



Izidor Kršnjavi - A Sketch of an Intellectual at the Turn of the Twentieth Century

Igor Vranic

Thesis submitted for assessment with a view to
obtaining the degree of Doctor of History and Civilization
of the European University Institute

Florence, 04 October 2019

European University Institute
Department of History and Civilization

Izidor Kršnjavi - A Sketch of an Intellectual at the Turn of the
Twentieth Century

Igor Vranic

Thesis submitted for assessment with a view to
obtaining the degree of Doctor of History and Civilization
of the European University Institute

Examining Board

Prof Pieter M. Judson (EUI) - Supervisor
Prof Stéphane Van Damme, (EUI)
Prof Mark Cornwall, (University of Southampton)
Prof Stjepan Matković, (Croatian Institute for History, Zagreb)

© Igor Vranic, 2019

No part of this thesis may be copied, reproduced or transmitted without prior
permission of the author

**Researcher declaration to accompany the submission of written work
Department of History and Civilization - Doctoral Programme**

I Igor Vranic certify that I am the author of the work Izidor Kršnjavi - A Sketch of an Intellectual at the turn of the Twentieth Century I have presented for examination for the Ph.D. at the European University Institute. I also certify that this is solely my own original work, other than where I have clearly indicated, in this declaration and in the thesis, that it is the work of others.

I warrant that I have obtained all the permissions required for using any material from other copyrighted publications.

I certify that this work complies with the Code of Ethics in Academic Research issued by the European University Institute (IUE 332/2/10 (CA 297)).

The copyright of this work rests with its author. Quotation from it is permitted, provided that full acknowledgement is made. This work may not be reproduced without my prior written consent. This authorisation does not, to the best of my knowledge, infringe the rights of any third party.

I declare that this work consists of 71,393 words.

Statement of inclusion of previous work:

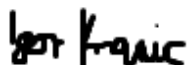
I confirm that chapter 3 draws upon an earlier article I published "Izidor Kršnjavi and Beginning of Arts and Crafts Movement in Zagreb in the 1880s", *Studia Slavica et Balcanica Petropolitana*, nr.21, vol.1/2017

I confirm that chapter 6 draws upon an earlier article I published "The problem of top-down empire building – the last Kronprinzenwerk volume on Croatia-Slavonia", *Prispevki za novejšo zgodovino / Contributions to Contemporary History*, vol.57, no.3/2017

Statement of language correction:

This thesis has been corrected for linguistic and stylistic errors. I certify that I have checked and approved all language corrections, and that these have not affected the content of this work.

Signature and date:



16/9/2019

Abstract

This study examines the cultural and political work of the first professional art historian in Croatia, Izidor Kršnjavi (1845-1927). Special emphasis is given to intellectual and political currents of mid-nineteenth century Vienna and Kršnjavi's education there. Education in the imperial center shaped his liberal worldview and influenced his socio-political ideas and actions. One of those ideas was reconciliation between the empire and the nation. Contrary to the widely-held belief that the empire and nations were permanently clashing, I present how the empire often unintentionally fostered nationalism. My aim is to present how the empire and the nation tried to find answers and resolve their imperial and national problems in the new socio-political context of growth in industrialization, population, literacy and nationalization of most spheres of life. More particularly, I want to present on Kršnjavi's case how imperial and national elites cooperated thanks to the Habsburg's policies of protecting and fostering diversity of its population, unlike the forceful assimilation of other European empires.

Kršnjavi's initiatives had the main aim in achieving political goals through the nationalization of culture. These initiatives included areas such as arts and crafts, architecture, scholarly work, academic and public lectures, and opened debates with main questions like the dominant character of the Croatian nation, the Croatian legal system and its national territories. Kršnjavi's liberal idea that he could persuade everyone to accept his view through open debate and arguments left him unable to adapt to the new socio-political reality at the turn of the twentieth century. Ironically, Kršnjavi's initiatives often had the opposite effects of what he intended - instead of bridging the national differences, his initiatives deepened them further.

Contents

Abstract	v
On terminology	1
1. Introduction	3
<u>On methodology</u>	3
<u>The Croatian lands in the second part of the nineteenth century</u>	7
<u>The biography of Kršnjavi</u>	18
2. Vienna School of Art History and its influence on Kršnjavi	35
<u>Rudolf von Eitelberger and the establishment of art history as an academic discipline</u>	35
<u>Importance of architecture and restoration to nationalism</u>	47
3. Kršnjavi and Arts Society	57
<u>The Establishment and Work of the Arts Society</u>	57
<u>First Exhibition</u>	62
<u>The Arts and Crafts Museum</u>	69
<u>The Second Art Exhibition</u>	76
<u>The Crafts School</u>	80
4. Kršnjavi and politics	91
<u>Membership in the National Party</u>	97
<u>Importance of the <i>Nagodba</i></u>	101
<u>Role of Dalmatia</u>	105
<u>The flag(s) incident</u>	118
<u>Nationalization of the incident</u>	130
5. Kršnjavi's university lectures	137
6. Kršnjavi as editor of <i>Kronprinzenwerk</i>	155
<u>Kršnjavi as professional historian</u>	175
7. Membership in the Party of Right	193
<u>Role of Bosnia-Herzegovina and anti-Serbian rhetoric</u>	200
CONCLUSION	211
Sources	213
Literature	213

On terminology

Like other historians, I experienced two major linguistic difficulties in writing about this topic – problems of translation and problems with the fixed meanings of particular words. Whenever I use terms for national and social groups (Croatians, Hungarians, Imperial center), I am referring only to political elites that claimed to represent broader populations, which were not coherent groups and usually differed internally in their views, unless otherwise noted. I use Croatian names of places in the thesis since today they are better known than their German, Italian, and Hungarian variations. Also, I do not presuppose that particular nations were “civilized/modern” or “barbarian/backward,” but I use these terms as the stereotypes and thought categories used by my historical actors, in the same way that I use notions of West/East. Since the English language has only one name for Hungary, I will use other terms in brackets if they are necessary for the context – ‘Ugarska’ for the lands of the Crown of Saint Stephen, and ‘Magyarország’ for the national state of the Hungarian people. I left the term ‘*Nagodba*’ untranslated (Croatian-Hungarian Compromise) in order to avoid confusion with references to the Austro-Hungarian Compromise. The terms ‘*magjaronstvo*’ and ‘*Magyarone*’ refer to the politicians (and their political ideologies) who closely cooperated with Hungarian political circles after the *Nagodba*. *Magyarone* generally connoted a pejorative meaning in Croatian public discourse.

1. Introduction

On methodology

The aim of my thesis is to use the case of Croatian cultural worker and politician, Izidor Kršnjavi, to show how concepts of imperial patriotism and nationalism in the Habsburg Monarchy were not mutually exclusive, but instead could go hand in hand, even if such a worldview was probably not universally shared. More precisely, I want to explain the relationship between imperial and national ideas, focusing on the countereffects of imperial policies that unintentionally instigated nationalist sentiments while trying to eradicate them. Kršnjavi's career highlights the discrepancies in the widely accepted view that the last decades of the Habsburg Monarchy were marked by conflicts between imperial elites against national movements, while in fact, the two often cooperated quite closely. By researching Kršnjavi as an influential individual, I aim to place the late nineteenth-century history of Croatia in the broader context of the Habsburg Monarchy. Kršnjavi proved to be a fruitful object for research since his example illustrates all the major currents of the late Monarchy on an individual level, namely the Dualist system as a symbol of progress and modernization in all fields of life; political liberalism and its later radicalization.

Kršnjavi believed that the nation should be built primarily through means that were perceived at the time as non-political, such as education, culture or crafts production, while at the same time a majority of politicians were engaging in more explicit forms of political nation building. Kršnjavi's cultural nation building initiatives allow us to analyze the two main approaches to nation building at the time. The first being a mid-nineteenth century approach as a cultural project and the second, starting in the 1880s which focused more on specifically political matters. Kršnjavi's practice of politics by formally non-political means such as through cultural or educational policy differed from the typical late nineteenth century activists and politicians dealing exclusively with politics. Kršnjavi lived through times that became increasingly politically contentious as politics became more popular. His cultural approach to nationalism was a leftover of an earlier period and contrasted with the openly political styles that developed by the end of the nineteenth century. Finally, I want to show how people often make radical changes in their

lives due to unexpected circumstances yet nevertheless try to make sense and continuity out of their life stories. Kršnjavi's imperial/national symbiosis functioned well as long as the Empire and dualism went through its golden period. The Empire faced various changes at the beginning of the twentieth century, of which most notable was coming to power of anti-Dualist and anti-system Hungarian opposition in 1905. Such dysfunctional empire made Kršnjavi's self-identification with it more difficult, and he gave much more importance to the national cause.

Although contemporary historiography on the Habsburg Monarchy has developed inspiring new approaches, most of these works rarely deal with Croatia. Most Croatian historiography of the late Habsburg Monarchy has also not followed international trends and remains working in the decontextualized paradigm of mid-twentieth century Yugoslav historiography. Since I will discuss literature more in depth later in the thesis, here I will simply point out some general deficiencies. Firstly, due to the complex nature of the Habsburg Monarchy and its cultural policies, most of the literature dealing with Western Europe was not considered by historians to be suitable for comparison. Research dealing with the Western maritime empires is usually dominated by a focus on the policies forced on overseas colonies.¹ Unlike their Western counterparts, however, the Habsburg Monarchy lacked overseas colonies, although it did have Bosnia and Herzegovina as a quasi-colony from 1878-1908, and it practiced imperial policies on its crown lands in a different manner from a maritime empire. Instead of trying to subjugate and

¹ Sebastian Conrad, *Globalisation and the Nation in Imperial Germany* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012); Sebastian Conrad, "Rethinking German Colonialism in a Global Age," *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 41, no. 4 (2013); David Todd, "A French Imperial Meridian, 1814–1870," *Past & Present* 210, no. 1 (2011); Gabriel Paquette, *Imperial Portugal in the Age of Atlantic Revolutions - The Luso-Brazilian World, c. 1770-1850* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013); Stephen Jacobson, "Imperial Ambitions in an Era of Decline," in *Endless Empire: Spain's Retreat, Europe's Eclipse, America's Decline*, ed. Alfred W. McCoy, Josep M. Fradera, and Stephen Jacobson (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2012); Josep M. Fradera, "Empires in Retreat: Spain and Portugal after the Napoleonic Wars," in *Endless Empire: Spain's Retreat, Europe's Eclipse, America's Decline*, ed. Alfred W. McCoy, Josep M. Fradera, and Stephen Jacobson (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2012); Annie E. Coombes, *Reinventing Africa: Museums, Material Culture and Popular Imagination in Late Victorian and Edwardian England* (Yale University Press, 1997); Daniel Gorman, *Imperial Citizenship: Empire and the Question of Belonging* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2006); John M. MacKenzie, *Museums and Empire - Natural History, Human Cultures and Colonial Identities* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2010).

dominate its heterogeneous population, part of the state elite developed practices that attempted to show the equal value of all the different groups living within the Monarchy.²

