May 2, 1897, Sunday morning edition.

206 *Westungarische Volksstimme: Organ der ungarländischen sozialdemokratischen Partei für die arbeitende Bevölkerung Westungarns*, no. 10, May 8, 1902.

1,000 in 1902—but this is not surprising as the town was less industrialized. In Temesvár, too, work was practically suspended, and workers gathered in the city center on Losonczy Square in the morning before marching toward Gyárváros where the meeting took place. Speeches were given by Dr. Alfred Horowitz in German and Dr. Otto Roth in Hungarian, who were both party leaders but not workers, and finally by Trajan Novák in an interesting combination of Romanian and Slavic. There was a *Volksfest* in the afternoon in the *Jagdwald* animated by the *Gesangverein* and various orchestras.²⁰⁷

There was no such linguistic diversity in Nagyvárad. The town was not an industrial center and the Romanians there were not significantly employed in industry. The march led from the *Nagypiactér* through Kossuth Street, Saint Ladislaus Square, and Kert Street to the Rhédey garden, crossing through the new part of town on the opposite side of the river.²⁰⁸ The participants then entertained themselves in the restaurant located in the garden, where speeches were also given. The following years were marked by social unrest and strikes, so the municipality tried to make difficulties for the organization of May Day. In 1909, there was a conflicting event nobody could protest against: Children's Day. The workers' demonstration was organized all the same but was completely ignored by the press, who reported only about the festivities surrounding the Children's Day. The municipality used this occasion to cancel the workers' march that could have collided with the morning concert and the Flower *Corso*. The workers gathered in the Rhédey garden as usual, but the meaning of May Day was lost: to compensate for this a strike of construction workers was announced in the following days.²⁰⁹

Generally, May Day demonstrations gathered from 1,000 to 3,000 people. The size of the city and the level of industrialization explain the difference in numbers, as does the capacity of mobilization and the unity of the workers, regardless of nationality. Although apparently very homogenous, Zagreb had a diversified working class and party leadership; as late as 1906 the speeches held for May Day were given in Croatian, German, and that year even in Hungarian. Yet, the names of the speakers did not correspond to the languages: Jovanović spoke Croatian, Davidović Hungarian, and Nagy German. A group of workers coming from the Ribnjak suburb marched along Ilica Street with banners written in Cyrillic as well as in Hungarian. It is interesting to note

207 *Temesvarer Zeitung*, no. 99, May 1, 1910.

208 *Nagyvárad*, no. 100, May 3, 1903.

209 *Nagyvárad*, no. 102, May 4, 1910.

that only a German newspaper noted the multinational character of the celebration, which the Croatian papers overlook. There were also a considerable number of women demanding emancipation and suffrage.²¹⁰ By this time May Day demonstrations had become a “normal” event in the life of the city and the press was proud to report on them and measure the level of mobilization. For some, the Social Democratic movement was something modern and therefore if the city wanted to profile itself as developed, it had to encourage the workers’ movement. In Fiume, *La Bilancia* exalted May Day as “*Pasqua del lavoro*” and reported on the celebration almost without mentioning its social and political aspects. Shops were closed, tram carriages decorated, and even the Hungarian theater company that was then playing in town participated. The paper congratulated the workers for organizing: “A splendid demonstration in which our working class took part with the most seriousness and such perfection that has to be remembered.”²¹¹ Most of the workers in Fiume were actually Croats living in Sušak but there was no mention of national diversity.

This variety could not be passed over in silence in Czernowitz. At the beginning there was much anxiety on the part of the entrepreneurs, as reflected in the *Genossenschafts-und Vereins-Zeitung*. The same arguments as in Pozsony were mentioned here in 1892: the Socialists were outsiders who threatened tranquility without being able to obtain anything for the workers. The meeting they wanted to organize in the *Cursalon* was forbidden.²¹² It was finally authorized in 1894, a development that the paper could not avoid recognizing because it was the organ of many entrepreneurs.²¹³ The speeches given at the meeting were delivered in the “various languages of the land,”²¹⁴ but since there was no holiday, the meeting had to take place on Sunday, April 29, and no marching was permitted. The marches really began at the beginning of the twentieth century, before which it may have been difficult to mobilize enough people considering the meager industrialization of the town and the fact that craftsmen and shop owners did not want to grant time off to their employees. The topic of working hours was not only a problem in the factories, which were actually easier to regulate, but was also a subject of debate in shops and workshops. In 1904, the workers were able to cross town before going to the *Volksgarten* in the afternoon, and the meeting that took place

210 “Der erste Mai,” *Agramer Zeitung*, no. 110, May 2, 1906.

211 “La festa dei lavoratori,” *La Bilancia*, no. 97, May 2, 1904.

212 *Genossenschafts-und Vereins-Zeitung*, no. 82, May 1, 1892.

213 *Genossenschafts-und Vereins-Zeitung*, no. 130, May 1, 1894.

214 *Bukowinaer Post*, no. 71, May 3, 1894.

in the morning was the occasion of multilingual speeches, though the main language was German.²¹⁵ One of the leaders of social democracy in Czernowitz, the typographer Johann Witiuk, was himself at least bilingual (German and Ruthenian). The Ruthenians participated together with the others; they had created their own social democratic newspaper, but Czernowitz was not industrialized enough that each group would have been able to celebrate May Day on its own. Aware of this, the Ruthenians tried to invite compatriots from Lemberg to the celebration in order to strengthen the meaning of their action. In 1912 they felt strong enough to create their own organization committee for the preparation of May Day. The local leader Volodymyr Vynnychenko wanted to reach beyond Czernowitz and convince workers to stop work in all the plants of Bucovina.²¹⁶

Social unrest was a new factor in the “community of conflict” that characterized many cities. Most violent confrontations were caused by unsolved social problems. The development of mass parties—Social Democracy and Christian Socialism—made the situation more complex by adding new paradigms to political life, and thus national conflict was no longer the only element of division in town. The city and its territory became more of a battlefield than ever. Municipal, regional, and national politics came to play a role by opposing people on lines that were not based on national belonging. The “fight” for the city was not only symbolic and represented by buildings, memorials, signs, and names, but city hall, the person of the mayor, and the political elite were its actors as well. The appropriation of public space meant that people demanded access to the public realm by claiming their rights to citizenship, be it with national, social, or gendered arguments. The new spaces of the city enabled formerly excluded groups (minorities, workers, women) to gain visibility: large streets, squares, parks, and promenades could accommodate crowds but at the same time the municipality delivered a discourse of civilization and modernity that was incompatible with disorder.

215 *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung*, no. 104, May 3, 1904.

216 *Borba: Ukrainskyj socijal-demokratychnyj robotnycyj organ* [Struggle: Organ of the Ukrainian Social Democratic Workers], no. 6, April 15, 1912.

Politics in the City

The political participation of citizens was limited by the constraints of suffrage. The persistence of poll-tax based suffrage in the cities after the introduction of universal male suffrage in Cisleithania created a gap between local, regional, and national representation. This was an obstacle to the political expression of the nationalities in the city as well as to the growing influence of socialism. The paradox lies in the fact that the Social Democratic Party, thanks to its transnational approach, was more of an ally of the central authorities than many of the party's political rivals. Access to voting was limited in the cities to tax-paying citizens who were divided into three categories (*Wahlkurien*).¹ In 1897, the reform of the vote for the *Reichsrat* allowed the creation of a fourth category in the communes in 1904 and then in 1906, as well as in some statutory towns like Brünn in 1905.² However, the measure's expected democratization did not occur. The main beneficiary was the new Christian Social Party that recruited its voters from precisely those now allowed to vote: employees, craftsmen, and civil servants of the lowest grades. The question of the participation of civil servants in active political life was a constant preoccupation in both parts of the empire. At the turn of the century, when mass parties entered the political arena, an increasing number of civil servants became involved in election campaigns. This in many cases undermined the notion of civil servants representing a politically neutral institution; if they campaigned for parties contesting the order, their neutrality and loyalty to the state could be questioned, yet if they supported the governing party, they became increasingly

1 The suffrage was poll-tax based and only tax-paying citizens could vote: in the municipalities, there were three categories of voters (two in the smaller municipalities), according to the amount of the taxes they paid. The suffrage was successively enlarged to people paying lower taxes, giving them the right to vote. Klabouch, "Die Lokverwaltung in Cisleithanien," in *Die Habsburgermonarchie 1848–1918*, vol. 2 *Verwaltung und Rechtswesen*, ed. Adam Wandruszka and Peter Urbanitsch, 285.

2 *Ibid.*, 301.

seen, especially in contested areas, as agents of the state or the national majority.³ The lower grades of the bureaucracy were also influenced by national conflict. In this respect the introduction of universal suffrage that Emperor Francis Joseph had seen as an attempt to hold back the nationalities and satisfy their demand for participation proved not to be a solution in the long term.⁴

Suffrage was even more limited in Hungary, and paradoxically the laws enacted in 1848 and those prepared in the 1860s were more democratic than those finally passed after the Compromise. The law on suffrage enacted in 1874 (XXXIII:1874) restricted the poll-tax based vote to only 5 to 6 percent of the male population,⁵ compared to the law adopted in 1848 (V:1848) that had enabled around 10 percent of the population to vote.⁶ With a steadily growing population Hungary actually had an ever-smaller proportion of voters. There was no hierarchy of voting categories (*Kurienwahlrecht*) as in Austria and therefore less room for maneuver to extend suffrage. Moreover, voting was still a public act and thus subject to pressure and intimidation. The situation remained unchanged until the beginning of the twentieth century when still less than 6 percent of the population could vote.⁷ A new law was drafted as a result of the serious political crisis of the 1910s, which was enacted as XIV:1913. The law would have increased the percentage of voters to 10 percent and partly introduced secret ballots, but it was not enforced since no elections took place in Hungary before the end of World War I. The system was based on property, just as in Austria, and also gave the right to vote for non-noble intelligentsia (the so-called *honoratiores*): their income was artificially doubled so that they could be registered as voters together with the main taxpayers (*Virilist*). This system limited the participation of potential troublemakers, such as peasants, workers, and members of the minorities. Notwithstanding the fact that command of the Hungarian language was compulsory to be registered as a voter, there was a narrow conception of access to political participation. This was still obvious in the 1910s when the Tisza government was eager not to allow the political expression of the nationalities—implicitly the Romanians. In Croatia-Slavonia, the government had relative autonomy in this matter, and Ban

3 Walter Goldinger, “Die Zentralverwaltung in Cisleithanien—Die zivile gemeinsame Zentralverwaltung,” in *Die Habsburgermonarchie 1848–1918*, vol. 2 *Verwaltung und Rechtswesen*, ed. Adam Wandruszka, Peter Urbanitsch.

4 Alexander Novotny, “Der Monarch und seine Ratgeber,” in *Die Habsburgermonarchie 1848–1918*, vol. 2 *Verwaltung und Rechtswesen*, ed. Adam Wandruszka and Peter Urbanitsch, 65.

5 Vörös, “Die Munizipalverwaltung in Ungarn im Zeitalter des Dualismus,” 2352.

6 Barany, “Ungarns Verwaltung,” 419.

7 *Ibid.*, 2367.

Nikola Tomašić lowered the poll-tax level in 1910 so 200,000 people were able to vote, compared to 45,000 before. The Croatian *Sabor* thus became slightly more democratic as well as increasingly Croatian since many of the landowners belonged to the aristocracy and did not live on their estates.⁸

INSIDE THE CITY HALL

Once elected, delegates formed the municipal council that was in charge of electing the mayor. They also established commissions responsible for counseling and assisting the mayor in particular affairs (finances, public works, etc.). In the example of Brünn, where the fourth voting category was introduced in 1905, there was a pyramidal organization, and the 57 members of the municipal council (*Gemeinderat*) elected the mayor and the first and second vice mayors, though they had to be confirmed by imperial decree. The mayor served for six years, the vice mayors for three. The city was divided into four districts.⁹ Each of these districts had a chairman (*Bezirksvorsteher*), and two assistants (*Bezirksvorsteher-Stellvertreter*) elected by the municipal council. They took part in the sessions of the council as consultants. The town council (*Stadtrat*) was composed of the mayor, the two vice mayors, twelve members of the municipal council elected for three years, the civil servants responsible for the main departments, the director of the construction works (*Baudirektor*), and the administrative director (*Amtsdirktor*). This council had executive power and in case of an even vote the mayor's decision prevailed.¹⁰ Since all members of the council had one voice, there was a balance between elected delegates and civil servants.

The growing role of the municipal urban government helped “transnationalize” the city by fostering connections and interdependencies with other towns. The municipal networks generated by encounters between mayors and civil servants, and exchanges of knowledge on technical issues created a “world

8 Sirotković, “Die Verwaltung im Königreich Kroatien und Slawonien,” 485.

9 The first district consisted of the inner town and Spielberg. The second encompassed the former suburbs of Schwabengasse, Augustinergrund, Kleine Neugasse, Rothe Gasse, Grosse Neugasse, Franz Josefsstrasse, Josefstädtergraben, Josefstadt, Oberzeil, Obrowitz, Radlas, Unterzeil, and Ledergasse situated in the north-eastern part of the town. The third followed the same pattern towards the south with Mühlgraben, Kröna, Olmützergrasse, Petersgasse, Dornich, Dörnrössel, Neustift, Strassengasse, Lackerwiese, St. Annagrund, Bäckergrasse, Wienergasse, and Kreuzgasse. Finally, the fourth district combined the two old marketplaces of Altbrünn and Lehmstätte. *Neues Orientierungs-Schema für die Landeshauptstadt Brünn, verfasst auf Grund der neuen Strassenbezeichnung und Häusernumerierung* (Brünn: Burkart, 1877).

10 Redlich, *Grundzüge des geltenden österreichischen Gemeinderechtes*, 139.

of municipalities.” Before World War I, this was characterized first by informal international transfers, and in the case of the Habsburg Empire by transfers between Cis- and Transleithania, and then by more structured transnational organizations.¹¹ These structures were built within the municipality, and included a variety of frameworks (cultural, legal, organizational) “which facilitated the transnational activities of municipal urban governments patterned on long-lasting circulatory regimes and spaces.”¹²

Throughout the monarchy there was indeed a tendency towards the professionalization of city politics at the turn of the century thanks to the growth of the administrative apparatus. The management of the city became more complex, so experts were increasingly in demand. In Hungary, the town had the ability to hire its own civil servants without requiring the approval of the central authorities. Thus, a particular category of civil servants emerged who played a key role in city politics. The multiplication of bodies inside the town hall, as well as the expansion of the territory of the city, urbanization, industrialization, and the growing region and/or nation-wide political conflicts gave the mayor a considerable role at the head of the city administration.¹³ In the context of relations with the central authorities the personality of the mayor was of great importance.

The central state was represented by the governor of the province residing in the town, called *Landespräsident* in Bucovina and *Statthalter* in the other provinces of Cisleithania. The *Statthalter* in Trieste was in charge not only of the town and its territory but also of Istria, Görz (Gorizia, Gorica) and Gradiska (Gradisca).¹⁴ Sarajevo was under civil as well as military jurisdiction, but the role of the military tended to be less important after the annexation of 1908. In Hungary, the representative of the government in town was the prefect (*főispán* or *ispán*) responsible for the county but also influential in the town’s affairs. Normally this would have been the capacity of the vice-prefect (*alispán*), but the latter was elected by the county’s assembly and therefore not completely under the control of the government. The attempts at reforming the municipal law undertaken by Gyula Szapáry aimed at providing greater autonomy to the cities and would have reduced the power of the prefect over

11 Pierre-Yves Saunier and Shane Ewen, eds., *Another Global City: Historical Explorations into the Transnational Municipal Movement, 1850–2000* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), 15.

12 *Ibid.*, 9.

13 Klabouch, “Die Lokverwaltung in Cisleithanien,” 285.

14 Ernst C. Hellbling, “Die Landesverwaltung in Cisleithanien,” in *Die Habsburgermonarchie 1848–1918*, vol. 2, *Verwaltung und Rechtswesen*, ed. Adam Wandruszka and Peter Urbanitsch, 216.



Figure 7.1. Governor's Palace in Fiume, 1900. Source: Fortepan, 83112 / Budapest Főváros Levéltára, HU.BFL.XV.19.d.1.11.020.

them.¹⁵ The reform was seen as a confirmation of law XLII:1870 on municipalities that had extended the remit of the mayor and the town council, but it was decided not to separate the towns from the county administration so that the prefect remained a leading influence in relations between the city and the government.¹⁶

The situation of Fiume was unique: its administration was organized through a statute enacted by the Ministry of Interior in 1872. The city council (*rappresentanza*) was formed of 56 delegates elected for a six-year mandate, fifty of whom represented the town and six the territory; they elected the mayor (*podesta*) from among them.¹⁷ The governor (*governatore*) was proposed by the Hungarian government and approved by the king. His role was comparable to the prefect's but in reality Fiume had much greater autonomy than any other Hungarian town. This privileged situation was criticized in Budapest, and the statute of the town was modified in 1907, and again in 1913 under the pretext of securing the territory in the context of the Balkan Wars. The *rappresentanza* protested unanimously against the violation of the laws on

15 Gyula Szapáry (1832–1905) had served in many of Prime Minister Kálmán Tisza's cabinets before becoming himself head of the Hungarian government in 1890. Catherine Horel, "Les tentatives de réforme de l'administration hongroise entre 1886 et 1914," *Etudes Danubiennes* 11, no. 2 (1995): 186.

16 Barany, "Ungarns Verwaltung," 456.

17 *Statuto della libera città di Fiume e del suo distretto* (Fiume: Mohovich, 1894), 10.

self-government, leading new prime minister István Tisza to order the dissolution of the council and entrust the administration of the town to the governor.¹⁸ This episode seems to confirm the opinion of some Hungarian historians that the autonomy of the towns was a mere illusion, for the government constantly violated it by restricting the limits of self-management.¹⁹ Yet, many case studies give indications of the contrary, showing that cities could make real use of their limited autonomy and maneuver between county and state bodies. Competition between cities also shows that town councils knew how to take advantage of a seemingly unfavorable situation. Cities were also actors in the growing polarization between the Liberal and Independence parties. Károly Vörös, for example, argues that the Hungarian government indeed sought to control the cities in order not to “lose” them to the opposition (mass political parties, national groups) but had meager success since the cities enjoyed enough autonomy and, more importantly, finances and power of attraction that enabled them to manage a great deal of self-government.²⁰ This trend is obvious when we consider that many municipalities were in fact won by the Independence Party. Further confirmation is the fact that municipalities made use of their capacity to manage their own industrial plants and to “municipalize” gas, water, and electricity distribution.

The growing influence of the mayors and the role of the city elites in the modernization of Hungary were confirmed by the organization of congresses where the mayors gathered regularly from 1909 on. The initiative was due to István Bárczy, the mayor of Budapest (1906–1918), who personified the new trend turning mayors into experts and technicians as well as politicians. The first congress was held in Budapest in 1909 and saw the mayors of the major towns attending. They were interested in meeting and comparing experiences, but the congress was of course also the occasion to foster competition between cities or to seal political alliances. By showing their solidarity and the importance of cities in the development of the country the mayors sent a clear message to the government not to violate city autonomy further. As a result of their lobbying, they obtained from the government the enactment of Law LVIII:1912, which provided financial support to enforce urban development.²¹

18 Barany, “Ungarns Verwaltung,” 453.

19 Ibid., 431; Béla Sarlós, “Das Rechtswesen in Ungarn,” in *Die Habsburgermonarchie 1848–1918*, vol. 2 *Verwaltung und Rechtswesen*, ed. Adam Wandruszka and Peter Urbanitsch, 535.

20 Vörös, “Die Munizipalverwaltung in Ungarn im Zeitalter des Dualismus,” 2346.

21 Ilona Sármany-Parsons, “Die Rahmenbedingungen für die ‘Moderne’ in den ungarischen Provinzstädten um die Jahrhundertwende,” in *Metropole und Provinzen in Altösterreich (1880–1918)*, ed. Andrea Corbea-Hoisie and Jacques Le Rider (Vienna: Böhlau/Polirom, 1996), 190.

The trend towards emancipation from the dominance of the central government in Budapest was obvious, and each town claimed to be a regional center. In fact, these meetings had started in 1897, when the cities with a municipal statute gathered; in 1904 the cities with *Magistrat* organized their congress as well. In 1901 the congress that was planned in the city of Győr was transferred to Arad (because due to illness, Győr's mayor was not able to organize it), and in 1912 the congress of the cities with municipal statute was held in Temesvár, an achievement considered to be the accomplishment of mayor Károly Telbisz.²²

Telbisz's career (1854–1914) is typical of the path followed by many mayors.²³ He was the town's chief notary (*főjegyző, Obernotär*) before being elected mayor in 1885.²⁴ His bilingualism was a necessity, as the town was still at this time mostly German-speaking. His predecessor, János Török, had also been chief notary before becoming mayor, and was considered a pioneer in the Magyarization of the town, although the process was far from complete in 1885.²⁵ Before his election, the *Neue Temesvárer Zeitung* painted the ideal portrait of the sort of mayor the city needed: "He must be aware of the fact that all nationalities and confessions of Hungary are present here; therefore the mayor of the royal free town of Temesvár must not display chauvinism or anti-Semitic attitudes."²⁶ Of the three candidates facing each other the paper did not consider Telbisz to be the favorite, though he was regarded as having "excellent capacities."²⁷ In the end Telbisz was the clear winner with 79 votes, while the two other candidates gained 29 and 24 votes respectively.²⁸ He managed to achieve a consensus in the city and was acclaimed by the press and re-elected four times, in 1890, 1896, 1902, and 1908, becoming one of the longest-serving

22 On Győr, see László Tóth, "Zechmeister Károly, a vállalkozó győri polgármester" [Károly Zechmeister, the entrepreneur mayor], in *Vállalkozó polgárok a Dunántúlon a dualizmus korában*, 192–208.

23 As a comparison, see the lengthy career of Tivadar (Theodor) Münster (1833–1909) in Kassa (Košice), who administered the city from 1872 to 1906. Frank Henschel, *Das Fluidum der Stadt...: Urbane Lebenswelten in Kassa/Košice/Kaschau zwischen Sprachenvielfalt und Magyarisierung 1867–1918* (Munich: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2017).

24 His predecessor, János Török, was nominated chief captain (*főkapitány, Oberstadthauptmann*) of Budapest.

25 Praised for urbanization and the creation of schools, Török was appointed after his mayorship to serve as the police chief (*rendőrfőkapitány*) of Budapest. He died in 1892. *Magyarország vármegyéi és városai: Temesvár*, 114.

26 "Die Bürgermeisterfrage," *Neue Temesvárer Zeitung*, no. 43, February 22, 1885. In this respect there was nothing to worry about, for Telbisz was a converted Jew, a fact that was not even commented on.

27 *Neue Temesvárer Zeitung*, no. 47, February 27, 1885.

28 *Neue Temesvárer Zeitung*, no. 56, March 10, 1885.



Figure 7.2. Portrait of Károly Telbisz, mayor of Temesvár. Source: Wikimedia commons.



Figure 7.3. Portrait of Tivadar Brolly, mayor of Pozsony. Source: *Magyarország vármegyéi és városai: Pozsony vármegye* (Budapest: Apollo, n.d.).

mayors in Hungarian history. Before his death on the eve of World War I in July 1914, he had been ennobled and awarded all possible decorations of the empire. Moreover, he came to embody the transformation of Temesvár into a Hungarian town by promoting Magyarization.

The festivities organized for Telbisz's 25-year jubilee in 1910 provided an occasion to praise his actions. The *Temesvarer Zeitung* dedicated practically its entire issue of March 9 to the glorification of the mayor and published a list of congratulatory telegrams coming from all parts of the kingdom.²⁹ His activity at the head of the municipality was detailed on eight pages focusing on schools, theater, health care, and public works. More articles were dedicated to him in the following days, mainly concerning two aspects of his activity: Magyarization and the nation-wide promotion of Temesvár. In both respects, Temesvár followed the model established by Budapest and also Pozsony; for example, the foundation of the Free Lyceum in 1899 was clearly inspired by similar initiatives launched in those two cities. The aim of the institution was to foster "Hungarian national culture" by organizing courses and conferences

29 "Dr. Karl Telbisz 1885–1910," *Temesvarer Zeitung*, no. 55, March 9, 1910.

for adults on various subjects.³⁰ Temesvár and Pozsony also cooperated on the issue of the theater, and shared similarities in terms of multicultural society. In both, the importance of the German-speaking population was a considerable challenge to Magyarization. When the congress of the cities with municipal statute was organized in Temesvár in September 1910, it was not surprising to see it chaired by Tivadar Brolly, Pozsony's mayor, together with co-chairmen Telbisz and the mayor of Kassa (Kaschau, Košice), Anton Eder,³¹ three men who were at the head of multicultural towns.

Tivadar Brolly's career is comparable to Telbisz's, but he served for a shorter time as Pozsony's mayor, from 1900 to 1918. Born in 1852 in Nógrád County, he started as deputy notary in the 1880s and was nominated chief notary at the occasion of the change of the municipal team in 1884: the new mayor Karl Mergl, a long-serving expert in educational affairs, had been vice mayor, a position which chief notary Gustav Dröxler took over, leaving his seat empty for Brolly.³² Brolly continued his ascension by succeeding Theodor Kumlik as vice mayor in 1898; even if he was not the favorite candidate for the post, his capacities and his time in public service gave him the required expertise.³³ After the unexpected death of Mayor Paul Taller in May 1900, Brolly was elected mayor, and Theodor Kumlik returned as vice mayor so that the municipal team was barely changed.³⁴ A few months later the *Preßburger Zeitung* published an editorial by I. von Derra listing the tasks the new mayor needed to achieve. Apparently Dröxler had not done much for the modernization of the town and therefore Taller had announced a program so ambitious that he had been laughed at. Now Brolly needed to combine ambition with realism. According to Derra, the most urgent task was to modernize and renovate the city hall; in fact, he felt that a new one should be built, and suggested looking for inspiration in other towns where new and representative town halls had been built in the heart of the city.³⁵ But in the end he recognized the lack of funds and proposed adapting a building in the city center, the solution that was eventually chosen.³⁶

30 *A temesvári Szabad Lyceum első évi működése* [The first year of the activity of the Free Lyceum of Temesvár] (Temesvár: Uhrmann Henrik, 1900), 5.

31 "Bürgermeister-Versammlung in Temesvar," *Temesvarer Zeitung*, no. 170, July 28, 1910.

32 "Restauration," *Preßburger Zeitung*, no. 99, April 9, 1884.

33 *Pressburger Presse*, no. 32, September 5, 1898.

34 *Preßburger Zeitung*, no. 124, May 7, 1900.

35 "Die Rathausfrage," *Preßburger Zeitung*, no. 249, September 12, 1900, morning edition.

36 *Preßburger Zeitung*, no. 251, September 14, 1900.



Figure 7.4. Arad, Andrassy Square, 1904. Source: Fortepan, 86450, Magyar Földrajzi Múzeum, Mór Erdélyi.

Mayors, their deputies, and experts working for the municipality did travel to other cities to see models of projects they planned for their town. Vice Mayor Brolly travelled to Arad in June 1899 with chief engineer Anton Sendlein, where they were shown the canalization system and the school of applied arts for joinery and locksmithing. An article in the *Pressburger Tagblatt* relating the trip hoped that both men would collect ideas and models to be implemented in Pozsony.³⁷ It is also interesting to see that in this respect there was no hierarchy in the models: Arad could indeed have been considered a modest city by the proud Pressburger but this was apparently not the case. Indeed, models were not necessarily sought in Vienna and Budapest or abroad. Nor did cities always enjoy the support of the central government, and delegations sent by towns to Budapest often failed in their objectives. Brolly headed such a delegation in March 1914, which was received by Prime Minister Tisza, Finance Minister János Teleszky, and Minister of Religion and Public Education Béla Jankovich, but he returned to Pozsony with empty hands. They obtained no money or support for the creation of a permanent Hungarian theater company.³⁸

37 *Pressburger Tagblatt*, no. 1132, June 24, 1899.

38 *Pressburger Tagblatt*, no. 6289, March 6, 1914.

The mayors had relatively large room for maneuver in the process of modernizing the city. They were the initiators of many changes in the town's landscape as well as the founders of educational, cultural, and health institutions. They headed most of the important associations and were the chairmen of most committees for the erection of monuments. For that purpose, they tried to attract financial support for the construction of new buildings to enhance the city's prestige. The fact that many of them served long mandates is a sign of their incorruptibility. In the multicultural towns they were perfectly aware of the potential for conflict and generally tried to avoid it without displeasing the majority. Yet, their attempted neutrality often became the target of attacks from both sides and sometimes, as shown in the case of Brünn where the mayor increasingly became a partisan of the Germans, progressively had to take sides. The trend was already clear at the end of the 1890s when *utraquism* began to disappear from the city's institutions. Mayor August von Wieser (1847–1916), himself a Brünn native, was attacked by the Czechs and the Social Democrats for speaking systematically in favor of the Germans. The increasing Czech dominance of the Diet turned the anxious German majority in the town increasingly nationalist and led to a growing tendency of the municipality to side with the Germans. Wieser was elected mayor in 1894 and his first speech had an undeniable German tone, according to the *Beobachter*, which noted that "Dr. Wieser insisted particularly on his German blood and spirit," and quoted him saying that "Our Brünn certainly cares for every inhabitant and will protect everyone, but over the course of the years it has constantly maintained its German character and will continue to do so for the next generations." The article was eager to contradict the mayor by claiming that the so-called "German character" of the town was already a mirage, and that Brünn should remain an *utraquist* city and be saved from the "*Terrorismus der deutschen Fanatiker*" whom the paper accused of adding fuel to the flames of the national conflict. Although the municipality certainly must satisfy the German voters, admitted the paper, but it insisted that in the end the new mayor would need to adapt to the situation like his predecessors.³⁹ Wieser was later associated in the attacks of the press with Vice Mayor Rudolf Rohrer. Both were active participants in all German demonstrations and actors of German associative life to a degree that exceeded their role as city leaders. For example, on the occasion of the *Volkstag* of October 1, 1905, which was to end in violence, the call for participation noted the attendance of all German mayors of the province and Wieser's

39 *Der Beobachter*, no. 8, September 15, 1894.

name was the first on the list as the host of the event.⁴⁰ Wieser and the two vice mayors, Rohrer and Karl Kandler, attended all the meetings organized for the defense of German interests. On September 12, 1911, the *Deutscher Volksrat*, an offshoot of the German Liberal Party, convened a meeting in the *Schwechater Bierhalle* to discuss the fact that Czech children were still frequently sent to German schools. Contrary to the stipulations of the Moravian Compromise of 1905 that had favored the national separation of the school system in the province—and compelled parents to enroll their children in the schools belonging to the nationality they had declared—the Constitutional Court (*Verfassungsgesichtshof*) had decided to authorize the free choice of the parents.⁴¹ The participants of the meeting argued that Czech students would continue to be “dangerous” because of their command of both languages, with *Reichsrat* delegate Heinrich d’Elvert saying: “Czech children who attend a German school will not become German but they will be more dangerous for the Germans in the economic competition than if they had learned only Czech”—to which the audience responded with “lively approval.”⁴² Mayor Wieser increasingly engaged in German agitation and openly supported the meetings organized by the *Deutscher Volksrat*; on December 7, 1912, he was among the participants of the nationalist *Volksabend* in the *Deutsches Haus* where all German associations were present, and where, after the imperial anthem of *Gott erhalte*, the nationalist *Wacht am Rhein* was sung by the audience.⁴³

In this context the situation of the Jews was becoming increasingly uncomfortable. In 1891, the Czechs still considered the town hall to be a “Jewish house” and a branch of the *Deutsches Haus*. A cartoon in the anti-Semitic *Brněnský Drak* entitled “German house in Brunn” shows the then mayor, Gustav Winterholler, accompanied by Deputy Mayor Rohrer arriving at the *Deutsches Haus* where a Jew welcomes them. In the next picture they are depicted sitting in armchairs, smoking, and reading the *Neue Freie Presse* and the *Wiener Tagblatt* (two famous Viennese newspapers whose chief editors were Jews). The caption reads: “There should not be a Jewish newspaper/But drinks and banquets must be kosher.”⁴⁴ Though Germans and Jews became increasingly estranged, the latter (as already described in the case of students) were not accepted willingly

40 *Brünner Wochenblatt*, no. 39, September 24, 1905.

41 On the Moravian Compromise, see Mills, “Last Best Chance or Last Gasp?”; and Haslinger, *Nation und Territorium im tschechischen politischen Diskurs*, 192–97.

42 *Mährischer Correspondent*, no. 208, September 13, 1911, morning edition.

43 “Deutscher Volksabend,” *Brünner Wochenblatt*, no. 50, December 14, 1912.

44 “Německý dům v Brně” [German House in Brunn], *Brněnský Drak*, no. 14, July 21, 1891.

by the Czechs, whereas the Germans were pragmatic enough to rally the Jews when they needed them against the Czechs. This strategy was condemned by the Zionist newspaper *Jüdische Volksstimme*, which accused the mayor of being himself an anti-Semite and criticized the “clique” of the town hall for its hypocritical attitude toward Jews as the municipal elections were approaching: they would organize public meetings at which they presented the town as Jewish-friendly. The paper advised Jews not to give their votes to those who “trample” them. Yet, the city’s administrative director (*Amtsdirktor*) was not judged any better (although his name is unmistakably Czech): “Mraczek is the prototype of the anti-Semite who has one principle: better a Czech than a Jew, be he a German Jew. What would the town hall say if the Jews voted for the Czech, he who claims and openly explains his anti-Semitism?”⁴⁵

TURBULENT CZERNOWITZ

The dynamics of town hall politics were completely different in Czernowitz, in part due to the different status of Jews in Bucovina, and in part because of the linguistic and confessional diversity of the city which often resulted in mayors serving shorter terms. Their election, and the atmosphere of the municipal council, was characterized by permanent tension and conflicts. Most mayors belonged to the German-speaking community and two were Polish (one of them, Petrowicz, was actually of Catholic-Armenian origin).⁴⁶ The particularity of Czernowitz lies in the fact that a Jewish mayor, Dr. Eduard Reiß, was elected in 1905.⁴⁷ The function of deputy mayor was also regularly occupied by Jews: Dr. Heinrich Atlas in the 1880s, and Reiß himself who was a long-serving deputy mayor constantly re-elected before being put at the head of the municipality. There was a permanent fight for the two posts of deputy mayor, most of whom were German-speaking, and the Ruthenians demanded that one post be reserved for them according to the balance of nationalities inside the municipal council. This was not accepted by the other groups and there were often strange constellations of votes in order to prevent such an outcome. Consequently, the sessions of the council were rich in heckling, insults, and conflict.