Imperial elites increasingly attempted to legitimize the existence of the Habsburg Empire in the late nineteenth century by referring to the way the Empire united, fostered and nurtured many cultures. As Deborah Coen points out, the Habsburg dynasty had originally portrayed “their lands as the fulfillment of the medieval dream of universal empire, as the *bulwark of Christendom* against the *infidel* Ottomans, and as a mediator between *West* and *East*.”³ After the cessation of the Ottoman threats in the eighteenth century, the dynasty began to present itself as a patron of arts and sciences, and as a protector of a mosaic of cultures inhabiting territories of the Monarchy. The main goal of the dynasty and ruling elites was to demonstrate the necessity of Habsburg rule and the inseparability of its heterogeneous territories and their organic interconnectedness. In all its segments, diversity had been seen as an enriching factor inseparably connecting various territories and their populations. In order to prove such claims, the Habsburgs supported the development of various scholarly disciplines, ranging from social sciences and humanities (such as history, art history, linguistics, statistics) to natural-technical ones (such as climatology, seismography, flora and fauna). As Coen demonstrated, the Habsburgs, like other imperial rulers, faced challenges in making sense of their various territories and peoples. The only major difference in the Habsburg case was the lack of a clear demarcation between *civilized* and *uncivilized* territories. Thus, the state’s elites referred to newly acquired territories (Galicia in 1772, Bukovina in 1774, Bosnia-Herzegovina in 1878) as *natural* extensions of its rule and not as colonies.⁴

² Pieter M. Judson, *The Habsburg Empire - A New History* (Cambridge, London: Harvard University Press, 2016), 12-15, 268; Deborah R. Coen, *Climate in Motion - Science, Empire, and the Problem of Scale* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2018); John Deák, *Forging a Multinational State : State Making in Imperial Austria from the Enlightenment to the First World War* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2015); Mark Cornwall, “The Habsburg Monarchy,” in *What Is a Nation? Europe 1789-1914*, ed. Timothy Baycroft and Mark Hewitson (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006); David Rechter, *Becoming Habsburg - The Jews of Austrian Bukovina 1774-1918* (Oxford: The Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, 2013); Nancy M. Wingfield, ed., *Creating the Other: Ethnic Conflict & Nationalism in Habsburg Central Europe* (New York ; Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2003); Jan Surman, “The Circulation of Scientific Knowledge in the Late Habsburg Monarchy: Multicultural Perspectives on Imperial Scholarship,” *Austrian History Yearbook* 46 (2015).

³ Coen, *Climate in Motion - Science, Empire, and the Problem of Scale*, 44.

⁴ Coen, 73.

Therefore, it is very difficult to compare the policies of the Habsburg Monarchy to those of its western maritime imperial counterparts. Another problem with the literature are the texts dealing with art history and cultural politics in Central Europe. Since most of the contributions were written by art historians, there is a noticeable lack of historical contextualization, the main focus being on specific artistic elements or on particular writings. Nevertheless, a few authors have developed useful historical analyses of art historiography like Mathew Rampley and Diana Reynolds Cordileone.⁵

⁵ Matthew Rampley, *The Vienna School of Art History: Empire and the Politics of Scholarship, 1847–1918* (State College: Penn State Press, 2013); Matthew Rampley, “Art History and the Politics of Empire: Rethinking the Vienna School,” *The Art Bulletin* 91, no. 4 (December 1, 2009): 446–62; Matthew Rampley, “The Idea of a Scientific Discipline: Rudolf von Eitelberger and the Emergence of Art History in Vienna, 1847–1873,” *Art History* 34, no. 1 (2011): 54–79; Matthew Rampley, “Dalmatia Is Italian! The Politics of Art History in Austria Hungary and South Eastern Europe 1862-1930,” *Balkan Studies (Etudes Balkaniques)* 44, no. 4 (2008): 130–47; Diana Reynolds Cordileone, *Alois Riegl in Vienna 1875–1905* (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2014); Diana Reynolds Cordileone, “The Austrian Synthesis: Folk Arts and Viennese Craft 1878-1900,” *Unpublished*, n.d.; Eve Blau and Monika Platzer, eds., *Shaping the Great City: Modern Architecture in Central Europe, 1890-1937* (Munich: Prestel, 2000); Michelle Facos and Sharon Hirsh, eds., *Art, Culture and National Identity in Fin-de-Siècle Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003); Anthony Alofsin, *When Buildings Speak: Architecture as Language in the Habsburg Empire and Its Aftermath, 1867-1933* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2006); Ákos Moravánsky, *Competing Visions: Aesthetic Invention and Social Imagination in Central European Architecture, 1867-1918* (Cambridge, Mass., London: MIT Press, 1998); David Crowley, *National Style and Nation-State: Design in Poland from the Vernacular Revival to the International Style* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1992).

The Croatian lands in the second part of the nineteenth century

In this section I will try to give a brief description of the political situation in the Croatian lands to situate the conditions in which Kršnjavi appeared as a political-national worker. The context will be simple due to the limited scope of the thesis. Literature dealing with the late nineteenth and the early twentieth century Croatia can be divided into two major groups. The first of these are the best-known scholars of the entire Habsburg Monarchy, who usually omit the Croatian lands (or mention them only briefly) from their general analyses and debates. The most famous historians forming this group were Carlisle A. Macartney⁶ and Robert A. Kann.⁷ The second group is made up of Croatian and Yugoslav nationalist historians whose overviews of national histories during the period of the Monarchy are usually completely decontextualized. These historical overviews are usually written as social biographies of nations in order to show their continued existence over time. The only difference between Croatian nationalist and Yugoslav communist historians in such writings was the choice of historical topics to emphasize. Although these topics partially overlapped, Croatian nationalist historians tended to emphasize the national uniqueness and continuity of the Croatian state's rights since the Middle Ages, or as they interpreted it, the continuity of the state in a legal-political approach. In their view, Croatia had been an independent state during the early Middle Ages before voluntarily uniting with Hungary in 1102 and Austria in 1526 (when the Habsburgs had become Kings of Hungary). By contrast, Yugoslav communist historians gave special attention to social histories of the 'people' (workers and peasants), particularly to early-modern peasant revolts, which were interpreted as pre-communist revolutions against the property owners, that is, the feudal nobility.

Mirjana Gross, one of the most important historians in Croatia after 1945, was both Croatian and Yugoslav nationalist with explicit anti-Hungarian and anti-Austrian stances. Her bias is clearly visible in most of her writings which makes them particularly unprofessional and weak. Besides her anti-Hungarian and anti-Austrian stances, she was obsessed with unacademic criticism

⁶ C. A. Macartney, *The Habsburg Empire, 1790-1918*, First edition (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1971).

⁷ Robert A. Kann, *The Multinational Empire: Nationalism and National Reform in the Habsburg Monarchy 1848-1918* (New York: Octagon Books, 1964); Robert A. Kann, *The Peoples of the Eastern Habsburg Lands, 1526-1918*, A History of East Central Europe, v. 6 (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1984).

of Party of Right, unless they were criticizing Hungarian and Austrian politicians, and praise of Yugoslav-orientated parties. Gross especially praised Erazmo Barčić who supported Yugoslav cooperation, although being member of the Party of Right. Most illustrative example is her article “Croatian National-Integrational Ideologies from the end of Illyrism to the creation of Yugoslavia”⁸ where all her historical frustrations and wishful thinking is summarized. The fact that her criticism of Party of Right reduced after Croatia gained independence, most visible if we compare her *Povijest pravaške ideologije* with *Izvorno pravaštvo*, clearly points out that she was aware of political bias in her writing. Nevertheless, her works provide at least some useful factual data, beside obvious historiographic deficiencies caused by ideological bias. Besides her works on Party of Right, she also wrote on Croat-Serb Coalition, mid-nineteenth century modernization and the Belvedere’s circle relations with the Party of Right.⁹

The general overview written by a group of communist historians at the University of Zagreb is still valuable for its data.¹⁰ Although the title of the work is *History of Croatian People*, the work is a concise account of the most significant political events and actions of elites that took place before World War I. The general aim of the work was to demonstrate and prove the unity of the Croatian lands over time, and the legitimacy of their incorporation into Yugoslavia. This was shown to be particularly important in the chapters on Dalmatia¹¹ and Istria, since these regions were only incorporated into the Yugoslav state in the final stages of World War II. Previously, they had been under Venetian, Austrian, and Italian rule. Such reasoning becomes even more evident if we know that all of the authors – Jaroslav Šidak, Mirjana Gross, Dragovan

⁸ Mirjana Gross, “Croatian National-Integrational Ideologies from the end of Illyrism to the creation of Yugoslavia.” *Austrian History Yearbook* 15 (1979).

⁹ Gross, Mirjana. *Vladavina Hrvatsko-Srpske Koalicije 1906-1907*. (Beograd: Institut društvenih nauka, 1960.); “Hrvatska Politika Velikoaustrijskog Kruga Oko Prijestolonasljednika Franje Ferdinanda.” *Časopis Za Suvremenu Povijest* 2, no. 2 (1971); *Povijest Pravaške Ideologije*. (Zagreb: Sveučilište u Zagrebu, 1973.); “Croatian National-Integrational Ideologies from the end of Illyrism to the creation of Yugoslavia.” *Austrian History Yearbook* 15 (1979); *Počeci moderne Hrvatske – Neoapsolutizam u civilnoj Hrvatskoj i Slavoniji 1850.-1860*. (Zagreb: Globus, 1985.); “The Union of Dalmatia with Northern Croatia: A Crucial Question of the Croatian National Integration in the Nineteenth Century.” In *The National Question in Europe in Historical Context*, edited by Mikulaš Teich and Roy Porter. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993); *Izvorno pravaštvo* (Zagreb: Golden Marketing, 2000); Gross, Mirjana, and Agneza Szabo. *Prema hrvatskome građanskom društvu - Društveni razvoj u Civilnoj Hrvatskoj i Slavoniji šezdesetih i sedamdesetih godina 19. stoljeća*. (Zagreb: Globus, 1992).

¹⁰ Jaroslav Šidak et al., *Povijest Hrvatskog Naroda 1860 - 1914* (Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 1968).

¹¹ After WWI, Italy came by the Treaty of Rappallo to possess Zadar, Lastovo, Cres, Lošinj, Palagruža. Rijeka was nominally proclaimed independent state, but remained under Italian influence.

Šepić and Igor Karaman – made up several of the different expert teams for the newly formed Yugoslav state.¹² Jaroslav Šidak also wrote *Studies from Croatian 19th century history* which deals with broad range of topics from the period such as development of Illyrian and Yugoslav ideas, modernization, and various influential individuals.¹³ Dragovan Šepić's major work is *Croatian movement in Istria during 19th and early 20th century*,¹⁴ while Igor Karaman dealt mostly with 19th century economic history of Croatia.¹⁵ Dragutin Pavličević, Stefano Petrunaro and Vaso Bogdanov published works on public riots in 1883, 1897 and 1903, while Filip Šimetin Šegvić's book deals with public riots during Franz Joseph's visit to Zagreb in 1895.¹⁶

Josip Vrandečić and Antoni Cetnarowicz wrote studies about 19th century Dalmatia with special emphasis on autonomist and annexionist movements.¹⁷ Most popular general overviews of Croatian history with numerous editions are those of Dragutin Pavličević and Trpimir Macan.¹⁸ Recently two new general overviews of Croatian history were published – *Croatia from 7th century until contemporary age* by Dinko Šokčević and a volume edited by Vlasta Švogor and Jasna Turkalj titled *Cornerstones of modern Croatia – Croatian lands during the long 19th century*.¹⁹

In the nineteenth century, these Croatian lands were divided into several parts – the Kingdom of Croatia and Slavonia, Istria, Dalmatia, and the Military Frontier, which was demilitarized in 1873 and incorporated into the Kingdom of Croatia in 1881. Like elsewhere in Europe, the nation-building process intensified in the Croatian lands in the nineteenth century

¹² For most recent consideration on the development of post-war historiography in Croatia see Magdalena Najbar-Agičić, *U skladu s marksizmom ili činjenicama? Hrvatska historiografija 1945-1960* (Zagreb: Ibis grafika, 2013).

¹³ Jaroslav Šidak, *Studije iz hrvatske povijesti XIX stoljeća* (Zagreb: Sveučilište u Zagrebu, Institut za hrvatsku povijest, 1973).