The first significant mayor was Anton Freiherr Kochanowski v. Stawczan (1817–1906) who served two mandates, from 1866 to 1874, and from 1887 to

45 “Zur Judendebatte im Brünner Gemeinderate,” *Jüdische Volksstimme*, no. 1, January 1, 1908.

46 Kaindl, *Geschichte von Czernowitz von den ältesten Zeiten bis zur Gegenwart*, 105.

47 Reiß was born in Zalošce in 1850 where his father was a doctor before settling in Czernowitz. He studied law in Vienna. See the obituary in *Czernowitzer Tagblatt*, no. 1268, April 30, 1907.

1905.⁴⁸ The press interpreted his second election as a positive sign for the development of the town: “Mayor Kochanowski knows no difference of class, confession, or nationality. He will be just to everyone, rich and poor, Germans and Poles, Christians, and Jews.”⁴⁹ The article “forgot” the other nationalities, but Kochanowski was indeed neutral and did not deliberately favor the Polish minority. He was appointed together with two German vice mayors, the lawyer Dr. Josef Fechner, and the notary Dr. Karl Wexler.⁵⁰ Considering the importance of the Jewish community and the fact that Jews were active players on the municipal council, Kochanowski did not engage in anti-Semitic polemics. When he did make some decisions considered hostile to the Jews, he acted in the interests of the town to prevent trouble, for example in March 1898 when he refused to postpone the session of the council that was scheduled for the day of the Purim Fest. Deputy mayor Reiß and counselor Leon Rosenzweig attended the session, but the other Jewish members abstained.⁵¹

Yet, nobody could ignore the growing tensions between the Christian Socialist Germans and Jews on the one hand, and the other nationalities on the other. The Liberals, who had previously held the majority, were defeated in the elections of January 1897⁵² and lost one of the deputy mayorships, though the Liberal Deputy Mayor Reiß was re-elected without difficulty.⁵³ There was much speculation about the succession of Kochanowski, who was getting old and was criticized for being too conciliatory and eager to preserve neutrality



Figure 7.5. Portrait of Anton Kochanowski, mayor of Czernowitz.
Source: Wikimedia Commons

48 Kochanowski was born in Tarnopol in Galicia in 1817. His father was a civil servant who had been posted in Czernowitz in 1823. The son studied in Lemberg and started his career in Czernowitz as *Landeshauptmann*. He was ennobled in 1898. See the obituary in the *Bukowinaer Post*, no. 1967, September 11, 1906. The two mayors serving after his first term were Otto Ambros von Rechtenberg in 1874–1880 and Wilhelm v. Klimesch who died in office in 1887.

49 *Czernowitzer Presse*, no. 1, September 15, 1887.

50 *Verwaltungsbericht der Landeshauptstadt Czernowitz* (Czernowitz: Verlag des Stadtmagistrates, Czopp, 1889), 63.

51 “Ein bisschen Abstinenz,” *Bukowinaer Post*, no. 662, March 10, 1898.

52 *Bukowinaer Rundschau*, no. 2325, January 5, 1897.

53 *Bukowinaer Rundschau*, no. 2332, January 14, 1897.

in his decisions. An article in the *Bukowinaer Rundschau* accused him of being an instrument in the hands of the Liberal leaders and too docile regarding the interests of his own party, and called for a new mayor who would be stronger and more independent.⁵⁴ The reproach reveals the permanent polemics between the *Bukowinaer Rundschau* and the organ of the Liberal Party, the *Bukowinaer Nachrichten*. Yet, upon Kochanowski's retirement in 1897, even the *Bukowinaer Rundschau* was compelled to recognize the achievements of the former mayor in the development of the town. Kochanowski was depicted as a "noble old man" and a "father" of the town, and was considered neutral as far as the nationality question was concerned: "Romanians, Ruthenians both Old and Young [i.e., in terms of their political orientation], Germans and Jews, they are all for him; this miracle is the result of the infinite goodness of the man whose hand never stopped giving; he has shown a remarkable tolerance toward each nation and confession.... The peace of our city has in Mr. Kochanowski a sure guardian.... The civil servants of the city are Germans, Jews, Romanians, Poles, and Ruthenians because under the regime of this mayor nobody has to show his certificate of baptism." Finally, the article mentioned "the American impulse" given by the mayor to urban development, a notion that suggested progress and modernity to the readers.⁵⁵



Figure 7.6. Czernowitz center with city hall, 1915. Source: Fortepan, 116276, Éva Visnyovszky.

54 "Was Czernowitz fehlt," *Bukowinaer Rundschau*, no. 1261, March 5, 1893.

55 "Warnung," *Bukowinaer Rundschau*, no. 2376, March 7, 1897.

One of these actions was the participation of the mayor in the *Österreichischer Städtetag*, an initiative comparable to the city congresses organized in Hungary. Yet, unlike in Hungary, where each congress took place in a different town, the Austrian meetings always took place in Vienna. The first one was held in February 1895; Mayor Kochanowski and city counselor Dr. Jakob Wachtel represented Czernowitz at this event.⁵⁶ Later delegations from Czernowitz included more experts and were not necessarily headed by the mayor. For example, in 1903, at the fourth *Österreichischer Städtetag* Deputy Mayor Reiß was the leader of a team composed of town counselors (among them Rosenzweig), *Reichsrat* representatives and *Magistratsdirektor* Josef Wiedmann.⁵⁷ The fact that Czernowitz was represented by Jewish delegates may have disturbed many in Vienna, including mayor Karl Lueger, who was, however, pragmatic enough not to express his concern.⁵⁸

In Czernowitz anti-Semitism began to be a constant subject of debate and quarrel in the town council. Baron Felix Fürth profited himself as the leader of Lueger's Christian Social Party and used increasingly anti-Semitic rhetoric. His own ambition was also an element of this strategy, and it was obvious for many that he hoped to become the next mayor. The former liberal paper, the *Bukowinaer Nachrichten*, was transformed progressively into a Christian Socialist organ. An editorial of the *Bukowinaer Post* notes that the Germans who follow this path in Czernowitz harm their own cause, for the Jews are the main supporters of German culture.⁵⁹ To counteract this, Straucher united forces with the Zionists and this alliance gave birth in 1901 to the *Jüdischer Volksverein* and its political arm, the *Jüdische Volkspartei*. Behind this lay Straucher's own ambitions—and he was explicitly criticized for that—as well as a defense strategy for the sake of the Jewish community. Within two years the party managed to gain 20 of the 50 seats of the city council.⁶⁰

Speculation over the succession of Kochanowski accelerated in these years. The core of the debate was the possibility that Deputy Mayor Reiß might be elected. There were other candidates, but the main dispute was clearly between him and Fürth, who was undeniably anti-Semitic. In order to be elected, Reiß had to gather votes from the other nationalities. The *Bukowinaer Rundschau*

56 *Bukowinaer Rundschau*, no. 1764, February 16, 1895.

57 *Bukowinaer Rundschau*, no. 4228, June 25, 1903.

58 On Lueger, see John W. Boyer, *Karl Lueger (1844–1910): Christlichsoziale Politik als Beruf: Eine Biografie* (Vienna: Böhlau, 2010).

59 "Ernste Mahnung," *Bukowinaer Post*, no. 1571, February 16, 1904.

60 Winkler, *Jüdische Identitäten im kommunikativen Raum*, 128.



Figure 7.7. Burial of Mayor Reiß, Czernowitz, April 30, 1907. Source: Center for Urban History, L'viv, Urban Media Archive, Helmut Kusdat Collection, ID: 2582.

asked: “Will certain circles really accept that a Jew—even a Jew like Dr. Reiß whom everyone likes and respects for his objectivity—becomes mayor?” The paper did not directly identify these “circles,” but the portrait drawn in the article unmistakably bears Fürth’s features.⁶¹ The mobilization in support of Reiß was stronger and he was finally elected with 42 votes out of 47: only one vote went openly to Fürth, who remained one of the two deputy mayors.⁶² Reiß did not serve long for he died two years later on April 27, 1907, opening the way to the election of his former adversary Fürth. In the meantime, the two tendencies constituting the Jewish *Volkspartei* had split into opposite camps: Straucher’s *Jüdische Nationalpartei* against the *Volksrat der Bukowiner Juden* led, among other Czernowitz intellectuals, by Mayer Ebner.⁶³ The funeral of mayor Reiß was an extraordinary event revealing the exceptional situation of the town where there was such a consensus about the first Jewish mayor of a major Austrian town. There was a general mourning in town and the funeral procession attracted an enormous crowd, as shown in the many pictures taken on this occasion.

61 “Die Bürgermeisterfrage,” *Bukowinaer Rundschau*, no. 4744, March 19, 1905.

62 “Konstituierung des Gemeinderates,” *Bukowinaer Rundschau*, no. 5302, February 9, 1907.

63 Winkler, *Jüdische Identitäten im kommunikativen Raum*, 130.

From then on, the national parties became more aggressive. Under the mayorship of Baron Fürth the national conflict erupted, pitting the Ruthenians against the other groups. The former demanded again that the post of second deputy mayor be reserved for one of their delegates;⁶⁴ the Poles opposed this because they needed the Romanian votes, whereas some Germans may have been supportive so as to avoid a Jewish candidate. The situation did not improve after the Bucovinian Compromise of 1910, which created “national” polling categories. The mandates were divided as follows: 42 for the Germans in the four polling categories, 9 for the Romanians, 10 for the Ruthenians, and 9 for the Poles. Many delegates were displeased about the division into national camps, especially the Jews, liberals, and Zionists. Straucher deplored their complaints, commenting that the Jews were “no friends of the national character.” He presented the outcome of the Compromise as a victory for the Romanians. Indeed, the latter were satisfied, as were the Poles who were now overrepresented. The Ruthenians, who succeeded in winning the largest number of delegates after the Germans, were also pleased. There were also protests within the German group, and the German inhabitants of the suburbs of Rosch and Manasteriska demanded that their votes be counted separately from those of the Jews.⁶⁵ Even among the nationalists some voices already foresaw the end of mutual understanding in Czernowitz. In a later analysis, the Romanian delegate Aurel Onciul recalled why he had voted for Reiß and explained that by the time of writing (1910) the situation had changed. He pondered this recent past and considered Reiß’s conciliatory attitude of that time as having been “in vain,” and justified his past vote in terms of city patriotism because he thought that Reiß acted according to the general interest.⁶⁶

Mayor Fürth succeeded in maintaining his position until he had to resign in 1913 for medical reasons. Nevertheless, his mandate was characterized by a permanent state of crisis in the town hall. The rise of the national conflict was also obvious inside each group, where divisions were increasingly visible: Jewish liberals and Zionists, Old and Young Ruthenians, democrat and nationalist Romanians, liberal and Christian Social Germans. Fürth’s resignation seemed more the expression of weariness, and his decision was provoked by an address at the town assembly by Zionist delegate Mayer Ebner.

64 *Czernowitzer Tagblatt*, no. 1814, March 2, 1909.

65 “Gemeinderat,” *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung*, no. 1814, February 1, 1910.

66 “Vergeblich,” *Die Wahrheit*, nos. 84–85, April 23, 1910.

Der Jüdische Volksrat delivered a critical appraisal of his tenure: “All his life Baron Fürth was a man of honor but he had the ability neither for politics nor for management. Politics have ruined him economically and morally. For the authorities, he was an easy mayor; his weakness was an advantage for them, and they made of his dependence a virtue from which they made profit.”⁶⁷ The paper elegantly said what everybody seems to have known: that Fürth held his position by buying votes.

His successor was immediately chosen: Deputy Mayor Salo Weißelberger was elected on November 4, 1913. Born in Bucovina in 1867, he came from a family of converted Jews, and his father had risen to become a great landowner. He was a graduate of the local university and specialized in financial law, starting his career at the *Finanzdirektion* and then moving to the provincial justice court. Although a relative latecomer in city politics, he quickly climbed the ladder to eventually become mayor. Elected town counselor in 1907, he was chosen the same year as first deputy mayor after the death of mayor Reiß.⁶⁸ His election to mayor went relatively smoothly, with only the Zionist counselors Wallstein and Ebner openly declaring their intention to submit a blank ballot. The Romanian counselor Calinescu explained that there had been an agreement between the Romanian, Jewish, Polish, and Ruthenian clubs to vote for Weißelberger. From the Romanian side the support given to Weißelberger was the expression of the hope to negotiate for the election of a Romanian deputy mayor, yet Calinescu remarked that the majority of the population (Romanians and Ruthenians) had to comply with the decisions made by the German-Jewish elite of the town.⁶⁹

The Romanians had already started to obstruct the sessions of the municipal council by speaking their own language, which Fürth did not understand, leading to tragicomic scenes when the other delegates shouted insults and whistled at Deputy Mayor Georg Wojtko who had to take the chair to overcome the mayor’s lack of linguistic skills. Wojtko was, however, mostly unable to restore order.⁷⁰ The Romanian delegate Octavian Scalat also provoked such trouble in the absence of Deputy Mayor Wojtko, so that the sessions had to be suspended by the mayor.⁷¹ One of the major incidents took place at the occasion of the election of the deputy mayors under Fürth’s tenure in March 1913.

67 “Zur Demission des Bürgermeisters,” *Der Jüdische Volksrat*, no. 138, October 31, 1913.

68 *Czernowitzer Tagblatt*, no. 3207, November 6, 1913.

69 *Czernowitzer Gemeinde-Zeitung*, no. 3071, November 6, 1913.

70 *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung*, no. 2447, March 19, 1912.

71 *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung*, no. 2396, January 18, 1912.

No objection was raised to the election of Weißelberger, but the trouble started with the choice of the second deputy mayor. Two candidates were running for the position: Wojtko and the delegate of the Romanian club, Doridemont Popovici. The Romanian counselor, Scalat, again insisted on speaking Romanian on this matter (although he had just intervened in German in favor of Weißelberger's election) and complained of being persecuted for that reason, but was interrupted by Fürth arguing that the debate concerned the Romanian club and had nothing to do with the election process. Fürth lost his temper and yelled: "I have belonged to this municipal council for thirty years and nobody can accuse me of having ever violated the rights of any nation. It would never occur to me to forbid anyone from speaking in his mother tongue but as long as I have the chair I must be able to ascertain that a speaker is not causing any incident."⁷² The dispute went on for a while until the chair was passed to Weißelberger, who was no more able to understand Romanian than Fürth but was more tolerant, and the election proceeded to Popovici's large victory by 34 votes against 9 (of 46 counselors attending). In these election campaigns the attitude of the Ruthenians was in the end always the expression of their faithfulness to the authorities. They had fewer political tools at their disposal than the Romanians, and their voices were divided between the Old and Young political currents. They failed to rally all their votes and thus had to accept the results of the elections, even though they were sometimes contradictory to their interests; in most reports the newspapers note their loyalty to and compliance with the decisions of the majority. However, a trend towards radicalization appeared among them around 1913 even though their leader, Grigori Halip, expressed his satisfaction over the election of Weißelberger, whom he entrusted to take into account the "modest but justified demands of the Ruthenians."⁷³

THE EXPERIMENTAL CITY: SARAJEVO

The atmosphere was quieter at Sarajevo's town hall. The organization of the municipality was first defined in 1884 when the city was given the statute of a town with a *Magistrat*, which implied the election of a municipal council (*Gemeinderat*). Districts were created, at the head of which a chairman was appointed under the title of *Bezirksmuktar* (*Stadtbezirksvorstand*),

⁷² Czernowitzer Gemeinde-Zeitung, no. 14, April 8, 1913.

⁷³ Czernowitzer Gemeinde-Zeitung, no. 3071, November 6, 1913.

a combination of German law and Ottoman practices. Two-thirds of the 24 counselors were elected by the citizens and one-third nominated by the local government (*Landesregierung*).⁷⁴ The first elections took place on March 13, 1884. The mayor was chosen by the government from among the sixteen Muslim delegates, a practice which was to remain unchanged until 1918. As already mentioned, the Austrians were eager to reconcile the Muslim elite of large landowners, and the decision to appoint a Muslim mayor was the expression of this concern and a strategy to neutralize the other two groups, the Catholics and the Orthodox. The post of deputy mayor was then reserved for a Christian. The other counselors were four Orthodox, two Catholics (one Croat and one Austrian), and two Jews (one Sephardic, and one Ashkenazi representing the Austro-Hungarian Jews). Mustafa-beg Fadilpašić was elected mayor, while the deputy mayor was a Serb, Dimitrije Jeftanović.⁷⁵ In the following elections this post alternated between Orthodox Serbs and Catholic Croats, the latter gaining the advantage toward the end of the period. Fadilpašić was from a family of Muslim religious and civil dignitaries, one of the wealthiest in Bosnia, and a scholar familiar with Arabic and Persian literature and mathematics; he remained in office until his sudden death in 1892.⁷⁶ After him all the mayors were former civil servants of the Ottoman Empire, who combined acceptance by the Muslim community and experience. Fadilpašić's successor was Mehmed-beg Kapetanović Ljubušak (1839–1902), who was known for his role in associative life. He was the founder of the newspaper *Bošnjak*, a Muslim organ in line with the authorities' will to create a transnational Bosnian identity based on the adhesion of the Muslims. Kapetanović left his position of chief editor of the paper upon his election to the head of the municipal council.⁷⁷ He was in favor of the participation of Muslims in the development of the land and city under Austro-Hungarian control and thus an ally of Benjamin Kállay's conception of "Bosnianhood."⁷⁸ Kapetanović was followed by Essad Kulović (1859–1917), also from the town's Muslim elite and a member of the municipal council since 1884. He had to deal with the annexation of 1908 and the growing polarization of city politics.

74 *Bosnische Post*, no. 7, January 24, 1884.

75 *Bosnische Post*, no. 24, March 23, 1884.

76 *Bosnische Post*, no. 98, December 7, 1892.

77 He had been a member of the council since the elections of 1884. *Bošnjak*, no. 18, May 4, 1893.

78 Sundhaussen, *Sarajevo*, 210.

The election campaign of the new era took place in November 1910, two years after the annexation of Bosnia-Herzegovina. On this occasion, a new organization of the town's districts was implemented. Sarajevo was divided into five districts: the inner town (Bašćaršija); Koševo (north); Bjelave (north); Nad-Kovači and Vratnik (east); and Hrvatin and Bistrik-Čobanija (south).⁷⁹ The size of the municipal council was clearly not adapted to the growth of the population. There were now 25 counselors of which still only 18 were elected by the citizens, while the government delegated the other seven. The confessional division remained in place: eight Muslims, four Catholics, four Serbs, and two Jews were elected, while four Muslims, two Catholics, two Serbs, and one Jew were delegated. The new parity between Catholics and Orthodox was the result of the considerable growth of the Catholic population. Also notable is the fact that all Jewish candidates were Sephardic except one, Dr. Moritz Rothkopf, who was the chairman of the Austro-Hungarian Jewish community. Overall, there were 3,300 registered voters, divided as follows: 1,150 Muslims, 1,110 Catholics, 500 Jews, 420 Orthodox and 60 "others." Elections were held on November 14, 1910, but their outcome did not modify the composition of those already ruling the town;⁸⁰ Mayor Kulović was confirmed, as well as Deputy Mayor Nikola Mandić, who had also just been elected to the new Bosnian-Herzegovinian Diet. Mandić was by then the leading personality of the Croatian community, although he did not necessarily please the activists with his conciliatory attitude and resistance to Catholic influence. The fact that the vice mayor was now a Croat is also an indication of the shift in the strategy of the authorities, which was interpreted as a move hostile to the Serbs. The political arena had become more complex with the emergence of "national" parties that were in opposition to the so-called "loyal" party in which all confessions were represented. After the resignation of Kulović, the government chose a newcomer on the town's political scene: Fehim effendi Čurčić (1886–1916). He was the unfortunate mayor in charge of the organization of Francis Ferdinand's tragic visit on June 28, 1914.

Being extremely young, Čurčić would have faced a challenge to repeat the success achieved by his predecessor during the emperor's visit in 1910, even if things had gone normally. Of course, the mayor was not the only one responsible for the bad management of the visit, but he ended up being the last official the archduke met before being murdered and this had a lasting impression

79 *Sarajevoer Tagblatt*, no. 253, November 5, 1910.

80 *Sarajevoer Tagblatt*, no. 261, November 15, 1910.

on him. After his escort had been hit by the bomb thrown by Nedeljko Čabrinović, which wounded one of the officers sitting in the car behind his, Francis Ferdinand arrived at the town hall in a state of extreme agitation; the mayor read his speech as planned but was violently interrupted by the archduke who expressed his outrage over this first attack. This was also a moment of linguistic confusion because the mayor had spoken Serbo-Croatian and the archduke shouted at him in German. His wife calmed him down, and they both went inside the building to fulfill their respective duties: the archduke had a meeting with the members of the municipal council, and Sophie met some twenty women on the first floor. The mayor was not

responsible either for the decision of the archduke to change the schedule of the visit: instead of going to the museum (*Landesmuseum*), he demanded to visit the hospital to see the wounded officer. The mayor sat in the second car of the escort and was seized by terror when Gavrilo Princip shot the archduke and his wife. He rushed to the *Konak* where the victims were taken and was asked by Count Harrach to send for an ambulance, which proved to be unnecessary because both Francis Ferdinand and Sophie were pronounced dead at that moment. In an amazing interview given to the *Bosnische Post* after the tragedy the mayor expressed his feelings of helplessness and shame for what happened, and demonstrated his loyalty to the throne: “I have to say, finally, that I, as the mayor, am overwhelmed by shame that such a dreadful crime happened in Sarajevo; not only Bosnia and Herzegovina but the whole monarchy are thus deprived of great expectations; we Muslims particularly had such a strong confidence in him because we believe that Islam is under the protection of the Habsburg Monarchy and its revered sovereign.”⁸¹



Figure 7.8. Portrait of Fehim effendi Čurčić, mayor of Sarajevo. Source: Historijski arhiv Sarajevo Inv. No.: ZF-2074.

81 “Der Bürgermeister über das Attentat,” *Bosnische Post*, no. 148, July 3, 1914.

POLITICAL PARTIES

The town hall was a mirror of land-wide politics, and it was thus influenced both by political parties that were represented all over the monarchy, such as social democracy, and by more regional and local movements. In this respect there was much difference between Austria and Hungary, and between Austrian provinces. Political strategy was influenced by local situations and pragmatism, and thus the “national” parties sometimes had divergent agendas depending on the territory where they were working. The same was true for ethnic groups, as the tactics of the Czechs were very different in Bohemia than in Moravia, the Ruthenians had different priorities in Lemberg and in Czernowitz, and the situation of the Slovenes in Trieste was different from that in Laibach, where they led the municipality, and Istria. The pyramidal structure (municipality, Diet, *Reichsrat*) played a role in city politics as well, for people could be representatives in two of the three institutions at once. The city hall was seen by the minority as a fortress to be besieged and conquered, while the majority felt threatened by the others, be they of another nationality or Socialists. The regular provocation by counselors demanding to speak in their own languages during sessions was the most common demonstration of the penetration of the national conflict inside the town hall. Anti-Semitism became widespread in the polemics against the delegates, leading some Jews to consider Zionism an alternative. The emergence of mass parties such as Social Democrats and Christian Socials changed the face of city politics as they challenged the old division between conservatives and liberals, but the still limited suffrage did not enable them to gain seats. The national movements were also touched by contestation, as “old” Czechs and Ruthenians were faced with opposition from “young” leaders who formulated more radical programs. On the whole, the political landscape grew complex and polarized. Violent demonstrations became a familiar element of city life as the expression of national and social conflict. The permanence of some mayors and of most of the civil servants did not prevent a considerable change in the way people conceived of politics. The multiplication of press organs and their polarization contributed to the fever that seized cities during election time, even if most inhabitants were still prevented from voting. The succession of campaigns for the *Reichsrat*, the *Landtag*, and the municipal council animated the towns so that tension was a recurrent phenomenon and, along with celebrations and commemorations, they contributed to the “event-driven” or “situationist” nationalism mentioned by Pieter

Judson.⁸² The same can be said for Hungary, where the campaign for the lower chamber of the Budapest parliament mainly drew attention along with municipal elections. The battle for universal suffrage—not to forget the fact that Austria-Hungary also had its suffragettes—dominated much of the political agenda until 1907 and even beyond because of its partial implementation (except in the towns) in Austria and rejection in Hungary.

At the end of the 1880s in both Austria and Hungary the political arena was dominated by the liberal and conservative tendencies, yet the generation of politicians who had personified the beginning of the constitutional era was slowly making way for new forces. In both lands the Liberals represented centralism whereas the Conservatives in Austria still supported the federalist solution that had been the basis of the Kremsier Constitution of 1849 and the October Diploma of 1860. This paradox led to the fact that the liberalism that had ruled the Austrian governments since 1867 was replaced in 1879 by a new political landscape where some of the former liberals turned toward Pan-Germanism. The same evolution took place later in Hungary when the old generation of reformists—the men who had sealed the Compromise with Austria—made way for centralist and nationalist statesmen. The old liberal model was also contested from the left in Hungary by the Independence Party, who rejected the Compromise and, openly claiming the heritage of 1848, demanded either a status in which Hungary was linked to Austria only through a mere personal union (with no common affairs limiting the country's sovereignty) or outright full independence. In the cities this evolution was visible in the composition of the municipal council, where challengers to the leadership appeared and tried to “conquer” the town hall. In Hungary, the fight resumed as a confrontation between the heirs of the Liberal Party and the newcomers of the Independence Party. Whatever name it took over the years, the governing Liberal Party was still inspired by the liberalism of the 1860s, but its policy shifted obviously towards centralism and nationalism from the middle of the 1870s on, as it was eager to maintain its position in the counties and the bigger towns.

The town where the confrontation between the government party and the Independence Party was strongest was not surprisingly Arad, both because it was considered a “sacred site” of the revolution of 1848, due to the execution of the thirteen martyrs on October 6, 1849, and because it was located in a multicultural region where Magyarization was seen as an absolute necessity. But the town hall was particularly resistant to the penetration of the

82 Judson, *The Habsburg Empire*, 274.



Figure 7.9. Portrait of Gyula Salacz, mayor of Arad.
Source: Wikimedia Commons.

Independence Party thanks to the presence of Mayor Salacz (1832–1915), who was firmly installed from 1876 to 1901 and a strong supporter of Prime Minister Kálmán Tisza.⁸³ His political pragmatism, combined with determined promotion of Magyarization during his tenure was successful in keeping the Independence Party out of the town hall, though they conquered many county seats. So did, one needs to note, the Romanians, too, as many of their representatives were also elected in the region since the villages around Arad were inhabited mostly by Romanians.

Arad's political life oscillated between liberals and the Independence Party from the beginning of the 1880s on. One of the most significant personalities of the Liberal Party was Miksa Falk (1828–1908) who served between 1885 and 1892 as the town's representative to the Diet, and was the embodiment of the assimilation of Jews and their adhesion to Liberalism.⁸⁴ Indeed, one of the reasons that the Independence Party never completely won Arad was the importance of the Jewish vote: they were among the biggest tax-payers and made up a significant part of the local intelligentsia, so they had an outsized number of voters compared to their percentage of the population. Being aware of this fact, the newspaper *Arad és Vidéke*, organ of the Independence Party, tried to convince Jewish voters during the campaign leading to the 1892 elections to side with the party's candidate Péter Atzél, son of former mayor Péter Atzél (1867–1871), and thus to abandon Liberalism, arguing that Jews should turn to the "real" patriotic party if they wanted to be definitely integrated into Hungarian society.⁸⁵ In the next issue an anonymous "Hungarian Jew" responded by

83 Salacz is one of the few mayors to be still honored by a bust with a bilingual caption, located on the square in front of the puppet theater, next to the street bearing his name. The statue was unveiled in 2012.

84 He was a Pest native who began his career as a journalist for various Austrian newspapers; during the 1848 Revolution, he also contributed to Hungarian papers. He returned to Hungary in 1867 to work as chief editor of the *Pester Lloyd* before entering politics for the Liberal Party in 1875. After the defeat of the liberals in 1905 he left the political scene.

85 "A zsidóság mozgalma" [The Jewish movement], *Arad és Vidéke*, January 8, 1892.



Figure 7.10. Arad, Andrassy Square with the city hall, 1901. Source: Fortepan, 27255, Frigyes Schoch.

denying the paper the right to tell Jews how to vote and affirming their support for the government party because Jews knew very well what they owed to the Liberals.⁸⁶ The campaign was not free from anti-Semitism, for which the famous liberal German-speaking Budapest daily *Pester Lloyd* criticized Arad. *Arad és Vidéke* protested by calling the accusation an “absurdity” and a strategy of the Liberals, but the paper could not deny the fact that it had urged Jews to vote for Atzél.⁸⁷ Falk’s main support came from the liberal paper *Neue Arader Zeitung*. In the end, Péter Atzél won against Falk by 869 to 711 votes and became the city’s representative at the Parliament.⁸⁸ From then on, the Independence Party considered Arad one of its strongholds.

The Independence Party faced the same difficulties in Nagyvárad where the percentage of the Jewish population was higher. There, despite numerous attempts to win the parliamentary and municipal elections and to launch newspapers in their favor, no real success was ever achieved. One reason was the presence of Prime Minister Tisza himself, a native of the town and its

86 *Arad és Vidéke*, January 10, 1892.

87 *Arad és Vidéke*, January 31, 1892.

88 *Arad és Vidéke*, January 29, 1892. At the end of the 1890s, the weekly *Aradi Híradó* was launched as an organ of the Independence Party with chief editor Dániel Cs. Endes but it remained moderate except in its polemics against the Romanians.

longtime representative. The city also had a long-serving mayor, Ferenc Sal (1875 to 1897) who was able to “neutralize” the Independence Party leaders by organizing mass patriotic celebrations in which they could not refuse to participate without losing their legitimacy.⁸⁹ The main daily *Nagyvárad*, which had started as a liberal organ, even congratulating Arad for the first election of Miksa Falk in 1887,⁹⁰ turned towards the Independence Party after it had won the general elections and formed a government in 1906, and even added a subtitle proclaiming itself the “Official paper of the Independence and 1848 Party for the Bihar county and Nagyvárad” (*A biharvármegyei és nagyváradai függetlenségi és 48-as párt hivatalos lapja*). This was clearly a reference to a former paper, the *Nagyvárad Hirlap* (Nagyvárad Newspaper), that had tried to represent the party at the beginning of the 1890s without succeeding, and the move was obviously opportunistic since by then there were other papers in Nagyvárad claiming to support the independents such as *Szabadság*, founded in 1880. *Nagyvárad* subsequently tried to be more “independent” than the other papers, railing against Austria and agitating in favor of the erection of a Kossuth monument in town in response to the project to build a statue of Kálmán Tisza that had been started one year earlier.⁹¹ Both the liberals and the Social Democrats mobilized to prevent the town from being “won” by the Independence Party, and eventually the liberals nominated a candidate from the “old order,” Dr. Ignác Radó, who lost against the Independence Party’s Tamás Szokoly.⁹² Unlike the town’s seat in the Diet, the mayor’s office was never occupied by a member of the Independence Party. There were moments of dispute, however, notably over the appropriation of national symbols and celebrations, as when the Independence Party tried to monopolize the commemoration of March 15 in 1899 by forcing the election of five of its members to the organization committee.⁹³ The chief editor of the liberal *Nagyvárad Napló*, Dezső Fehér, wrote that the celebration of March 15 should be free from polemics because of its meaning for the whole nation, and the liberals protested by setting up their own committee; in the end they were victorious as the Independence Party celebrated apart from the official festivity.⁹⁴

89 For example, for the commemoration of October 6, 1849, which is now an official celebration. *Nagyvárad*, no. 231, October 7, 1893.

90 *Nagyvárad*, no. 134, June 14, 1887.

91 “Los von Österreich,” *Nagyvárad*, no. 38, June 12, 1906.

92 “Fényes diadal” [Brilliant triumph], *Nagyvárad*, no. 45, June 21, 1906.

93 *Nagyvárad Napló*, no. 53, March 3, 1899.

94 “A szabadság napja” [Liberty Day], *Nagyvárad Napló*, no. 63, March 15, 1899.

In Szabadka there was no comparable Jewish elite able to “rescue” the Liberals. Two elements contributed to the stronger influence of the Independence Party: the national conflict between Hungarians and Bunjevci and the Catholicism of most inhabitants, which pushed some of them into the arms of the Catholic People’s party (*Katolikus Néppárt*). Many of the assimilated Bunjevci supported the Independence Party, which unexpectedly conquered the town hall at the beginning of the 1880s. The election of the new mayor, János Mukics (Mukić), was immediately contested by the liberals, who succeeded in reversing the situation through the election of Lázár Mamuzsics (Mamužić) in 1886. Mamuzsics went on to serve for three terms, being re-elected for a final term in 1896, thus definitely anchoring the town in the liberal camp. This, however, did not end the political rivalry as Mukics won the town’s parliamentary seat. Here again the press was a key actor in the political conflict. Some newspapers changed orientation over the course of the years, usually turning from liberalism to the Independence Party. The discussion was deeply rooted in local realities, with one central issue being the political affiliation of the Bunjevci, whom everyone wanted to rally to their respective cause. When the Catholic People’s Party appeared on the political scene in 1895, it attracted supporters from both the Hungarians and the Bunjevci, and one of its local leaders was a member of the mayor’s family, the priest Mátyás (Maća) Mamuzsics (Mamužić).⁹⁵ The absence of any significant daily in Szabadka did not prevent polemics between the weeklies. The *Szabadkai Közlöny*, started in 1876, was clearly in favor of the Independence Party whereas its competitor *Bácskai Ellenőr*, founded in 1881, professed liberalism; one of its owners was Ágoston (Ago) Mamuzsics, a brother of the future mayor.⁹⁶ The paper changed its orientation in 1891–92, openly supporting the Independence Party, however, its opposition to the mayor remained moderate. The real opposition was provided by *Szabadság*, founded in 1883 by lawyer László Szalay who also owned and edited it. Its tone was virulent against the supposedly “unfaithful” Bunjevci and the mayor, depicted as their creature. The paper campaigned for candidates of the Independence Party in municipal elections and even tried to mobilize Jewish voters by arguing that the Independence Party was the real voice of the Hungarian nation.⁹⁷ The Catholic People’s Party also succeeded in appropriating one of the town’s papers, *Szabadka és Vidéke*, which had started in 1893

95 See his obituary in *Subotička Danica*, 1901, 35–37.

96 *Bácskai Ellenőr* was the successor of the Sunday weekly *Szabadkai Ellenőr* published from 1879 to 1881.