¹⁴ Dragovan Šepić, *Hrvatski pokret u Istri u XIX. i na početku XX. stoljeća* (Račice:Reprezent, 2004).

¹⁵ Igor Karaman, *Hrvatska na pragu modernizacije: (1750.-1918.)* (Zagreb: Naklada Ljevak, 2000).

¹⁶ Dragutin Pavličević, *Buna u bivšoj Banskoj krajini 1883.* (Zagreb: Povijesno društvo Hrvatske, 1973); Stefano Petrunaro, *Kamenje i puške: društveni protest na hrvatskom selu krajem XIX. stoljeća* (Zagreb: Srednja Europa, 2011); Vaso Bogdanov, *Hrvatski narodni pokret: 1903-4* (Zagreb: Izdavački zavod Jugoslavenske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti, 1961); Filip Šimetin Šegvić, *Patriotizam i bunt: Franjo Josip I. u Zagrebu 1895. godine* (Zagreb: Srednja Europa, 2014).

¹⁷ Josip Vrandečić, *Dalmatinski autonomistički pokret u XIX. stoljeću* (Zagreb: Dom i svijet, 2002), Antoni Cetnarowicz, *Narodni preporod u Dalmaciji* (Zagreb: Srednja Europa, 2006).

¹⁸ Dragutin Pavličević, *Povijest Hrvatske* (Zagreb: Naklada Pavičić, 1994); Trpimir Macan, *Povijest hrvatskog naroda* (Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 1971).

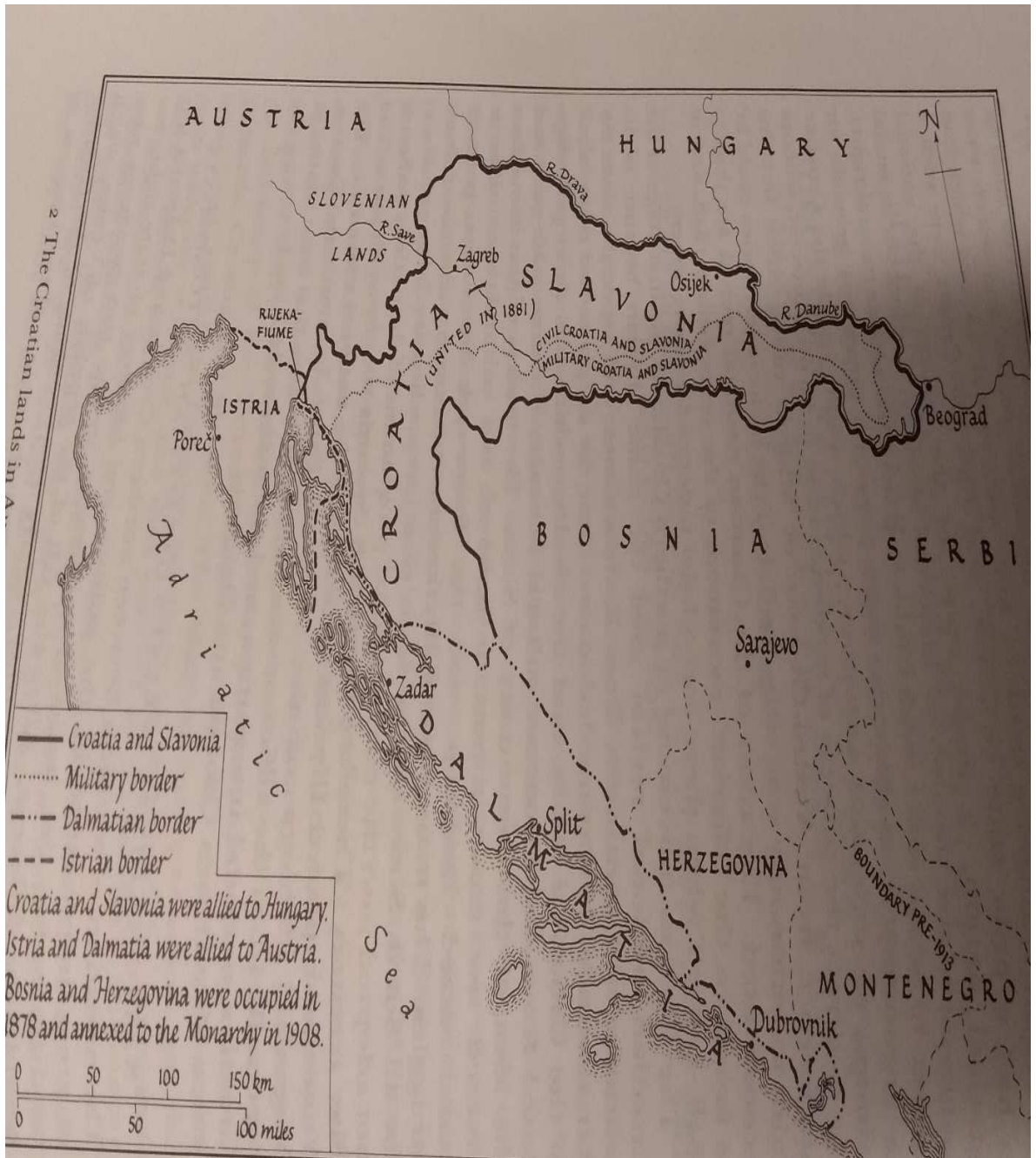
¹⁹ Dinko Šokčević, *Hrvatska od stoljeća 7. do danas* (Zagreb: Durieux, 2016); *Temelji moderne Hrvatske – Hrvatske zemlje u „dugom“ 19. stoljeću*, edited by Vlasta Švogor and Jasna Turkalj (Zagreb: Matica Hrvatska, 2016).

and numerous nation-builders appeared in different regions of Croatia, most of whom called for the reunification of Croatian lands into a single state-administrative unit. In 1867 when the Habsburg empire was divided into a Hungarian and Austrian states, the Croatian lands were formally divided between the two. Dalmatia and Istria were part of Austria while the rest was part of Hungary. After this 1867 Compromise, Austria became a supranational state. German was the main language with which the crown land bureaucracies communicated to the Imperial government as well as the official language of the military command. Hungary, meanwhile, attempted to create a national state of Hungarians on all the territories it acquired after the Compromise.²⁰ Due to the fact that the Hungarian part of the Monarchy hosted a significant number of non-Hungarian speakers, mostly Croatian-, Romanian-, Serb-, and Slovakian-speaking subjects, the ruling authorities sought and ultimately failed to assimilate and nationalize those groups through the imposition of the Hungarian language in education and administration.²¹

After 1867, the Kingdom of Croatia and Slavonia, including the Military Frontier, came under Hungarian administration and Istria and Dalmatia (coast) came under Austrian administration, while the city of Rijeka-Fiume was in theory a part of Croatia, but in practice remained an autonomous unit under Hungary. In 1868, Croatian and Hungarian representatives created an agreement known as *Nagodba*, which defined Croatian and Hungarian constitutional relations. In theory, as a result of this Croatian-Hungarian settlement, the Kingdom of Croatia and Slavonia would have its own independent internal affairs, budget, judiciary system, religion and education. The Kingdom of Croatia and Slavonia gained the right to use 45% of its tax income independently while the rest would be used in agreement with Hungary. Around 7% of this income was non-refundable, since it went to the common expenses of the Monarchy. The Kingdom of Croatia and Slavonia would now be governed by the *Ban* (viceroys), who was responsible to the Croatian Sabor (Parliament). The *Ban* was appointed by the Hungarian minister president and confirmed by the king.

²⁰ Judson, *The Habsburg Empire - A New History*, 265; Rampley, "Art History and the Politics of Empire," 447.

²¹ For a detailed discussion on Hungarian language teaching policies see Ágoston Berecz, *The Politics of Early Language Teaching: Hungarian in the Primary Schools of the Late Dual Monarchy* (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2013).



In the political life of Croatia after the *Nagodba* there were three political parties – the National Party, the Unionists (firstly the National Constitutional Party and later the National Party), and the Party of the Right. The Hungarian nobility tried to pursue their vision of the *Nagodba* in Croatia from 1868 to 1873 by supporting larger landowners and older generations of bureaucracy from the Union party. In 1869, Franz Joseph visited Zagreb with Prime Minister of Hungary Gyula Andrassy (1823-1890) and granted establishment of the University of Zagreb in order to show the advantages of the new dualist political system. Ban Levin Rauch (1819-1890) in return promised modernization and the abatement of taxes.²² The ruling elites of Croatia-Slavonia proved incapable of enacting social policies in all aspects so Hungarian ruling circles accepted a revision of the *Nagodba* in 1873 in order to establish a functional administration in Croatia-Slavonia. As Igor Karaman informs us, out of sixty-nine officials in Croatia before the *Nagodba*, only twenty-five continued to work in the era of Dualism, of which only eleven were higher officials.²³ It remains unclear whether administrative officials were dismissed due to their lack of competence or due to political reasons.

The Union Party strove for closer connections with Hungary under which Croatia would nevertheless remain an autonomous unit. Apart from conservative landowners, the Union party consisted of an older generation of politicians who had been disappointed with centralism from Vienna and had seen an alliance with Hungary as a counterweight to such centralist tendencies. The Union Party practically disappeared in 1873 after the National Party accepted the moderate unionists in their ranks following the revision of the *Nagodba*.

During the early 1860s, the National Party was led by key figure Josip Juraj Strossmayer (1815-1905), Bishop of Bosnia and Syrmia. Strossmayer had argued for the establishment of a South Slav territorial unit within the empire and an Austro-Slavic federalism in order to prevent German domination of the empire. In 1866, part of the National Party wanted to arrange a Croatian settlement directly with the king and without Hungarians. This group claimed that all relations between Croatia and Hungary had ceased to exist during the revolution of 1848-49.

²² Mirjana Gross and Agneza Szabo, *Prema Hrvatskome Građanskom Društvu - Društveni Razvoj u Civilnoj Hrvatskoj i Slavoniji Šezdesetih i Sedamdesetih Godina 19. Stoljeća* (Zagreb: Globus, 1992), 243.

²³ Igor Karaman, *Hrvatska Na Pragu Modernizacije (1750.-1918.)* (Zagreb: Naklada Ljevak, 2000), 37–38, 121–22.

Strossmayer, however, opposed this move and sided with the unionists in Croatia. The following year, Strossmayer changed his mind and tried to negotiate with the king, but it was too late since Franz Joseph had already made an agreement with Hungarian politicians.²⁴ The National Party also played a significant role in the development of a Yugoslav or “south Slav” ideology. In their view, Croatia was a natural mediator between West and East as the most developed South Slavic land in the Empire. Therefore, Croatia should logically play a leading role in South Slav unification and Habsburg enlargement to the Southeast. The National Party also believed that Croatia should play a central role in re-establishing church unity between the Catholic and Orthodox populations.²⁵ Strossmayer, for example, started a campaign to introduce the Slavic liturgy to the Catholic Church in the early 1880s. Imperial circles feared linguistic nationalism, since they believed that it could unite most of the South Slavic speakers and overcome their separate local and religious identities. Strossmayer especially supported a nationalist policy based on common language use in Dalmatia in local disputes with Italian-speaking population.²⁶ Although Pope Leo XIII dismissed Strossmayer’s proposal to introduce the Slavic liturgy by the end of 1882, the whole action demonstrated the weakness of the Monarchy towards newly emerging linguistic nationalism with its calls for the unification of the South Slavs. On the other hand, the idea of church unity never had any impact on the Orthodox peoples since they suspected that Strossmayer worked for Austrian and Catholic interests in the Balkans. In 1883, Rački wrote to Strossmayer and asked him to stop calling for church unity since this issue had been diminishing Strossmayer’s popularity in Slavic circles.