97 *Szabadság*, January 28, 1892.

as a liberal weekly but changed its orientation in 1896.⁹⁸ The new tone was explicitly anti-Semitic and anti-socialist and made a clear association between Jews and Social Democracy.⁹⁹ Despite the fact that the majority of the population was Catholic the candidates of the party had no success in local elections.

The political expression of the nationalities in Cisleithania really started after the Constitutional laws of 1867. These first “national” parties were characterized by unity and, following the failure of the federalist project at the beginning of the 1860s, many of these parties endeavored to obtain more local autonomy based on historical rights. This was particularly true in the Czech case but also led to a specifically Moravian movement of autonomy that did not necessarily agree with Prague. The quarrel between Old and Young Czechs was not an important factor of division in Brünn where other parties such as Catholics, Agrarians, and Social Democrats came to play a bigger role. The unity that had marked the 1870s began to fade at the turn of the 1880s, fragmenting the Czech political arena in town and in the province. In 1879, the Czech political association (*politický český spolek*) in Brünn still gathered people who would later go different ways, and the community was still able to unite for elections and present candidates who spoke for all Czech voters.¹⁰⁰ This situation was reflected in the press landscape of the city. The first significant daily newspaper was *Moravská Orlice* (The Moravian Eagle), whose position began to be contested in the 1880s by the emergence of new political currents that began to divide the Czechs. The winners of this development were the Young Czechs who had also taken the lead in Bohemia, though in the 1880s the Czechs still presented unified lists to the elections for the *Reichsrat*, *Landtag*, and town hall. At the municipal elections of January 1885, the *politický spolek* was still the banner behind which the voters were asked to stand. The national electoral committee (*národní výbor volební*) was headed by Josef Tuček, the chairman of many associations and an important actor in the Czech national movement in town, who was to become one of the most important personalities of Brünn society.¹⁰¹ He highlighted his Catholicism, which was a determinant element in the political life of the town and a Moravian specificity.

98 *Szabadka és Vidéke: Politikai és vegyes tartalmú heti közlöny* [Szabadka and its surroundings: Political and variety weekly Monitor], August 2, 1896.

99 “A kaftános szociálisták” [The Socialists in caftan], *Szabadka és Vidéke*, April 19, 1903.

100 *Moravská Orlice*, no. 201, September 2, 1879.

101 *Moravská Orlice*, no. 10, January 14, 1885. Despite his role in the national movement, when Tuček died in 1900 his funeral was a demonstration of utraquism because he had been a significant local figure transcending nationalities. *Mährischer Correspondent*, no. 170, July 27, 1900, morning edition.

Clericalism and anti-clericalism were dividing lines among the Czechs and the dispute began to deepen at the turn of the 1890s. *Moravská Orlice* remained the organ of the Catholics but did not openly turn to Christian Socialism. Its competitor from the 1890s on was *Lidové Noviny*, representing the democratic anti-clerical tendency that was to characterize the Czech political scene after 1918. This new polarization put an end to the National Party (*národní strana*) that had until then united the Czech voters in Brünn. Although a devout Catholic, Tuček recognized that the trend was now moving toward secularism, and he turned to the Young Czech movement, giving new impetus to his political career. He was elected representative at the *Landtag* and turned more towards Prague, whereas the Brünn Czech representatives at the *Reichsrat* were logically more oriented towards Vienna. The first issue of *Lidové Noviny* was a manifesto for democracy and claimed the heritage of Czech heroes Jan Hus and Jan Žižka, and the French revolutions of 1789 and 1848, quoting French poet and politician Lamartine: “The people are the heart of the nation.”¹⁰² As the organ of the party, the paper was more interested in the affairs of the Diet than in those of the town. At elections from the 1890s, the Czech candidates ran under various labels, such as national, clerical, or Social Democratic. The vice president of the party, Adolf Stránský, was elected to the *Reichsrat* and together with Tuček became the leading Czech politician of the town. Their leadership was soon contested by the arrival of the Czech Social Democratic leader Josef Hybeš, whose election was criticized for having been obtained thanks to Jewish voters,¹⁰³ though in fact it was due to the creation of the fifth polling category and the consecutive growth of the Social Democratic electorate. From then on, each party accused the others of “stealing” Czech votes and of not being sufficiently “patriotic.” The national leaders saw the clericals as allies of the conservative feudal Germans; the clericals attacked the two other parties for attracting Jewish voters; while the Social Democrats were logically against the clericals but also critical of the nationalists who they considered to be fighting for the wrong cause.

The nationalist Young Czechs succeeded in maintaining their leadership in Brünn but not without setbacks due to the diversity of the political scene that dispersed the votes. This situation called for alliances. First the “national” and People’s parties, brought together by the fight for a Czech university, merged for the elections at the *Reichsrat* in 1897.¹⁰⁴ This strategy proved effective and

102 “První číslo” [First issue], *Lidové Noviny*, no. 1, December 16, 1893.

103 *Lidové Noviny*, no. 61, March 16, 1897.

104 *Moravská Orlice*, no. 49, March 2, 1897.

the party gained ten seats, allowing them to “neutralize” the progressive current that appeared in the wake of the enactment of universal suffrage.¹⁰⁵ Following this, the People’s Party (*Lidová strana na Moravě*) and the Progressive Party (*Moravská strana pokroková*) joined forces for the elections at the *Reichsrat*.¹⁰⁶ This alliance was necessary because two other political movements were likely to benefit from universal suffrage: Social Democracy and Agrarianism. Indeed, the Moravian lands could now send more representatives to the *Reichsrat*, and the Agrarian Party was immediately accused by the three allied parties of “political prostitution” in Vienna.¹⁰⁷ In Brünn the confrontation continued between the three major currents, but the Social Democrats and the Christian Socials gained ground. Therefore, the alliance between the nationalist and progressive parties lasted and even led in 1911 to the dominance of the Progressives with the growing influence of Stránský. The party was now called the Progressive People’s Party (*Lidová strana pokroková*); this was the movement that Tomáš G. Masaryk joined. In response a new party appeared, the National Social Party (later Eduard Beneš’s party), which fielded one candidate for the city’s seat at the *Reichsrat* in June 1911. At these elections, the Czechs had no less than five candidates running for five different parties in Brünn: the incumbent František Sláma (progressive); Alois Konečný (socialist-national); Alois Pražák (the candidate of the clericals); and the Social Democratic party was divided into a centralist tendency (Rudolf Merta) and an autonomist tendency (Eduard Burian). The same dispersion was observed in the district around Brünn.¹⁰⁸

The Moravian Compromise of 1905 that divided power in the provincial diet between the Czechs and the Germans—which left the older electoral categories (landowners, cities, chambers of commerce, and rural communities) untouched while at the same time compelled the voters to register on German or Czech national lists—had a double effect: on the one hand it proved that in contrast to the ceaseless conflict at the Bohemian Diet an effective understanding was still possible between the two nationalities. Yet, the creation of “national” districts on the other hand prevented the emergence of mass parties and thus a real democratization of the province.¹⁰⁹ For contemporary

105 *Lidové Noviny*, no. 67, March 23, 1897.

106 *Lidové Noviny*, no. 128, May 10, 1907, morning edition.

107 “Politická prostituce” [Political prostitution], *Lidové Noviny*, no. 313, November 12, 1907.

108 *Lidové Noviny*, no. 162, June 14, 1911, morning edition.

109 Robert A. Kann, “Die Habsburgermonarchie und das Problem des übernationalen Staates” in *Die Habsburgermonarchie 1848–1918*, vol. 2 *Verwaltung und Rechtswesen*, ed. Adam Wandruszka and Peter Urbanitsch, 5; Haslinger, *Nation und Territorium im tschechischen politischen Diskurs*, 193.

observers, however, the Compromise appeared a solution to reduce national conflict thanks to the cooperation of the major traditional parties, conservatives and landowners, and so it was seen as a model to implement in Bucovina in 1910, and Galicia in 1914, where the outbreak of the war nevertheless prevented its enforcement.

Another example of national fragmentation can be seen in Lemberg among the Ruthenians. Here the political landscape was divided between four currents: the Ruthenians remaining faithful to Austria; the “Polonized” Ruthenians who considered themselves to be “*gente Ruthenus, natione Polonus*”; the Russophiles; and the Ukrainians who were potentially oriented towards independence.¹¹⁰ The main organization of the Russophiles, *Russkaja rada* (Ruthenian council) aimed to unite all Ruthenians; its leader Ivan Naumovych wanted to create a *Matycja ljudu* that would fuse the organizations *Prosvita* and *Halycko-ruska matycja* that were in the hands of the “Austrian” Ruthenians.¹¹¹ But the two movements were reluctant to join forces with the Russophiles for two reasons: a sincere attachment to the Austrian state and the worry that they might be persecuted by the authorities who were already prosecuting the Russophiles. Moreover, *Prosvita* wanted to preserve its leadership over the Ruthenian associative life of Lemberg. But even the Russophile faction was beset with conflict and division: at the turn of the century a “new course” was introduced by younger and more radical members who wanted a more pronounced Russophile action, less centralism from the Lemberg party leaders, and the adoption of the Russian language.¹¹² The “*novokursnyky*” founded their own party in 1900 called *Russko-narodnaja partija* (Ruthenian national party). In the meantime, the “Austrian” Ruthenians had also split into two organizations: out of the old *Narodna Rada* (National Council) came the young democrats who created the *Nacional’no-demokratyčna partija* (National-Democratic Party) in 1899, which succeeded in uniting most of the Galician Ruthenians.¹¹³ The two other parties were the nationalists and the radicals. At the elections of 1907 and 1911, the Russophiles were unable to challenge the loyalist parties

110 Anna Veronika Wendland, *Die Russophilen in Galizien: Ukrainische Konservative zwischen Österreich und Rußland 1848–1915* (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2001), 17.

111 Wendland, *Die Russophilen in Galizien*, 264. Naumovych was a Greek Catholic priest. He was among the accused of the *Hochverratsprozess* of Lemberg in 1882 at the end of which he was acquitted.

112 This distinction made by Paul R. Magocsi is recalled in Struve, *Peasants and Patriotic Celebrations in Habsburg Galicia*, 126.

113 *Ibid.*, 411.

(gaining respectively five and two seats only), thus the political leadership of the Ruthenians remained in the hands of the loyalist parties. Yet, radicalization was an ongoing phenomenon and, together with nihilist and anarchist movements, it led to the assassination of Governor Andrzej Kazimierz Potocki on April 12, 1908, at the hands of a Ruthenian student, Myroslav Sichynsky. He was immediately considered a mad man acting under Russia's influence because he belonged to the Ukrainian party.¹¹⁴

Fiume and Trieste were subject to autonomist movements whose aim, to some extent, was to counteract Italian irredentism. Both shared the peculiar statute of city-territory dominated by an Italian majority and a Slavic minority (Slovene and Croatian), but autonomism had notable differences according to the situation of both cities. The autonomist movement was successful in Fiume because it was more or less encouraged by the Hungarian authorities conscious of the decline of the liberal party, and because irredentism was less powerful there than in Trieste; the distance to Italy was greater and the hinterland was inhabited by more Slavs than Italians. Finally, there was an attempt at Magyarization of Fiume that made irredentist endeavor nearly impossible. Even if the Hungarian ambition of transforming Fiume into a Hungarian city was largely illusory, it was based on the pragmatic idea of combatting both Croatian and Italian separatisms by letting them fight against each other.¹¹⁵

Until 1897, the town was ruled by the liberals—whom Croats often accused of being the servants of the Hungarian government despite the fact that some of them were of Croatian origin—but the autonomist movement began to gain ground in the 1890s as the political expression of Italian city patriotism. The founders of the Autonomist Party bore names that were not Italian at first sight: Dr. Michael Maylender, a lawyer; Luigi Ossoinack, a merchant; and Antal Walluschnigg, an old 48-er exiled to Italy before returning to Fiume, where he campaigned for the incorporation of the city to the Hungarian kingdom.¹¹⁶ The municipal elections that followed the creation of the party were a success for the autonomists: Maylender was elected mayor against the liberal candidate Baron Lettis. Maylender, only 35 years old, came from a family of merchants and had studied at the local gymnasium before going to Kolozsvár University. He was thus the first mayor of Fiume to speak Hungarian.¹¹⁷ The fact did

¹¹⁴ Wolff, *The Idea of Galicia*, 332–35.

¹¹⁵ This strategy was clearly exposed in a brochure about Fiume published in 1881 by Rezső Havass. See Rezső Havass, *Fiume* (Budapest, Pesti Könyvnyomda, 1881).

¹¹⁶ Carlo de Lanzarich, *Fiume* (Fiume: Battara, 1897), 12.

¹¹⁷ *Magyar Tengerpart*, no. 8, February 21, 1897.

not remain unnoticed in Budapest where his leadership was easily accepted. This reaction proved wise and Maylender rapidly became an ally of the Hungarian government, causing a schism in the autonomist party that was from then on led by Walluschnigg.¹¹⁸

The reform of the town's statute as well as the implementation of a new law on local administration enforced Maylender's position. Around half of the 25 counselors were elected for a term of five years and the other half for three years.¹¹⁹ The Croats were upset about the new configuration and their leader Erázmus (Erazmo) Barčić threatened to boycott the council, although he had until then cooperated with the liberals.¹²⁰ The division in the autonomist camp led to a debate about the signification of the term "autonomy" in the particular case of Fiume. Some skeptical voices criticized the recent evolution that led certain of the party members to justify the city belonging to Hungary. They continued advocating municipal autonomy in the form of an independent and free city. Others challenged this opinion by evocating historical ties with Hungary that did not prevent the city from enjoying municipal autonomy.¹²¹ For them the claim for complete autonomy was an illusion.¹²² Yet, none of these authors looked for solutions outside the frame of the monarchy.

Nevertheless, the autonomist party succeeded in reorganizing itself and its new leader, Riccardo Zanella, was from 1901 on the main candidate to challenge the government candidate for Fiume's representative seat at the Budapest Diet. For the first time in the 1901 election there was a primary election within the liberal party, where Maylender, who had just resigned from his post as mayor so as to be able to run for the candidacy, ran against Lajos Batthyány, the former governor of the territory (1892–96).¹²³ Batthyány was chosen and eventually won against Zanella.¹²⁴ Seeing the autonomist party as a real danger, the Hungarian authorities tried to counteract its influence by creating their own autonomist party, the *Partito patriottico fiumano* (*Fiumei hazafias párt*). One of the town's oldest dailies, *La Bilancia*, became its unofficial paper, announcing the "nuovo corso" in an editorial in April 1900 and proclaiming Fiume "città fedelissima" as well as "indeficiente" (infallible).¹²⁵ The

118 Ossoinack also changed sides and was from then on a member of the government party.

119 *Magyar Tengerpart*, no. 52, December 25, 1897.

120 *Magyar Tengerpart*, no. 50, December 12, 1897.

121 *L'autonomia di Fiume: appunti storici e considerazioni* (Fiume: Mohovich, 1901), 125.

122 *Ibid.*, 124.

123 *Magyar Tengerpart*, no. 221, October 1, 1901.

124 *Magyar Tengerpart*, no. 227, October 8, 1901.

125 *La Bilancia*, no. 92, April 23, 1900.

new party tried to rally the autonomists by systematically publishing in both languages, thus ignoring the eventual Croatian claims to the city. In February 1904, the autonomist movement was again defeated at the municipal elections and the partisans of the *Partito patriottico fiumano* saw only one solution: an alliance with the “real” autonomist party, through which they eventually managed to gain a seat on the municipal council.¹²⁶ In the meantime, the party had launched its own newspaper *Fiumei Szemle-Rivista di Fiume*, a completely bilingual weekly.¹²⁷ *La Bilancia* still remained the voice of “its master,” the government, thus the “real” autonomists had to react by publishing a new paper: *La Voce del popolo*. This evening daily that existed since 1898 was progressively transformed into a more political paper advocating the cause of autonomy. In the end it seems that everybody in Fiume was an autonomist, just in different ways.

The course taken by *La Voce del popolo* is an example of the evolution of the discourse on autonomy. As soon as it was clear that the radical autonomists were excluded from real political influence, the paper turned toward the *Partito patriottico fiumano* and from then on practically all newspapers in Fiume claimed to be organs of this party. A setback for the loyalist autonomists was still possible as shown in the elections at the Diet in January 1905 when Zanella was finally successful.¹²⁸ Indeed things changed after the victory of the Independence Party in the Diet of Hungary and the formation of the coalition government in 1906. Consequently, Hungarian politics became more radicalized, and this led in return to the radicalization of national movements. The Hungarian-Croatian resolution, signed in Fiume in 1905, aimed at securing the support of the Croats for gradual Hungarian independence in exchange for the territorial integration of Dalmatia, Croatia, and Slavonia. Although this resolution reflected a political understanding between Hungarians and Croats, the agreement was short-lived, and the Croats turned rapidly against it. Still, the arrival in Fiume of the delegation of Hungarian, Dalmatian, and Croatian representatives to negotiate the resolution was a moment of hope for Croats, and for the city in general, because the cooperation between these politicians aimed at the reunification of Dalmatia with Croatia-Slavonia. This process was not regarded with sympathy by the Italians, however, who were fighting to maintain an Italian majority in the cities of the littoral.

126 *La Bilancia*, no. 40, March 1, 1904.

127 *Fiumei Szemle-Rivista di Fiume*, no. 9, March 1, 1904.

128 *Magyar Tengerpart*, no. 24, January 31, 1905.

Nevertheless, *La Bilancia*, which by then echoed the intentions of the Hungarian government, claimed to be in favor of the resolution.¹²⁹

The coalition government, headed by the Independence Party implemented measures to increase Magyarization: this effort was visible in Fiume as well, where despite the “indefectible” loyalty of the town some voices were raised against the attempts at Magyarization. First the government tried to systematize the use of Hungarian in all acts of the registry office, which upset *La Bilancia*, who saw the move as a decision contrary to historical rights.¹³⁰ Even the most loyalist institutions protested the obligation to introduce the Hungarian language at all levels of administration, and the *rappresentanza* was united in its defense of Italian.¹³¹ A similar protest was raised by lawyers against the reform of the courts to introduce bilingual procedures.¹³² The Magyarization policies were accelerated by the so-called Lex Apponyi of 1907, causing much agitation in Fiume; all the Italian newspapers reacted by deploring the fact that Italian was no longer the dominant language of the town.¹³³ *La Bilancia* published many articles about the polyglossia of the citizens, noting with despair that a foreigner arriving one evening at Piazza Adamich to attend a concert would hear the workers speak Italian while all the spectators spoke German, French, or English. Strangely enough, the article does not mention Hungarian, even though 11 percent of the population at that time declared it as their mother tongue; most likely the paper did not want to directly attack the language of the authorities and preferred to aim instead at German in order to please the Hungarians. The high proportion of Austrian expatriates could explain this, as could the fact that the German language was constantly targeted by the Trieste press. The paper notes that the phenomenon of people choosing not to speak Italian was particularly worrying among younger people, and appealed to the responsibility of parents.¹³⁴ *La Bilancia* insisted again on this matter two years later, when it condemned the use of other languages on shop signs and in advertising (though there were such ads in the paper itself), and insisted that such signs and ads should at least be bilingual.¹³⁵ According to the article, the problem was also visible inside shops where people addressed the customers

129 “La risoluzione di Fiume,” *La Bilancia*, no. 19, January 24, 1906.

130 “Autonomia,” *La Bilancia*, no. 266, November 24, 1906.

131 “La solenna seduta della rappresentanza civica per la difesa della lingua italiana a Fiume,” *La Voce del popolo*, no. 6200, January 3, 1907.

132 *La Voce del popolo*, no. 6213, January 16, 1907.

133 “La magiarizzazione di Fiume,” *La Voce del popolo*, no. 6215, January 18, 1907.

134 “L’italiano e la lingue straniera di nostra borghesia,” *La Bilancia*, no. 233, October 14, 1908.

135 *La Bilancia*, no. 10, January 14, 1910.

in every possible language except Italian; the paper saw this as a deliberate attitude of foreign shopkeepers and merchants who were hostile to Italian. “It is impossible to go to a restaurant, a beer hall, or any café of the main square without being greeted by the waiter in German; he asks for your order in German and answers in German to your questions asked in Italian. If you turn to a second waiter, the same thing happens; then again with the third one and so it goes until you find one.” But it argued that this lamentable situation was due to the Italians themselves, who were indifferent and passive, and who despised their own language: “asking for the bill with the now inevitable and mostly disagreeable ‘Zahlen!’”¹³⁶ The local government was also accused of not helping to defend *italianità*. Perfidiously, *La Bilancia* tried to explain that Italian would certainly not be replaced by Hungarian but by “a third nationality” that it did not feel the need to name. The paper thus advised the authorities to support the Italians against the Croats who were considered “traditionally hostile,” especially now that they were the majority in the territory.¹³⁷

The autonomist movement was revived on this occasion and the torch was passed to a new generation. Zanella had been criticized for being too docile and even attacked for his alleged support for the “wrong” autonomist conception.¹³⁸ In April 1911, the *Lega autonoma* was founded in Fiume under the direction of Andrea (András) Ossoinack, and within a week the new party had already gathered 250 members.¹³⁹ Among the new leaders was the former mayor Francesco Vio (1902–1910) and his relative Antonio Vio, a representative of the city, indicating the quick transformation of the local situation, though when Francesco Vio became mayor again in 1912 he returned to a more conciliatory policy. The name “*Lega*” was certainly ominous for the authorities, who knew the difficulties facing Austria with the *Lega nazionale* in Trieste. However, the autonomist movement did not erupt into radical irredentism until World War I and remained to shape the city’s fate even after.¹⁴⁰ It was one of the main factors that contributed to Fiume’s existence as a quasi-independent entity in the first postwar years.

Fiume only became an object of Italian irredentism after the war, when the country was frustrated in its territorial ambitions by Great Power politics. Yet,

136 “Come e tratatta la lingua italiana nella nostra città,” *La Bilancia*, no. 6, January 10, 1910.

137 *La Bilancia*, no. 207, September 14, 1912.

138 *La Voce del popolo*, no. 5174, February 25, 1904.

139 *Fiumei Estilap* [Fiume Evening Paper], no. 81, April 7, 1911.

140 Flaminio E. Spinelli, *Il calvario di una città italiana (Fiume)* (Bergamo: Istituto italiano d’arti grafiche, 1914).

the landing of the Italian legionaries led by poet Gabriele D'Annunzio on September 12, 1919, resulted instead in a short-lived self-proclaimed state (Italian Regency of Carnaro). This eventually was crushed by the Italian army, following the signing of the treaty of Rapallo in November 1920 in which both Italy and the Kingdom of Yugoslavia agreed to acknowledge Fiume as an independent free state. In the meantime, Zanella, who had gone to Italy and moved toward irredentism, returned to the city. However, he ultimately remained faithful to his original commitment to autonomy and deceived the fascists who wanted him to become their political instrument. Leading the Autonomist Party to an electoral victory, Zanella became the president of the Free State of Fiume, until he was deposed by a fascist putsch on March 3, 1922. The city was finally annexed by Italy after another coup in 1924.¹⁴¹

The political debate over the status of the city took another form in Trieste: there the autonomist movement represented a marginal current compared to the loyal attitude of the national-liberal party on the one hand and the irredentists on the other. The theme of the faithful city "*città fedelissima*" was in Trieste even more prominent than in Fiume thanks to the historical ties that had linked the city with the Habsburgs since 1382. The importance of the city for the empire was also considerable and Vienna was not prepared to tolerate any attempt at separatism. In fact, irredentism was more successful in Trentino than in Trieste and the rest of Istria or Dalmatia, which was even further away and where the Italian population was less compact. The first irredentist publications to reach Trieste appeared in the 1870s. One of these periodicals was *L'Italia degli italiani* published at the end of the 1870s in Naples.¹⁴² From then on, the *Regno* was a pole of attraction for the Italians in Trieste. The absence of an Italian university in the Habsburg Empire led many young men to study in Italy where they came into contact with irredentist circles. The municipal elites were dominated by the national-liberal party, which was increasingly confronted by the irredentist movement, and which tried to maintain a strong loyalty to Austria while satisfying the nationalists by promoting anti-Slovene politics. The debate over the status of Trieste was primarily about *Landespatritismus* and economic factors.

The partisans of autonomy were convinced that the integration of the city into the Italian kingdom would mean an end to prosperity, which was the

141 On the Fiume coup, see Marco Mondini, *Fiume 1919: Una guerra civile italiana* (Rome: Salerno editrice, 2019).

142 Johann Andrović, *Die Triester Frage in ihrem Verhältnis zu Österreich und Italien*, vol. 1 (Trieste: Brunner & Co, 1916), 40.

main argument they tried to put forward in order not to be stigmatized as “sold” to the Austrians. Already in the 1860s, some publications tried to prove that the development of the city was due to Austria. They also pointed at the cosmopolitanism of the town to show that the so-called *italianità* was rather a *triestinità* uniting people from diverse origins who were interested in making business thanks to the possibilities offered by the town’s particular status.¹⁴³ Indeed, the various communities that had settled in the city until the recent past (Serbs, Greeks, and Jews) integrated into a melting pot that was not Italian *stricto sensu* but transnational with Italian as the *lingua franca*. The author of a brochure about autonomy published in 1865 in Vienna considered himself an Italian but criticized the “renewal” of the Italian nationality in Trieste as a “utopia” for the city had nothing to expect from a change of its status.¹⁴⁴ The same argument was formulated by Angelo Vivante at the beginning of the twentieth century to counter irredentist claims. He belonged to a significant Jewish family, and his father had been a member of the Chamber of Commerce, “a typical representative of the ruling class with Italian feelings but conservative and moderate in political life, who after the creation of the Italian kingdom tried to maintain the difficult balance between the autonomy of the city and Viennese centralism.”¹⁴⁵ The elite was then increasingly divided between the conservatives faithful to Austria and the national-liberals who tended towards irredentism without openly expressing it. The liberals won the majority at the municipal council in the 1890s and from then on tried to block the access of the Slovenes to the council. The latter were not able to win more than the six seats assigned to the *territorio*.¹⁴⁶

The Socialists represented another political alternative. The first local leaders of the Social Democratic Party came from the liberal movement and at the beginning were also influenced by irredentism as they had taken over Mazzini’s democratic ideas about the unity of the peoples. But in 1904 their leader Valentino Pittoni officially broke with the liberals and oriented the party more toward democratic values and thus tried to rally the Slovenes.¹⁴⁷ In 1912, Angelo Vivante, also a member of the Social Democratic Party, published an

143 *Die Autonomie der Stadt Triest: Eine Entgegnung auf die jüngsten im Turiner Parlamente gehaltenen Reden* (Vienna: Abel Luksic, 1865), 22.

144 *Ibid.*, 37.

145 Anna Millo, *Storia di una borghesia: La famiglia Vivante a Trieste dell'emporio alla guerra mondiale* (Gorizia: Libreria editrice goriziana, 1998), 63.

146 Vasilij Melik, *Wahlen im alten Österreich: am Beispiel der Kronländer mit slowenischsprachiger Bevölkerung* (Vienna: Böhlau, 1997), 257.

147 Millo, *Storia di una borghesia*, 157.

important book condemning Italian irredentism in the Adriatic. He felt the Austrian-Italian conflict had been “overcome” (*superato*) because the Austrians were rooted neither in town nor in the province.¹⁴⁸ On the contrary, the problem lay in the confrontation with the Slavs who were not “newcomers” or “invaders” as portrayed by the nationalists but a local population just as rooted as the Italians. Therefore, he wrote, what the state did was not favoring the Slavs as such but simply following a pragmatic approach: Slavs were the majority and ready to work for nothing in the factories, moreover, unlike the Italians, they were bilingual and “the polyglot will naturally be preferred.” The same was obvious in the municipal offices where many Slavs were employed because of their bi- or multilingualism. Vivante condemned the Italians who had “a reluctance to learn Slovene or Croatian (the language of the servants) and—in many circles as a consequence of separatist ideology—the tendency to avoid state service before complaining of being excluded from it.”¹⁴⁹ The Slavs were necessary for the development of the town and it would be thus a catastrophe if Trieste were cut from its hinterland.¹⁵⁰ Finally, Vivante felt that the irredentists were dogmatists ignorant of local realities, and that their ideology was actually contrary to the interests of the town.¹⁵¹ This contradiction was noticed by other observers but it did not deter the irredentists from their goal, which was ultimately victorious but indeed harmful for Trieste in the long run. Irredentism was not so popular in the city, where neither the tradesmen nor the lower classes were seduced,¹⁵² which can be seen in the explosion of Habsburg loyalty at the news of the assassination of Francis Ferdinand. The repatriation of the victims’ coffins to Trieste and the procession that led them to the train station on July 2, 1914, was a moment of combined city and dynastic patriotism.

The irredentists were mostly intellectuals, and members of the liberal professions, and many of them had been educated in the *Regno*. Their organizations were closely watched by the authorities, and irredentist publications sent from Italy were banned and censored under the accusation of “*delitti di sedizione e di eccitazione all’odio verso nazionalità*” (crime of sedition and excitation of hatred towards a nationality) because they were violently

148 Angelo Vivante, *Irredentismo adriatico: Contribuzione alla discussione sui rapporti austro-italiani* (Florence: libreria della Voce, 1912), 100.

149 *Ibid.*, 148.

150 *Ibid.*, 200.

151 *Ibid.*, 202.

152 Andrović, *Die Triester Frage in ihrem Verhältnis zu Österreich und Italien*, vol. 2, 220.

anti-Austrian and/or anti-Slovene. A retrospective judgment formulated by the writer Scipio Slataper—who was himself attracted to irredentism in his youth—reveals the idealism contained in the project formulated not in Trieste but in the imagination of the *regnicoli* (the Italians of the kingdom, many of whom came to work in Trieste). He writes that they conceived: “A fantastic Trieste, without longitude nor latitude, but irredentist and that was all; a Trieste created out of the exaggeration of the reality seen by the literary culture.”¹⁵³ In contrast he writes of the good sense of the “economical” Trieste that would never turn to irredentism. Finally, he notes the contradiction already expressed by Vivante between irredentism as a bourgeois ideology, and socialism that was unable to give a clear definition of the national question. Faced with irredentism the conservatives, who were losing ground, tried to revive the patriotism of the land by linking it more firmly to Austria. A monthly newspaper, *La Monarchia*, was founded in Vienna in 1907 for this purpose, which vowed to: “consolidate and strengthen the sane element affectionate to the monarchy ... and fight the subversive and troublesome element.” Chief editor Eugen Makarinin Vusio devoted particular attention to the various peoples of the province, including Italians, Croats, and Slovenes.¹⁵⁴ Vusio himself was a priest and was regularly attacked by the press, in particular by the satirical paper *La coda del diavolo*, where he was mocked as a drunkard.¹⁵⁵ Behind the paper stood the promoters of the conservative *partito monarchico* including prominent personalities like Baron Arturo Albori, the chairman of the *Austria* society, Alois von Bernetich-Tommasini, and Mgr. Petronio from the local bishopric. The party aimed to create a union of local patriots regardless of their national belonging, but it came too late.¹⁵⁶ Although the enactment of universal suffrage did in fact change the balance in the province, Trieste remained in the hands of the national-liberal party, who were increasingly challenged by irredentist propaganda that the government tried to prevent from entering the city. The climax of this struggle came after Italy’s entry into the war in May 1915, and “liberation” became a reality in 1918.

153 Scipio Slataper, *Lettere triestine* (Trieste: Edizioni Dedolibri, 1988), 55–56.

154 “Il nostro programma,” *La Monarchia: Rivista politica, nazionale ed economica*, no. 1, January 20, 1907.

155 “Trieste fotografata della spia,” *La coda del diavolo*, no. 69, July 12, 1910. The paper was censored later in the month for its articles against the *Lega monarchica* because of “excitation to public scandal.”

156 “Affermazione del partito monarchico a Trieste,” *La Monarchia*, no. 9, September 20, 1907.

National politics in Zagreb were complex because of the situation of Croatia-Slavonia within the Hungarian kingdom. Dissatisfaction with Austria was also present because of the Croatian desire for the reunification of the triune Kingdom of Croatia-Slavonia-Dalmatia. Other issues included the dissolution of the military frontier and the important Serbian minority. The political climate was thus the expression of permanent frustration that turned more or less to open conflict depending on the attitude of the Ban and the Hungarian authorities. External factors also played a considerable role, including Vienna, regional politics in Istria and Dalmatia where Croats were a significant minority, and Bosnia-Herzegovina and Serbia. National parties were increasingly confronted with Christian Socialism and Social Democracy as Zagreb industrialized. The national parties operated in opposition to Budapest on one hand, and either in support of or against Yugoslavism on the other. The Illyrian ideology of the 1860s transformed into Yugoslavism, but the participation of the Serbian minority of Croatia and cooperation with Serbs from Hungary were still problems that caused divisions in Croatian national politics. The potential alliance with Serbia was another difficulty since both had claims over Bosnia and Herzegovina. Thus, opposition to Hungary was generally the only way to achieve consensus, but as soon as this element declined, the internal tensions reappeared. The tenure of the Hungarian viceroy, Ban Károly Khuen-Héderváry (1883–1903), was one such period of mutual understanding, although differences of opinion were still visible and prevented common and decisive action. Khuen-Héderváry was seen as an oppressor of the Croatian national idea and suspected to favor the Serbs in order to prevent any common “Yugoslav” action. The unfolding crisis led to a number of violent protests in the streets of Zagreb, in most cases organized by university students, which were feared by the citizens of a city that was essentially conservative.

The end of Illyrism as a political expression was symbolized in October 1885 by the solemn reburial of seven personalities who had marked the cultural and national revival. Their graves were placed in the newly created arcades of *Mirogoj* cemetery. In its coverage of the event the *Agramer Zeitung*, a supporter of the Hungarian-Croatian compromise, declared Illyrism to have been a “*fata morgana*,” arguing that the current day situation was much more favorable to the development of Croatia.¹⁵⁷ The torch of the Croatian national movement

157 “Das Literatur-Jubiläum,” *Agramer Zeitung*, no. 239, October 19, 1885. The seven personalities were: Ljudevit Gaj, Stanko Vraz, Franjo Kurelac, Vatroslav Lisinski, Demetrius Demeter, Vjekoslav Babukić and Dragutin Seljan.

passed to the National Party, which was considered oppositional after the resignation of Ban Mažuranić, and which changed its name in November 1872 to the National Constitutional Party (*Narodna-ustavna stranka*). Its main paper was *Obzor* (Horizon), but there were other newspapers claiming to represent the opposition, some of which were more clerical and often anti-Semitic, others more democratic. The battle for the town hall was a consequence of this political configuration but the municipal council long remained in the hands of the supporters of the government. The elections at the Croatian Diet (*Sabor*) gave the parties a larger room for maneuvers whereas the town remained a bastion of the loyalists.