You have enjoyed a great trust in Russia because of your intelligence; now you are being considered – even if unintentionally – a tool of Austrian politics on the Balkan peninsula! I know it is wrong understanding, but it is here. Professors from Russia come more often here [in Zagreb]; [...] but all of them consider your work as such and I cannot get out of their heads that we are (unintentionally) conspiring against Slavdom. Our position did not become any stronger in Rome, but it became weaker among Slavs.²⁷

²⁴ William Brooks Tomljanovich, *Biskup Josip Juraj Strossmayer - Nacionalizam i Moderni Katolicizam u Hrvatskoj* (Zagreb: Dom i svijet, 2001), 166,178.

²⁵ Nikša Stančić, *Hrvatska Nacija i Nacionalizam u 19. i 20. Stoljeću* (Zagreb: Barbat, 2002), 183, 186–87.

²⁶ Okey, 272.

²⁷ Vladimir Koščak, *Josip Juraj Strossmayer - Političar i Mecena* (Osijek: Revija, Izdavački centar Otvorenog sveučilišta Osijek, 1990), 246.

From 1868 to 1873, the National Party wanted to revise the Croatian-Hungarian *Nagodba* to give Croatia more autonomy. They fought against increasing Hungarian influence and sought closer cooperation with the other southern Slav peoples living outside the Monarchy. After the revision of the *Nagodba* in 1873, the National Party came to power in Zagreb and Ban Ivan Mažuranić (1814-1890) began a process of modernization during which Zagreb gradually started being perceived as a cultural, political and administrative capital of Croatia.²⁸ Strossmayer was disappointed with the revision of the *Nagodba* and withdrew from his role as an active politician.²⁹ In 1880, a group of representatives seceded from the National Party and created the Independent National Party. They rejected the acceptance of Dualism by the National Party.³⁰ The Independent National Party wanted another revision of the *Nagodba* which would ensure greater economic and financial independence for Croatia, the enlargement of voting rights and new press laws with less censorship.³¹

The Party of Right, meanwhile, opposed any cooperation with Austria, Hungary or with any other Slavic population. They claimed that the Croatians should rely exclusively on their own resources.³² The ideal political system for them would be a nationalistic parliamentary democracy with economic self-sufficiency. The Party's leader Ante Starčević (1823-1896) argued for the political education of citizens and believed that the Habsburg Monarchy would eventually collapse due to geopolitical reasons. He hoped that with the help of France, Croatia would become an independent state after the collapse of the Monarchy. Previously, however, Starčević came to believe that Croatia's main ally would have to be Russia, since it was becoming increasingly present and active on the Balkan Peninsula.³³ Starčević believed that nations are led by their spirits, which are characterized by a will for the creation and preservation of their own

²⁸ Gross and Szabo, *Prema Hrvatskome Građanskom Društvu - Društveni Razvoj u Civilnoj Hrvatskoj i Slavoniji Šezdesetih i Sedamdesetih Godina 19. Stoljeća*, 562.

²⁹ Helmut Rumppler and Peter Urbanitsch, eds., *Die Habsburgermonarchie 1848-1918, Band VIII: Politische Öffentlichkeit Und Zivilgesellschaft*, vol. 8/2 (Wien: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2006), 1279.

³⁰ Mirjana Gross, *Izvorno pravaštvo* (Zagreb: Golden marketing, 2000), 385.

³¹ Mirjana Gross, *Povijest Pravaške Ideologije* (Zagreb: Sveučilište u Zagrebu, 1973), 222.

³² Šidak et al., *Povijest Hrvatskog Naroda 1860 - 1914*, 72.

³³ Stančić, *Hrvatska Nacija i Nacionalizam u 19. i 20. Stoljeću*, 191.

sovereign state. For those people who had allegedly lost that spirit and served *foreign masters* Starčević coined a term: *Slavosrb* (Slave + Serbian).³⁴

In 1894, the Independent National Party and the Party of Right formed a coalition that worked to resolve the Croatian question within the framework of the Habsburg Monarchy. Both parties merged into the Croatian Party of Right in 1903. In 1895, Josip Frank and Ante Starčević (1844-1911) also left Party of Right to form the “Pure Party of Right” after Fran Folnegović (1848-1903) condemned the burning of the Hungarian flag by a group of Croatian students during Franz Joseph’s visit in 1895 (an incident that will be discussed later in the thesis). The Pure Party of Right also argued for the reorganization of the Monarchy, but on the basis of federalism. They saw Croatia as a basis for the further colonial politics of the Monarchy on the Balkan Peninsula and they often used anti-Serbian rhetoric.³⁵

In 1867, like most of Europe, Croatia was not industrialized, and its economy was based mostly on agriculture, with only 10% of its population living in cities and only 5.5% of the population working in industry.³⁶ Hungary was also mainly an agricultural land that was led by nobility and large landowners. Croatia-Slavonia, including the Military Frontier, had only 20 towns and 8 gymnasiums.³⁷ The Croatian Sabor consisted of 77 elected representatives during the 1870s and 88 afterwards, and non-elected representatives whom the Ban appointed, from church dignitaries and magnates. The maximum number of non-elected representatives was half of the number of elected representatives. Only 2% of the people had voting rights, although after a new electoral law in 1910, this number grew to 7%. Voting rights were granted to all men over 24 years of age who paid between 6 and 15 crowns of taxes depending on their region, in addition to those with academic degrees and Hungarian clerks working in Croatia-Slavonia.³⁸ The last few decades of the nineteenth century, however, saw a rapid growth in population and urbanization in most regional capitals of the Habsburg Monarchy. The population of Zagreb grew from 20,000 in 1868

³⁴ Gross, *Povijest Pravaške Ideologije*, 205.

³⁵ Stančić, *Hrvatska Nacija i Nacionalizam u 19. i 20. Stoljeću*, 126.

³⁶ Šidak et al., *Povijest Hrvatskog Naroda 1860 - 1914*, 7; Petar Matković, *Geografsko-Statistički Nacrt Austrijsko-Ugarske Monarhije* (Zagreb: Narodna tiskara dr. Lj. Gaja, 1874), 180.

³⁷ Matković, *Geografsko-Statistički Nacrt Austrijsko-Ugarske Monarhije*, 175.

³⁸ Matković, 186, 62.

to 40,000 in 1890 and 75,000 in 1910.³⁹ Such changes led to new ways of living, and to the creation of a new upper-middle class that started gaining greater political and economic influence. These new circumstances changed the bases for politics and influenced National identities both in relation to the processes of nation building and in the founding of new disciplines in social and humanistic sciences, to be discussed later.

³⁹ Šidak et al., *Povijest Hrvatskog Naroda 1860 - 1914*, 139.

The biography of Kršnjavi

Izidor Kršnjavi was maniacally obsessed with being remembered in the future. He was aware that most people did not understand his work, but he hoped that future generations would appreciate it. For almost fifty years, he carefully collected materials from the various projects in which he had participated. At the end of his life, he gave his papers to the National Archives in Zagreb. The complete collection of his work contains twenty boxes of material, which was only fully organized in 2015. Additionally, Kršnjavi left around 900 pages of memoirs to be published after his death.⁴⁰ The memoirs consist of short diary notes and news clippings made at the time of their writing. Kršnjavi decided to leave this because he believed that texts that are written later are of less scholarly value as sources for studying the past than contemporary ones. In one of his notes he wrote:

Everybody has the right to change their mind either by acquired experience, revised persuasion or by enlarged knowledge and with such modified worldviews as to reevaluate their own past. But this reevaluation does not have any significance for historians in terms of the past, because the past is unchangeable. It only has value for the research of the historical person at the time they were writing. Such research will have its value in the future. Memories of historical persons written in their old age do not therefore have absolute value because they correct and modify their memories of the past through their later opinions. For history, the contemporary notes of historical persons, or those people that had contacts with these historical persons, have greater value because the notes record adventures or conversations with historical persons realistically. These notes are sometimes more valuable than the great writings of historical persons which are being re-edited from different sides.⁴¹

Izidor Kršnjavi was born on 22 April 1845 in Feričanci near Našice, Eastern Croatia. After he received his elementary education from Franciscans in Našice and Požega, Kršnjavi attended German Gymnasia in Zagreb and Vinkovci. At the beginning of his career he worked as a teacher of history, German language and philosophy at the Osijek Gymnasium from 1863 to 1866. Such employment was considered prestigious since the Osijek Gymnasium was the only Gymnasium in

⁴⁰ His memoirs were published only in 1986. Izidor Kršnjavi, *Zapisci: Iza Kulisa Hrvatske Politike* (Zagreb: Mladost, 1986).

⁴¹ Zoran Grijak, "Uspomene i Razgovori s biskupom Strossmayerom Izidora Kršnjavoga kao povijesni izvor," *Scrinia Slavonica* 11, no. 1 (2011): 118.

the Slavonia region of Croatia, besides the Vinkovci Gymnasium in the neighboring Sylvania region. After the fall of Bach's neo-absolutist regime in 1859, the Croatian language was introduced as the language of education in high schools. Kršnjavi and others belonging to the younger generation were hired as teachers since there was a lack of teachers able to teach in Croatian. At the same time, Kršnjavi started taking painting classes with Hugo Conrad Hotzendorf (1807-1869). From 1866 to 1869, he studied history, art history and philosophy at the University of Vienna; from 1868 to 1869 painting at the Academy of Fine Arts in Vienna; from 1869 to 1870 at Johann Leonhard Raab's (1825-1899) painting academy in Munich. In 1872, he decided to continue studying painting in Munich under the supervision of Wilhelm Dietz (1839-1907). In the same year he married the wealthy Mina Froschl (1850-1918), whose father paid for trips to Italy. In Rome, he became friends with the famous Polish painter Henryk Siemiradski (1843-1902), who helped him to develop his painting techniques. On these trips Kršnjavi practiced painting and explored museums with a group of Croatian friends consisting of the young jurist Ladislav Mrazović (1849-1881), writer Dušan Kotur (1853-1878) and poet Rikard Jorgovanić (1853-1880). In a letter from 1874 to August Šenoa (1838-1881), the writer and editor of *Vienac* journal, Mrazović wrote about his new friend Kršnjavi:

The fact that he took a rich German woman for a wife estranged him totally from us Croats[...] I had an opportunity to notice that many people who come to their house do not know that Kršnjavi is a Croat[...] Now that three of us Croats are here[...] he started being interested a bit more in our situation [in Croatia], he subscribed to *Vienac* and he takes *Obzor* from me[...] He once told Quiqerez that he could persuade his father-in-law to move to Zagreb, if he [Kršnjavi] would be elected to the Croatian Parliament. You see, thus, that ambitions of this man are not so insignificant.⁴²

It is not difficult to imagine how a person from a modest background with ambitions like Kršnjavi's easily adapted to the luxurious life funded by his wealthy father-in-law while hiding or omitting his origins. The content of this letter somehow became known to Kršnjavi and he suddenly changed his behavior. We can only speculate as to whether Kršnjavi experienced a

⁴² Vladimira Tartaglia-Kelemen, "Pisma Izidora Kršnjavog 1874-1878. Godine," *Radovi Arhiva Jugoslavenske Akademije Znanosti i Umjetnosti* II (1973): 159.

national awakening or simply tried to prove that he was less German and more Croat. In any case, a month later, Mrazović wrote another letter to Šenoa stressing the change in Kršnjavi's behaviour:

He [Kršnjavi] is now interested more in our situation and wants by all means to change your opinion of him [...] I noticed a great change in his wife [...] she started talking about Zagreb's beauty and how it is a pleasant place for living. You will see suddenly, how Kršnjavi will appear in Zagreb. Rich people, even if they are madmen (and Kršnjavi surely is not a one), we cannot refuse because it is the main thing we lack.⁴³

The whole process of a return took more than four years, which was not as sudden as Mrazović had expected. Mrazović, however, was right in assessing Kršnjavi's ambitions, although he did not live to see Kršnjavi's election as a parliamentary representative and later appointment to be departmental head of Religious Affairs and Education. During this time Kršnjavi established contacts with the influential Bishop Josip Juraj Strossmayer (1815-1905) who helped secure his return to Croatia. Kršnjavi first met Strossmayer in the Monarchy's embassy at Villa Venezia in Rome, a very lively place where many scholars and artists gathered during the 1870s. Strossmayer, himself an important figure in Croatian politics, was known as a benefactor of young artists and scholars, and, indeed, he eventually commissioned two paintings from Kršnjavi. After a while, he invited Kršnjavi to come to Zagreb as the first chair in art history at the newly established University of Zagreb. Kršnjavi's background made him a perfect choice for the newly established University of Zagreb. The main idea behind the University and the Yugoslav Academy of Sciences and Arts was to establish cultural and scholarly hegemony over other South Slavs with Croatia as a mediator between East and West. In 1861, during a parliamentary debate about the need to establish the University and the Academy, Pavao Muhić (1811-1897) stated that Croatia should civilize other South Slavs because of the similarity among the peoples:

⁴³ Tartaglia-Kelemen, 159.