The loyalist tendency was embodied in the press landscape by the two major newspapers of the town: the old respectable *Agramer Zeitung* that was the last witness of the once German-speaking Agram (German name for Zagreb), and the moderate nationalist *Narodne Novine* (National News). Both were appalled at the demonstrations and disruptions of the quietness of the town. The most violent demonstrations took place before and after Ban Khuen-Héderváry's mandate. The first were caused by the initiative of the director of the financial office, Antal Dávid, who, not waiting for the decision from Budapest, acted on his own and placed bilingual plaques on the office of the common administration of the finances together with Hungarian colors and flag in front of the building. This act concerning a building belonging to the common affairs of both lands should not have raised such anger, but it happened in a contentious climate, as the beginning of the 1880s had already seen many troubles (in Fiume and in Dalmatia). Both *Agramer Zeitung* and *Narodne Novine* were upset at the demonstration and asked why the affair had not been discussed at the sessions of the *Sabor*.¹⁵⁸ At the municipal council there was also a virulent debate about the issue with one counselor noting the embarrassing absence of mayor Josef Hofman at the session.¹⁵⁹ In the end even the loyalists were uneasy and condemned both Dávid's initiative and the extremism of the National Party. But the fear of Magyarization remained and was even mentioned in the loyalist paper *Narodne Novine*, although there was barely any real penetration of Hungarian in Zagreb and German was disappearing from the social life of the town so that the city grew increasingly monolingual. For example, the news from Budapest related by the Croatian newspapers was in

¹⁵⁸ "Jučerašnji izgredi u Zagrebu" [Yesterday's excesses in Zagreb], *Narodne Novine*, no. 187, August 16, 1883.

¹⁵⁹ *Narodne Novine*, no. 189, August 18, 1883.

most cases taken from the German-speaking *Pester Lloyd*, an indication that the journalists were not able to read the Hungarian papers.

News about attempts at Magyarization was therefore systematically exaggerated. In the wake of the Millennium celebrations of 1896 there was a project to introduce Hungarian as an elective language in secondary schools, but this was rejected by the opposition at the *Sabor*, an outcome that the *Narodne Novine* found ridiculous and regretted that children were deprived of the possibility of being multilingual. The national slogan “*Sve ću, sve ću, ali magjarski neću*” (I want everything, I want everything, but I don’t want Hungarian) was decried as the expression of narrow-mindedness.¹⁶⁰ Croatian participation at the Millennium exhibition in Budapest had been discussed seriously before it was finally agreed to build a Croatian pavilion.¹⁶¹ The Millennium offered many occasions for protest by the nationalities of the Hungarian kingdom and new demonstrations were organized in Zagreb as well where the opposition combined its claims against Khuen-Héderváry with more general demands. Again, the loyalist papers had the impression that the city authorities were too lax with the demonstrators by not sufficiently mobilizing police against them. The students marched in the streets and shouted slogans praising past and present personalities of the opposition (Josip Frank, Ante Starčević, and Ban Jelačić) as well as bishop Josip Strossmayer.¹⁶² Zagreb also saw agitation at the time of the *Sabor* sessions, when demonstrations against the representatives often took place accompanied by mock serenades (*Katzenmusik*) and other troubles.

Bishop Josip Strossmayer was the main figure of Yugoslavism and therefore widely revered, but he was sometimes criticized for his relations with the Serbs; indeed, in his mind Yugoslavism was destined to reach beyond the borders of Croatia-Slavonia. He came into conflict with fellow Catholics who did not appreciate his ecumenism, and during one of his visits to Zagreb (his bishopric was in Đakovo) there was an incident revealing that Yugoslavism was not as integrative as he wished it to be. A Serbian citizen, Dr. Bogdan Medaković, had decorated his house on the route of the procession with Croatian and

160 “Magjarski jezik u realnim gimnazijam” [Hungarian language in the Realgymnasium], *Narodne Novine*, no. 211, September 15, 1896. In modern Croatian “Hungarian” is spelled “mađarski.”

161 “Millenijska slava” [The Millennium celebration], *Narodne Novine*, no. 102, May 2, 1896. On the Croatian presence at the Millennium exhibition, see Dragan Damjanović, “Croatian Pavilions at the 1896 Millennium Exhibition in Budapest,” in *Ephemeral Architecture in Central and Eastern Europe in the 19th and 21st Centuries*, ed. Miklós Székely (Paris: L’Harmattan, 2015), 51–73.

162 “Opozicione demonstracije u Zagrebu” [Oppositional demonstrations in Zagreb], *Narodne Novine*, no. 68, March 21, 1896.

Serbian three-colored flags. The students attending the celebration noticed this, and they went to see Medaković to ask him to remove the Serbian flag, which he refused out of loyalty to his nationality and the bishop's ideas. As the procession passed his house the students shouted, threw inkpots in the windows, and tore down the Serbian flag before the police could intervene.¹⁶³ National opposition sometimes led to chauvinism, and anti-Serbian and anti-Semitic attitudes. This was reflected in the creation of the *Zagrebački katolički List* (Zagreb Catholic Paper) that was openly anti-Semitic. The paper constantly accused the *Narodne Novine* and the *Agramer Zeitung* of apologizing for the Jews who were not worthy Croatian patriots.¹⁶⁴ In the course of some demonstrations there were also attacks on German-speaking people and even a Frenchman who had not taken off his hat when the Croatian anthem was playing. This occurred during one of the demonstrations of March 1903 that lasted for a few days and led to the removal of Khuen-Héderváry.¹⁶⁵

The changing political situation was reflected in the town hall by the growing influence of the National Party. Unlike the *Sabor*, which was more or less controlled by the Unionists (loyal to Hungary), the municipal council had neither Hungarian nor minority parties, for there were only a handful of Hungarians in town. Therefore, the National Party was free to rule, though it was contested by the other currents of Croatian politics that became increasingly numerous and contradictory. The limitations on suffrage prevented the entry of the Social Democrats, but the other parties tried to challenge the leadership of the National Party. At the beginning of the twentieth century, the municipal council was divided between the National Party and Starčević's Party of the Right.¹⁶⁶ The challengers were the Progress Party (*naprednjačka stranka*) and then the Real Right's Party; later on the spectrum was enlarged with the Serbian party, but none of these three parties was able to win seats in the three districts of the town.¹⁶⁷ There had been Serbian counselors running for the National Party and a Serbian club (*Srbski klub saborskih članovah*)

163 "Bischof Strossmayer in Agram," *Agramer Zeitung*, no. 155, July 7, 1894.

164 "Židovsko pitanje" [The Jewish question], *Zagrebački katolički List: Crkveno-bogoslovni časopis*, no. 25, June 20, 1889.

165 Reflecting on the events, *Agramer Zeitung* noted that the citizens and the economic elite did not take part in these excesses, which harmed the image of the town. An editorial looking back at the demonstrations argued that the people claiming to be patriots were mistaken if they thought that terrorizing the town would bring them any good. See "Ruhe und Ordnung," *Agramer Zeitung*, no. 74, April 1, 1903; "Patriotismus," *Agramer Zeitung*, no. 77, April 4, 1903.

166 "Das Resultat im zweiten Wahlkörper," *Agramer Zeitung*, no. 66, March 18, 1906.

167 "Izbori u Zagrebu" [Elections in Zagreb], *Dnevni List*, no. 102, May 3, 1906.

existed at the *Sabor*, but only the creation of the Croatian-Serbian coalition in 1909 opened the way for a real alliance between the two groups. The National Party had already started to call for an understanding between Croats and Serbs but had missed the opportunity since the initiative was launched at the time of the Hungarian elections of 1905 that led to the Hungarian-Croatian resolution on Fiume, thus putting an end to the rapprochement with the Serbs. However, the party had launched a new daily, *Dnevni List* (Daily Paper), in which some articles were written in Cyrillic. In its first editorial it argued that the initiative had become a necessity because a faction of the party had joined with the Unionist Party. The Serbian ally of the National Party was for a while the Serbian Autonomous Party (*Srbska samostalna stranka*) that advocated autonomy for the Serbian territories of Croatia. But the Serbs had their own paper, *Srbobran* (Serbian Defense), and the *Dnevni List* was short-lived because of an obvious lack of readership in Zagreb.

The coalition also had many opponents so that demonstrations started anew in Zagreb's streets. The promoters of these gatherings were again students but this time Serbian students took to the streets as well, as in June 1909 when they confronted the partisans of the Real Right's Party. The claims of the students were not very clearly formulated and the *Agramer Zeitung* accused them of being mere agitators. The Croatian students gathered in front of Josip Frank's house and acclaimed him, while at the university the Serbian students disturbed the lectures and caused some incidents so that the dean suspended classes.¹⁶⁸ Later in December the demonstrations took on an obvious anti-Serbian character; the windows of the Serbian school on Preradović Square were shattered, and the printing house of the newspaper *Srbobran* and a Serbian bank were attacked.¹⁶⁹ In the evening members of the Progressive Party rushed to help the Serbs and the demonstration resumed with more violence. This time the police responded and arrested people.¹⁷⁰ The situation was aggravated by the Zagreb high treason process (*Hochverratsprozess*), in which 53 Serbs of Croatia and Slavonia were put on trial for allegedly plotting against the state but were ultimately acquitted for lack of evidence, and the revelations of the Friedjung Affair, in which the Austrian historian Heinrich Friedjung had produced evidence of contacts between Croatian politicians and Serbian leaders which proved to be forgeries issued by the Austro-Hungarian embassy in Belgrade.

168 "Demonstrationen," *Agramer Zeitung*, no. 139, June 21, 1909; *Agramer Zeitung*, no. 141, June 23, 1909.

169 "Demonstrationen," *Agramer Zeitung*, no. 286, December 15, 1909.

170 *Agramer Zeitung*, no. 294, December 24, 1909.

Opposition to the Croatian-Serbian coalition also came from the Hungarian authorities who tried to “divide and rule” by stirring Croatian hostility towards the Serbs. The goal of attacking the coalition was in part behind the founding in 1911 of the paper *Političke Novosti* (Political News), which backed the government of Ban Tomašić and the newly founded Party of National Progress (*Stranka narodnog napredka*).¹⁷¹ Yet, the paper achieved only mediocre success for it stopped publication one year later. Finally, one of the last episodes of Croatian-Serbian conflict in Zagreb took place at the news of the assassination in Sarajevo. Demonstrators, some armed with revolvers, gathered spontaneously in the streets shouting “Glory to Ferdinand” and “Away with the Serbs,” and they attacked the Serbian *Sokol* on Preradović Square, destroyed shops belonging to Serbs, and chased Serbs in the streets.¹⁷²

Croatian opposition to Hungarian rule was the other dominant factor of the town’s turbulent life. Frustration came from the situation of financial dependence on Hungary as well as from the impossibility of appealing to Vienna. The discontent toward Khuen-Héderváry was transferred to his successors, whose policies were not more favorable to Croatia; only Ban Tomašić was tolerated because of his undeniable Croatian identity. His successor Slavko Cuvaj was also Croatian, but he collaborated more openly with the Unionist Party and was therefore attacked, and the students used every possible occasion to demonstrate against him and the Hungarian government. The most significant incidents took place in February 1912, when some twenty people were arrested after the first demonstration and policemen were wounded by stones thrown at them by demonstrators.¹⁷³ The unrest lasted for a few days, and on Sunday a crowd of more than 3,000 gathered on the square in front of the university; this time the newspapers could not claim that the demonstration was only composed of agitated students. Actually the gathering went on peacefully, with delegates of the Croatian-Serbian coalition attending and *Sabor* representatives protesting against the closure of the assembly.¹⁷⁴ But the demonstrations resumed in the following week and were again apparently the work of students who provoked the police, and the government had to call the army to restore order after the police had proven unable to do so. The *Agramer*

171 “Zašto izlazimo?” [What for are we issuing?] *Političke Novosti: List za politički, gospodarstveni i društveni život* [Political News: Paper for political, economic, and associative life], no. 1, November 9, 1911.

172 “Demonstracije u gradu” [Demonstrations in town], *Jutarnji List* [Morning Paper], no. 702, July 1, 1914.

173 “Die gestrigen Demonstrationen,” *Agramer Zeitung*, no. 36, February 14, 1912.

174 “Volksversammlung,” *Agramer Zeitung*, no. 40, February 19, 1912.

Zeitung was tired of this permanent rioting in the streets: “The citizens of our city do not sympathize with this street terrorism but reject and condemn it.”¹⁷⁵ Calm was finally restored at the end of the month after the police made more arrests and the army occupied the streets: “Our sans-culottes seem to have come to reason upon seeing the military for the army is not here for fun. Soldiers are not lambs like our policemen at whom one can throw stones without responding with their guns.”¹⁷⁶ In the wake of nihilist and anarchist assassination attempts, Ban Cuvaj became the target of agitated youth: most significantly by a Belgrade student, Luka Jukić, who had been trained by the Black Hand (*Crna Ruka*) which was later to arm the Sarajevo murderers.

Croatian frustration was also visible in Fiume and as a last resort its expression sometimes even turned against the sovereign. At the occasion of a visit by Francis Joseph in July 1891 the Croats tried to stage a demonstration. The incident was related with abundant details in the Zagreb press, but the Triestine *Il Cittadino* considered these exaggerations since, according to it, the agitation was due to a handful of young people. The anonymous author “Veritas” exalted the particularity of Fiume and the fact that there Italians and Hungarians had an incontestable leadership, while the Croats wanted “to stage scandals and demonstrations as if we were in Zagreb or in some remote Croatian village, but not in Fiume.” They decorated the Croatian lecture hall as well as private houses of Sušak with Russian and Croatian flags. However, reports the journalist, the *Fiumani* reacted properly by showing their loyalty to Hungary: “this people that has for Hungary a true affection, this affection being the bulwark against those who try to manipulate the claims of the Croats.”¹⁷⁷

Growing discontent led to an important demonstration against Hungarian rule in May 1903. The gathering started in the Croatian suburb of Sušak from where people went to the train station, the starting point of the march. The police arrested some of the leaders of the protest but later in the evening around 200 people gathered again and shouted slogans in front of houses inhabited by Hungarians such as “down with the Hungarians” and “long live independent Croatia.” The railway station was vandalized, and the demonstrators attempted to march downtown. Things calmed down after the intervention of the army and the gendarmerie. The Hungarian press saw the demonstration as an “importation” of the conflict over Khuen-Héderváry’s politics in Croatia-Slavonia and

175 “Die gestrigen Vorgänge,” *Agramer Zeitung*, no. 42, February 21, 1912.

176 “Demonstrationen,” *Agramer Zeitung*, no. 48, February 28, 1912.

177 “Lettere Fiumane,” *Il Cittadino*, no. 184, July 5, 1891.

therefore something foreign to Fiume's situation.¹⁷⁸ In the following days there were other incidents in the towns of the littoral where Croats commemorated the death of Jelačić by staging demonstrations against Hungary.¹⁷⁹ The arrested leaders were put on trial in September in front of the local tribunal of Ogulin, thus under Croatian jurisdiction; some 60 people were condemned to prison, among them a few women, with sentences of 8 days to one month.¹⁸⁰

But Croatian demonstrations did not always aim at Hungarians. Italians were also attacked because they were seen as local allies of the Hungarians and as oppressors of the Slavs for their role in Trieste. In September 1907, a gathering of the *Sokol* in Volosca led to serious troubles in Fiume. The delegates landed at Porto Baross on the Croatian side of the port in order to reach Sušak where the local *Sokol* awaited them; most were peaceful, but a few, apparently Dalmatian sailors, began marching, singing the *Sokol* anthem, and shouting slogans like "*porchi italiani*" (Italian pigs). Since it was Sunday, the *Riva* was crowded with people and a confrontation with the Italians was inevitable. The most violent encounter took place at the Café Panaschoff although the owner had just closed its doors. The police had not prepared and were quickly overwhelmed, but eventually they were able to arrest around thirty *Fiumani*, who were released the same evening. The army was called to restore order when the troubles reached Sušak during the night, an indication that the Italians were not innocent victims but went to avenge themselves so that the place was "under siege" (*piccolo stato d'assedio a Sussak*) according to *La Voce del Popolo*.¹⁸¹

Confrontation in the streets was also caused by social unrest. Apart from the May Day processions and meetings, the Social Democratic Party regularly organized demonstrations. Until 1907, in Cisleithania these were to demand the introduction of universal suffrage, and after that for its extension to all types of elections. But the demonstrations also took the form of protest at the occasion of strikes demanding better living conditions, salaries, and working hours. In Transleithania the Social Democrats continued to demand universal suffrage as well as better working conditions. The transnational conception of Social Democracy and its resolute faithfulness to Austro-Marxism was considered by the national activists as treason to the national cause, which

178 *Magyar Tengerpart*, no. 108, May 15, 1903.

179 *Magyar Tengerpart*, no. 114, May 23, 1903.

180 *Magyar Tengerpart*, no. 196, September 2, 1903.

181 "I gravi disordini di domenica per l'arrivo dei ginnasti croati," *La Voce del popolo*, no. 6463, September 3, 1907.

sometimes led to fights between Social Democrats and nationalists. Such was the case in Zagreb in November 1908, when workers demonstrated against censorship. During the night “red legionaries” confronted “black legionaries,” activists of the Starčević party united under the organization called Croatian national legion (*Hrvatska narodna legija*). The police arrested ten people, among them one member of the “black” legion whom they found in the possession of a revolver.¹⁸² It seems that every Social Democratic demonstration ended with some provocation on the part of the militants of the Party of the Right or those belonging to the rival Real Right’s Party. In 1909 a meeting was held by the Social Democrats to protest the policies of mayor Milan Amruš,¹⁸³ who was accused of spending for “luxury institutions and entertainment” and thus letting the prices of wheat and other staple foods rise beyond reasonable limits. Local Social Democratic leader Vilim Bukšeg also deplored the lack of workers’ houses, and another speaker personally attacked the mayor and the Starčević party. The demonstration ended quietly but afterwards there were riots when members of the Real Right’s Party provoked the Socialists.¹⁸⁴

However, the main Socialist demonstrations happened in more industrialized towns. One of the most violent took place in Trieste where unrest was normally caused by nationalist demonstrations. The police were used to these troubles and trained to react quickly and were often accused of brutality by all parties. The “bloody” Valentine’s Day of February 14, 1902, was the climax of a strike that had started at the Lloyd shipyards at the beginning of the month. The demands of the workers seem to have been reasonable, but the administration refused to negotiate. The strike quickly spread, and the administration of the company had to call the Navy to restore order in the port, and appealed to Greek workers to break the strike.¹⁸⁵ To protest against this a general strike was called for February 13 and a demonstration took place on the next day.¹⁸⁶ The Socialists mobilized their members so that a crowd of approximately 6,500 people from various parts of the town gathered on the *Corso*. The demonstration was brutally repressed by the police, but the troubles lasted until Sunday February 16 and degenerated into various acts of vandalism. The violence was also caused by young rioters from the “*Mularia*,” a local group of restless youth comparable to the Paris Apaches: they were children of first-generation migrants

182 “Demonstracije,” *Narodne Novine*, no. 260, November 10, 1908.

183 He was elected for a first mandate in 1890–92 and was again mayor in 1904–1912.

184 “Volksversammlung,” *Agramer Zeitung*, no. 140, June 22, 1909.

185 Maderthaner, “Urbane Lebenswelten,” 531.

186 Botteri, *Trieste 1868–1918*, 199.

from the countryside relegated to the *territorio* who felt excluded from the city.¹⁸⁷ There were 14 dead, among them one policeman, some fifty wounded, and many arrests. The event caused an enormous shock in the city because of the extreme violence and children and women were among the wounded.¹⁸⁸ Governor Count Goëss called the 97th Infantry Regiment and the Navy to restore order¹⁸⁹ and a state of emergency was declared, the publication of newspapers was suspended, and a curfew was imposed;¹⁹⁰ a proclamation from the governor said that the city was considered to be in a state of rebellion.¹⁹¹ Meanwhile the Lloyd had decided to accept the demands of the workers.

Lemberg was not as industrialized as Trieste and at the beginning of the twentieth century the majority of its 25,000 workers were employed in small workshops.¹⁹² However, there were two Social Democratic parties (Polish and Ruthenian), and from 1892 a Jewish Social Democratic party that succeeded in rallying Jewish workers for whom Zionism remained an intellectual (and German) movement.¹⁹³ Yet, in June 1902 there was a demonstration that immediately found an echo in the Triestine press when it ended in violence. A debate raged about the consequences of the demonstration, and *L'indipendente* was shocked at the different treatment given the victims in Lemberg; they were honored with a solemn funeral and their families were given immediate financial support from the state, unlike in Trieste where the municipality was left alone to deal with the solidarity fund. They interpreted this as proof that the government was partial to Galicia and considered it more important than Trieste. This argument was purely political, as it overlooked the gap between the two cities in terms of economic potential and wealth.¹⁹⁴

The other mass political movement was Christian Socialism, which attained very different levels of success in the various cities. Its Hungarian version was the Catholic People's Party (*Katolikus Néppárt*), but it was practically absent from the multicultural cities where the diversity of confessions and nationalities made it difficult for such a party to gain ground; the same could be said for eastern Hungary as a whole because of its local Protestant dominance. Even in

187 Maderthaner, "Urbane Lebenswelten," 533.

188 "Tamni dnevi v Trstu" [Dark days in Trieste], *Novi List*, no. 112, February 22, 1902.

189 *L'osservatore triestino*, no. 36, February 13, 1902.

190 *Diario Triestino 1815–1915*, 22.

191 *L'osservatore triestino*, no. 37 (special edition), 16 February 1902.

192 Christoph Mick, "Nationalisierung in einer multiethnischen Stadt: Interethnische Konflikte in Lemberg 1890–1920," *Archiv für Sozialgeschichte* 40 (2000): 122.

193 Shanes, *Diaspora Nationalism and Jewish Identity in Habsburg Galicia*, 103.

194 "La differenza tra Leopoli e Trieste," *L'indipendente*, no. 8650, June 4, 1902.

a Catholic stronghold like Szabadka the party was not able to achieve meaningful results. It was more powerful and influential in Pozsony where it was able to publish a daily newspaper only one year after the foundation of the party in 1895. But it was a German-speaking one, a fact that immediately raised the question of the attitude of the party toward multiculturalism. Theoretically, a Catholic party should have been as transnational—or more precisely universal—as Social Democracy, and indeed in Pozsony the party seems to have had a real concern for the Slovaks, in part because given the presence of political rivals, it was in the party's best interest not to alienate the Slavic minority. The party could also count on its semi-official daily, the *Preßburger Tagblatt*. In the atmosphere of the debates concerning the secularization of marriage in 1895, the paper often accused the government of leading a *Kulturkampf*, pointing out the fact that many of its members were Protestants. The Independence Party and the Socialists were not treated any better. Immediately after its creation in Pozsony the Catholic party endeavored to integrate into associative life, and the preexisting (1894) Association of Catholic Women Workers (*Verein katholischer Arbeiterinnen*) was put under the control of the party. Archduchess Isabella, who was the leading aristocratic personality of the town, became the patroness of the association.¹⁹⁵ The party followed the line of its Austrian counterpart and was extremely loyal to the dynasty, and thus sometimes came into conflict with its Hungarian homologue. In the *Preßburger Tagblatt* Hungarian national dates such as March 15 and October 6 were duly commemorated although they represented moments of anti-Habsburg feeling. Concerning local politics, the party was at odds with the municipal council because of the project to expropriate the archbishop's palace for the town hall, which it felt would mean "the abolition of the Catholic character of our city." The paper appealed to the imperial family and to the king himself, but none intervened and the palace was soon transformed to accommodate the town hall.¹⁹⁶ Consequently the party considered itself and the Hungarian Catholics to be persecuted; apart from being directly attacked by the government, the Catholic faith was threatened by "Social Democracy, Liberalism, Freemasonry, the church robbers and the free-thinkers who sweep down on us."¹⁹⁷

One element was absent from the list but implicit: the Jews were considered to be behind all of those categories. But anti-Semitism was a delicate business

195 *Preßburger Tagblatt*, no. 14, April 16, 1896. The archducal couple, who sponsored a number of Catholic associations, was considered by many in Pozsony as the "local court."

196 "Das Primatialpalais und die Clique!," *Preßburger Tagblatt*, no. 2081, March 5, 1902.

197 "Katholiken Ungarns!," *Preßburger Tagblatt*, no. 4190, March 10, 1905.

in Pozsony: the city was simultaneously one of the few places where anti-Jewish riots had occurred in 1848 and a capital of Jewish Orthodoxy, where liberal and assimilated Jews were also numerous. Although on the way to assimilation to the Hungarian nation, many of them were still attached to the German language. Thus, the local leadership of the Catholic People's Party was cautious and refrained from the kind of diatribes that were common elsewhere. Nevertheless, soon after its creation the party's organ clearly expressed its opinion that the Jews lived as parasites on Christian society.¹⁹⁸ In the context of Pozsony, Freemasonry was much more problematic: given that it was prohibited in Cisleithania, Hungary became the refuge of Freemasons from all over the empire. Pozsony in particular became, thanks to its proximity to Vienna, home to many lodges and welcomed regularly important meetings of Austrian Freemasons. The Catholic party denounced what it called collusion between Freemasons and Jews at the occasion of the *Antifreimaurer-Congreß* which took place in Trento in September 1896.¹⁹⁹ The fact that Pozsony was the Hungarian capital of Freemasonry infuriated the *Pressburger Tagblatt*, and in January 1914 it published a list of the supposed members of the lodges: in two and a half columns were the names of doctors, veterinarians, teachers of every possible kind of school, attorneys, engineers, entrepreneurs, merchants, and even civil servants. Their leaders were exposed as János (Johann) Dach, teacher at the secondary girls' school, and Miksa Fejér, an attorney. Prominent names included the harbormaster Julius Garzuly, the town's chief doctor Dr. Edmund Mergl (a relative of former mayor Karl Mergl), and Emmerich Thalner, chairman of the *Bürgerverein* (*polgári kör*).²⁰⁰ The fact that an important part of the Pressburger elite belonged to Freemasonry was well-known, as many lodges were actually from Vienna, established under the patronage of the Great Hungarian Lodge, and their leaders were Austrian citizens generally living in Vienna. Yet, the most famous Hungarian lodge in Pozsony was the Fraternity (*Testvériség*) whose grand master was indeed Dach.²⁰¹

The party had to strengthen its organization and did so in 1908 by creating a new association, the *Katholischer Volksverein*. The constitutive general assembly was attended by speakers from Budapest, and the local chairman was a priest, Edmund Zandt. The particular multilingual situation of the town necessitated

198 "Der Juidismus in der Jurisdiktion," *Preßburger Tagblatt*, no. 69, June 13, 1896.

199 *Preßburger Tagblatt*, no. 176, October 2, 1896.

200 "Die Freimaurer Pozsony's," *Preßburger Tagblatt*, no. 6238, January 13, 1914.

201 Katarina Hradská, *Slobodomurárske lože v Bratislave* [Freemason lodges in Bratislava] (Bratislava: Marenčin PT, 2005), 55.

German, Hungarian and Slovak members, and speeches were given in these languages: the delegate of the central organization, attorney Julius Barántzky, addressed the assembly in Hungarian; István Rakovszky, vice chairman of the chamber of deputies and president of the association, spoke German; and both speeches were translated into Slovak by prelate Markovits.²⁰² At meetings in Pozsony, the party always offered speeches in Slovak, indicating that there must have been people able to understand and even maybe to ask for them, and a sign that the party was trying to gather as many forces as possible. Unlike in Central and Eastern Slovakia, most Pressburger Slovaks belonged to the Catholic faith. The growing industrialization of Pozsony was another factor taken into account by the party eager not to “lose” workers to Social Democracy. In fact, meetings of the Catholic party were frequently disturbed by Social Democrats as both struggled to gather workers regardless of their nationality. In 1905, there were at least two significant moments of this confrontation. On October 1, the Catholic workers organized a public meeting on Batthyány Square dealing with social reforms and suffrage which Socialists disturbed: they “whistled, shouted, howled, threatened with cudgels and wanted to fight.” The police intervened and arrested twelve workers and had to separate the groups so that the Catholics could go on with their meeting. Here again the speech made by the Budapest delegate was translated into Slovak, while the local leaders spoke Hungarian and German.²⁰³ In December the Social Democrats organized a meeting followed by a demonstration to demand universal suffrage, which the Catholics supported without openly taking part: the report made in the *Pressburger Tagblatt* is surprisingly positive and gives no sign of animosity. The paper admitted that the Socialists succeeded in mobilizing a crowd of six to seven thousand people who demonstrated orderly.²⁰⁴ The Slovak Social Democrats had a proper leader, Emanuel Lehocký (Lehoczky), to address them, thus there was no need to have speeches translated.

In Brünn the Christian Socialist movement was represented more among the Czechs than among the Germans. The latter were mostly Catholics but rallied increasingly to the Pan-German camp, while others were Lutherans and Jews who were not attracted to Christian Socialism. The paradox lies in the fact

202 *Preßburger Tagblatt*, no. 4266, May 28, 1908.

203 *Preßburger Tagblatt*, no. 3334, October 2, 1905.

204 “Eine Demonstration für das allgemeine Wahlrecht,” *Preßburger Tagblatt*, no. 3402, December 11, 1905. On the threat to the public order posed by the Socialists, see Claire Morelon, “Respectable Citizens: Civic Militias, Local Patriotism, and Social Order in Late Habsburg Austria (1890–1920),” *Austrian History Yearbook* 51 (2020): 204–5.

that Austrian Christian Socialism, personified by Vienna's mayor Karl Lueger, was virulently anti-Czech, making it easy for other Czech political currents to stigmatize their Catholic compatriots as being "at the service of the German feudal lords."²⁰⁵ They attacked the clerical paper *Hlas* (The Voice) and presented them as being manipulated by Brünn's bishop Franz Bauer, who was actually a loyal partisan of utraquism. The debate between national activists and clericals was consistent in Brünn from the end of the 1870s, and the arguments did not change much.²⁰⁶ The nationalist press urged the Czechs not to give money to the church but to the national cause, yet the network of Catholic associations was powerful and included the Cyril and Methodius Savings Bank and other organizations. In 1896, an association of Catholic teachers (*Katolický spolek českého učitelstva na Moravě*) was founded where both genders were represented.²⁰⁷ Ten years later an association dedicated to workers was founded in Brünn, the Catholic union of the Czech workers in Moravia (*Katolický spolek českého rolnictva na Moravě*), chaired by the bishop and openly linked to the Christian Social Party.²⁰⁸ *Hlas* was close to the party but sometimes distanced itself as far as anti-Semitism was concerned. It was indeed clerical but was more the expression of the national Catholic political current and more rural. Hence both *Hlas* and the Catholic union had to form an alliance to recruit candidates running for the elections at the *Landtag*, however, this alliance did not last long.²⁰⁹ An official organ of Christian Socialism, *Den* (The Day), was created in Brünn in 1912, which made clear in its first editorial that it intended to speak for the Moravian (and Silesian) Catholics.²¹⁰ More original was its Czechoslovak orientation for it regularly mentioned the association of Czechoslovak Christian Workers (*sdržení křesťanského dělnictva československého*), which it encouraged its readers to join. Its anti-Semitism was remarkable, ranging from the classical forms to the hostility toward modern art being a Jewish "work of the devil" (*dílo ďáblů*).²¹¹ Later the paper attacked the state, the aristocracy, and the church leaders for having "invited" the Jews and being the hostages of "Jewish

205 "Ve službách německých feudálů" [At the service of the German feudal lords], *Lidové Noviny*, no. 161, July 16, 1902.

206 "Vyrovnační program 'Hlasu'" [The compromise program of "Hlas"], *Moravská Orlice*, no. 127, June 4, 1879.

207 *Hlas*, no. 34, August 24, 1906.

208 *Hlas*, no. 16, April 20, 1906.

209 *Hlas*, no. 50, December 14, 1906.

210 *Den*, no. 1, March 1, 1912.

211 "Žide proti eucharistickému sjezdu" [The Jews against the Eucharistic congress], *Den*, no. 18, March 23, 1912.

policies.”²¹² The party could count on specific organizations such as a savings bank that gathered smaller savings associations (*Křesť.-sociální organizace živnostnictva československého založena*) located in various towns of Moravia.²¹³ The political activity was performed by the Syndicate Association of Christian Workers (*Všeodborového sdružení křesťanského dělnictva*) founded in July 1902. The chairman was Prof. Jan Šrámek, a theologian who was at the head of nearly all Christian Socialist associations.²¹⁴ The movement created its own gymnastics association *Orel* (Eagle) in order to compete with the *Sokol*, which was considered anti-clerical and which its members were forbidden from joining.²¹⁵

WOMEN AND POLITICAL EMANCIPATION

Women were still outsiders in city politics because of their inability to vote. In the category of landowners, women had been able to vote at the *Reichsrat* and *Landtag* elections through a proxy, while female owners of shops or businesses (mostly widows) could also vote in the category of the commerce and industry chambers.²¹⁶ This practice was common in Austria as well as in Hungary.²¹⁷ This was not possible in municipal elections where the woman had to be represented by her husband, but in this case only one vote was counted. The implementation of universal male suffrage in Austria suppressed the *Wahlkurien* and consequently the possibility for women to vote through this particular regulation. Suffragettes made themselves heard during demonstrations demanding universal suffrage and there were also specific meetings dedicated to women’s right to vote. There were also some examples of women candidates for the *Landtag* elections in Bohemia and Galicia, but their subsequent election results were voided.²¹⁸ In many towns Jewish women were at the head of the movement; in Hungary, the majority of feminist activists were Jewish. They toured the country to advocate for emancipation through access to secondary schools, university, work, and suffrage. One of them was Vilma Glücklich,

²¹² “Židovská politika” [Jewish politics], *Den*, no. 59, May 12, 1912.

²¹³ *Den*, no. 65, May 21, 1912.

²¹⁴ *Den*, no. 150, September 3, 1912.

²¹⁵ *Křesťanský Sociál*, 1913, 51.

²¹⁶ Birgitta Bader-Zaar, “Frauenbewegungen und Frauenwahlrecht,” in *Die Habsburgermonarchie 1848–1918*, vol. 8/1, *Politische Öffentlichkeit und Zivilgesellschaft: Vereine, Parteien und Interessenverbände als Träger der politischen Partizipation*, ed. Helmut Rumpler and Peter Urbanitsch, 1010–11.