*[...] the people can be reborn only through similar people [...] For completion of this magnificent goal we have two main means, namely the Yugoslav Academy and the University which will be that bridge that will spiritually tie East with the West.*⁴⁴

The first Rector of the University, Matija Mesić, shared similar thoughts at the opening ceremony thirteen years later in 1874:

If we gather them [people from the Balkans] around this erected sanctuary of education and enlightenment [...] our people will bless us as first executors of that big and holy mission [...] to be mediator between a progressive West and a backward East.⁴⁵

In order to attract other South Slavs to Zagreb, Strossmayer managed to hire the most prominent Serbian linguist Đuro Daničić as general secretary of the Academy because he believed that the Serbian population would assimilate more easily in Croatia if they were left without their main linguist.⁴⁶ Franjo Rački argued in 1873 that the main goal of higher institutions such as academies and universities was to create its particular civilization. Rački implicitly suggested that Croatia needed to create and dominate its own Yugoslav/South Slav civilization in which other South Slav people would participate, similarly to how Scandinavian people participated, according to Rački's perception, in German civilization.

Particular individuals were great [...] but they got lost in civilizations of the other people [...] We can take such place in a great tribe, whose name we do not need to mention. That big tribe needs to establish a civilization that will have its particular type [...] This is not possible without higher schools because we will come once more to circulus vitiosus that we will have scholars, educated people, who [...] will by their way of thinking enrich and fertilize other's type [of civilization].⁴⁷

⁴⁴ *Spomenica Na Svetčano Otvaranje Kr. Sveučilišta Franje Josipa I. u Zagrebu, Prvoga Hrvatskoga, Dana 19. Listopada 1874* (Zagreb: Tiskara Dragutina Albrechta, 1875), 17.

⁴⁵ *Spomenica Na Svetčano Otvaranje Kr. Sveučilišta Franje Josipa I. u Zagrebu, Prvoga Hrvatskoga, Dana 19. Listopada 1874*, 101.

⁴⁶ Mario Grčević, "Vanjskopolički Utjecaji Na Hrvatski Književnojezični Razvoj u Drugoj Polovici XIX. Stoljeća," *Jezik: Časopis Za Kulturu Hrvatskoga Književnog Jezika* 61, no. 4–5 (2014): 357,384.

⁴⁷ *Spomenica Na Svetčano Otvaranje Kr. Sveučilišta Franje Josipa I. u Zagrebu, Prvoga Hrvatskoga, Dana 19. Listopada 1874*, 46.

Strossmayer also wanted Kršnjavi to organize his personal collection of artworks and to create a national gallery to house them so he asked Kršnjavi to organize the transportation of the paintings from Đakovo to Zagreb. Although the collection was meant for the public, it nevertheless reflected the Bishop's cultural power, since people were only implicitly granted a visit to Strossmayer's gallery thanks to his generosity. In 1877 Strossmayer wrote to Ban Ivan Mažuranić asking for the appointment of Kršnjavi at the University of Zagreb as a precondition for the transfer of his collection of paintings to Zagreb.

I am gladly renouncing my painting collection for the people, even during my lifetime, but it will be useless for the people, if there is no professor of aesthetics who could interpret the paintings... By doing this, [appointing Kršnjavi] you will not only be doing me a service, but also the people.⁴⁸

Although Mažuranić granted the Bishop's wish, a rumor went around that he did so only because Strossmayer had paid his son's gambling debts. Kršnjavi's task at the University was to interpret artworks by giving them meaning and explaining their importance. In a letter from 1875, Strossmayer wrote to Kršnjavi: "Your [task] will mostly be [...] to pour into young priests' hearts a love towards art which stands in such narrow alliance with religious and moral senses."⁴⁹ In this way, the knowledge of art history was not only an aesthetic exercise, but it also gained a moral political meaning. Such political interpretations by art historians created a predominant discourse on art that could hardly be questioned by non-experts. As Duncan and Wallach point out, the middle class appropriated the experience of art and used it for its own ideological purposes.⁵⁰ Art historians thus decontextualized artworks from their original intents and interpreted them to demonstrate national wealth or talent. If a particular nation did not possess significant collections of classical art representing its wealth and national artists, as was the case with Croatia, then the main goal was to show membership in the circle of "cultural" nations of Western Europe by showing possession of works by less famous classical artists, or historical replicas of great classical

⁴⁸ 935/31.7.1877., Predsjedništvo Zemaljske Vlade, HDA 78, box 112.

⁴⁹ Zoran Grijak, "Korespondencija Josip Juraj Strossmayer - Isidor Kršnjavi (1875.-1884.)," *Cris: Časopis Povijesnog Društva Križevci* 8, no. 1 (2007): 68.

⁵⁰ Carol Duncan and Alan Wallach, "The Universal Survey Museum," *Art History* 3, no. 4 (1980): 456.

masters. Strossmayer's collection consisted mostly of Italian paintings ranging from Renaissance copies to Nazarene artists. Although Strossmayer's collection could not be compared to those of European rulers, the main idea behind it was to reflect a concept of civilization symbolized by the individual genius of great men. One factor that enabled Kršnjavi to acquire such prestigious employment so easily was the very newness of his profession. In the 1870s, professional art historians were an emerging profession throughout Europe. Mathew Rampley estimates that there were approximately 70 professional art historians in Europe during the 1870s.⁵¹

⁵¹ Rampley, "The Idea of a Scientific Discipline," 71,74.



Bukovac, Vlaho. *Portrait of Josip Juraj Strossmayer*

In Rome, Strossmayer and Kršnjavi also met a young architect named Herman Bolle (1845-1926) who would help them in creating a common Yugoslav and Croatian-led culture, and become the main architect of the historicist style in the Croatian lands, and the educator of younger generations as director of the Crafts school until the First World War, to be discussed later in the dissertation. Bolle was born in Cologne in 1845 and participated there in the famous historicist restoration of the cathedral during his formative years. He was a student of Friedrich von Schmidt who was the most famous architect of historicism in the Habsburg Monarchy. Although Schmidt was highly influenced by German Gothic Revival, he broadened his stylistic understandings through direct contact with medieval Italian architecture during his professorship at the Brera Academy in Milan during the 1850s.⁵² Bolle first came to Zagreb in the 1860s as a part of Schmidt's team which was working on the restoration of St Mark's church. The team added some gothic elements and polychrome roof tiles to the church, showing heraldic symbols of the Triune Kingdom of Croatia and Zagreb. The restored church soon became one of Zagreb's most important attractions, and also a place of political significance.⁵³ A new roof of the church had clear political implications for the unification of Croatian lands and had made the church symbolically central to the idea of a Croatian nation. Gothic style was chosen because it was believed that gothic architecture developed as a collective expression of medieval communities and their urban cohabitation of the various strata of society. Kršnjavi's later interpretation asserted that the shared living experience in the cities lead to the homogeneity of the nation and, consequently, to a society without social conflict. As will be discussed later more fully, Kršnjavi considered urban cohabitation as one of the preconditions for the creation of the architectural style and democracy. Kršnjavi saw a role-model for his arguments in Renaissance Italy.

In Italy, this great divide between ruling nobility and population is nonexistent. Italian nobleman lives with Italian citizen and peasant in fortified cities together, so they become closer in common battles and victories, and settle interpersonal differences

⁵² József Sisa, "Neo-Gothic Architecture and Restoration of Historic Buildings in Central Europe: Friedrich Schmidt and His School," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 61, no. 2 (2002): 171.

⁵³ It was in front of this church that the break with the Habsburgs was proclaimed in 1918 by the People's council, as well as the establishment of the Independent State of Croatia in 1941. Since Croatia's independence in 1992, all Croatian presidents have taken oaths in front of it.

that rule in Spain, Germany or France. Thus, in Italy all estates are getting closer to each other [...]⁵⁴

In order to persuade Bolle to move permanently to Croatia, Kršnjavi suggested that Strossmayer not only give Bolle some commissions in his Đakovo diocese, but also to have him present many of his projects at the first Arts Society exhibition in 1879. This was done in order to generate interest in Bolle's work with the wealthier part of the population, and to ensure his continued employment.⁵⁵ Fortunately for Bolle, Zagreb was struck by an earthquake in 1880 which damaged the Zagreb cathedral and the surrounding area of Kaptol where the clergy lived. Deborah Coen notes that the nineteenth-century empires were riddled with fear of earthquakes due to beliefs that the Monarchy, inspired by a socio-political atmosphere, represented a system so complex that rebuilding it would be impossible. Primitive societies, on the other hand, were believed capable of a swifter recovery due to their more basic social and political organization.⁵⁶ After being commissioned for the restoration project, Bolle moved permanently to Zagreb. During the restoration, Bolle and Kršnjavi also established a good relationship with Archbishop Josip Mihalović of Zagreb, which later enabled them to break their ties with Strossmayer more easily.

⁵⁴ HR-HDA, Povijest kulture u dobi renaissance- 804.5.2.1., 158.

⁵⁵ Dragan Damjanović, *Arhitekt Herman Bolle* (Zagreb: Leykam International, 2013), 69.

⁵⁶ Deborah R. Coen, "Fault Lines and Borderlands: Earthquake Science in Imperial Austria," in *The Nationalization of Scientific Knowledge in the Habsburg Empire (1848-1918)*, ed. Mitchell G. Ash and Jan Surman (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 157.

In 1884, the Croatian departmental head of Religious Affairs and Education Ivan Vončina (1827-1885) persuaded Kršnjavi to run for election to the Sabor (Parliament) as a member of the National Party. Kršnjavi was elected as a representative of Brod county in Slavonia. In 1885, the Croatian Chamber for Economy and Craft was invited to participate in the organization of a Budapest National Universal Exhibition. The Chamber refused to participate in the Budapest Exhibition, since the latter's main goal was to present an exhibition of Hungary's diversity. Part of the Croatian elites did not want to participate in an exhibition that would present Croatia as an integral part of Hungary. Another problem with the Budapest exhibition was that it was meant to promote Dualism which a majority of Croatian politicians opposed. After the Chamber's refusal Vončina suggested Kršnjavi to the newly appointed Ban Karoly Khuen-Héderváry (1849-1918) as a replacement for the Chamber's organizing team to prepare for Croatian participation at the exhibition.⁵⁷ After successful Croatian participation in the exhibition, Kršnjavi gained Ban Khuen-Héderváry's trust.