²¹⁷ Zimmermann, “Frauenbewegungen und Frauenbestrebungen im Königreich Ungarn,” 1458–59.

²¹⁸ Bader-Zaar, “Frauenbewegungen und Frauenwahlrecht,” 1021.

who was one of the leaders of the Hungarian feminist movement and visited Nagyvárad in 1906 before coming to Arad in 1909. Her lecture there was made possible by the Private Employees' Association (*Magántisztviselők Egyesülete*), leading to a lively debate on women's right to vote with chairman Zsigmond Várady, who disagreed with her arguments. The Social Democratic journalist reporting on the lecture, however, did agree with her and wrote that the feminist movement had nothing to do with "the entertainment of noble women," and thus the movement should take proletarian women into account.²¹⁹

In the following years, Nagyvárad became one of the most significant "feminist" towns.²²⁰ The organization of the movement was taken over by the wife of Gyula Huzella, president of the Chamber of Commerce. From 1909 on, Mrs. Huzella regularly organized lectures on the topic of women's emancipation together with a certain Mrs. Péter Ágoston. One such debate was on March 21, 1909, reported in *Nagyvárad*. Although Huzella based her arguments on the cultural and educational role of women rather than their political rights, the event still led to a "stormy debate" when one woman from the audience expressed her view that emancipation was a "utopia," while a man argued against women's right to vote by pointing to women's traditional role as wives and mothers. They were both rebutted by a real feminist, Irén Wohl, who called for equal rights to be quickly enforced.²²¹ Lectures on feminism continued, sometimes held by other associations like the Darwin Circle (*Darwin-kör*) in September 1912: then the guest was Mariska Gárdos and among the debaters was again Ms. Wohl, along with Szeréna Rigó.²²² As a young socialist women's leader, Gárdos was touring Hungary at the time on behalf of the Social Democratic Party. As she relates in her memoirs, journalists commenting on the meetings had to admit that the lectures she gave were characterized by "the flow of ideas and not frivolity."²²³ It seems that Mrs. Huzella ultimately became convinced of the necessity to fight for political rights, too, for in 1914 she created the Nagyvárad Association of Feminists

219 *Nagyvárad Munkás Ujság* [Nagyvárad Workers' Paper], no. 53, December 30, 1906.

220 On women in Nagyvárad, see the memoirs edited by Magda Sebők, *Egy váradai úrilány: Benda Gyuláné Imrik Margit emlékezései* [A noble woman from Nagyvárad: The memoirs of Margit Imrik, wife of Gyula Benda] (Budapest: Noran, 2006).

221 *Nagyvárad*, no. 68, March 23, 1909.

222 *Nagyvárad*, no. 225, September 29, 1912.

223 "A cikkíró többek között elmondta, hogy az eszmények sodra és nem frivolitás hozta össze a két előadót." She had already given a lecture in Nagyvárad in 1905 of which she recalls that Endre Ady wrote about in *Szabadság*. Mariska Gárdos, *Száz harcú élet* [A Hundred Battles Life] (Budapest: Szépirodalmi Könyvkiadó, 1975), 71.

(*Feministák Nagyváradai Egyesülete*), of which she was elected chairwoman. The rest of the board was composed of women who were already known for their involvement in the cause: Mrs. Ágoston as vice chairwoman and Szeréna Rigó as secretary. They represented the local progressive elite and there was no social critique in their endeavor.

Even in a relatively “backward” city like Szabadka there was some interest in the question of women’s emancipation. In September 1908, the town hosted a lecture by Rózsa Schwimmer, who came at the invitation of the local women’s associations and spoke mainly in favor of better access to intellectual professions.²²⁴ At this time she was already a renowned feminist and pacifist. Born to a wealthy Jewish family in 1877 in Budapest, she was one of the founders of the National Association of Women Clerks (*Nőtisztviselők Országos Egyesülete*) and its chairwoman from 1901 on. In this framework she worked together with Vilma Glücklich as a “suffragette,” and was the editor of the journal *A Nő és a Társadalom* (Woman and Society).²²⁵ Schwimmer belonged to the “radical” wing of the movement demanding immediate universal suffrage for both genders, whereas some other women leaders preferred gradual access to suffrage, with men first and then women, arguing that the situation was not yet favorable for women to vote. This divide also ran through the Social Democratic Party so that Schwimmer and Glücklich preferred to create their own organization, *Feministák Egyesülete*, which became a member of the International Women’s Suffrage Alliance.²²⁶ As a sign of the Hungarian women’s activity, the 1913 congress was held in Budapest, by which time they had succeeded in rallying women of the aristocracy to their cause, bridging the gap between traditional charity and political activism.²²⁷

In Cisleithania as well many leaders of women’s associations turned from charity to politics.²²⁸ The debate on the emancipation of women bears to some extent the same features as the one on Jews’ emancipation in that education and “civilization” were to be the prerequisites to emancipation. Women’s

224 *Szabadkai Friss Ujság*, September 11, 1908.

225 At the end of World War I, she went into active politics as a delegate of the Hungarian National Council to Switzerland, but her mission was not successful. Opposed to both the Red and the White Terror in 1919–1920 she left Hungary to the United States where she died in 1948.

226 Zimmermann, “Frauenbewegungen und Frauenbestrebungen im Königreich Ungarn,” 1377.

227 *Ibid.*, 1468. See also Judith Szapor, “Sisters or Foes: The Shifting Front Lines of the Hungarian Women’s Movement 1896–1918,” in *Women’s Emancipation Movements in the Nineteenth Century*, ed. Sylvia Paletschek and Bianka Pietrow-Ennker, 189–205.

228 Heidrun Zettelbauer, “Die Liebe sei Euer Heldentum”: *Geschlecht und Nation in völkischen Vereinen der Habsburgermonarchie* (Frankfurt/Main: Campus-Verlag, 2005).

claims were mocked by men and were one of the favorite topics of the satirical press. In the lectures held on the subject, access to higher education was considered the key factor. The first female university students were a sensation; they began to enter the universities at the very end of the century, mainly in the faculties of philosophy and medicine. It was more remarkable in a small town like Czernowitz where in 1905 the first woman to obtain a doctorate was celebrated as a pioneer. Clementine Marie Hankiewicz was trained at the local gymnasium where she achieved *Matura* in 1900 and then went on to study the typical combination of German studies (*Germanistik*) and history at the Czernowitz University. At the beginning of 1905, she passed the exam to become a teacher (*Lehramtsprüfung*).²²⁹ The public defense of her dissertation was attended by a largely female audience, in front of which dean Theodor Tarnawski praised Ms. Hankiewicz's achievement as "progress." He also rewarded himself as "a warm friend of female education" and wished for her example to be followed by many other young women.²³⁰

In other towns the women's struggle for equal rights was expressed by the Social Democrats. In this respect it was also transnational. In Brünn the division of the party into Czech and German units was first a male decision; the women's section remained an utraquist association longer because there were not yet enough members. At the occasion of a meeting organized in July 1894 on Winterholler Square, women were represented and even invited to speak, and just like their male comrades they did it in both languages: Ms. Kubala in German and Ms. Pávková in Czech.²³¹ The Czech socialists of Brünn tried to rally the women to their cause, and the wife of one of their leaders, Mrs. Krapková, held a lecture in December 1894 in which she deplored the insufficient engagement of women in the party.²³² Her husband Josef Krapka was the chief editor of the local Czech Social Democratic newspaper *Rovnost* (Equality) in which women's emancipation was a regular topic.²³³ The cause transcended the political scene and women's suffrage was also on the agenda of the *Freie politische Frauenorganisation* that organized a national demonstration in March 1911 in which the Social Democrats also participated. Yet, the latter regularly insisted that they were the main advocates of women's rights, for example at

229 *Czernowitzer Tagblatt*, no. 730, July 9, 1905.

230 *Bukowinaer Rundschau*, no. 4834, July 11, 1905.

231 "Massen-Meeting am Winterhollerplatz," *Volksfreund*, no. 31, August 2, 1894.

232 *Volksfreund*, no. 50, December 13, 1894.

233 He left Brünn in 1900 for Vienna and was later nominated as candidate of the party in Olmütz (Olomouc).

May Day meetings; at the 1911 demonstration women were particularly well represented and comrade Skauničová was among the speakers at the morning meeting in the *Arbeiterheim*.²³⁴ That year was one of the last times when Germans and Czechs remained together for the entertainment part of the day. Czech women supported the split of the party, which remained their ally along with the Socialist-Nationals and the Progressists, while the women affiliated with other Czech parties tended to be more nationalist than feminist.²³⁵ On the German side, women created the *Brünner Frauenstimmrechtskomitee* headed by Leonore Sinaiberger, which cooperated with the namesake Czech organization Moravian Union for Women's Right to Vote (*Moravský svaz pro volební právo žen*) on campaigns for women's suffrage at the Diet elections of 1913.²³⁶

In Lemberg, too, Socialism was the leading force behind the demand for women's right to vote. As soon as male universal suffrage was obtained, the party demanded equality for women, and in June 1907 they organized a meeting at the Pedagogic Association to rally for that purpose. Jewish women were over-represented on the panel of invited speakers. The party also expressed the wish to see more women employed as civil servants by the municipality. According to the report made by *Gazeta Narodowa*, the room was packed, and the audience was enthusiastic about the "progress."²³⁷ Women's solidarity was obvious two years later when a demonstration of some 200 Polish, Jewish and Ruthenian suffragettes gathered in front of the Diet (*Sejm*). Two delegates were let in by the police and were thus able to hand over a petition demanding women's suffrage.²³⁸

By participating in political activity—by taking part in demonstrations along with men or with their own agenda, either national or social—women escaped their traditional roles in charity associations. This phenomenon contributed to the growing diversity of the city's political landscape where in addition to national and religious groups, women also aimed to influence the leadership. Yet, women showed that they were capable of going beyond national division notwithstanding the efforts made by the nationalists to convince them of the need to act as "patriots." The pragmatism of women and their late arrival on the national field made them a target for both nationalists and

234 "Maifeier," *Volksfreund*, no. 35, May 2, 1911.

235 Malečková, "The Emancipation of Women for the Benefit of the Nation," 182.

236 Bader-Zaar, "Frauenbewegungen und Frauenwahlrecht," 1021.

237 "Wiec kobiet 'postepowych'" [The affair of the "progressive" women], *Gazeta Narodowa*, no. 132, June 12, 1907.

238 *Gazeta Narodowa*, no. 93, April 22, 1913.

socialists, not to speak of religious leaders who wanted to confine them to home and church. These examples show that there was still some room for transnational elements in the city. Moreover, *Stadtpatriotismus* was still an important factor determining the town's politics in the regional and national context. Scholarly discussion about the real influence of the activists on the population focuses on two main arguments: people were showing more indifference than adhesion to national goals; and national conflict was indeed increasing and becoming an everyday reality. The conflict was at its peak during election campaigns, which were relatively frequent given of the three levels of administration in Austria (*Reichsrat*, *Landtag*, municipality), and to a lesser degree in Hungary (with elections only at national and municipal levels). The press was particularly active in those times, but we should not overestimate its influence; on the contrary, the virulence of some articles shows that citizens were not responding appropriately to what was expected in terms of "national" discipline. The reduced access to suffrage also kept people from being interested in politics. The demonstrations—apart from some exceptions like Brünn in 1905—were rarely supported by the majority of inhabitants, more often they expressed the frustration of smaller minorities. They might have attracted curiosity, but in many cases were merely occasions for violence on the part of excluded members of society. Faced with growing national conflicts, local authorities sought to unite the populace through dynastic or provincial patriotism, and it seems that there was still enough room for both expressions.

Sharing the City

At the end of the nineteenth century many people in cities were still of recent origin and had trouble identifying with the city they lived in. Their ability to identify was further hindered by the denial of political participation and by social and national discrimination. One can therefore question the patriotism of the land, for one could argue that it was only the expression of educated people. Still, since the majority of newcomers originated in the immediate neighborhood, identification with the city as regional capital was rooted in the collective consciousness. Thus, the city was not foreign to the migrants; neither religious nor linguistic isolation awaited them for there were already existing communities which they could join. The appropriation of space was rapid and facilitated by the presence of landmarks shared by all members of the community (churches, schools, and cultural associations). Some of them were historical buildings pointing to the ancient multicultural character of the town, and serving as a justification of its diversity, and an explanation of its attraction. Hence city patriotism was not only the privilege of the majority and could equally be expressed by minorities, who considered themselves equally legitimate inhabitants as the old town's burghers. The "struggle" for the city was also a fight to define the town as an open and shared space.

The necessity to build buildings representing one's community contributed to the appropriation of the city by the new inhabitants. By doing so they not only affirmed their linguistic and religious presence in the town as a challenge to the majority, but also showed that they had adopted the city as their own. The "character" of the city that was so often mentioned in the publications issued by the majority—Germans in Brünn, Italians in Trieste, Poles in Lemberg—was disputed by the minority who claimed that it had been an element of the city landscape for as long as the majority. City patriotism was therefore not solely the prerogative of the majority. It was combined by *Landespatritismus* as soon as the town was the capital of the province, or county in

the case of Hungary. In this case all communities were proud of the city as representing an important center for political and cultural activities. Czechs in Brünn were certainly aware of the successes achieved by their compatriots in Prague but at the same time they were Moravian patriots eager to promote and develop their city, eventually in opposition to the Bohemian capital. Even if the situation of the Slovenes in Trieste was that of a discriminated minority, they were conscious of being inhabitants of an industrial metropolis that was much more attractive than Laibach. For the Ruthenians, there was no other city comparable to Lemberg that they could consider as their capital, but they were actually somewhat better treated in Czernowitz, generating a competition for Ruthenian representation throughout Galicia and Bucovina. In Czernowitz and Sarajevo, the “colonial” dimension given to the administration of the province created a specific patriotic discourse subsumed by the dynasty and representations of Austria. This, however, did not eliminate the other forms of patriotism of the land that coexisted more or less peacefully alongside it, and in the case of Sarajevo preceded it.

THE DIMENSIONS OF CITY PATRIOTISM

City pride rested on many aspects, from the landscape to the urban space and prominent personalities. The environment was an important element of local pride, and the hills, rivers, and pleasant surroundings enabling excursions constituted attractions that were praised as soon as touristic guides began to be published. The development of industry was counterbalanced by the discovery of the virtues of fresh air and sound waters. Some cities in particular advertised the quality and beauty of their location, like Czernowitz with its surrounding hills and the Prut River, and Brünn where the discourse on forests—to which Germans and Czechs alike travelled on Sunday excursions—drew attention away from the many factories. In Pozsony, the Danube was the main landmark of the city, which also prided itself on its woods where beer gardens and restaurants provided rest for hikers. In Trieste and Fiume, seaside resorts were created in the vicinity to accommodate the local bourgeoisie, like Grado, Portorose (Portorož), and Abbazia (Opatija), which also attracted tourists from all over the monarchy and became economic assets.¹

¹ Renate Basch-Ritter, *Die k.u.k. Riviera: Nostalgische Erinnerungen an die altösterreichischen Küstenländer, an idyllische Seebäder und mondänes Strandleben, an die Winterstationen und Sommerparadiese an der Adria* (Vienna: Pichler, 2002).



Figure 8.1. The Svatka River at the Schreibwald (Pisárky) district of Brno, 1905.
Source: Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, AKON – Ansichtskarten Online, AK053_569.

In the advertising of the time these were coupled with the nearby city, adding to its popularity.

What constituted a “beautiful city” was defined in various ways, but the landscape was considered a neutral element and could therefore be shared by all groups. City guides were published in German in order to attract visitors from throughout the monarchy and abroad. Local editions were also issued, and in Brno there were as many German as Czech guides, which more or less praised the same characteristics of the town; the same was true in Pozsony, where guides were published in German and Hungarian, and Fiume, where Hungarian publishers provided Hungarian and Italian guides.² In such books the toponymy was adapted to the language, thus giving the impression that totally different cities existed on the same spot. Most publishing houses actually produced books in whatever language their clients demanded, as their rotary presses were equipped with all the necessary diacritic characters.

Aside from the natural features, two aspects of the urban space itself contributed to local pride: historical and/or important buildings, and elements

² See for Brno in German: Rudolf Hanák, *Die königliche Landeshauptstadt Brno und die Umgebung* (Brno: Rohrer, 1880); in Czech: Frantisek I. Bauer, *Brno* (Telč: Emil Scholz, 1892). The publishing house W. Burkart edited the *Führer durch Brno und Umgebung* in German in 1909 and 1913 as well as the Czech *Průvodce Brnem a okolím* [Guide through Brno and its surroundings] first issued by Winkler in 1893 and then edited under the same title by Burkart in 1907 and 1912.

of modernity. To the first category belonged the construction of prestigious town halls that were powerful factors of identification but served primarily to enhance the leadership of the majority. Citizens were also proud of historical sites such as older churches, bishop's residences, fortresses, and castles, some of them well known beyond the borders of the town, such as the Spielberg in Brünn or the coronation church in Pozsony. They delineated public space and were prominent on postcards, which were becoming a popular means of advertising a city's image.³ Many new buildings were also chosen as the subjects of postcards to shape the city's image. The postcard had become a popular form of communication, transmitting national discourse through the depiction of historical sites, heroes, and exhibitions. But this message was also used to foster dynastic and transnational identity through the same motifs: Habsburg personalities, historical moments, and celebrations.

There was an undeniable trend towards the marketing of towns as multicultural places—at least towards the exterior world—that led to the depiction of various churches and synagogues in order to make an asset of diversity. The capacity to show new, large, and modern buildings was also an indicator of wealth and growth. The main buildings built as landmarks of development were systematically photographed and put on the cover of guides and books about the history of the town. These were primarily cultural symbols, to begin with the theater; also popular were *Ring* streets and parks that were put forward to show that urban planning was at work in the city. Most political buildings such as the seat of the local government, Diet, and town hall were generally older palaces restructured to house these institutions and were not always seen as emblems of the new era. Buildings with a distinctly “national” character were not depicted unless they belonged to the majority group like the *Deutsches Haus* in Brünn and the *Kultúrpalota* in Arad. However, images of Czernowitz had no problem depicting the German house next to the Jewish one, to be fair, Jews were largely seen as German-speaking.

The second aspect was the vectors of modernity: railway stations and tramways. As soon as the tramway was introduced to a city, a postcard would appear showing a carriage crossing one of the main squares. The *nec plus ultra* was to take a picture of the tramway in front of the train station. These two symbols of progress were the proof of the town's entry into the modern age. The image of a town also rested on sanitary conditions, canalization, access to drinkable

3 Rudolf Jaworski, *Deutsche und tschechische Ansichten: Kollektive Identifikationsangebote auf Bildpostkarten in der späten Habsburgermonarchie* (Innsbruck: Studien-Verlag, 2006).

water, and tidiness. The creation of modern health institutions was also seen as an achievement to be proud of, and hospitals, orphanages, and specialized schools for deaf-mute and blind children were inaugurated by the local elite and representatives of all confessions. Charity was both a distinct feature of each confession and a transnational phenomenon supported by the authorities who were thus relieved of financing such institutions.

Cultural and technical achievements were assessed not only according to their absolute value but also in comparison to those of rival towns. City patriotism was in this respect based on being different and “special.” The press tirelessly argued for the necessity of achieving equivalent if not better results as the rival. When there was a competition for the establishment of institutions or facilities, the central authorities were systematically accused of favoring the other town. The choice of the third university in Hungary was a particular moment of this competition, with cities using every possible argument from the national makeup to the existence of urban facilities. In the case of irredentist movements, their exponents also looked to cities across the borders where they generally encountered less developed structures. Thus, Romanians tended to compare their cities with others in Transylvania rather than in Romania proper; similarly, the Serbs of Szabadka compared their experiences with Újvidék (Novi Sad) rather than with Serbian towns. The competition between Trieste and Fiume, which now seems to have been disproportionate given the difference between the two cities in economic significance, shows that city patriotism was constructed less with quantitative facts (size, industry, finance, and results of sea trade) than with aspects of urban planning, and the cultural and political agenda. The image of the town made out of these elements was supposed to appeal to citizens as well as visitors, investors, and national decision-makers. The local elites were the bearers and defenders of city patriotism and were constantly under pressure from the local press to achieve more.

The historical sites of the city were another element of common heritage. They were represented by buildings—mainly churches—belonging to the various confessions, or, to use Pierre Nora’s term, by “places of memory.” The patriotism of the majority was reinforced by castles and palaces justifying their domination over the minority(ies). City patriotism was constructed by these layers of memory, which were shared by the citizens. The fact that Pozsony had been a coronation place was celebrated by Austrians as well as by Hungarians. Temesvár as the capital of the recovered Banat was equally a place of memory for Germans, Hungarians, Romanians, and Serbs, with their corresponding representative buildings. In Lemberg, many buildings were associated with the

former Polish kingdom and therefore passed to the next generations as components of local and national pride, though this was also true for Ruthenians, as shown in the example of Saint George Cathedral.⁴ Buildings and places of memory were combined with the memory of famous figures and heroes who originated from the town, worked there, or otherwise marked its history. They were commemorated by statues, memorials of various kinds, and plaques that added to the city's fame. In this respect as well, there was a shared practice of memorialization, and each group had its own pantheon. These figures from the town's past were sometimes appropriated by the entire city regardless of their "nationality," since many of them had lived before the "invention of tradition"; more frequently, however, they were monopolized by the majority, who incorporated them into their own narrative of the *genius loci*. This allowed the leading group to proclaim their national cause to be the "best" choice for the town. Such a discourse was obvious in Brünn and Lemberg, as well as in most Hungarian towns.

CELEBRATING THE CITY

City patriotism found one of its expressions in the celebrations of anniversaries related to the town's history and the commemorations of local events and personalities. Religious festivities were also moments of pride when eminent visitors came to the town; though they concerned just one community, they were occasions of gatherings and animated the city. Occasionally, a coincidence of the Catholic, Orthodox, and Jewish liturgical calendars enabled all the citizens to celebrate Easter/Passover simultaneously. Pastoral visits of bishops and archbishops as well as religious commemorations such as the Constantine festivities of October 1913 gave the impetus to construct churches and were occasions of large gatherings. Citizens belonging to other confessions had no reason to feel estranged by this agitation since they could also benefit from it: visitors were also customers. People were used to multiconfessional life, and newspapers mentioned the religious calendars of each faith and described the respective festivities. The city took pride in the inauguration of new churches, which was seen as progress in terms of urbanization and an element in the competition with neighboring towns. Thus, the competition

4 Anna-Veronika Wendland, "Lemberg und Wilna als multiple Erinnerungsorte," in *Verflochtene Erinnerungen: Polen und seine Nachbarn im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*, ed. Martin Aust, Krzysztof Ruchniewicz and Stefan Troebst (Cologne: Böhlau, 2009), 50–51.

for visibility between religious communities affected a town's image toward the exterior world. As already mentioned, confessional and linguistic diversity was often proclaimed by the authorities as a positive characteristic of the city and these components were put forward in the production of postcards and other representations of religious buildings.

Yet, religious celebrations were not indigenous creations and depended upon other factors that were not entirely in the control of the city, so the city had to "invent" its own calendar of commemorations. The development of local history writing was a crucial tool for "inventing tradition," though it was often an instrument in the hands of the dominating group, who tried to justify their hegemony by asserting historical primacy. Local historians tended to ignore or reduce the presence and role of "others," and no real transnational or—in the case of Brünn—utraquist historiography was produced. Local personalities were "nationalized" in order to fit the dominant discourse of the city's history. The alternative was dynastic history writing, which exalted the role of Austria, such as in Czernowitz. As we have seen, figures representing the leading group were also imported, such as Joseph II and Schiller. Memorializing the city landscape was often an attempt to appropriate the historical narrative in a way that was not necessarily shared by all inhabitants. In some cases, there was even a struggle for the recognition of national heroes, as when the Italians in Trieste were not permitted to commemorate the hundredth anniversary of Garibaldi's birth. Despite the ban, a demonstration took place on July 4 involving young people who shouted Garibaldian slogans and confronted the police. One of the articles written on this occasion by Vittorio Zanella, the chief editor of the daily *L'indipendente*, was censored and his consecutive trial ended with a 50-crown fine.⁵ In it he wrote: "The persecution inflicted on citizens who were expressing their feelings of enthusiasm for Garibaldi caused the unpleasant incidents provoked by the attitude of some policemen and inspectors."⁶ Moreover, the paper mentioned with displeasure another celebration organized by the Social Democrats that tried to promote Garibaldi as a Socialist, infuriating the national activists.

The development of museums in the nineteenth century was also noticeable in medium-size cities. The collections that made up the city museums often had a regional dimension, and were thus generally called *Landesmuseum*, a definition that had the advantage of allowing the museum to cast a wider net

5 *L'indipendente*, no. 10307, November 1, 1907.

6 *L'indipendente*, no. 10205, July 5, 1907.

beyond the limits of the city in order to enrich its collections, and to conceive of the region as a multicultural space. The most interesting case here is Brünn, which not only was proud of being a *Schulstadt* but also showed a capacity to create significant museums. This can be explained by three factors: the Moravian capital had an ancient and rich past; industrial development contributed to the wealth of the city and thus to the emergence of sponsors; and dynastic involvement and private donors played a considerable role. The city authorities discovered the significance and benefit of museums early; the *Stadtmuseum* was created as early as 1869 and was installed in a former military building bought by the city in 1874. In 1904, the museum was transferred to the former Dominican monastery that was adapted and reconstructed by a Viennese architect, Theofil Melichar. There was no entrance fee, and the museum was open on Sunday afternoons and holidays as well on Wednesdays and Saturdays, making it accessible to everyone.⁷ The number of visitors grew constantly from 18,243 in 1906 to 32,794 in 1913.⁸

But the *Stadtmuseum* was not the most famous museum for it was overshadowed by two others that attracted more interest, the Provincial Museum, and the Moravian Museum of Applied Arts. These were systematically depicted in the city guides published in both languages and were both considered utraquist institutions though attempts to “nationalize” them were later made. The provincial museum (*Landesmuseum*) was the pride of the town. Also called the *Franzensmuseum/Museum Františkovo*, the museum presented the heritage of Moravia regardless of national affiliations.⁹ The institution was created in 1818 by an initiative of Count Hugo Salm and was installed in the seat of the Moravian Diet on Dominican Square; its conception was thus utraquist and it functioned as such until the Czechs gained the majority at the Diet and gradually transformed the museum into a Czech institution. In 1888 the Czech museum association (*Český spolek muzejní*) was founded, which began to collect objects and books related to Czech language and history in Moravia.¹⁰ The collection was transferred to the *Museum Františkovo* in 1901, changing its former utraquist character into a more explicitly Czech one. In the

7 Wilhelm C. Schram, *Ein Buch für jeden Brünner: Quellenmäßige Beiträge zur Geschichte unserer Stadt* (Brünn: Irrgang, 1901–1905), 135.

8 František Šujan, *Dějepis Brna* [History of Brno] (Brno: Musejní spolek, 1928), 476.

9 Marlies Raffler, *Museum—Spiegel der Nation? Zugänge zur Historischen Museologie am Beispiel der Genese von Landes- und Nationalmuseen in der Habsburgermonarchie* (Vienna: Böhlau, 2007), 247–51.

10 Šujan, *Dějepis Brna*, 430.



Figure 8.2. The Moravian Arts and Craft Museum (*Mährisches Gewerbemuseum*) in Brno, 1883. Source: Wikimedia Commons.

Czech guides of the city the museum was presented as a Czech institution.¹¹ So too was the second famous museum, the Museum of Applied Arts; this was undeniably the expression of wishful thinking because this museum was the subject of a national dispute between Germans and Czechs. The museum had been founded as a provincial institution in 1873 through the creation of the *Mährisches Gewerbemuseum* (Moravian Arts and Craft Museum) and put under the control of the governor (*Statthalter*) of Moravia, who was the chairman of the board.¹² To highlight its dynastic character, the museum took the name of Archduke Rainer, though in Czech its name (*průmyslové museum*) remained a neutral translation of *Gewerbemuseum*. Its directors were professors in the local high schools. The building was erected on Elisabethgasse (Eliščina třída) in 1874, next to the *Národní dům*. The collections were composed of arts and crafts as well as ethnographical objects collected throughout Moravia; some also originated from Slovakia and were recorded as such (“*Slowakei*”) rather than the more habitual regional definition of Upper Hungary. The museum regularly organized exhibitions on various aspects of its

11 Bauer, *Brno*, 55.

12 Julius Leisching, *Das Erzherzog-Rainer-Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe in Brünn* (Vienna: Kunstverlag Anton Schroll, 1913).

collections. The directory board was suspect of “Germanizing” the museum; such accusations were even heard in the German press and aimed at director August Prokop (1883–1894) who apparently rejected utraquism. In March 1887, an article of the *Brünner Beobachter* claimed that the Germans were attempting to falsify the history of Moravia by making it a German territory: “Germany and nothing else but Germany, our poor Moravia is drowning in the sea of German arrogance.”¹³ However, it seems that this ambition of Germanizing the museum was not achieved, as a few years later the association managing the German house made an appeal to artists, writers, and scientists, encouraging them to send their works to the association in order to create a gallery of German works, that could be turned into a “*deutsch-mährisches Museum*.” Yet, this plan was never realized.¹⁴

In other cities, national conflict gave birth to museums immediately appropriated by a national group. This was the situation of the Polish *Ossolineum* in Lemberg, a museum founded in 1823 by Prince Henry Lubomirski thanks to donation of arms, paintings, engravings, and various historical souvenirs, and a collection of medals that filled six rooms. In response, the Shevchenko Society created a museum and library of the Ruthenians in its headquarters. In 1912 the building, located in Charnecki Street, was definitively acquired by the society and extended to more adequately accommodate the museum.¹⁵ A similar project was undertaken in the middle of the 1890s by the leaders of the *Narodnyj dim* who wanted to create their own museum inside of the national house.¹⁶ The Museum of Applied Arts was less ideological because its collections reflected the ethnographical diversity of Galicia, but it was nevertheless considered a Polish institution where Ruthenian artifacts were displayed as an ethnographic curiosity. The museum was prominently situated on the *Rynek*. Polarized cultural policy became increasingly obvious at the beginning of the century when a debate over the conception of “national” art and its place in the city unfolded among the Polish elite. The desire to affirm Polish artistic expression led to the demand for the creation of a Palace of arts, which was to be linked to other cultural and scientific institutions. However, the majority of the municipal council rejected this project in order to maintain

13 “Den Geschichtsmachern im Gewerbemuseum,” *Brünner Beobachter*, no. 12, March 19, 1887.

14 *Blätter vom Deutschen Hause: Tätigkeitsbericht über das Jahr 1891*, 3.

15 *Chronik der ukrainischen Ševčenko-Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften in Lemberg*, no. 51, May–August 1912, 2.

16 *Vestnik “Narodnogo doma”* [News bulletin of “Narodni Dom”] (Lemberg: tipografia Stavropi-ginskaja, 1893).

a faithful Habsburg profile.¹⁷ There was also certainly a concern to not provoke Ruthenian reactions. Furthermore, the cost of such an enterprise was considerable and the multiplication of art galleries was not seen as relevant for the national cause since they were already numerous, even in competition with those existing in Cracow.

Exhibitions were a popular way to promote the city. Since the middle of the nineteenth century, they had developed in the capitals, before reaching middle-size towns towards the turn of the century. Starting as agricultural and industrial shows of new products and techniques, they eventually reached the fields of arts and crafts, design, and photography, not to speak of painting and sculpture. The success of the world fairs, among which Vienna in 1873 was the only one ever to take place in the Habsburg Empire, led to the desire of each province and town to have their own exhibitions. These were seen as an advertisement for local products as well as a showcase for the town, and being able to set up such an event was proof of the town's road to progress. Budapest took the lead in 1885 with the "national" exhibition and confirmed its ambition with the Millennium exhibition in 1896. The Hungarian cities were eager to emulate the capital and organize their own regional exhibitions, which were generally put under the control of the local chambers of commerce and industry who acted together with the municipalities. The most significant exhibition in this respect was organized in Temesvár in 1891. The occasion was the centenary of the elevation of the city to the status of free royal town following the territorial restructuring of Banat in 1791.¹⁸ The exhibition was entitled *Südüngarische Landwirtschaftliche und Gewerbliche Ausstellung/Délmagyarországi kiállítás* (Southern Hungarian agricultural and industrial exhibition) and put under the patronage of Minister of Trade Gábor Baross, who inaugurated it on 19 July 1891. The exhibition pavilions and a large "*Industriehalle*" equipped with electricity were built on the banks of the Bega River, on a site that was afterwards to become Franz Josef Park—a logical naming choice since the king visited Temesvár during the exhibition, giving it considerable impetus. The ambition of achieving a *Landesausstellung* was met with real success: 3,000 exhibitors showed their productions and 500,000 visitors attended from July 19 to October 3, 1891.¹⁹ The Romanians were represented as a group inside the exhibition after their delegate, attorney George Ardelean, obtained the authorization from

17 Prokopovych, *Habsburg Lemberg*, 82–83.

18 Felix Milleker, *Geschichte der Banater Ausstellungen* (Werschetz: J.F. Kirschners Witwe, 1927), 6.

19 *Ibid.*, 7.

the local chamber of commerce and industry.²⁰ The press was ecstatic about the success of the exhibition: the *Temesvarer Zeitung* dedicated a special column entitled “*Von der Ausstellung*” to the daily events taking place at the exhibition site. A press office was provided for the reporters at Hotel *Kronprinz*.²¹ The inauguration was a crucial moment of patriotism for the town; the press wanted to show how important Temesvár was for the entire region and thus praised its multicultural environment. The future of the country, according to the *Temesvarer Zeitung*, was oriented toward the east: “Where we find the cradle of well-known and related peoples.”²² The announcement of the king’s visit was confirmed for September 16. He arrived at the train station of *Józsefváros* and was accommodated at the bishop’s palace; the municipality had asked the owners of the houses situated the way to deck them with flags; nobody among the official was to be absent.²³ The king arrived in the morning, granted audience to various delegations, had lunch at the bishop’s palace, and visited the exhibition in the afternoon before departing in the evening of the same day. Every minute of his stay was reported in the newspapers; the reports in the *Temesvarer Zeitung* were written by chief editor Armin Barát, a former civil servant of the town.²⁴ According to him, the king made his speech in German but expressed his satisfaction with the exhibition and praised the achievement of the town in front of the delegations: “I assure you that I came here with the pleasant memories of my previous visits in this county and in the city.” In the exhibition he congratulated Achill Deschán, the deputy prefect, and the organizers: “I thank you for the nice welcome and am pleased about the development of your industry and agriculture as well as about the success of the exhibition.” At the station he again expressed his pleasure. All of these utterances were typical of the king’s always friendly and neutral manner on such occasions, yet the press detailed his every word and gesture to prove the interest he had taken in the city. A last moment of city patriotism was provided by the visit made on September 28 by Archduke Joseph, the grandson of Palatine Joseph, well-remembered for encouraging the development of Hungary at the beginning of the nineteenth century.²⁵ Since then his family had stayed in Hungary and was therefore particularly cherished by the population as “national”

20 *Temesvarer Zeitung*, no. 19, January 24, 1891.