This was the first major shift in Kršnjavi's political orientation. Before this, he had been closely connected with the political circle of Yugoslavs around Franjo Rački (1828-1894) and Strossmayer. In all likelihood, his decision to change parties was partly motivated by Bishop Strossmayer's financial losses caused by a decline of his income from the Đakovo diocese. Besides working more closely with new Ban Khuen Héderváry, the archbishops of Zagreb, Josip Mihalović (1814-1891) and later Juraj Posilović (1834-1914), gave commissions to Bolle and often used Kršnjavi's art expertise. As an opportunist, Kršnjavi probably sensed that there would be much more work for him and Bolle in the richest Zagreb diocese with support of the ruling National Party and Khuen Héderváry rather than in the declining Đakovo one.⁵⁸

Strossmayer never forgave Kršnjavi for this change, and Rački only did so on his death bed. As Kršnjavi later admitted, he saw political engagement as an ideal opportunity to help the

⁵⁷ Branko Ostajmer, "Kako Sam Postao Magjaron - Tri Godine u Životu Izidora Kršnjavoga (1883.-1885.)," in *Iso Kršnjavi - Veliki Utemeljitelj*, ed. Ivana Mance and Zlatko Matijević (Zagreb: Institut za povijest umjetnosti/ Hrvatski institut za povijest, 2015), 35.

⁵⁸ Damjanović, *Arhitekt Herman Bolle*, 76.

country's development. Kršnjavi was one of the first politicians who thought it would be better to be allied with the government in order to have opportunities to create change. His particular interest in education and culture, typical for many nineteenth century liberals, was part of an elite strategy motivated by the idea of changing society in an "unpolitical" way.

Kršnjavi's thoughts on political opportunism can best be seen in a text he wrote on the Sušak Gymnasium in Rijeka/Fiume. The Croatian-Hungarian Compromise had proclaimed Rijeka an independent port rather than an integral part of Croatia; its final status had been left to be determined later. Although Rijeka was theoretically independent, in practical terms it was ruled by the Hungarian government. Its independent status gave the Hungarians the ability to impose Hungarian education policy there. Kršnjavi was annoyed that Croatian politicians from Rijeka refused to cooperate with the Hungarian education reform since he considered education to be a critical component for gaining political power. Since Hungarian politicians tried to forcefully introduce Hungarian language in the Rijeka Gymnasium, Kršnjavi managed as departmental head of Religious Affairs and Education to have the Gymnasium transferred to the Sušak suburbs of Rijeka which were under Croatian rule and to stop the introduction of the Hungarian language.

Croats loved more empty historical rights in Rijeka than one part of state power. I think the focus on historical rights was a big mistake, since a part of power is worth more than boulders of empty historical rights.⁵⁹

In 1885 Kršnjavi did some research on house crafts in Bosnia and Herzegovina at the request of Benjamin von Kallay, the joint Austro-Hungarian minister of finance whose position also made him governor of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Kršnjavi wrote the rules and regulations for a newly established National Museum in Sarajevo, but declined the offer to serve as its director. In the fall of 1891, he was appointed departmental head of Religious Affairs and Education in the Croatian government of Ban Khuen-Héderváry.

During his time as departmental head, Kršnjavi was an enthusiastic patron of the arts and sciences. He also reorganized secondary education in Croatia and tried to modernize it by

⁵⁹ Hr-HDA, Tekstovi o sušačkoj gimnaziji, 804.2.1.8.1.

acquiring different teaching instruments for classrooms such as microscopes, and by creating collections of plaster reliefs for art history instruction. He built and arranged a modern library collection for the National and University Library of Zagreb, acquiring collections that belonged to Anton Springer, an art historian (1193 volumes), Nikola Zrinski (526 volumes and 26 manuscripts), Ljudevit Gaj, a famous Croatian poet and one of the first national activists (16000 volumes and 700 manuscripts), and Jacques Paul Migne's collected patristic writings (388 volumes) for the sum of 25,722 forints.⁶⁰ However, at the beginning of 1896, he was forced to resign from the cabinet due to a nationalist incident. During the opening of the Croatian national theatre in Zagreb in 1895, a group of Croatian students had burned the Hungarian flag.

The flag incident indicated that Khuen Héderváry's policy of pacification of the Triune Kingdom of Croatia had been a complete failure. His policy of pacification had been enacted on several levels. Firstly, the Ban had prohibited some oppositional politicians from political involvement and had strengthened censorship of the oppositional press. At the same time, he had created a group of Croatian politicians loyal to his regime, among them Kršnjavi. In order to weaken the demands of Croatian nationalist political parties, he had given significant privileges to Serb nationalist politicians in Croatia and intentionally fomented conflicts among the two groups as a way to rule them both more effectively. Khuen-Héderváry had also used cultural policy as a means of political pacification. During his rule, numerous public institutions were built or restored, such as the Croatian national theatre, Academy of Music, the School Forum, and he also sponsored numerous art and science projects. All these initiatives were designed to present Croatian development as a beneficial result of political union with Hungary and the new dualist system of the Monarchy.

The sculptor Ivan Meštrović (1883-1962) has left an interesting note about this from the early 1900s during his student days in Vienna when he was making a bust of Kršnjavi in 1905. In political terms Meštrović had followed a Yugoslav orientation and he asked Kršnjavi how he could have participated as departmental head in Khuen-Héderváry's government and as member of the

⁶⁰ Irena Kraševac, "Iso Kršnjavi i Springerova Biblioteka Za Zagrebačku Sveučilišnu Knjižnicu," in *Iso Kršnjavi - Veliki Utemeljitelj*, ed. Ivana Mance and Zlatko Matijević (Zagreb: Institut za povijest umjetnosti/ Hrvatski institut za povijest, 2015), 213.

National Party. Kršnjavi answered freely that joining the National Party had been the only way to protect Croatian interests, since Khuen-Héderváry had made strong allies among the orthodox Serb population against Croatian nationalism.

In our conversations I asked him as a disheveled Dalmatian peasant how he could be Magyarone, and not Starčevićanac [member of the Party of Right], and how he could have been departmental head of Religious Affairs and Education under Khuen Héderváry. He was not insulted by the question, but started to explain to me in a fatherly way how and why so many Croats of his generation had agreed to cooperate with the Héderváry's regime. It was the only way to make and keep something for the Croatians, because Khuen had found strong allies among the orthodox element in Croatia, and support against Croatian nationalism.⁶¹

After his resignation from the cabinet, Kršnjavi continued working at the University of Zagreb as a professor of art history until his forced retirement for political reasons after the fall of the Monarchy in 1918.⁶² During this time, however, he joined the Party of Right in 1906. This party was known as a highly nationalistic party that also cooperated with the Archduke Franz Ferdinand's anti-Hungarian "Belvedere circle" in the first decade of the 20th century. The main goal of the Belvedere circle was to reorganize the Monarchy by supporting the Slavic population as a counter-weight to Hungarian influence. Kršnjavi justified his new political shift as a necessity because rising Hungarian nationalism threatened the foundations of Dualism. As a political opportunist, Kršnjavi most probably joined the Party of Right because he believed that they had significant chances of coming to power, and this will be discussed in greater detail later in the dissertation.

Ivan Peršić (1884-1947), part of the younger generation of the Starčević's Party of Right⁶³, remarked on Kršnjavi's political pragmatism in his memoirs, and like Meštrović also could not understand Kršnjavi's apparent lack of nationalist idealism:

⁶¹ Dalibor Prančević, "Estetska i Svjetonazorska Ukrštanja i Sudari Između Ise Kršnjavija i Ivana Meštrovića," in *Iso Kršnjavi - Veliki Utemeljitelj* (Zagreb: Institut za povijest umjetnosti/ Hrvatski institut za povijest, 2015), 357.

⁶² Izidor Kršnjavi, "Dr Izidor Kršnjavi - Autobiografija," *Vijenac*, March 1, 1927.

⁶³ Also called Milinovci after their leader Mile Starčević. The party was formed in 1908 by a group of Rightists dissatisfied with Frank's cooperation with Vienna.

Follower of Strossmayer, while the Đakovo bishop was building [Đakovo] cathedral and while he was buying paintings for his gallery in Zagreb. Old-magyarone when Khuen was awarding mandates and honors; follower of Frank when he found himself being retired as politician! Kršnjavi decided to make the Frank's party ready to govern. For this reason, he was accepted into the party, despite his unstable and colorful political past, with the provision of not being required to accept its irreconcilable stance towards the Serbs! He was meant to prove the axiom, with his highly stylistic words and fancy feather, that one finger of power is worth more than a fistful of political rights, and to convince everyone that the main aim of each political party is to come to power because it is the only way to fulfill its mission!⁶⁴

After his retirement in 1918, Kršnjavi started painting again and wrote two books on Saint Francis.⁶⁵ He died in 1927 and was given a modest funeral, as he had requested in his will. From one of his wife's notes written soon after the funeral, it can be seen that Kršnjavi transferred to her part of his deep obsession with being remembered. "It is true that all my songs were written for him, because I lived only for him and I need to continue living until destiny calls me, while keeping the memory of him. He repeated that to me on numerous occasions."⁶⁶ His wish was to be buried in the cheapest coffin without a coverlid, and to have an oak planted on his grave.

Although Kršnjavi had worked to modernize many aspects of Croatian society, his accomplishments were never fully recognized by Croatian politicians and historians. He was usually omitted from discussions or only briefly mentioned as a political opportunist who had sided with the Hungarian government in order to gain political power. The first step towards recognition of Kršnjavi's historical importance was the publication of his memoirs in 1986, and some works by art historian Olga Maruševski, to be discussed later. The first detailed reconsideration of Kršnjavi and his work was a conference in 2012 organized by the Croatian Institute for History in Zagreb, marking the 85th anniversary of Kršnjavi's death. That same year, there was also an exhibition on Kršnjavi in the Croatian Museum of History. Three and a half years after the conference on Kršnjavi, a volume of articles was finally published. Although fifty-one

⁶⁴ Ivan Peršić, *Kroničarski Spisi* (Zagreb: Državni arhiv u Zagrebu, Hrvatski institut za povijest; Dom i svijet, 2002), 168.

⁶⁵ Izidor Kršnjavi, *Božji Vitez: Roman iz 13. stoljeća* (Zagreb: Društvo sv. Jeronima, 1925); Izidor Kršnjavi, *Božji Sirotan: roman iz 13. stoljeća* (Zagreb: Društvo sv. Jeronima, 1926).

⁶⁶ „Š.K. – Zg, 8.3. 1927. Koncept o biografiji Kršnjavog,“ Kršnjavi's collection, ALUHAZU; box 5.

authors contributed to the monograph (some articles are written by more than one person), most of the contributions are of little scholarly value. A portion of the articles do not even discuss Kršnjavi (Ivan Bulić, Tihana Petrović Leš), while some articles are simply reprints of previous works (Grijak). In general, almost all the articles are historically completely decontextualized. The authors were mostly concerned with compiling sources into a logical narrative without any theoretical approach to the significance of the sources. Some of the authors adopt an openly nationalist stance. Marija Tonković, for example, is concerned with proving that Croatia was among the first countries to organize photographic collections.⁶⁷ Similarly, Katica Čorkalo Jeremić uses Kršnjavi's travelogue *the Slavonian Papers* in a starkly nationalist and presentist manner:

He returned by Sava river to the departure point in Zagreb, and published the Slavonian papers (1882.) – a reliable guide for the presence of Croatians in these spaces, which were forcefully taken from us in 1918, 1945, and 1991.⁶⁸

In general, the literature on Kršnjavi is scarce and the quality of what is available does not particularly fit contemporary academic standards. The only author to have written monographs on Kršnjavi is the Croatian art historian Olga Maruševski. Born in 1922, she received a degree in law and worked as a clerk in the state treasury. After the Second World War, she started working in the Yugoslav Academy of Sciences and Arts. She received her MA in art history in 1957 and her PhD in 1986. Her PhD was published as a book – *Iso Kršnjavi kao graditelj (Iso Kršnjavi as a constructor)*.⁶⁹ The second book she wrote on Kršnjavi is a sort of photo monograph of the palace where the Department of Religious Affairs and Education had its headquarters. The poor quality of art historical education during the 1950s in communist Zagreb is evident in both works: they do not investigate any relevant research questions or show knowledge of the broader literature on the topic.