21 *Temesvarer Zeitung*, no. 160, July 16, 1891.

22 “Ein Festtag Südungarns,” *Temesvarer Zeitung*, no. 163, July 19, 1891.

23 *Temesvarer Zeitung*, no. 205, September 10, 1891.

24 “Der König in Temesvár,” *Temesvarer Zeitung*, no. 210, September 16, 1891.

25 *Temesvarer Zeitung*, no. 221, September 29, 1891.

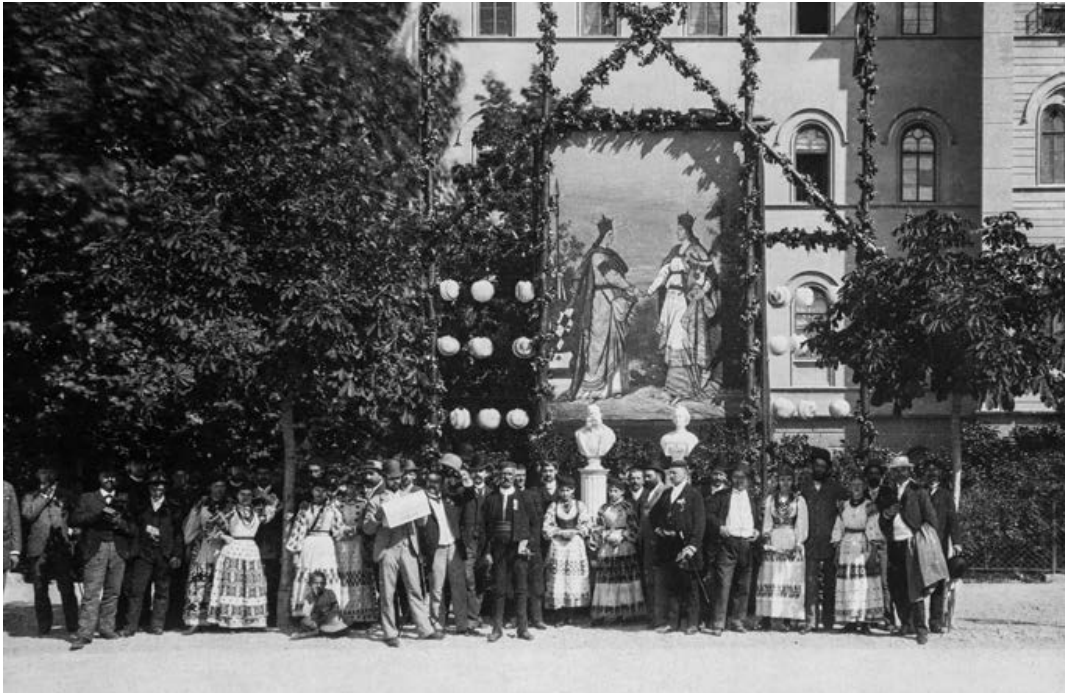


Figure 8.3. A Dalmatian delegation at the Croatian-Slavonian Jubilee exhibition, Zagreb 1891.

Source: Zagreb City Libraries, Digitized Zagreb Heritage.

Habsburgs. Due to the success of the exhibition in 1910, planning began for a similar exhibition planned for 1916 to commemorate the bicentenary of the “liberation” of Banat from the Ottomans. However, the outbreak of the war cancelled the project.²⁶

In nearly all cities where exhibitions were organized the initiative lay in the hands of the local chamber of commerce and industry. Since Hungary was an agrarian land most of the fairs had an important section dedicated to agriculture. This was also the characteristic that the country put forward in exhibitions in other parts of the monarchy or abroad, even if industrial production, luxury goods, and arts and crafts were also displayed. For a given region, hosting an exhibition was a natural strategy to promote the image of development and modernity: this was the idea behind the first exhibition in Zagreb in 1864, when the political situation tended toward liberalism. The sponsors were recruited from the largest spectrum of Croatian “patriots,” some of whom had nothing to do with industry and trade, like Bishop Strossmayer, who was nevertheless the patron of every initiative. These sponsors were at the same time the founders of the Industrial Association. The other supports represented the aristocracy and high bureaucracy, like Count Miroslav Kulmer, who was the

²⁶ Milleker, *Geschichte der Banater Ausstellungen*, 9.

chairman of many associations, and the representative at the Budapest parliament Mirko Šuhaj. The organizing committee was headed by Ferdo Devidé, who was the secretary of the Chamber of Commerce and Industry and active in many associations ranging from charity to art and religion.²⁷ The next exhibition was not until 1891, but it began a tradition of fairs in Zagreb that lasted well past World War I. The 1891 exhibition aimed to demonstrate Croatian genius in all domains, and was even associated with an art exhibition set up by the school for applied arts on the initiative of the secretary of the Art Society (*Društvo umjetnosti*) Ivan Bojničić.²⁸ Called the Croatian-Slavonian Jubilee Exhibition of Agriculture (*Jubilarna izložba hrvatsko-slavonskog gospodarskog društva*), the fair focused on agrarian products as well as on forestry, two domains that were important for the development of the country and a constant argument with Hungary in the wake of the demilitarization of the military frontier and the creation of the railway network.²⁹ The exhibition was an undeniable success, with 2,988 exhibitors coming from Croatia, 778 from Slavonia, and 99 from Dalmatia.³⁰ Among them some are pictured in the photograph above (see figure 8.2), posing in front of the busts of Francis Joseph and Elisabeth and an allegoric representation of the two lands.

The Croatian presence in other exhibitions was debated in the *Sabor*, particularly on the occasion of the celebration of the Hungarian Millennium in 1896. The nationalist opposition did not agree to the creation of a Croatian-Slavonian pavilion, but in the end Croatian exhibitors did attend the event along with other lands of the monarchy like Bosnia-Herzegovina. The Croats were able to build four pavilions.³¹ The loyal press praised the decision and then reported regularly on the exhibition, exalting the success of the Croatian products.³² Ten years later Zagreb was again the theater of a great agricultural exhibition on the model of the 1891 fair but on a larger scale. The

27 Kamilo Bedeković, *O postanku i djelovanju obrtničkoga društva u Zagrebu* [On the creation and action of the Industrial Association in Zagreb] (Zagreb: Gaj, 1866), 18–20.

28 *Agrarier Zeitung*, no. 240, October 20, 1891.

29 On the exhibition, see Janko Ibler, *Gospodarsko-šumarska jubilarna izložba hrvatsko-slavonskoga gospodarskoga društva u Zagrebu godine 1891* [Economy and forestry jubilee exhibition of the Croatian-Slavonian society for economy] (Zagreb: Tisarski zavod Narodnih novina, 1892).

30 Zora Perko, “Zagreb: Die Entwicklung der kroatischen Hauptstadt” (Ph. Diss, Hochschule für Welthandel, Vienna, 1942), 79.

31 But Bosnia-Herzegovina succeeded in having five pavilions. Damjanović, “Croatian Pavilions at the 1896 Millennium Exhibition in Budapest,” 53.

32 The *Narodne novine* devoted many articles to the Croatian presence at the exhibition, for example: “Politički uspjeh milenijске slave” [Political success of the Millennium exhibition], no. 107, May 8, 1896; “Naša industrija na milenijškoj izložbi” [Our industry at the Millennium exhibition], no. 116, May 20, 1896.

exhibition was inaugurated by Ban Count Teodor Pejačević on September 1, 1906,³³ and lasted for one month and attracted 250,000 visitors.³⁴ The main hall was equipped with electricity for the first time, causing considerable admiration. Parallel events were organized simultaneously: the *Merkur* association of tradesmen (*trgovačko društvo*) held its annual congress, and, more significant, a gathering of *Sokol* movements was held attended by Czechs and Bulgarians. Despite its focus on agriculture, the fair was also a showcase for industrial products and arts and crafts. Yet, the success of the exhibition was dampened by some nationalist papers like *Hrvatska* (Croatia), which criticized the underdeveloped situation of the country and in a special issue entitled ironically *Hrvatski napredni gospodar* (The Croatian progressive lord) it claimed that there was nothing to be so proud about. The organizers of the exhibition felt they were unjustly accused and responded in the *Agramer Zeitung* on September 13, and the polemic lasted until the end of the exhibition on September 30.³⁵ Three more fairs were organized in 1910, 1911, and 1913, but they were of smaller dimensions. In the meantime, Croatian productions had found their way to other exhibitions in and outside the monarchy. It was common practice in the Habsburg Empire to encourage the attendance of as many other provinces as possible in the exhibitions taking place all over the territory as a way to show diversity and communication between peoples.

This ambition characterized the exhibition planned in Trieste in 1882 to celebrate the fifth centenary of Habsburg rule over the town. It was to be a demonstration of loyalty as well as the expression of city patriotism. The organizing committee was composed of members of the Chamber of Commerce headed by its chairman, Carl Reinelt. As soon as the project started, critical voices came from the national activists, who accused Governor Baron Felix Pino von Friedenthal of being the only driving force behind the project and claimed that Trieste was being “chained” to Austria. In response, an article of the *Triester Zeitung* denigrated those who considered Trieste an alien body inside of the monarchy, calling them “enemies” of the town.³⁶ Despite this polemic the municipal council agreed to contribute to the financing of the exhibition and mayor Riccardo Bazzoni entered the organizing committee where all the great

33 *Agramer Zeitung*, no. 231, September 1, 1906.

34 *Agramer Zeitung*, no. 257, September 28, 1906.

35 *Agramer Zeitung*, no. 242, September 13, 1906.

36 “Die fünfhundertjährige Gedenkfeier und die österreichische Ausstellung in Triest,” *Triester Zeitung*, no. 128, June 8, 1881.

names of trade and business of the town were represented.³⁷ Later the main Austrian financial and commercial institutions took part and supported the exhibition. The *Triester Industrie-Agricultur-Ausstellung* was opened on August 1, 1882, and lasted until mid-November. In addition to what its name suggests, the exhibition also included an important maritime section. The press talked about the exhibition starting in May and was then punctuated by important moments, the most significant being certainly the visit of Francis Joseph and Elisabeth on September 17–19. They visited the exhibition and attended a gala evening at the *Politeama Rossetti*. Like in other towns parallel events were organized: in September there was an art exhibition at the Revoltella Museum in order to show that Trieste was not only a mercantile town, an argument often put forward by critics complaining that the citizens had less interest in culture than in business. More interesting was the fact that the content of the exhibition not only focused on Trieste as a possession of the Austrian State but also took into account the provincial dimension of Istria as well as its diversity. A Croatian pavilion was built in the exhibition, a wooden cottage by Hermann Bollé in “national Croatian style.”³⁸ Furthermore the Croatians’ presence was significant for the chairman and secretary of the Croatian Chamber of Commerce and Industry, Janko Gahor and Milan Krešić respectively, attended the inauguration, and the Croatians sent Izidor Kršnjavi, a major figure of the art scene in Zagreb, to the art exhibition. The Croatian newspaper of Trieste *Naša Sloga* expressed its pride about this achievement.³⁹ However, there was no comparable Slovene presence for the cohesion of their group was yet not strong enough and they were only represented by a few individual exhibitors.

The dispute about the loyalty of Trieste and the growing influence of irredentism was again demonstrated at the occasion of the Adriatic exhibition that took place in Vienna in 1912. Originally intended to encompass the entire region (Istria and Dalmatia), the exhibition was partially boycotted by the Croats and seen by the Italians in Trieste as an instrument of Austrian propaganda. A caricature in the Triestine satirical newspaper *Marameo* mocks the ambition of Austria, depicted as a fat woman wearing a Tyrolean hat and a plas-tron adorned with the double-headed eagle, welcoming a beautiful and slim

37 *Triester Zeitung*, no. 244, October 26, 1881.

38 It was to be reused for the Croatian pavilion dedicated to hunting and forestry at the Hungarian Millennium exhibition. Damjanović, “Croatian Pavilions at the 1896 Millennium Exhibition in Budapest,” 66.

39 “Otvorenje izložbe” [The opening of the exhibition], *Naša Sloga: Poučni, gospodarski i politični list* [Our Concord: Educational, economic, and political paper], no. 15, August 1, 1882.



Figure 8.4. Caricature titled “L’esposizione adriatica a Vienna,” *Marameo*, no. 96, November 30, 1912.

Trieste by saying (in broken Italian with a heavy German accent): “Very well, very decent! Italians are not like Croats. Croats have boycotted our exhibition of salted water of the Adriatic Sea. What good and beautiful things is Trieste bringing?” Trieste, holding a mousetrap (with a mouse inside) with the caption “Italian university,” answers in local dialect: “But, dearest lady Vienna, I have looked on land and sea for something worthy to be shown in this exhibition and I only found this old mousetrap!”⁴⁰

Lemberg was host to one of the most considerable provincial exhibitions in the monarchy. The regular organization of such fairs indicated Lemberg’s significance as the capital of Galicia to Cracow, while at the same time signaling its ambition toward neighboring Bucovina. The first important exhibition was set up in 1877 with—like in many other places—a focus on agriculture and industry. In this respect, Markian Prokopovych notes that the exhibition showed the ambition to anchor Galicia in modernity by enhancing technical progress through the development of industry and architecture, though in the end it was the agrarian aspect that was predominant as the main sponsors

⁴⁰ “L’esposizione adriatica a Vienna,” *Marameo*, no. 96, November 30, 1912.

belonged to the Polish landed aristocracy.⁴¹ However, all the marketing for the exhibition projected not only on its success but also Galicia's position on the "road to progress" and entering the industrial age.

The next exhibition was planned on a more symbolic basis and proved to be a major event. 1894 marked the centenary of the Raclawice battle, and the message belonged undeniably to Polish collective memory because of its association with Kościuszko's insurrection. It was also the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the Polytechnical University. In all exhibitions a section was devoted to education, and in 1894 the development of institutions of higher education was particularly underlined. As usual other activities like congresses (here the 3rd congress of Polish technicians) took place at the same time. The 1894 exhibition was planned on a larger scale than the previous fairs and included 63 pavilions, 37 of which were built by private firms.⁴² On the whole there were 34 sections, each of them with their own organization committee. The exhibition site was also much larger than the previous one (in Jabłonowski Park); it was located on the Stryjski hills, which were included in the new urban scheme and constituted a prestigious residential area. A new tramway line was created in order to link the site with the city center.⁴³ The exhibition allowed architects to build pavilions expressing new trends in design and technology. One of the most famous architects of the town, Zygmunt Gorgolewski, who was the director of the state school for applied arts, designed the pavilion dedicated to education financed by Count Casimir Badeni.⁴⁴ Gorgolewski also designed the monumental neoclassical arch at the entrance of the exhibition that was reproduced in all publications and postcards. On the whole, eclecticism was the main characteristic of most pavilions. In spite of the historicist architecture, the national discourse was dominant through the pavilion featuring a panorama of the Raclawice battle (*Panorama Raclawicka*), and the pavilion displaying works by the Polish historicist painter Jan Matejko and designed by another famous local architect,

41 Prokopowych, *Habsburg Lemberg*, 245.

42 *Ibid.*, 247.

43 Marcin Siadkowski, "The Land Exhibition in Lemberg (Lwów, L'viv) in 1894, Galicia and *Schlachzizen* in the German political discourse in Vienna," *Zeitschrift für Ostmitteleuropa-Forschung* 58 (2009): 197.

44 *Allgemeine Landesaussstellung in Lemberg 1894: Katalog der Ausstellung der galizischen Volks- und Mittelschulen im Pavillon des k.k. Landesschulrathes* (Lemberg: K.k. Landesschulrathes, Vereinsdruckerei, 1894), 3.



Figure 8.5. Main square of the Provincial Exhibition with Racławice panorama, Lemberg 1894.
Source: Center for Urban History, L'viv, Urban Media Archive, Ihor Kotlobulatov Collection, ID: 4032.

Franciszek Skowron.⁴⁵ Laying the stress on popular insurrection was the expression of a change in the national discourse of the Poles: the panorama depicted peasants' units storming the Russian cannons so as to show that the "people"—rather than heroic individuals—embody the nation, a notion that came to be at the center of national consciousness.⁴⁶ This coincided with a growing concern over the indifference of the Polish peasants toward national celebrations, which were seen as only the interest of noble landowners.

The Ruthenian presence was significant as well through one pavilion displaying works of art and ethnographical objects; it was decorated with Hutsul motives and a Hutsul church was also built in order to present this very particular group who mainly lived in the Bucovinian Mountains near the Romanian border. The pavilion had been built by one of the leading architects of the town, Julian Zachariewicz, combining motives taken from Zakopane with Hutsul elements, and it was surrounded by a "Galician village."⁴⁷ Zachariewicz also designed the wooden church, and collaborated with Ruthenian architect

45 Propopovych, *Habsburg Lemberg*, 249. Matejko had died in November 1893 in his native Cracow and so the pavilion was called "Matejko Mausoleum." The panorama was transferred to Wrocław after 1945.

46 Struve, *Peasants and Patriotic Celebrations in Habsburg Galicia*, 121.

47 Wolff, *The Idea of Galicia*, 290.

Ivan Levynskyi to build the pavilion of Ruthenian art. A form of Galician “cultural transfer” occurred here, for Levynskyi built the pavilion dedicated to Jan Matejko.⁴⁸ In spite of these transnational aspects, in the publications related to the exhibition the Ruthenian contribution remained associated with folklore and rural life, so as to prove their backwardness and remoteness from the urban world, seen as the expression of modernity. Thus, the Ruthenian presence remained extremely limited, and all other events associated with the exhibition, such as the professional congresses, were organized by Polish organizations. They could not achieve sufficient visibility although the exhibition had promised to be an ideal opportunity to do so. In the end the exhibition succeeded in combining Polish nationalism and city patriotism: the Society for the town’s development and embellishing (*Towarzystwo dla rozwoju i upiększenia miasta Lwowa*) published its own guide to the exhibition and communicated largely on its achievements and success.⁴⁹ The number of visitors reached 1,500,000 over a period of four and a half months, a result never attained by any other provincial exhibition.⁵⁰ After the inauguration performed by Archduke Karl Ludwig, the climax was to be the visit of the emperor. This was not, however, as peaceful as hoped. Francis Joseph came to Lemberg following the usual September maneuvers that had taken place in Landskron that year. His five-day stay in Lemberg is exceptional for two reasons: the length of the stay, for the emperor generally made shorter visits; and the demonstrations that took place against his visit. Opposition came mainly from Social Democrats who were still campaigning for universal suffrage: they planned a demonstration on September 9 that was, unsurprisingly, forbidden. But peasant activists had also protested against the exhibition they considered a provocation by the conservative landed elite. In the wake of this agitation, newspapers were censored such as the Socialist *Naprzód* (Progress), the democratic *Nowa Reforma* (New Reform), the radical *Kurjer Lwowski*, and the Ruthenian *Dilo* and *Halyczanin*.⁵¹ In *Kurjer Lwowski* the imperial visit was passed over in silence. Officially, however, the emperor’s stay was a success: on September 7 he admired the exhibition, to which he was welcomed by the chairman of the organization committee Prince Adam Sapieha, and as he passed under the triumphal arch he was cheered by an enthusiastic crowd

48 Ibid., 291.

49 Ibid., 250.

50 Siadkowski, “The Land Exhibition in Lemberg,” 198.

51 Daniel L. Unowsky, *The Pomp and Politics of Patriotism: Imperial Celebrations in Habsburg Austria, 1848–1916* (West Lafayette, IN: Purdue University Press, 2005), 74.

and groups of schoolchildren. Toward the exterior the narrative produced by the Galician authorities and by the city succeeded in propagating a new image of the province as less underdeveloped than public opinion thought; it stressed the industrial achievements of Galicia, and the potential for agriculture and mineral resources, as oil fields had recently been discovered there.⁵² On the Austrian side, the success of the exhibition was interpreted as proof of the civilizing mission performed in Galicia. Like Czernowitz, Lemberg was promoted as an outpost of the empire, in a way that would highlight the contrast between the monarchy and Russia. In the Viennese papers there was no mention of the opposition to the exhibition; on the contrary, Poles and Ruthenians were praised for their faithfulness to the empire.⁵³

Encouraged by the success of the 1894 exhibition, the municipality nurtured greater ambitions; Deputy Mayor Tadeusz Rutowski imagined the organization of an exhibition of Polish cities that would have given Lemberg the occasion to show its leading role in Galicia. Yet, the project suffered from delusions of grandeur and had to be limited to a more modest exhibition of Polish art.⁵⁴ The event was again linked to a commemoration, this time the 500-year anniversary of the successful Grunwald (Tannenberg) battle against the Teutonic Knights, which led to the creation of the Polish-Lithuanian kingdom. The exhibition was the occasion to build a proper gallery, a “Palace of arts,” an institution that was still missing in the urban landscape but whose creation was considered necessary because of the accumulation of works in the city’s collections. The palace built by Skowron on the site of the 1894 exhibition was apparently no longer suitable, but funds were lacking to construct a new building and it was decided to adapt it. The Palace was thus chosen to hold the art exhibition and this was to be coupled with an exhibition of architectural works set up by the Polytechnic Society, who also wanted to have its part in the festivities.⁵⁵ In the end the architects were the major actors of the exhibition that thus kept a Polish character. Critics felt that the exhibition mainly served the interests of the local architects and alienated the public, yet the national dimension of the architecture was clear, and this was in fact more important in the eyes of the contemporaries than a real discussion of technical features. The connection between modernity and Polish nationalism was the basis of the argument used by the city elite to promote architectural realizations in Lemberg.

52 Siadkowski, “The Land Exhibition in Lemberg,” 206.

53 Ibid., 208.

54 Prokopovych, *Habsburg Lemberg*, 253.

55 Ibid., 255.

THE LOYAL CITY: MEMORIALIZING THE HABSBURGS

As demonstrated by the Poles in Lemberg, the dimension of Habsburg loyalty was crucial in the definition of city patriotism. This is not surprising in the context of Galicia, where the Poles enjoyed not only a better situation compared to their compatriots in Germany and Russia but also hegemony over the Ruthenians. Without the possibility of the reconstitution of the Polish kingdom their faithfulness to the Habsburg Empire was unquestionable, and no Polish irredentism could exist. The only contestation possible was against measures deemed too favorable to the Ruthenians, who also lacked a serious irredentist temptation and were accordingly seen by Vienna as *gens fidelissima* notwithstanding the attraction of Russia for some of them. On the whole, Ruthenians had good reason to expect positive developments from the emperor, which is why visits from him or members of his family were occasions to demonstrate loyalty. The same could be said about the Slovenes and Slovaks, though the first had to struggle against Italian nationalism and the second against Hungarian domination. The visit of the sovereign to a city was often interpreted by local minorities as support for their claims, and they seized the opportunity to make themselves heard. Francis Joseph attended services in churches, temples, and synagogues, and gave audiences to everyone, including religious leaders, associations, and interest groups, but not explicitly to linguistic minorities since this would have been contrary to state policy. These audiences were the occasion for the minorities to show their faithfulness, and in doing so also to appeal to the intervention of the sovereign against the dominant group. There was almost a competition over loyalty, with each group eager to present its credentials. The emperor was seen as a protector of religious tolerance, a characteristic inherited from Joseph II, and, as Peter Urbanitsch remarks, religion was instrumentalized both by the dynasty—for example Francis Joseph leading the Corpus Christi procession bare-headed—and by some national movements claiming religion as a basis of their identity.⁵⁶

Francis Joseph travelled extensively in both parts of the empire, so many citizens had the opportunity to see the sovereign at least once. Each year in September military maneuvers took place in a different part of the territory, thus providing the possibility to visit the neighboring cities. When the choice

⁵⁶ Peter Urbanitsch, "Pluralist Myth and Nationalist Realities: The Dynastic Myth of the Habsburg Monarchy – a Futile Exercise in the Creation of Identity?" *Austrian History Yearbook* 35 (2004): 108.

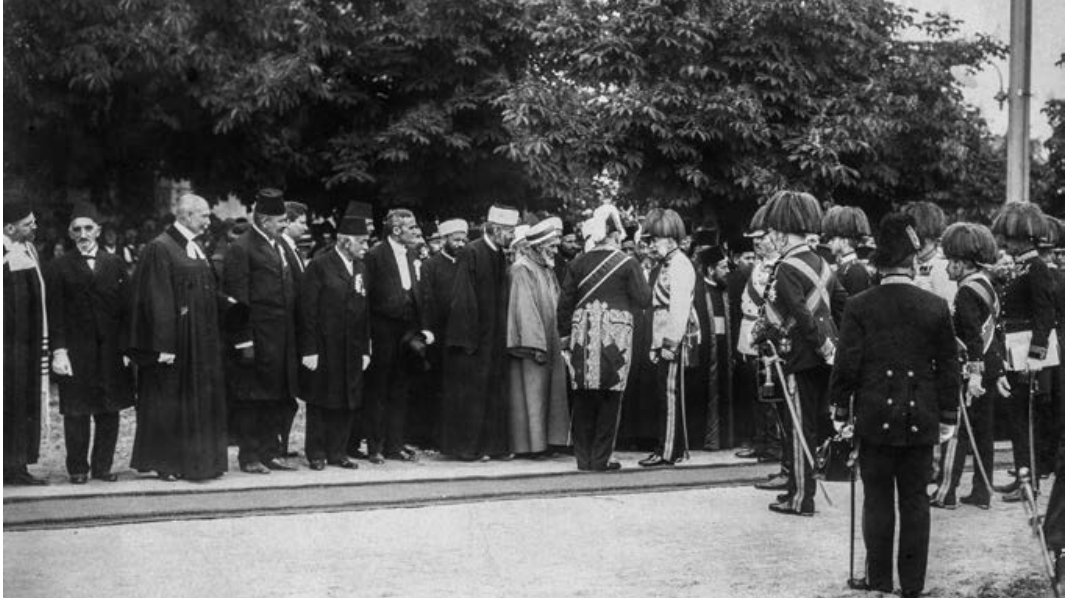


Figure 8.6. Francis Joseph meeting religious leaders on his visit to Sarajevo, 1910.
Source: Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Bildarchiv und Grafiksammlung, Pk 1372, 1c.



Figure 8.7. Visit of Charles I to Trieste on the occasion of his inspection tour on the Isonzo front, June 1917.
Source: Fortepan, 212799, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek.

of the place was announced there was considerable excitement over which city was to host the emperor or the king. As soon as the route was known, the chosen city mobilized in order to welcome the sovereign in the best way possible. Apart from these yearly visits Francis Joseph also travelled when there was a

particular event or commemoration, such as the inauguration of an important building or memorial, or the commemoration of historical dates like the 500th anniversary of Trieste becoming part of the Habsburg Monarchy.⁵⁷ As seen in the case of Lemberg, the combination of commemoration and exhibition made a visit from the emperor nearly an obligation. When it came to choosing the location for his journeys, Francis Joseph tried to visit even the most remote places, displaying no apparent favoritism toward any of his lands (apart from residence cities like Vienna and Budapest), and as king of Hungary he did not neglect Transleithania either. Yet, though he travelled relatively often to Southern Hungary he never visited Szabadka, as the town had no strategic relevance so maneuvers did not take place nearby, nor did it organize any meaningful event that would have necessitated royal attendance. In general Francis Joseph tended to travel less in his old age and concentrated his visits to absolute necessary objectives like Sarajevo in 1910, or to places nearer to Vienna.

Table 8.1. Frequency of Francis Joseph's visits

Towns	Dates
Arad	1872, 1874
Brünn	1849, 1854, 1858, ⁵⁸ 1880, 1892
Czernowitz	1855, 1875, 1880
Fiume	1891, 1904
Lemberg	1851, 1880, 1894, 1903
Nagyvárad	1852, 1857, 1890, 1900
Pozsony	1894, 1897, 1909
Sarajevo	1910
Szabadka	
Temesvár	1852, 1872, 1891
Trieste	1852, 1857, 1869, 1882 ⁵⁹
Zagreb	1895

As the king aged, he was sometimes substituted by an archduke who either resided in the cities or traveled to them when there was an occasion requiring the presence of the dynasty. In this respect there was a noticeable difference

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 122.

⁵⁸ In 1854 and 1858, he was accompanied by Empress and Queen Elisabeth.

⁵⁹ This visit was made together with his wife Elisabeth.

between Austria and Hungary, where the Palatine family resided, and Archduke Joseph had the advantage of also representing his grandfather whose memory was cherished by the Hungarians and the royal family. This was considered a sufficient reason for the other archdukes not to travel to Hungary, where they would not necessarily be welcome. The respect due to the king did not extend to the whole family, although certain members were widely esteemed, such as his son Rudolph, his mother Elisabeth “Sissi,” and Archduke Friedrich, who lived permanently in Pozsony. The latter was a significant personality of the town until his death in 1902, as was his wife, Isabella, who played a considerable role in the city’s life by sponsoring many associations—indeed most Catholic ones—and attending public events. These “local” Habsburgs could thus replace the sovereign and also be elements of city patriotism: their palace and social life would make the citizens proud and feel privileged compared to other cities that had “only” aristocrats or civil elite.

In this respect Pozsony was certainly a unique place: it was very near to Vienna and historically linked to Austria as well as to Hungary, having been the coronation site from the sixteenth to the beginning of the nineteenth century. The coronation hill still existed on the Danube bank but it was neglected and threatened by the progress of urban planning, so at the beginning of the 1890s there were initiatives to perpetuate the site as a place of memory.⁶⁰ A project was finally made to create a square and to erect a statue of Maria Theresia. Commemorating the “king” was an adequate way to associate Habsburg loyalty with Hungarian collective memory.⁶¹ Sculptor János Fadrusz (1858–1903) was commissioned to create a monument that would celebrate Maria Theresia as well as Hungarian faithfulness towards her, thus conveying the message of Hungary being a loyal part of the empire.⁶² The inauguration took place on May 16, 1897, in the presence of the king, and the huge festivities caused great excitement in the town where just a year before the Millennium celebrations had attracted many visitors. The influx of guests was so considerable that the

60 “Von unserem Krönungshügel,” *Preßburger Zeitung*, no. 316, November 17, 1891, morning edition.

61 Ironically, during her coronation in 1741, Maria Theresia was addressed as “rex” (king) rather than “regina” (queen) by the Hungarian estates, reflecting the political and legal complexities resulting from the accession to the throne by a woman. For more on this, see Benedek Varga, “Making Maria Theresia ‘King’ of Hungary,” *Historical Journal* 64, no. 2 (2021): 233–54.

62 It was to be Fadrusz’s first significant work. He was then famous for his statue of King Mátyás that was inaugurated on Kolozsvár’s main square in 1902, thus shifting from Austro-Hungarian to Hungarian patriotism.

municipality had to ask the inhabitants to provide lodging for them.⁶³ The visit of Francis Joseph lasted for the whole day. He was accompanied by the heir to the throne Francis Ferdinand and his brother Otto as well as by other members of the royal family: the considerable presence of the dynasty was exceptional and was perceived as such by the town.⁶⁴ Upon his arrival, Francis Joseph was welcomed at Archduke Friedrich's palace and attended open-air mass on the spot of the celebration. There the Hungarian anthem was played (there is no mention of the imperial anthem), and mayor Gustav Dröxler delivered a speech inviting the king to unveil the monument.⁶⁵ The local Hungarian landed aristocracy was represented by Prince Miklós Pálffy and Count Géza Zichy. Francis Joseph complimented the sculptor on his ability to model the horse and spoke positively about the Hungarian magnate who stood at Maria Theresia's side looking to her with a gesture of gratefulness, but he did not utter a single word about his ancestor.⁶⁶ From there the king proceeded to the Franciscan Church to commemorate the 600th anniversary of its foundation, and in the afternoon he gave audiences to the municipal council and the religious communities. The day ended with a gala performance at the theater for which Archduchess Isabella and Count Zichy were the patrons; this alliance of Austrian and Hungarian personalities during the ceremonies was remarkable. The theater performance was an evocation of Maria Theresia's coronation in Pozsony as well as her later visit to the Diet to ask for the support of the representatives. The text was written by Count Zichy and was performed among others by the star actress of the Hungarian National Theater, Mari Jászai.⁶⁷ On the way to the station to return to Vienna he had the opportunity to see "Pozsony by night" for the city was illuminated in his honor.

The inauguration was meant as a great moment connecting local pride with dynastic loyalty. The *Preßburger Zeitung* devoted a twenty-page special issue to the event that related the king's impressions. The king was ecstatic about the atmosphere of the city: "I always come with pleasure in this town that is

63 *Preßburger Zeitung*, no. 124, May 5, 1897.

64 "Der Enthüllungstag," *Preßburger Zeitung*, no. 136, May 17, 1897, evening edition.

65 *Preßburger Zeitung*, no. 135, May 16, 1897, Sunday morning special edition.

66 Nor did he mention the other figure, which was a *kuruc* fighter. See Telesko, *Geschichtsraum Österreich*, 99. The monument was destroyed in 1921 as a symbol of Habsburg rule by the Czechoslovak army. Csáky, *Das Gedächtnis der Städte*, 308. The statue was reinstalled in 2018 thanks to an initiative of *Bratislavský okrásňovací spolok* (the Bratislava Beautification Association) which had also commissioned another statue from sculptor Martina Zimanová, placed in front of Grassalkovich palace.

67 *Preßburger Zeitung*, no. 130, May 11, 1897.



Figure 8.8. Inauguration of the Maria Theresa monument, May 16, 1897, Pozsony.
Photo by György Klösz, *Vasárnapi újság*, May 23, 1897.

so dear to my heart.” During the week following the inauguration the press continued to report on various aspects, maintaining the interest of the public and celebrating local pride. However, it was certainly easier to commemorate a personality about whom there was a consensus in Hungary than to celebrate the present ruler. Francis Joseph was respected but not completely forgiven for his role in the suppression of the 1848 Revolution. Indeed, only two statues of Francis Joseph were erected on Hungarian territory: a bust of him was put up in the arcades surrounding Szeged cathedral, and he was one of the Habsburg rulers on the colonnade of the Millennium monument in Budapest. There were not so many in Austria either because of the difficulty of portraying someone who was still alive.⁶⁸ His wife, Elisabeth, who had shown sympathy for the Magyars before 1867 was more willingly commemorated after she was assassinated in 1898: statues of her are still standing in Budapest, Esztergom and Makó.⁶⁹

68 Urbanitsch, “Pluralist Myth and Nationalist Realities,” 121.

69 In other places as well, she was spared the *damnatio memoriae* that befell her husband: she had played no part in the ruling system and was “sanctified” by her tragic death.

The same could be said for Trieste where apart from the monument dedicated to Maximilian, no Habsburg ruler was honored except Elisabeth. Yet, the commemoration of the empress was a sensitive issue in the city, where already the news that the assassination had been carried out by an Italian caused spontaneous demonstrations of anti-Italian sentiments. Although the local Italian press, uneasy about the ramifications of the assassin's national identification in public opinion, stressed the fact that Luigi Luccheni was an anarchist born in Paris and living in Switzerland, this did not prevent a crowd of some 200–300 demonstrators marching on the streets while shouting “*abasso*” (down with) the day after the assassination. Alarmed by the apparent passivity of the police, *Il Piccolo* put the blame for the demonstration on the Slovenes, pointing to the fact that another anti-Italian demonstration had taken place in Ljubljana, too.⁷⁰ In the end some thirty people were arrested but the troubles went on for a few days. *Il Piccolo* noted with some perfidy that the arrested persons bore German and Slavic names.⁷¹

The project of erecting a monument to Empress Elisabeth was first mentioned in 1900 by an initiative of workers indignant at the fact that the murderer was presented as a worker. They wanted to unite the populations of the littoral in their project but unsurprisingly they could not find enough financial support. In 1902, a committee was formed with prominent names to attract donations;⁷² one of the leaders was Mario Morpurgo, a member of one of the wealthiest Jewish families of Trieste. Eventually, a considerable amount of money was raised, and the committee issued a call for projects in 1906. 58 applications were received and displayed in the main hall of the stock exchange (*Borsa*) in 1908,⁷³ marking the tenth anniversary of the assassination as well as the celebration of the emperor's jubilee. There is very little mention of it in the Italian press that seems to have shown less interest in the monument. A significant location was chosen, the square in front of the southern railway station, and the Viennese sculptor Franz Seifert was commissioned to design the monument. Seifert was already known for having designed funerary monuments and memorials such as those dedicated to Johann Strauss and Joseph Lanner in the park of the Viennese town hall (*Rathauspark*).⁷⁴ The statue portrayed Elisabeth

70 *Il Piccolo*, no. 6091, September 12, 1898.

71 *Il Piccolo*, no. 6092, September 13, 1898.

72 *Festschrift aus Anlaß der Enthüllung des Kaiserin Elisabeth Denkmals in Triest: Separatausgabe des Triester Tagblatt* (Triest: Druck und Verlag des öst. Lloyd, 1912), 36.

73 “Die Entwürfe für das Kaiserin-Elisabeth Denkmal in Triest,” *Triester Zeitung*, no. 57, March 9, 1908.

74 *Festschrift aus Anlaß der Enthüllung des Kaiserin Elisabeth Denkmals in Triest*, 38.



Figure 8.9. Memorial to Empress Elisabeth, Trieste. Photo by the author.

standing in front of an armchair and flanked by art-nouveau reliefs of female allegories and people paying homage to her. The inauguration was first planned for 1911 and finally took place on December 15, 1912; it was not a major event and was barely mentioned in the local press.⁷⁵ The emperor was represented by his son-in-law Archduke Francis Salvator, a mass was performed by the Trieste bishop and the chorals—among them the Elisabeth-anthem—were performed by the *Triester Männergesang-Verein*, thus giving the ceremony an entirely Habsburg character.

Dynastic commemorations were another moment of identification meant to unite all citizens regardless of language or faith. Major celebrations were organized all over the empire for Francis Joseph's jubilees in 1898 and 1908. The former was overshadowed in Hungary by the success of the Millennium festivities of 1896 and there was less enthusiasm and money to glorify the sovereign; it was also burdened by Elisabeth's death in September, after which most of the festivities that were to take place at year's end were cancelled. Moreover, in Hungary 1898 proved problematic because it was the fiftieth anniversary of not only Francis Joseph becoming the emperor of Austria, but also of the 1848 Revolution that he bloodily suppressed. Indeed, in order to hide the conflict between the two events, the Hungarians had developed their

⁷⁵ "Il monumento all'Imperatrice Elisabetta per Trieste," *La Monarchia*, no. 25, November 1, 1910.

own dynastic calendar that centered on the Compromise and the subsequent coronation of Francis Joseph as Hungarian king in 1867: they celebrated the twenty-fifth anniversary of this event in 1892 and planned to organize a fiftieth jubilee in 1917. In 1898, however, they could no longer avoid finding a solution for the conflict between the state patriotic and the national loyalties. They therefore engaged in what Péter Hanák has termed—paraphrasing Robert Musil’s *Man without Qualities*—a “parallel action”: paying tribute to the Habsburg emperor while at the same time also commemorating the anti-Habsburg Revolution. However, the debate in Parliament over which date to choose was fierce: March 15, date of the beginning of the 1848 Revolution, was already unofficially celebrated and was a logical choice, whereas April 11 (the day on which king Ferdinand ratified the existence of an independent government) was seen by the government of Baron Dezső Bánffy as more respectful of dynastic loyalty. After much quarrelling, the government settled on April 11, but many cities and schools organized their own festivities on March 15.⁷⁶

Following this, the 1908 jubilee was deemed particularly significant. Politically it was marked by the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, which was seen as a “present” made to the emperor. On the level of public commemoration all cities prepared programs to honor the sovereign, though it was mainly celebrated in Cisleithania; Hungarian cities participated but the government did not want the jubilee to be a prominent event. In the press the dates related to the king (his birthday on August 18, name day on October 4, and date of access to the throne on December 2) never made the front page; the celebrations held in Vienna were mentioned and local festivities were reported on, but they concerned mostly the civil and military authorities without conferring a significant role to the citizens. The lack of Hungarian enthusiasm to celebrate the dynasty was by then motivated not only by the unwillingness to recall the subordination of Hungary to Austria, but also by the fact that many of the minorities of the Hungarian kingdom that were contesting the national agenda imposed by the government by making regular appeals to the king to intervene on their behalf. Rather than celebrating the symbol of a multi-ethnic empire, Hungarians preferred to focus on their own achievements within

76 Péter Hanák, “1898: A nemzeti és az állampatrióta értékrend frontális ütközése a Monarchiában” [1898: Brutal confrontation of national and state patriotism values in the monarchy], in *A kert és a műhely* (Budapest: Balassi Kiadó, 1999), 91. In German, “Die Parallelaktion von 1898: Fünfzig Jahre ungarische Revolution und fünfzigjähriges Regierungsjubiläum Franz Josephs,” in *Österreichische Osthefte* 27 (1985): 366–380.

the monarchy. Only in towns where the German minority was still important did the attachment to the dynasty play an important role: in Temesvár and especially in Pozsony. The Hungarian authorities had to cope with this and complied by doing their duty, but they organized simultaneous events exalting Hungarian historical memory. The municipalities composed of both Germans and Hungarians also used this balancing policy.

In other cities the minority was often more faithful or at least eager to demonstrate its loyalty: this was the case with Slovenes in Trieste and Ruthenians in Lemberg. Francis Joseph's visit to Lemberg in 1880 coincided with two "parallel" celebrations, if we accept Hanák's term: Ruthenians commemorated the centenary of Joseph II's accession to the throne in 1780 and the subsequent abolition of serfdom, while Poles celebrated the 1830 November Uprising by combining "loyalty and the promotion of Polish national interests."⁷⁷ However, neither Poles nor Ruthenians managed to speak in one voice: the Poles did not succeed in making the celebration, which was a regular event that took place every year, something particularly impressive. The Ruthenians were divided, as Russophiles wanted to use the occasion to petition the sovereign whereas Ukrainophiles persisted in seeing Francis Joseph as Joseph II's heir; in the end they preferred to show a picture of unity.⁷⁸

In Brünn, where the Czechs saw the Germans as allies of Vienna, there was a reluctance to participate in ceremonies that were seen as organized by the majority, however, there were practically no examples of hostility or refusal to attend dynastic ceremonies. The authorities were cautious to avoid any counterdemonstration: on both sides of the monarchy town halls and public buildings were decked with flags, streets were illuminated, services were held by all religious leaders, and military bands marched and entertained the public. Everybody was involved and celebrated together. Cases of separate festivities did not occur in the cities we are concerned with but nevertheless could happen: in December 1908 in Laibach the unveiling of a statue of Francis Joseph was the occasion of a considerable celebration of city patriotism but it was interpreted by the Germans as a demonstration of Slovene nationalism (the town had by then become largely Slovene) and therefore they organized their

77 Daniel Unowsky, "Celebrating two Emperors and a Revolution: The Public Contest to Represent the Polish and Ruthenian Nations in 1880," in *The Limits of Loyalty: Imperial symbolism, popular allegiances, and state patriotism in the late Habsburg Monarchy*, ed. Laurence Cole and Daniel L. Unowsky (New York, Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2007), 116.

78 *Ibid.*, 124.

own commemoration at the city theater.⁷⁹ It was not less patriotic or loyal than the Slovene celebration but it was undoubtedly distinct, thus meaning that the transnational aspect of dynastic loyalty was somehow lost.

Beyond city patriotism Francis Joseph was the main element of transnational identification. The jubilees were occasions to build new infrastructure and create foundations, mainly for schools and charity. Each group named their initiatives after Francis Joseph, which was not only symbolic since he had to give permission to use his name for them. The foundations multiplied in 1898 and in 1908 providing scholarships and assistance to needy pupils and students. The phenomenon was particularly remarkable in Brünn where Germans and Czechs competed in founding new charity institutions “marketed” with the jubilee. The same could be said to some extent for Lemberg where the Ruthenians also declared their attachment to the emperor by naming many of their foundations after him as early as the 40-year jubilee in 1888. In Trieste, the celebrations of the jubilees reflected the political situation: Italians were divided between liberals sincerely faithful and eager to demonstrate city patriotism, and irredentists who ignored the festivities, while the Slovenes were unanimous in their support for the commemorations. Most press organs reported on the local festivities as well as on the Viennese celebrations: the emperor’s portrait adorned the front page on his birthday as well as on December 2, the date of his access to the throne in 1848. Special issues were published recalling the major events of his reign as well as his personal tragedies (the violent deaths of his brother Maximilian, his son Rudolph, and his wife Elisabeth). Due to his old age (78 in 1908) he was depicted as the “father” of the peoples regardless of language and confession.

TWO CASES OF “CONSTRUCTED” HABSBURG CITIES: CZERNOWITZ AND SARAJEVO. A COLONIAL PROJECT?

In order to affirm the domination of the Habsburg Empire over Bucovina, Czernowitz was transformed into a showcase where the achievements of the monarchy were displayed. Facing Russia and Romania, Czernowitz and Bucovina were assigned the mission of representing the west towards eastern “barbaric” lands. Although the press never ceased lamenting the “backwardness”

79 Egon Pelikan, “Laibach/Ljubljana: nationale und politische Selbstdarstellung im öffentlichen Raum um die Jahrhundertwende,” in *Urbane Eliten und kultureller Wandel: Bologna-Linz-Leipzig-Ljubljana* (Vienna: Verlag für Gesellschaftskritik, 1996), 183–84.

of the province, Czernowitz was in fact given institutions and infrastructure that were disproportionate with respect to its real significance. These were undeniably more “modern” than their counterparts in the neighboring countries (where some of them simply did not exist) and served well the purpose of displaying *Kultur* and development.⁸⁰ The “colonial” attitude of the monarchy toward Bucovina can be debated but there was a true intention to develop the province. But Czernowitz was also seen as a Potemkin village in comparison to the countryside, where underdevelopment was obvious, and the absence of industry reflected the province’s lack of dynamism. As a means to hide these problems, the monarchy insisted on showing its benevolent presence in town. Initiatives started in 1873 for the coming commemoration of Bucovina’s integration into the Habsburg lands. The major events of 1875 were the opening of the university and the erection of a monument dedicated to Austria (*Austria-Denkmal*). This monument was the only example of the allegorical representation of Austria in Bucovina, and was a clear tribute to the genius of Austrian rule over the province.⁸¹ The sculptor was a professor at the local school for applied arts (*Gewerbeschule*), Karl Pekary,⁸² and the Diet organized the unveiling of the statue on May 12; the prominent guest from Vienna was Minister of Religion and Education Karl von Stremayr, representing the Austrian government as well as the emperor. The monument was placed on the Criminalplatz (named so because of the tribunal that was located there) that was renamed Austria-Platz.⁸³ The celebration began in the morning with a religious service in all churches and synagogues followed by a march (*Huldigungsfestzug*) towards the square where the monument was standing. After the unveiling of the statue all the participants gathered in the hall of the university for the festive opening.⁸⁴ In the following years Czernowitz was visited not only by the emperor but also by his son Rudolph, heir to the throne, in July 1887,⁸⁵ as well as by other archdukes, showing interest and concern of the dynasty

80 John, “Schmelztiiegel’ – ‘Mosaik’ – regionales Zentrum 1880–1914,” 230.

81 The representation of allegorical Austria started in the eighteenth century, although the meaning changed in the nineteenth century when it was associated with homages (*Huldigung*) to Francis Joseph. It then lost its religious aspect and was often coupled with the emperor’s motto *Viribus unitis*. See Werner Telesko, *Geschichtsraum Österreich: Die Habsburger und ihre Geschichte in der bildenden Kunst des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Vienna: Böhlau, 2006), 64.

82 Kaindl, *Geschichte von Czernowitz von den ältesten Zeiten bis zur Gegenwart*, 76.

83 See the Urban Image Database (UID) of Lviv Center for Urban History of East Central Europe, <http://www.lvivcenter.org/en/uid/picture/?pictureid=3834> (accessed on September 14, 2015).

84 *Die Franz-Josephs Universität in Czernowitz im ersten Vierteljahrhundert ihres Bestandes* (Czernowitz: Bukowinaer Vereinsdruckerei, 1900), xxxvii.

85 Carl A. Romstorfer, *Entwicklungsgeschichte der k.k. Staats-Gewerbeschule in Czernowitz*, 101.

who did not want to appear to be neglecting the remote province. At the occasion of Francis Joseph's third visit in September 1880 the city built a triumphal arch (*Triumphpforte*) surmounted by the emperor's motto "*Viribus unitis.*"

But the city still lacked significant memorials, and an article of the *Czernowitzer Presse* from January 1897 lamented that it had no prestigious monument other than the *Austria-Denkmal*. The author suggested that the municipal council take the initiative of building a statue of Rudolph to commemorate the tenth anniversary of his death in 1889, which would not only decorate the town but also prove its "unwavering patriotism."⁸⁶ But it was his mother Elisabeth who was to benefit from the erection of a memorial. At a discussion at the municipal council in 1905 Counselor Onciul showed a model designed by Julius Zlamal, professor at the Orthodox *Oberrealschule*, and said that it was time to decide where to erect the statue. The obvious choice would have been the eponym new square but erecting a statue there had to wait until the square was paved. At the same time German counselors wanted to build a statue to Schiller on the same spot and there was obviously a competition between two messages: Schiller represented German culture and Elisabeth represented the Habsburg dynastic ideology. The project was slow to come to fruition, as the discussion about the location lasted for years. In the meantime, the imposing statue (eight meters high) was finished. The affair was in the hands of the association for embellishing the town (*Verschönerungsverein*) who proposed putting the statue in the Franz Josef-garden. There was a fierce debate in the press in January 1908 between the members of the association, the members of the committee in charge of the monument, and the town counselors. The case was complicated by the existence of a statue of Francis Joseph that had been created for the celebration of his jubilee in 1898, for which a proper location had to be found too. The city architect, Friedrich Haberlandt, expressed his opinion in the *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung* that there was no need to relegate Elisabeth to the garden in order to put Francis Joseph on Elisabeth Square because it was easy to find another appropriate location for the emperor. He thought that the empress should stay on the planned location for the square was the most beautiful of the town.⁸⁷ In an article published the next day, Professor Matthias Friedwagner, who belonged to the *Verschönerungsverein*, justified the committee's preference for the garden, saying it would better suit the personality of the deceased empress. In the end the costs of the

86 "Ein Denkmal," *Czernowitzer Presse*, nos. 152–53, January 15, 1897.

87 *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung*, no. 1200, January 12, 1908.



Figure 8.10. Statue of Francis Joseph in the public garden, Czernowitz. Source: Center for Urban History, L'viv, Urban Media Archive, Helmut Kusdat Collection, ID: 2547.

two monuments kept growing with no result in sight, and the statue of the emperor finally stayed in the *Volksgarten*.

On October 9, 1911, the members of the committee for the erection of the monument to Elisabeth were given an audience by the emperor as the inauguration was planned for the following week and they wanted to know who would represent the monarch at the ceremony.⁸⁸ Francis Joseph was, as usual, satisfied by the statue and said to sculptor Zlamal: “Already the photograph of the memorial pleased me very much; now I see the model and I have to say that I like the realization as well as the figures that give a very powerful effect.” Archduke Leopold Salvator was chosen to inaugurate the monument, which took place on October 15 and also included a delegation sent by King Carol of Romania.⁸⁹ The report in the *Czernowitzer Tagblatt* shows pictures of the unveiling. In the statue Elisabeth sits on a sort of throne emerging from a rock, her head slightly bent and her hands in her lap.⁹⁰ The ceremony was again a moment of city patriotism combined with dynastic loyalty, for every group

88 “Audienz des Kaiserin Elisabeth-Denkmalkomitees beim Kaiser,” *Czernowitzer Tagblatt*, no. 2590, October 13, 1911.

89 Archduke Leopold Salvator (1863–1931) was a member of the Toscana branch of the Habsburg family. He was *General-Artillerieinspektor* of the k.u.k. Army.

90 *Czernowitzer Tagblatt*, no. 2593, October 17, 1911.

participated to honor the empress, who was regarded as an apolitical figure transcending all differences. These events unified the peoples and were thus privileged in a city like Czernowitz.

A last example of identification with the monarchy was the erection of another monument that took place a few years before. A memorial was planned to celebrate the Austrian army by commemorating the 200th anniversary of the creation of Infantry regiment No. 41 “Archduke Eugene” stationed in Czernowitz since 1882. The so-called Soldier’s memorial (*Kriegerdenkmal*) was erected at the junction of Siebenbürgerstrasse and Rathausstrasse. The laying of the first stone was performed by the archduke in person on April 26, 1901, and the inauguration took place on December 2 to mark the date of Francis Joseph’s access to the throne.⁹¹ It showed an obelisk surmounted by an eagle; the basis bore an inscription in German, Romanian and Ruthenian: “The grateful Bukovina to the members of the infantry regiment Archduke Eugene No. 41 who fell on the fields of honor.”⁹²

Another crucial element of the patriotism of the land linked to Habsburg rule over Bucovina was undoubtedly the existence of the university. The festivities commemorating the twenty-fifth anniversary of its creation in 1900 were the occasion to affirm the “civilizing” mission of Austria in the province and to justify the choice of German as the language of the university. It was furthermore an argument in the competition with Lemberg where the university was considered to serve only one community.⁹³ Again the celebration took place on the symbolic date of Francis Joseph’s access to the throne, December 2. It had a transnational character due to the fact that the main hall was too small, so the ceremony was performed in the new residence of the Orthodox bishop.⁹⁴ Governor Baron Bourguignon and Minister of Religion and Public Education Wilhelm von Hartel were the leading personalities of the

91 *Bukowinaer Post*, no. 1355, September 23, 1901.

92 The monument was taken down in 1949. The pedestal survived and was brought back to its historic location in the 1990s. See <http://www.lvivcenter.org/en/uid/picture/?pictureid=3807> (accessed on September 14, 2015).

93 As stated in the commemorative brochure: “Significant parts of the population of the East make this need [German language] obvious. First of all, the German, Ruthenian and Romanian inhabitants of Bucovina would have to go too far away to Vienna or the even less appropriate Lemberg and that is why they demanded a local institution of higher education. In the same situation are the Germans living dispersed but in great number all over Galicia together with the Jewish population who expressed the same necessity for German teaching. Finally, the same thought animated the Ruthenian nationality in Galicia who accepts with satisfaction the transmission of science through German language and literature.” *Die Franz-Josephs Universität in Czernowitz im ersten Vierteljahrhundert ihres Bestandes*, xxiv.

94 Wagner, *Alma Mater Francisco Josephina*, 78.

celebration along with Bishop Repta. The German, Romanian and Russian consuls attended the festivities. A mass was held at the Catholic as well as at the Orthodox cathedrals. The religious authorities underlined at this occasion the “ecumenical” spirit of the university.⁹⁵

The legacy of Habsburg governance was transmitted after World War I by a considerable number of literary works stressing the multiculturalism of Czernowitz; they created the myth of peaceful coexistence between the communities and minimized conflicts. It was largely a retrospective view further accentuated by the traumatic experiences of World War II. Nevertheless, the myth was already present in the discourse of contemporaries. Behind the “construction” of the myth laid an undeniable intention of the authorities to represent Bucovina as a success of Habsburg enlightened rule, preserving the balance between the various components.⁹⁶ The concept of a civilizing mission was the basis of state ideology in Bucovina and it was deeply rooted in the mentalities of the local elite despite the national struggle.

The same project characterized the Austro-Hungarian administration in Bosnia and Herzegovina, but the result was different. Although the colonial nature of the occupation and later annexation of the provinces was undeniable, it was not identical to what the Western colonial powers undertook overseas.⁹⁷ For one, the populations of Bosnia and Herzegovina were not really foreign to the monarchy because Serbs and Croats lived elsewhere on the territory and neither their languages nor religions were unknown to the dynasty; even the Muslims, foreign as far as the religion was concerned, spoke Serbo-Croatian and were therefore able to communicate directly with the authorities.⁹⁸ Economic priorities were not put forward but there was indeed a will to modernize and develop the provinces by linking them to the rest of the monarchy by rail, starting their industrialization and exploiting their agricultural resources. The military dimension of the occupation remained a key element of the Austro-Hungarian administration and was resented as such by many. Until the annexation of 1908, all these initiatives were hindered, and the emperor could

95 Ekkehart Lebouton, “Der ökumenische Geist an der Czernowitzer Universität,” in Wagner, *Alma Mater Francisco Josephina*, 136–44.

96 A similar discussion unfolds in Larry Wolff’s latest book, *The Idea of Galicia*.

97 For a discussion of this question, see the introduction by Clemens Ruthner, “Bosnien-Herzegowina als k.u.k. Kolonie: Eine Einführung,” in the book he edited with Tamara Scheer, *Bosnien-Herzegowina und Österreich-Ungarn, 1878–1918: Annäherungen an eine Kolonie* (Tübingen: Narr Francke Attempto, 2018), 15–44.

98 On the process of identification in Bosnia-Herzegovina, see Hajdarpašić, *Whose Bosnia?*

not even visit since Bosnia and Herzegovina still formally belonged to the Ottoman Empire and was thus ruled by the sultan. The movement toward greater integration and “colonization” started only in 1908 but was stopped by the outbreak of the war.

One of the instruments of this discourse was the *Landesmuseum* (*Zemaljski muzej*) created in order to show the diversity of the provinces and their common cultural heritage, linked to the archeological and historical past of the entire region. A museographical society for Bosnia and Herzegovina (*Muzejskog društva za Bosnu i Hercegovinu*) was founded in 1884 with the aim of collecting objects for the future museum. It was an individual initiative of local doctor Julije Makanec, around whom gathered some civil servants and the mayor. The elite of the town was enthusiastic about the endeavor and participated actively in the search for material to enrich the museum, and by 1886 the association had nearly 400 members.⁹⁹ The chairman was Kosta Hörmann, a doctor and a civil servant of the local government. He served as the museum’s first director until 1904. In 1888, the museum was put under the control of the local government for this was the only way to finance its activities and build an appropriate building to accommodate the collections. Ćiro Truhelka (1865–1942), a local scholar and a trained archeologist, quickly became the person in charge of the project in scientific matters, and he was appointed director of the museum in 1905. The aim of the museum was to enhance the archeological resources of the provinces by showing a transnational heritage anterior to the Ottoman invasion, but it also looked at Turkish artifacts in order to present a narrative where all confessions would be treated equally. Evidence to the desire of Benjamin Kállay, the imperial administrator of the Condominium of Bosnia and Herzegovina, to put both provinces on the map of this new field of research was the organization in 1894 of the congress of archeology and anthropology in Sarajevo, an occasion to affirm *bošnjaštvo* transnational identity.¹⁰⁰ Yet, there was not a proper building for the museum, whose growing collections were badly housed in the Pension Fund building. Since the museum was also supposed to fulfill a pedagogical duty by welcoming school children, the need for a large building was evident, moreover, such a new building also

99 Oliver Bagarić, “Museum und nationale Identitäten: eine Geschichte des Landesmuseums Sarajevo,” *Südost-Forschungen* 67 (2008): 151.

100 Srećko M. Džaja, “Politički okviri kulturne i znanstvene djelatnosti u Bosni i Hercegovini u austro-ugarskom razdoblju (1878–1918)” [The political framework of cultural and scientific activities in Bosnia and Herzegovina at the time of Austria-Hungary], in Ćiro Truhelka: *Zbornik* (Zagreb: Matica Hrvatska, 1994), 13–14.

bolstered the narrative of the development of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The commission was given to Karel Pařík at the occasion of the new urban plan in 1906. The building was finished in 1909, and it shows an undeniable historicist style similar to many other museums built elsewhere in the empire, which Pařík had extensively studied during a trip that had also taken him abroad.¹⁰¹ The museum was divided into four pavilions (Prehistory, Antiquity, Ethnography, and Natural History), surrounding a botanical garden. In the end the Muslim presence in the museum was limited to very few elements. The same can be said about the museum's journal, *Glasnik Zemaljskog muzeja*, edited by Truhelka that was sent to all the schools of the territory.¹⁰²

Francis Joseph had only one occasion to visit Bosnia and Herzegovina, for the inauguration of the Diet in May 1910. He travelled to both capital cities of Sarajevo and Mostar. He arrived in Sarajevo on May 30 and stayed until June 3 when he departed for Mostar. The announcement of the visit caused incredible excitement in town: mayor Essad Kulović asked the inhabitants to decorate their houses and deck them with flags. The *Sarajevoer Tagblatt* devoted a special issue entitled “*Kaisernummer*” on May 31 to report on the first steps of the visit. The emperor was welcomed by the mayor and expressed his satisfaction in his usual polite and neutral tone: “With joyful heart I come here to visit for the first time My provincial capital and to spend a few days among the inhabitants of this dynamic city as well as with the citizens of this beautiful country. Decades of civilization work (*Kulturarbeit*) have created solid links between the most recent inhabitants of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy and its other parts; the feelings that are expressed to Me are a valuable sign that the loyalty towards the ruling house has deep roots.” The sovereign gave audiences to all associations, constitutive bodies, and communities, and visited both the Ashkenazi synagogue and the *Gazi Hrushev Bey* mosque. The consuls from Italy (Count Giacchi whom Francis Joseph addressed in Italian), Great Britain, Germany, France, and Russia attended the ceremony. Before leaving, the emperor went to the Ilidža thermal baths resort.¹⁰³ The press was predictably silent about the protests and polemics that the visit caused among Serbs outraged by the 1908 annexation. The visit was considered risky for the emperor could have been victim of an assassination attempt. Even the Croats tried to use the occasion to make their claims against Hungary heard.

101 Kuděla, Dimitrijević and Vacík, *Arhitekt Karel Pařík 1857–1942*, 122–23.

102 Bagarić, “Museum und nationale Identitäten,” 155.

103 *Kaisernummer*, *Sarajevoer Tagblatt*, May 31, 1910.

All these reasons may explain why the initiative launched in 1908 to erect a statue of the emperor never materialized. The idea was proposed by local architect Ignaz Langer and found immediate support; a committee was established on October 22 at the house of associations (*Vereinshaus*).¹⁰⁴ The next day the municipality joined the project and Deputy Mayor Nikola Mandić wrote an editorial on that topic in the *Sarajevoer Tagblatt*; later it was announced that Mayor Kulović would be the chairman of the committee.¹⁰⁵ But by 1909 nothing had happened. The *Sarajevoer Tagblatt* regularly appealed for donations, and in September a fund-raising concert was organized in Ilidža to accelerate the process, but after that there was no other mention of the monument. In the meantime, the state ideology promoted by former Finance Minister Kállay had proven a failure, since the local identity constructed on the allegiance of the Muslims did not rally all of them, and alienated Croats and Serbs who wanted neither to be assimilated to them nor to be deprived of their already developed national discourse. The Habsburg architecture of Sarajevo, combining modernity with “oriental” patterns, remains as a mute witness of this project, but no specific Habsburg memorial was built in the town before the 1914 assassination. In the days following the assassination an initiative to commemorate the deaths of Francis Ferdinand and Sophie was begun, initiated by Major Hugo Piffl, a teacher at the boys’ military boarding school (*Militärknabenpensionat*). His appeal to build an expiatory monument (*Sühnedenkmal*) was published in the press and the first funds were immediately collected.¹⁰⁶ There was no debate about the location: the memorial was to be erected on the corner of the Latin bridge (*Latinski most*) in front of the sidewalk where Gavrilo Princip had stood and fired at the car. Eugen Bori was commissioned to build the monument, which was inaugurated in 1917 on the third anniversary of the assassination. The memorial was composed of two columns 12 meters high united by a plaque where the portraits of both victims were engraved; a niche provided space for candles and flowers, and the passers-by were invited to stop for a prayer.¹⁰⁷ So the last element of Habsburg collective memory was built as the monarchy was already at war. Francis Joseph had died in 1916; the model of a multinational empire was contested in many of its territories. The last attempt at creating dynastic loyalty in multicultural Sarajevo had been ruined by the shots of June 28, 1914.

104 *Sarajevoer Tagblatt*, no. 123, October 23, 1908.

105 “Das Kaiser Franz Josef-Denkmal,” *Sarajevoer Tagblatt*, no. 124, October 24, 1908.

106 *Bosnische Post*, no. 147, July 2, 1914.

107 Sundhaussen, *Sarajevo*, 246. The monument was destroyed at the end of the war and the plaque put in the deposit of the local art gallery. There are projects nowadays to rebuild the memorial.

Conclusion

The world of the Habsburg cities was a dynamic space where many models coexisted and created vitality, emulation, and conflict. There was a permanent tension between center and periphery nourished by the mobility of people of all social strata. Each town aspired to become a regional center, but in so doing it not only interacted with its immediate periphery but also tried to establish more distant connections with other cities, especially with the capitals (the “real” centers). Such connections could also exist with neighboring countries, especially through links between a local ethnic group and the given country, fueling in some instances even irredentist sentiments. The “foreigners” were the neighboring populations coming from varying distances. Thus, a double process of “colonization” took place: the city was “colonized” by newcomers who changed its social and national balance, while in the city the new inhabitants also experienced a form of “internal” colonization by eventually assimilating into the strongest element of the town.¹ But the city also “colonized” its hinterland in return, expanding and reaching far beyond its historical limits. On the state level, there was also a “colonization” of Habsburg rule, practices, values, and symbols that were transposed with a clear message of civilization in the most remote provinces: Bucovina, Galicia, and Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Urbanization brought disorder in the city but also creativity thanks to the progress of education, the explosion of associative life, and a constantly growing cultural offer. The modernization of the town made it a permanent construction site generating chaos and perplexity. Disorder reigned in the streets and in the minds: city maps were drawn to adapt to the changes of the topography while simultaneously people had to become familiar with new streets and new neighbors. Compared to all this movement, the Habsburg state and dynastic ideology was seen as a paradigm of stability, “the world of yesterday”

1 Csáky, *Das Gedächtnis der Städte*, 345.

emphasized by Stefan Zweig.² Yet, this retrospective view created an image of the dynasty as the warrant of immobility and an obstacle to modernity. The center, however, was also dynamic, even in a reactive form. Hence one could argue that “colonization” happened not only in Czernowitz and Sarajevo but also right in the middle of the empire. The identification with Austria through the diffusion of dynastic Habsburg patriotism was indeed successful but it coexisted with other forms of identity that grew increasingly complex and were a source of conflict. When people came into contact with the urban world, they became unsure of their own identity: arriving from relatively homogeneous villages, they were confronted with linguistic and confessional diversity to which they had to adapt, while in return the town’s citizens had to adjust to the newcomers who were sometimes illiterate and mediocre speakers of the elite’s language. Thus, at the turn of the century there was a multiplication of identity levels bringing both vitality and conflict.

City patriotism was one of these levels: it was a reduced form of the transnational dynastic model. It united all the inhabitants of a land regardless of faith and language. National identity was superimposed onto this first level and introduced a new definition: one could still be a proud Moravian, but he or she had now to combine this identification with national belonging. The discourses on identity became manifold and complex, mixing the religious, national, social, and transnational, yet they could coexist in one person or in one family. This evolution gave rise to personal crises and to reflections on how to escape the growing tendency to “choose” one side. To some extent Social Democracy and Zionism were attempts to solve the problem: the first by remaining transnational, the second by being exclusive and looking for a solution outside of the empire. Indeed, the growth of the urban population strengthened the multicultural character of the cities but also made assimilation to the dominant group easier. Minorities benefited from the freedom of press and association, but they eventually had to mobilize for their cause since they were constantly struggling to achieve their goals faced with a majority that saw them as troublemakers and considered their “culture” inferior to their own. The potential for conflict was higher in some cities than in others. City patriotism developed into an appropriation of the town by one group claiming to embody its “real” character, to which newcomers were welcomed

2 Stefan Zweig, *The World of Yesterday* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2013, Reprint edition). In the original German: *Die Welt von Gestern: Erinnerungen eines Europäers* (Frankfurt: Fischer, 1985).

if they assimilated, which many did either out of pragmatism or by a sincere attraction. If individual identity was still potentially mixed, groups tended to develop a discourse of uniqueness and exclusion by defining ethnicity. As Rogers Brubaker notes: “Ethnicity is embodied and expressed not only in political projects and nationalist rhetoric but in everyday encounters, practical categories, commonsense knowledge, cultural idiom, cognitive schemes, interactional cues, discursive frames, organizational routines, social networks, and institutional forms.”³ This is a nearly perfect description of city life as it evolved in the monarchy from the 1880s on. Thus, identification to a group through the expression of ethnicity was not systematic and was subject to change and fluidity. Indeed, groups (the Czechs, the Germans) did not really exist but were seen through the frame of organizations claiming to represent them. This was particularly obvious in the case of “counter-state” nationalism, where a *Staatsnation* like Hungary was confronted by *Kulturnationen*. In Austria these nations, historical or not, challenged the transnational conception of the dynastic state; in Hungary they confronted the centralized Magyar state. Both categories created their own narratives and “invented traditions”: in the cities this occurred through the appropriation of the urban landscape through street names, monuments, commemorations, and events that crystallized national or dynastic feelings. Participation in both kinds of events shows that groups were neither homogenous nor static. Mobilization for a particular national project sometimes failed to happen, donations for monuments were insufficient, and boycotts unsuccessful.