⁶⁷ Marija Tonković, "Izidor Kršnjavi i Fotografija," in *Iso Kršnjavi - Veliki Utemeljitelj*, ed. Ivana Mance and Zlatko Matijević (Zagreb: Institut za povijest umjetnosti/ Hrvatski institut za povijest, 2015), 486.

⁶⁸ Katica Čorkalo Jeremić, "Pisac i Publicist Izidor Kršnjavi," in *Iso Kršnjavi - Veliki Utemeljitelj*, ed. Ivana Mance and Zlatko Matijević (Zagreb: Institut za povijest umjetnosti/ Hrvatski institut za povijest, 2015), 494.

⁶⁹ Olga Maruševski, *Iso Kršnjavi Kao Graditelj: Izgradnja I Obnova Obrazovnih, Kulturnih I Umjetničkih Spomenika U Hrvatskoj* (Zagreb: Institut za povijest umjetnosti, 2009); Olga Maruševski, *Iso Kršnjavi: Kultura I Politika Na Zidovima Palače U Opatičkoj 10* (Zagreb: Hrvatski institut za povijest, 2002).

2. Vienna School of Art History and its influence on Kršnjavi

Rudolf von Eitelberger and the establishment of art history as an academic discipline

One of the scholars whose research interest shed a broader light on my topic is the art historian Matthew Rampley. His research interest lies mostly in the Vienna School of Art History, on which he published a book in 2013.⁷⁰ He has written articles on Rudolf von Eitelberger (1817-1885) and on the political use of art history on the Dalmatian coast.⁷¹ Rampley was also one of the editors of a volume on visual studies in Europe.⁷² Rampley's book on the Vienna School demonstrates that art history departments were first opened in most of the regional centers of the Monarchy by people educated in Vienna. The general idea lying behind the education in Vienna was to produce scholars and museum workers who would represent and disseminate the imperial idea of the Monarchy's "multinational nation". Contrary to this goal, however, most of the art history departments in fact did not adhere to a universal imperial ideology, but instead developed nationalist schools with their own particular styles. The only exceptions who managed to maintain cosmopolitan conceptions of the monarchical identity were Vienna-based Alois Riegl (1858-1905), Max Dvorak (1874-1921) and Franz Wickhoff (1853-1909).⁷³

The problem other such monarchist scholars and activists, including Kršnjavi, experienced after leaving Vienna were the changing political circumstances they encountered back home, especially the gradual rise of a grass-roots mass-based political nationalism. Higher Viennese liberal circles failed to predict that the creation of a new pro-monarchic elite, with men like Kršnjavi, was only possible under the ideal conditions of the imperial center. This imperial education and the policy behind it lost their influence after provincial universities became

⁷⁰ Rampley, *The Vienna School of Art History*.

⁷¹ Matthew Rampley, "The Idea of a Scientific Discipline: Rudolf von Eitelberger and the Emergence of Art History in Vienna, 1847–1873," *Art History* 34, no. 1 (2011): 54–79; Matthew Rampley, "Dalmatia Is Italian! The Politics of Art History in Austria Hungary and South Eastern Europe 1862-1930," *Balkan Studies (Etudes Balkaniques)* 44, no. 4 (2008): 130–47.

⁷² Matthew Rampley et al., eds., *Art History and Visual Studies in Europe* (Brill Academic Publishers, 2012).

⁷³ Rampley, *The Vienna School of Art History*, 59,95.

nationalized throughout the Monarchy in the second part of the nineteenth century. Students were increasingly exposed to local nationalisms and remained more deeply rooted in their own regional cultures because the local associational life from the 1880s became more divided by nation and dominated by nationalist concerns. As Deborah Coen shows, the Monarchy tried to create a common academic culture by circulating scholars among various universities, but such policy had been weakened after the Compromise since crown land administrations took over control of employment matters from the Ministry of Education in Vienna.⁷⁴ Yet the road to higher education often led through nationalism and participation in the local nationalist community life, with many of the higher educated also seeking positions within the imperial bureaucracy, where financial opportunities and social mobility were offered.

As Mitchell Ash and Jan Surman point out, by the end of the nineteenth century scholars paradoxically became much more nationalistic and international at the same time - they wanted to communicate their national research to international audiences.⁷⁵ Despite Jan Surman's argument that nineteenth-century science is concerned solely with the internal national Enlightenment at the beginning of the nineteenth century, shifting towards internationalization by that century's end, and despite the feasibility of this argument for some parts of the Monarchy, I believe that most Croatian scholars of the latter half of the century, including Kršnjavi, still exclusively focused their efforts on internal Enlightenment.⁷⁶ Interestingly, as Rampley notes, intellectuals from Croatia also were not influenced by the academic world in Budapest. Although there was a language barrier between Zagreb and Budapest, the main reason for this probably lies more in the desire to oppose the centralist tendencies coming from Budapest, especially if we know that most of the scholars from the Monarchy were writing in German as well as in their local languages. Most of the intellectuals from Croatia continued to be educated in Vienna. Similar

⁷⁴ Coen, *Climate in Motion - Science, Empire, and the Problem of Scale*, 77; Jan Surman, *Universities in Imperial Austria, 1848-1918: A Social History of a Multilingual Space* (West Lafayette, Indiana: Purdue University Press, 2019).

⁷⁵ Mitchell G. Ash and Jan Surman, "Introduction," in *The Nationalization of Scientific Knowledge in the Habsburg Empire (1848-1918)*, ed. Mitchell G. Ash and Jan Surman (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 13.

⁷⁶ Jan Surman, "Science and Its Publics. Internationality and National Languages in Central Europe," in *The Nationalization of Scientific Knowledge in the Habsburg Empire (1848-1918)*, ed. Mitchell G. Ash and Jan Surman (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 47.

tensions were notable in Bohemia, where art historians rejected the teachings of the Vienna School of Art History as too German.⁷⁷

Rudolf von Eitelberger was Kršnjavi's professor from 1866-69 at the University of Vienna and surely shaped his understanding of art history and its practical application. By practical application, I mean its use for the preservation of historical monuments, for the organization of an arts and crafts museum and school, and for his understanding of his academic position as a form of patriotic duty. Rampley's work on the Vienna School of Art History and Rudolf von Eitelberger provides a valuable context for understanding Kršnjavi's mindscape and worldview, which he developed during his studies in Vienna. In one of his unpublished notes held in the Croatian state archives, Kršnjavi admitted that he loved to attend Eitelberger's lectures and that Eitelberger had wanted him to stay in Vienna to work as a curator at the Vienna Academy of Arts.⁷⁸ Jo Tollebeek rightly noticed that at the turn of the 20th century, professors served as role-models to their assistants and students, who saw them as representations of academic ideals of order, energy and aesthetics.⁷⁹ Kršnjavi admitted later in his memoirs: "I saw in Vienna that my professor Eitelberger firstly created a museum for artistic crafts and opened later a crafts school on such basis. I saw he succeeded so I followed that path."⁸⁰

Eitelberger was born in 1817 in the city of Olomouc in Moravia and died in 1885 in Vienna. He studied law at the Jesuit College in his hometown and afterwards classical philology and philosophy in Vienna. He was the first professor of art history at the University of Vienna where he was hired in 1847, firstly as a junior lecturer. Like many scholars in the 1840s Eitelberger also worked as a journalist for the *Wiener Zeitung* since the university salary was not sufficient. As Rampley notes, Eitelberger was both a liberal and secularist, but also a royalist patriot who wanted to create a common multinational identity for all people inhabiting the Monarchy. In

⁷⁷ Rampley, *The Vienna School of Art History*, 73, 57.

⁷⁸ HR-HDA 804.1.3.1, Malo mojih uspomena.

⁷⁹ Jo Tollebeek, "A Stormy Family. Paul Fredericq and the Formation of an Academic Historical Community in the Nineteenth Century," *Storia Della Storiografia* 53 (2008): 73.

⁸⁰ Kršnjavi, *Zapisci*, 399.

general, he was preoccupied with the moral and social order of the Monarchy.⁸¹ Later, I will discuss how Kršnjavi adopted this view and tried to follow it.

Eitelberger's work was highly appreciated in imperial circles. In 1873, Crown Prince Rudolf and the Liberal Minister of Education and Culture, Karl von Stremayr, visited the first congress of art historians organized by Eitelberger in Vienna, giving it their support and lending it political importance.⁸² Another fact which illustrates the appreciation imperial officials had for the importance of art in the enactment of imperial policies is Franz Joseph's personal visit to Eitelberger's widow after Eitelberger died in 1885.⁸³ As Anthony Alofsin notes, Franz Joseph and the imperial circles close to him supported Eitelberger's endeavors and believed that "providing autonomy and sanctioning national cultural identity would consolidate the political loyalty of his subjects."⁸⁴ A similar view was expressed by the liberal Adolf von Fischhof during a meeting of the German Nationalist Association in Viennese *Musikverein* in 1882:

According to our opinion we 8 million Germans - since it is impossible to absorb 13 million non-German nationals - have to reduce ourselves to assimilating them in spirit and bring them culturally closer to us, not through violence, rather through stimulating their national spirit and their national language.⁸⁵

Similar to the other humanities of the nineteenth century, Eitelberger's art history was patriotic and it served the needs of the state. The state faced a deep crisis on all fronts after 1848-9. Imperial circles responded to the revolutionary crisis by commencing a wide-ranging reform process on various levels. One such level was the support of scholarly disciplines, including art history, as promoters of the state interest. As Gary Cohen points out, the neo-absolutist reformers of the 1850s believed that investments in science were necessary for the improvement of both

⁸¹ Rampley, "The Idea of a Scientific Discipline," 60.

⁸² Rampley, "Art History and the Politics of Empire," 449.

⁸³ Suzanne Marchand, "The View from the Land: Austrian Art Historians and the Interpretation of Croatian Art," in *Dalmatia and the Mediterranean: Portable Archaeology and the Poetics of Influence*, ed. Alina Payne (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 22.

⁸⁴ Alofsin, *When Buildings Speak: Architecture as Language in the Habsburg Empire and Its Aftermath, 1867-1933*, 2.