The existence of more groups in a city did not mean that conflict was “neutralized,” as the example of Czernowitz shows; instead, specific national and social elements explain why some cities were more prone to confrontation than others. Social contest was still limited because only a few of these towns were truly industrialized; however, as seen in Trieste, social and national conflicts did not exclude each other, and that city was simultaneously one of the most dynamic of the monarchy and one of the most violent. The irredentist factor was determinant here, which could also be said of Sarajevo because of the attraction of Serbia. This was not necessarily the case elsewhere, for example for the Romanians in Bucovina, Transylvania, or Banat. Mutual understanding was still possible at many levels of social life: professional, religious, and when supra-national identity was in question. This was obvious at the outbreak of World War I, which would, however, ultimately destroy this multinational community.

3 Rogers Brubaker, *Ethnicity without Groups* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004), 2.

Conflict was also a driving force in urban society and one aspect of its dynamism. Here the concept of the “community of conflict” (*Konfliktgemeinschaft, konfliktní společenství*) formulated by Jan Křen to qualify Germans and Czechs is particularly relevant.⁴ As revealed by many cartoons, conflict could also be a “business” from which journalists and various activists made a living. These people discovered their vocation in the city where they were put in contact with the “others.” Education and access to the press and literature accelerated in the urban environment and national activists were born out of that breeding ground. The struggle for schools and cultural institutions was to become their battlefield: some were “traveling” agents of the cause going to another city as soon as they had succeeded or been prosecuted. Some of the dynamism of the city derived from conflicts over national belonging. The churches were involved as well for religious communities were less mixed than linguistic ones. Anti-Semitism was a common feature of many groups who considered the Jews to be allies of the majority. Election campaigns were moments of tension, especially after universal male suffrage was enacted for the *Reichsrat*. This created a discrepancy in the perception of the political life of the city for universal suffrage was not extended to municipal elections and thus the new mass parties were not able to “enter” the town hall.

Culture and its perception were an important element of the dispute so that we can easily speak of a “culture of conflict” as well as a “conflict of cultures.” In a multicultural society people were familiar with diversity but it seems that for many of them this juxtaposition of groups was not considered a problem or a danger for their own identity. The progressive crystallization of national identification claimed to assign a community to everyone, but this was not accepted as voluntarily as the activists hoped, and multiple and entangled identities were more a norm than an exception. This was certainly the case in cities, where people were less under the eyes of the leaders of the community (priests or teachers) as they were in villages or small towns. Focusing on language, national leaders engaged in *Kulturarbeit*. This created the tools for the division of schools and associations, which gathered the members of one particular community leading to condemnations of those who chose multiple communities as “indifferent” or worse, “treasonous.” Businessmen, shopkeepers, and women were regarded as being reluctant to adhere to nationalism.

4 Jan Křen, *Die Konfliktgemeinschaft: Tschechen und Deutsche; 1780–1918* (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1996; second edition, 2000). The original Czech version (*Konfliktní společenství*) was published in 1989 in the exiled community by Sixty-Eight-Publishers in Toronto.

The memory of such conflicts is probably the source of a different retrospective view, one that depicts the monarchy as undermined by nationalism. In Joseph Roth's short story, *The Bust of the Emperor* there is a clear condemnation of the process of national identification: "Everyone aligned themselves—whether they wanted to, or merely pretended to want to—with one or other of the many peoples there used to be in the old monarchy. For it had been discovered in the course of the nineteenth century that every individual had to be a member of a particular race or nation, if he wanted to be a fully rounded bourgeois individual." Roth describes then the process as the revenge of the "small" people: "all those who pressed fatuous claims to unlimited status within bourgeois society."⁵ Indeed the city was for some the place where personal achievement was made possible thanks to the multiplication of opportunities, but it could also disorient the newcomers who went looking for a group delivering a message to which they could adhere.

Culture was not so much about education as about bringing up people conscious of their national belonging. Indeed, school was one of the major instruments of assimilation, but it was also one of the means for the propagation of dynastic loyalty. The cultural differences were acknowledged by the imperial authorities who sought to turn them into an asset for the state and not a centrifugal force.⁶ There was a competition over faithfulness to the empire, as peoples and cities rivaled to be "*fidelissima*," reproaching the others who were more interested in delivering a national discourse. The conflict of cultures produced a hierarchy of values where the minorities ranked last; thus, in their struggle to gain ground they had to demonstrate their capacity to rival elite cultures. Their demand for equality of treatment was considered preposterous by the town's elite reluctant to share the leadership. The construction of national discourse was combined with the construction of buildings representing each group. The claim for participation was the major problem of Austria-Hungary for it concerned national minorities as well as socially underprivileged groups excluded from suffrage, to begin with women. The debate about women's suffrage reveals how much national activists were eager to "gender the nation," for women were supposed to be the first vectors of ethnicity, yet in reality they were not always seen as reliable enough to vote for the "national" parties, given that women maintained transnational activities. The town was the place where these political demands were concentrated. The potential of

5 *Collected Shorter Fiction of Joseph Roth*, translated by Michael Hoffmann (London: Granta Books, 2001), 241–42.

6 Judson, *The Habsburg Empire*, 452.

the masses was discovered by the politicians who tried to rally them; demonstrations were a new opportunity for the citizens, and the town became a political stage where violence—for reasons of social or national contest—sometimes erupted.

A look at the following period shows that the roots for exclusion were already present before World War I. The seeds of division materialized after 1918 and even more during and after World War II, destroying the former multicultural Habsburg society. The project of homogenization imagined by national activists became a reality in most of the territories of the former empire; frontiers were drawn in and between regions that had belonged for centuries to the same entity. After 1918, Czernowitz belonged successively to three different countries (Romania, the Soviet Union, and today Ukraine); Lemberg had the same fate (Poland, the Soviet Union, and again today Ukraine); Zagreb, Fiume (now Rijeka), Szabadka (now Subotica), and Sarajevo became Yugoslav and are now in three distinct states (Croatia, Serbia, Bosnia and Herzegovina). Nearly all changed names and some did so more than once: again, Czernowitz and Lemberg (now Chernivtsi and L'viv) are examples for the Germans, Poles, Romanians, Russians, and Ukrainians each had their own name for them. The national discourse claimed to deliver a unilateral version of history denying the contributions of other groups who were stigmatized as oppressors or simply ignored: the cities were “nationalized” by extermination (Jews), expulsion (Germans), and by a new form of urbanization that was actually a form of colonization to erase the traces of the former inhabitants. In very few places are the inhabitants still living with their former neighbors, such as Subotica where Serbs and Hungarians have succeeded in maintaining coexistence and bilingualism; the same is true of Romanians and Hungarians in Oradea, but is less true for Arad, Temesvár, and Bratislava for Slovaks, Hungarians, and Germans. Everywhere the Holocaust has left a tremendous void. The linguistic environment has changed radically; it is significantly poorer, and the “sound” of the city is more or less monotone. However, tourists from the former lands of the monarchy still come to Opatija as they did before 1918; Polish groups visit L'viv;⁷ Hungarians shop in Bratislava or travel to Transylvania. The “revival” that is taking place nowadays enables the restoration of a part of this memory, sometimes leading to dubious reconstructions and artificiality, and accompanied by a new distortion which idealizes the towns as havens of tolerance and produces touristic kitsch promoting nostalgia for the lost empire.

7 At least, this was the case before the Russian aggression against Ukraine in February 2022.

Appendix

STATISTICS

Cisleithania

Table A.1. Population and its ethnic composition in Brünn, 1880–1910 (in percentage)⁸

	1880	1890	1900	1910
Germans	59.22	67.24	62.82	65.28
Czechs	40.09	30.49	35.08	33.55
Total number of residents	82,655	94,462	109,346	125,008

Table A.2. Confessions in Brünn, 1880–1900 (in percentage)

	1880	1890	1900
Roman Catholics	87.10	90.43	90
Lutherans	1.75	2.36	1.82
Jews	6.57	7.49	7.53

Table A.3. Population and its ethnic composition in Czernowitz, 1880–1910 (in percentage)

	1880	1900	1910
Germans	49.82	49.46	47.61
Romanians	14.10	13.50	15.45
Ruthenes	18.05	18.71	17.55
Poles	14.70	12.35	17.14
Total number of residents	45,600	69,622	86,870

8 Figures from Lukaš Fasora, *Svobodný občan ve svobodné obci? Občanské elity a obecní samospráva města Brna 1851–1914* (Brno: Matice moravská, 2007), 29; and František Šujan, *Dějepis Brna* (Brno: Musejní spolek, 1928).

Table A.4. Confessions in Czernowitz, 1880–1900 (in percentage)

	1880	1900
Roman Catholics	29.33	26.85
Greek (and Armenian) Catholics	12.35	11.26
Greek (and Armenian) Orthodox	21.16	22.43
Lutherans	4.82	5.09
Jews	25.10	31

Table A.5. Population and its ethnic composition in Lemberg, 1880–1910 (in percentage)

	1880	1890	1900	1910
Germans	8.08	9.5	12.76	2.86
Poles	83.32	81.28	75.45	84.99
Ruthenes	5.69	7.08	9.48	10.53
Foreigners	1.36	1.76	2.68	2.39
Total number of residents	110,250	127,943	159,877	206,574

Table A.6. Confessions in Lemberg, 1869–1910 (in percentage)⁹

	1869	1890	1910
Roman Catholics	53.2	52.6	51.2
Greek Catholics	14.2	17.2	19.2
Jews	30.2	28.1	27.8

Table A.7. Population and its ethnic composition in Trieste, 1880–1910 (in percentage)

	1880	1890	1900	1910
Italians	61.36	63.53	65.41	51.3
Slovenes	18.13	17.6	13.81	24.79
Germans	3.54	4.51	4.97	5.16
Croats and Serbs	0.08	0.25	0.25	1.04
Total number of residents	144,844	157,466	178,599	229,510

9 Mick, "Nationalismus und Modernisierung in Lemberg 1867–1914," 178.

Table A.8. Confessions in Trieste, 1880–1910 (in percentage)

	1880	1890	1900	1910
Catholics	94.01	94.85	95.14	94.89
Orthodox	1.15	0.86	0.77	0.86
Lutherans	0.72	0.52	0.75	0.82
Calvinists	0.37	0.30	0.24	0.25
Jews	3.16	2.98	2.69	2.39

Transleithania

Table A.9. Population and its ethnic composition in Arad, 1880–1910 (in percentage)

	1880	1890	1900	1910
Hungarians	55.95	61.59	69.2	73
Germans	15.32	13.37	10	6.9
Romanians	18.10	18.72	17.7	16.3
Serbs	4.75	4.05	2.5	2.9
Total number of residents	37,158	42,052	56,260	63,166

Table A.10. Confessions in Arad, 1880–1910 (in percentage)

	1880	1890	1900	1910
Roman Catholics	51.23	51.84	52.10	51.7
Calvinists	8.57	9.29	10.93	12.1
Lutherans	2.65	2.90	3.14	3.5
Greek Catholics	1.70	2.45	2.21	2.4
Orthodox	23.54	22	20.61	20
Jews	12.41	11.40	10.81	10

Table A.11. Population and its ethnic composition in Fiume, 1880–1910 (in percentage)

	1880	1890	1900	1910
Italians	43.25	44.11	44.9	48.61
Croats	38.08	36.51	19.24	25.95
Slovenes	12.47	10.46	8.96	4.69
Hungarians	1.82	3.6	14.32	13.03
Germans	4.26	5.06	7.29	4.64
Total number of residents	20,981	29,494	38,955	49,806

Table A.12. Confessions in Fiume, 1880–1910 (in percentage)

	1880	1890	1900	1910
Roman Catholics	98.24	96.57	91.26	90.61
Lutherans	0.44	0.76	0.65	0.62
Calvinists	0.49	0.33	1.06	2.25
Orthodox	0.18	0.49	1.80	1.99
Jews	0.42	1.66	1.65	3.40

Table A.13. Population and its ethnic composition in Nagyvárad, 1880–1910 (in percentage)

	1880	1890	1900	1910
Hungarians	86.4	88.8	91.3	91.4
Germans	3.44	2.6	2.4	2.2
Romanians	6.6	5.33	5.1	5.6
Total number of residents	33,192	47,365	50,177	64,169

Table A.14. Confessions in Nagyvárad, 1880–1910 (in percentage)

	1880	1890	1900	1910
Roman Catholics	31.8	31.2	30.6	30.9
Greek Catholics	6.7	6.5	5.7	5.3
Orthodox	5.9	5.8	7.2	7.2
Lutherans	2.3	1.8	1.7	2.1
Calvinists	27	28.2	29.9	30.6
Unitarian	0.1	0.2	0.1	0.2
Jews	26	26.2	24.5	23.6

Table A.15. Population and its ethnic composition in Pozsony, 1880–1910 (in percentage)¹⁰

	1880	1890	1900	1910
Germans	63.40	59.92	50.4	41.9
Hungarians	16.18	19.91	30.5	40.5
Slovaks	15.15	16.62	15.5	14.9
Total number of residents	48,006	52,411	65,867	78,223

¹⁰ Ernő Deák, *Das Städtewesen der Länder der ungarischen Krone (1780–1918)*, 2 vols. (Vienna: ÖAW, 1989).

Table A.16. Confessions in Pozsony, 1880–1910 (in percentage)

	1880 ¹¹	1890	1900 ¹²	1910
Roman Catholics	73.54	74.45	74.6	75.7
Lutherans	14.45	14.02	12.6	11.5
Calvinists	1.06	1.00	1.7	1.9
Jews	10.34	10.29	10.8	10.5

Table A.17. Population and its ethnic composition in Szabadka, 1880–1910 (in percentage)

	1880	1890	1900	1910
Hungarians	49	52.69	55.8	58.8
Serbs (Bunjevci)	43.40	43.75	41.85	39
Germans	2.41	2.60	2.6	2
Total number of residents	61,367	72,737	83,593	94,610

Table A.18. Confessions in Szabadka, 1880–1910 (in percentage)

	1880	1890	1900	1910
Roman Catholics	92.43	91.54	90.36	90.31
Calvinists	0.58	0.91	1.22	1.50
Orthodox	3.98	3.41	3.91	3.68
Jews	2.68	3.49	3.61	3.74

Table A.19. Population and its ethnic composition in Temesvár, 1880–1910 (in percentage)

	1880	1890	1900	1910
Hungarians	21.6	26.7	32.3	39.4
Germans	55.0	55.9	50.0	43.6
Romanians	9.7	9.0	10.6	10.4
Serbs	5.1	3.8	4.6	4.8
Total number of residents	33,694	43,438	59,229	72,555

11 *A magyar korona országaiiban az 1881. év elején végrehajtott népszámlálás eredményei*, 211–18.

12 *A Magyar Korona országainak 1910. évi népszámlálása* [Volkszählung der Länder der ungarischen Krone für das Jahr 1910], vol. 1 (Budapest, 1912), 30–31.

Table A.20. Confessions in Temesvár, 1880–1910 (in percentage)

	1880	1890	1900	1910
Roman Catholics	65.4	68.1	71.4	66.9
Greek Catholics	1.7	1.5	1.0	1.0
Orthodox	14.4	12.1	10.1	15.4
Lutherans	3.1	2.8	2.1	2.2
Calvinists	3.0	2.8	3.4	4.8
Jews	11.9	12.2	11.6	9.27

Table A.21. Population and its ethnic composition in Zagreb, 1880–1910 (in percentage)¹³

	1880	1890	1900	1910
Croats	68.22	66.76	71.43	75.58
Serbs	3.29	3.14	4.22	4.51
Slovenes	13.45	15.19	10.38	6.85
Czechs	2.03	1.62	1.61	1.55
Hungarians	1.99	3.07	4.6	5.18
Germans	9.29	8.88	6.62	5.31
Total number of residents	30,830	41,481	61,002	79,403

Table A.22. Confessions in Zagreb, 1880–1910 (in percentage)¹⁴

	1880	1890	1900	1910
Roman Catholics	91.22	90.64	88.85	88
Orthodox	3.29	3.14	4.22	4.51
Protestants	0.79	0.91	1.09	1.39
Jews	4.4	5.01	5.54	5.61

¹³ Tomislav Timet, *Stambena izgradnja Zagreba do 1954. godine: Ekonomsko-historijska analiza* [Population of the city of Zagreb until 1954: Economic and historical analysis] (Zagreb: Jugoslovenska Akad. znanosti i umjetnosti, 1961), 50.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 54.

Sarajevo

Table A.23. Mother tongue in Sarajevo in 1910 by citizenship

	Bosnia and Herzegovina	Austria	Hungary	Foreigners
Serbian-Croatian	28,553	1,907	5,244	696
Spanish (Ladino)	4,662	35	12	166
German	165	3,490	1,444	147
Hungarian	31	160	1,197	4
Czech	30	1,568	93	11
Polish	11	550	26	5
Slovene	12	675	99	3
Italian	8	143	27	287
Romanian	3	19	18	19
Turkish	3			28
Romani	91			
Ruthenian		34		
Slovak		5	25	5
Albanian				103
Greek				36
French				10
English				10

Table A.24. Confessions in Sarajevo, 1851-1910 (in percentage)

	1851	1879	1885	1895	1910
Muslims	72.23	69.45	60.09	45.06	35.57
Orthodox	16.94	17.52	16.88	15.39	20.77
Roman Catholics	1.14	3.26	12.66	28.02	34.51
Jews	8.12	9.74	9.96	10.64	12.33

POLYGLOSSIA IN HUNGARIAN TOWNS

Figure A.1. Polyglossia in Arad in 1880*

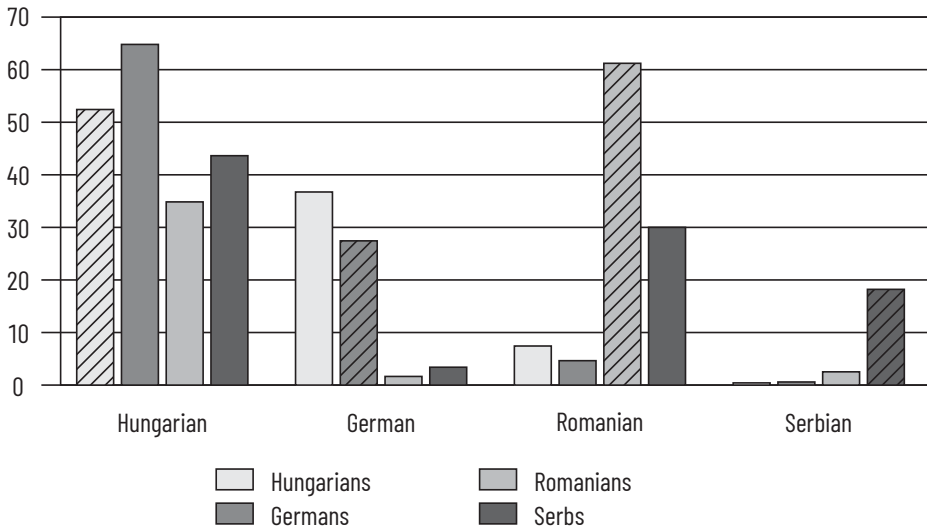


Figure A.2. Polyglossia in Nagyvárad in 1880*

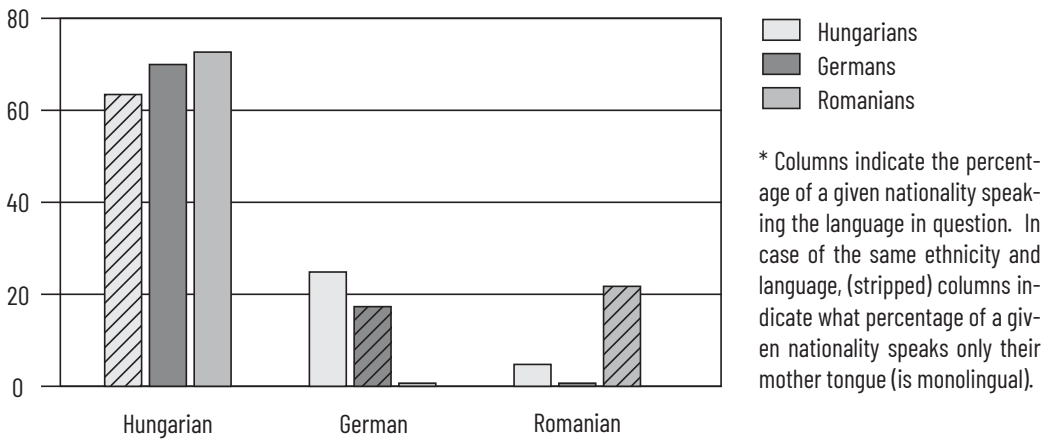


Figure A.3. Polyglossia in Pozsony in 1880*

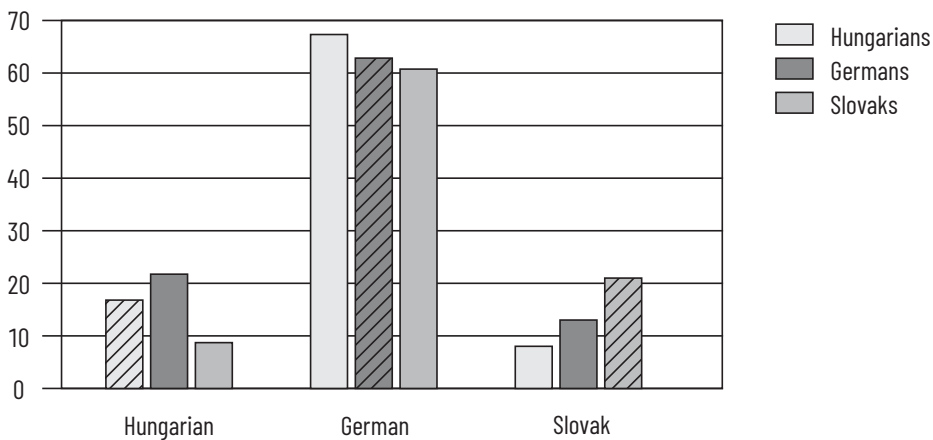


Figure A.4. Polyglossia in Szabadka in 1880*

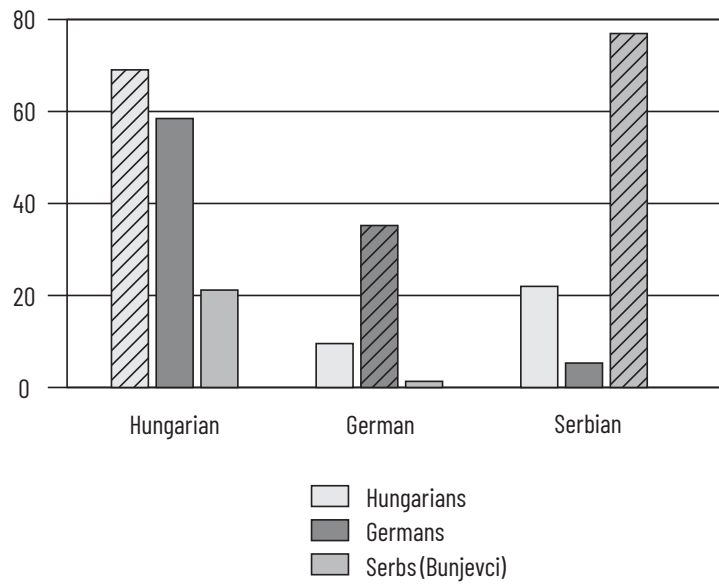


Figure A.5. Polyglossia in Temesvár in 1880*

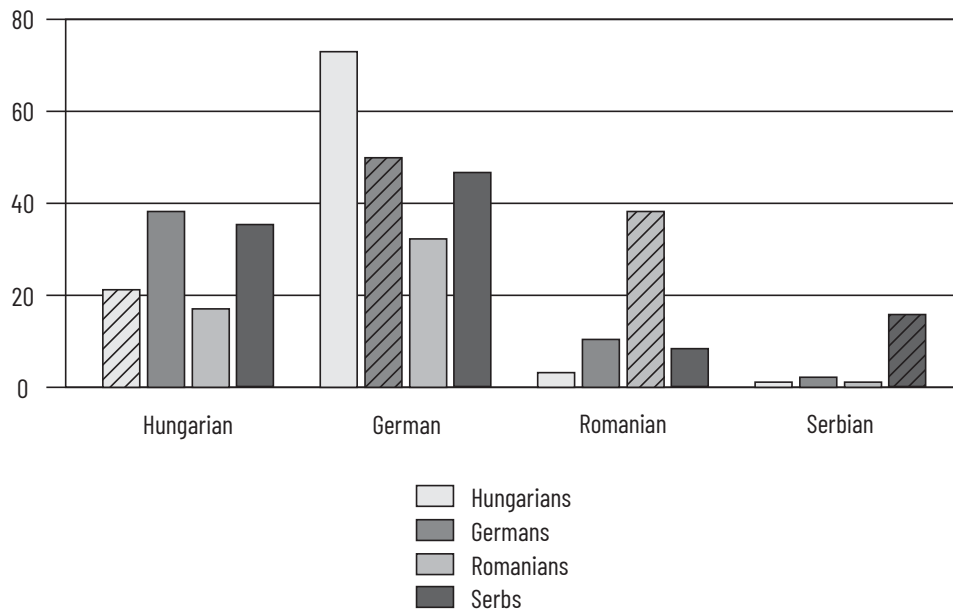


Table A.25. Literacy among religious groups in Hungary, 1890 (in percentage)

	Arad	Fiume	Nagyvárad	Pozsony	Szabadka	Temesvár	Zagreb
Roman Catholics	60.82	55.69	66.74	70.57	27.88	64.37	64.44
Greek Catholics	22.42		43.04			42.64	
Orthodox	26.73	75.86	29.05		35	46.69	80.31
Lutherans	74.11	90.22	79.23	78.33		73.97	80.21
Calvinists	68.14	83.67	61.52	84.19	68.12	67.7	71.42
Jews	80.85	82.2	71.32	77.07	77.28	72.75	84.08

Table A.26. Theaters

	Main theater (dates of construction)	Summer theater	Other theaters (operetta, cabaret)
Arad	1820; 1874	Nyári szinkör	
Brünn	1734; 1882		Czech theater 1884; <i>Städtische Redoutensaal</i>
Czernowitz	1878; 1905		Musikverein
Fiume	1805; 1885	Amfiteatro Fenice	
Lemberg	1842; 1900	Jabłonowski park; Kochanowski street	Hotel Bristol; Teatr Colosseum Hermanów; Casino de Paris; Wesoła Jama
Nagyvárad	1900	Rhédey kert	
Pozsony	1776; 1886	Arena	Reduta
Szabadka	1854	Palics	
Temesvár	1794; 1875	<i>Arena (Fabrik); Délvidéki kaszinó</i>	<i>Apollo; Orpheum (Fabrik)</i>
Trieste	1801 (renovated 1889)		<i>Politeama Rossetti (1878); Fenice (1879); teatro Goldoni; teatro Eden</i>
Zagreb	1834; 1895		

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Moravská Orlice [The Moravian Eagle]
Nagyvárad: Társadalmi és közgazdasági napilap [Nagyvárad: Social and economic daily]
Nagyvárad Hirlap: A biharmegyei és nagyvárad Hirlap függetlenségi és 48-as párt közlönye [The Nagyvárad Newspaper: Organ of the Independence Party of Bihar and Nagyvárad]
Nagyvárad Munkás Ujság [Nagyvárad Workers' Paper]
Nagyvárad Napló [Nagyvárad Chronicle]
Narodna Rada: Gazeta dlja pravoslavnogo bukovinsko-ruskogo naroda [National Council: Gazette for the Orthodox Ruthenian People of Bucovina]
Narodne Novine [National News]
Narodni Delavec: Glasilo "Narodne delavske organizacije" v Trstu [The National Worker: Paper of the National Organization of Workers]
Naša Sloga: Poučni, gospodarski i politični list [Our Concord: Educational, economic, and political paper]
Neue Arader Zeitung
Neue Temesvárer Zeitung: Organ für Politik und Volkswirtschaft
Novi List (New Paper)
L'osservatore triestino
Patria

- Političke Novosti: List za politički, gospodarstveni i društveni život* (Political News: Paper for political, economic, and associative life)
- Pressburger Humoristische Blätter*
- Preßburger jüdische Zeitung: Organ für die gesamten Interessen des Judentums*
- Preßburger Tagblatt*
- Preßburger Zeitung*
- La Pulce: Giornale umoristico, satirico, illustrato*
- Rakéta* [The Rocket]
- Rašple: Humoristicko-satyrický list dělného lidu* [The Rasp: Satirical paper for the working people]
- Riečki Novi List* [Rijeka's New Paper]
- Rovnost: List socialních demokratů českých* [Equality: Paper of the Czech Social Democrats]
- Ruska rada: Narodna gazeta* [The Ruthenian Council: National Paper]
- Sarajevoer Tagblatt: Unabhängige Zeitung zur Wahrung der österr.-ung. Interessen auf dem Balkan*
- Šípy* [Arrows]
- Škrat* [The Goblin]
- Slovenka: Glasilo slovenskega ženstva* [The Slovene Women: Newsletter of the Slovene women]
- Subotička Danica* [Subotica's Morning Star]
- Subotičke Novine: Bunjevačko-šokački nediljni list za misne obće stvari, prosvitu, zabavu i gazdinstvo* [Subotica's news: Bunjevac Sunday's paper for city's affairs, education, entertainment, and economy]
- Szabadka és Vidéke: Politikai és vegyes tartalmú heti közlöny* [Szabadka and its surroundings: Political and variety weekly Monitor]
- Szabadkai Friss Ujság* [Szabadka's Latest News]
- Szabadkai Hirlap: Társadalmi, közművelődési és szépirodalmi heti közlöny* [The Szabadka Paper: Social, educational, and literary weekly bulletin]
- Szabadkai Közlöny* [The Szabadka Monitor]
- Szabadság: Politikai, társadalmi, kereskedelmi és közigazdászati lap; A közjogi ellenzék közlönye* [Freedom: Political, social, commercial, and economic paper; Monitor of the Opposition]
- Temesvarer Zeitung*
- Der treue Eckart*
- Új Világ: A magyarországi szocialdemokrata-párt Arad-kerületi közlönye* [New World: Monitor of the Hungarian Social Democratic Party in the Arad district]
- Ungarländische Jüdische Zeitung*
- Viața Nouă: Organ politic național* [New Life: Political and national organ]
- La Voce del popolo: Giornale quotidiano*
- Volksfreund*
- Der wahre Jude: Organ für die Gesamtinteressen des Judenthums*
- Die Wahrheit*
- Westungarische Volksstimme: Organ der ungarländischen sozialdemokratischen Partei für die arbeitende Bevölkerung Westungarns*

- Zagrebački katolički List: Crkveno-bogoslovni časopis* [Zagreb Catholic Paper: Church-theological journal]
Zhalo: Satyrychno-humorystychnyy ilyustrovanyy chasopys [Sting: Satirical and humoristic illustrated journal].

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Catherine Horel has undertaken a comparative analysis of the societal, ethnic, and cultural diversity in the last decades of the Habsburg Monarchy as represented in twelve cities: Arad, Bratislava, Brno, Chernivtsi, Lviv, Oradea, Rijeka, Sarajevo, Subotica, Timișoara, Trieste, and Zagreb. By purposely selecting these cities, the author aims to counter the disproportionate attention that the largest cities in the empire receive.

With a focus on the aspects of everyday life faced by the city inhabitants (associations, schools, and municipal politics) the book avoids any idealization of the monarchy as a paradise of peaceful multiculturalism, and also avoids exaggerating conflicts. The author claims that the world of the Habsburg cities was a dynamic space where many models coexisted and created vitality, emulation, and conflict. Modernization brought about the dissolution of old structures, but also mobility, the progress of education, the explosion of associative life, and constantly growing cultural offerings.

Based on prodigious research, this study offers fascinating new vistas on the realities of linguistic, religious, and national diversity in the life of midsize cities across the Habsburg Monarchy. It is indispensable reading on the development of popular culture, civil society, and governance in modern Central Europe.

✦ *Gary B. Cohen, University of Minnesota, Twin Cities, author of Education and Middle-Class Society in Imperial Austria: 1848–1918*

Catherine Horel, one of the most profound experts on the history of the late Habsburg Empire, has approached the multifaceted and nuanced everyday life of multiculturalism in various cities of the empire between 1880 and 1914. A topic that is also significant for the present has found an exceptionally knowledgeable author.

✦ *Hannes Grandits, Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin, author of The End of Ottoman Rule in Bosnia*

This book offers a fresh new prism through which to view and compare the cultural and political landscapes of the late Habsburg Empire—mid-sized cities across Austria and Hungary. Horel pushes the urban history of East-Central Europe outside of the familiar (Vienna, Budapest, Prague) to reveal the dynamic lifeworlds in twelve multicultural cities ranging from Czernowitz to Fiume, Pozsony to Zagreb. With its solid statistical foundation, the book accomplishes what very few studies of the region do: it genuinely offers a history of both Transleithania and Cisleithania, finding in common urban experiences new ways to investigate familiar questions about nationality, state, and belonging.

✦ *Maureen Healy, Lewis & Clark College, author of Vienna and the Fall of the Habsburg Empire*

An ambitious contribution to our understanding of identity and conflict in the late Habsburg empire. Through her meticulous comparison of twelve provincial cities, the polyglot historian Catherine Horel brings an original perspective to the dynamics of social and national mobilization around the fin-de-siècle. Not only are the cities revealed as hotly contested spaces for their inhabitants, but also as competitors with each other in their struggle to modernize and assert civic pride. A key strength of the book, making it invaluable for all students of Austria-Hungary, is the equal attention paid to the Hungarian half of the empire.

✦ *Mark Cornwall, University of Southampton, author of The Undermining of Austria-Hungary*

About the Author

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