⁸⁵ Jonathan Kwan, *Liberalism and the Habsburg Monarchy, 1861-1895* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 132-33.

state and society.⁸⁶ Access to university education was widened while the state profited from the emerging experts in various fields. After the initial success during the 1870s, however, the government found itself dealing with a higher number of students than originally planned.⁸⁷ Various newly emerging experts amassed social power with support from the state, while the power and influence of the older elite social classes, such as wealthy landowners, started to decline as the state took over their previous patronage of most fields.⁸⁸ As a result of the higher liberal education, many public workers also later became liberal politicians, including Kršnjavi.⁸⁹ This liberal milieu, as Jonathan Kwan demonstrates, “which stressed self-control, hard work, independence, education, reason, moderation, order, civilized manners and an appreciation of high culture, was presented as a universal ideal.”⁹⁰ Liberals believed that they would be able to reach consensus with their opponents through persuasion in open and educated discussion which would eventually lead to progress and the harmony of the state.⁹¹ Liberalism was in a way a utopian ideology, since it presupposed that education and social consensus will lead to a prosperous and unified society without any problems in the future. Gary Cohen rightly noticed that later scholars engaged with the revolt against liberal middle-class and their culture much more eagerly than they did with the emergence of such class and social structures which supported them in the first place.⁹²

Returning to art history and its political use, during his work for the Royal Imperial Commission for the Research and the Preservation of Architectural Monuments (k.k. Central-Commission zur Erforschung und Erhaltung der Baudenkmale), Eitelberger travelled to the Dalmatian coast in 1859 to research and record monuments from antiquity and the Middle Ages. The commission had been established by Edward Melly and its first director was statistician and ethnographer Karl Czoernig.⁹³ The first Commission of this type had been established in France by

⁸⁶ Gary B. Cohen, *Education and Middle-Class Society in Imperial Austria* (West Lafayette, Indiana: Purdue University Press, 1996), 90.

⁸⁷ Cohen, 54.

⁸⁸ Jim Endersby, *Imperial Nature: Joseph Hooker and the Practices of Victorian Science* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008), 9.

⁸⁹ Kwan, *Liberalism and the Habsburg Monarchy, 1861-1895*, 9.

⁹⁰ Kwan, 15.

⁹¹ Kwan, 1.

⁹² Cohen, *Education and Middle-Class Society in Imperial Austria*, 4.

⁹³ Rampley, *The Vienna School of Art History*, 184.

Guizot in 1830 and given the role of preservation and classification of historical monuments, and systematization of restoration rules.⁹⁴ In Dalmatia, Eitelberger created records of the monuments in the cities of Zadar, Šibenik, Split, Trogir, Dubrovnik and the island of Rab.⁹⁵ As Rampley notes, Eitelberger's records can be defined as art topography with a practical political purpose – to show that Dalmatia is closely connected to Western Europe, and to argue against the separatist tendencies of certain nationalist South Slav movements.⁹⁶

Eitelberger's research sought to legitimize Habsburg rule in Dalmatia since the territory had only been acquired by Austria in 1815 at the Congress of Vienna. Before that, it had been ruled by Venice until 1797 and afterwards by Napoleon. Eitelberger's work was published in 1862 with a second edition in 1884. The second edition had some new comments, since by then the geopolitical situation had changed considerably. Serbia had gained independence in 1878 and Russia had become more present in the region. The Russian presence could be seen as an attraction to Slavic peoples and thus to constitute a threat to the centralizing force of the Monarchy.⁹⁷ As Jonathan Kwan points out, the majority of Austrian politicians feared the Russian influence in the region and wanted to prove the affiliation of the Slavic people to the West as a defense against Russia and ideas of Pan Slavism.⁹⁸ The second edition of the book contained commentaries on the early medieval church of The Holy Trinity (from the fifteenth century onwards Saint Donat) in Zadar by Frane Bulić. As Suzanne Marchand informs us, both Eitelberger and Bulić praised the church as one of the oldest and best-preserved classical monuments of the Habsburg realm, but they intentionally omitted the fact that the church was Byzantine in origins and that it clearly reflected eastern influences.⁹⁹

Before his research in Dalmatia, Eitelberger had also conducted research in Hungary in 1854 and 1856 and had concluded that Hungary was an integral part of Central Europe and the

⁹⁴ Colin Jones, "Theodore Vacquer and the Archaeology of Modernity in Haussmann's Paris," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, Sixth Series, 17 (2007): 168.

⁹⁵ Rampley, "Dalmatia Is Italian! The Politics of Art History in Austria Hungary and South Eastern Europe 1862-1930," 135.

⁹⁶ Rampley, "The Idea of a Scientific Discipline," 64–65.

⁹⁷ Rampley, "Dalmatia Is Italian! The Politics of Art History in Austria Hungary and South Eastern Europe 1862-1930," 135.

⁹⁸ Kwan, *Liberalism and the Habsburg Monarchy, 1861-1895*, 106.

⁹⁹ Marchand, "The View from the Land: Austrian Art Historians and the Interpretation of Croatian Art," 31.

West, instead of the East, as was argued by some Hungarian nationalist activists, and that the East had been inferior and borrowed all the Western inventions.¹⁰⁰ As Maximilian Hartmuth noticed, Eitelberger's goal was not to present the places he researched as exotic, but as similar to the center, regardless of their distance.¹⁰¹ Needless to say, such research had the practical political purpose of strengthening neo-absolutism and pacification of various Hungarian demands after the revolution of 1848. Scholarly works in such situations served to legitimize political claims. As we will see, Kršnjavi similarly tried to position Croatia in the Western cultural circle of nations that boasted both history and culture, in direct contrast to the Eastern cultural circle that was perceived as barbaric and that allegedly lacked both history and culture.

Art historians throughout the Monarchy interpreted modernization and its relation to the past through developments in the arts. Since art was believed to reflect a level of civilization, they believed contemporary art production needed to be developed and fostered, while historic art was expected to be rediscovered or recontextualized in order to fit national or imperial narratives. Most scholars, including Kršnjavi, perceived their own time as one of general artistic flourishing.¹⁰² Thus, one of the main research topics and preoccupations for art historians was folk art. Many scholars believed that it reflected the original national spirit of the past which had survived into the present somehow untouched. In this a-historical view, national and folk art were seen primarily as rural and unchanged through centuries. At the same time folk art was considered to be at a critical turning point due to modernization which was believed to be capable of reaching the rural nation and changing its original character. In order to research, preserve and reproduce folk art, Eitelberger organized the Museum for Art and Industry in 1864 and the School for Design in 1868. The main purpose of these institutions was to educate creative people who would engage in industry and popularize folk arts both in the Monarchy and abroad. Eitelberger's main role model for such institutions were the National Art Training School and the South Kensington

¹⁰⁰ Marchand, 28.

¹⁰¹ Maximilian Hartmuth, "Vienna and the Art Historical 'Discovery' of the Balkans," in *Orientalism in Ostmitteleuropa. Diskurse, Akteure Und Disziplinen Vom 19. Jahrhundert Bis Zum Zweiten Weltkrieg*, ed. Robert Born and Sarah Lemmen (Bielefeld: Transcript Verlag, 2014), 107.

¹⁰² Rampley, *The Vienna School of Art History*, 142–43.

Museum (today's Victoria and Albert Museum) in London, which he saw during his visit to the London World Fair in 1862.¹⁰³

The South Kensington Museum was organized to research and promote the collection of applied arts from across the whole British Empire. It was also intended to educate its citizens about the main rules of good taste by the experts and to promote the superiority of British products at international fairs and exhibitions. Similar museums were opened elsewhere in the British Empire. After his return from the Fair, Eitelberger managed to convince Franz Joseph, with the help of Archduke Rainer (1827-1913), to establish a similar museum and school in Vienna. The main idea behind the project was that applied arts are an appropriate medium to penetrate households throughout the Monarchy and help to integrate its people culturally.¹⁰⁴ The theoretical background for such a project of establishing a multinational Austrian cultural identity was to be a unified system of aesthetics produced by imperial scholars. Despite these original intentions, however, the applied arts in Austria soon became commercialized and their development was driven more by market forces rather than by political values. Contrary to its original intentions, nationalists also interpreted the applied arts as essentialized representations of the people. It is interesting to note that the museums and schools throughout the Monarchy were opened on the initiative of people who had been schooled in Vienna and were expected to follow the official cultural policy of the imperial circles. The only exception was the Technical and Industrial Museum in Kracow, established on an initiative of Adrian Baraniecki (1828-1891), who emigrated to London after the unsuccessful January uprising in 1864. In London, Baraniecki became acquainted with the ideas of arts and crafts, especially admiring the South Kensington Museum led by Henry Cole. Returning to Kracow in 1868, he organized a similar museum with the help of Mayor Josef Dietl.¹⁰⁵ It remains unclear whether such an endeavor was allowed by the

¹⁰³ Rampley, 116–19.

¹⁰⁴ Sabrina Karim Rahman, *Designing Empire: Austria and the Applied Arts, 1864-1918* (University of California, Berkeley: PhD Dissertation, 2010), 1–2. Unfortunately, only the first chapter deals with the theoretical aspect of the applied arts, while the other three chapters deal with Franz Joseph's Diamond Jubilee, Karl Kraus and Adolf Loos' discussion on imperial ornaments, and imperial critique of modern design in Robert Musil's work.

¹⁰⁵ Crowley, *National Style and Nation-State: Design in Poland from the Vernacular Revival to the International Style*, 9.

imperial authorities because they considered Baraniecki would follow the official cultural policy of the Monarchy or just because he was not considered a political threat.

Nevertheless, the question of folk art and its meaning became part of a developing dispute between the cultural elites of the imperial and regional centers. Intellectuals in Vienna argued that individual folk arts profited under the Monarchy because of the growing research into them and their popularization. More broadly, this claim reflected the Monarchy's self-perception as a mediator between Eastern and Western Europe.¹⁰⁶ Eitelberger also claimed that its folk art demonstrated the Monarchy's cultural and artistic superiority to the German Empire. In Eitelberger's view the slower industrialization of the Monarchy was a cultural virtue, since he also believed that folk art had died out in the German Empire thanks to rapid industrialization.¹⁰⁷ In his view, the home crafts could be considered a half-way stage between manual labor and industrial production.¹⁰⁸ Although Eitelberger supported the preservation, promotion and study of folk art, he nevertheless considered it to be of less artistic value than classical antiquities and imperial medieval monuments.¹⁰⁹ Eitelberger most likely considered folk art useful from an economic and cultural perspective, perhaps deeming it also as a means of renegotiation of various identities inherent to the heterogeneous population in accordance with the demands of the imperial cultural policy he was taking part in.

Kršnjavi also considered slow industrialization to be a cultural virtue since he believed that big industries dehumanized people and destroyed the aesthetic appearance of the cities. (I will return to discuss this view more fully later in the chapter). Nationalists also valued folk art, but from a very different perspective. They claimed that folk art represented specifically national forms of culture and they denied that the framework of the larger Empire had exercised any external influence on them. According to Peter Burke, the nationalist interest in folk art first developed in Norway at the beginning of the nineteenth century as part of the political resistance there against the cultural and political dominance of the Danes.¹¹⁰ The nationalists generally

¹⁰⁶ Rampley, *The Vienna School of Art History*, 139, 184.

¹⁰⁷ Reynolds Cordileone, *Alois Riegl in Vienna 1875–1905*, 113–14.

¹⁰⁸ Rampley, *The Vienna School of Art History*, 117.

¹⁰⁹ Marchand, "The View from the Land: Austrian Art Historians and the Interpretation of Croatian Art," 35.

¹¹⁰ Peter Burke, "Popular Culture in Norway and Sweden," *History Workshop Journal* 3, no. 1 (1977): 144.

romanticized peasant ways of life as a kind of nostalgic reflection of an imaginary golden age of a national past, anchored in pre-industrial social relations.¹¹¹ As Patrick Carroll informs us, the paradox of such nationalist discourses was that they wanted to present the nation as rural and anti-modern, while simultaneously trying to modernize the nation and yet maintain its anti-modern character.¹¹² The idea that the peasants are the best representatives of the national soul was first expressed in the Croatian language by Bishop Maksimilijan Vrhovac (1752-1827) at the beginning of the nineteenth century.¹¹³ This idea was further popularized and developed by the amateur Serbian linguist and ethnographer Vuk Stefanović Karadžić (1787-1864).¹¹⁴ Although Karadžić claimed that the national soul was best reflected in the peasant population, he also developed a more linguistic idea of nationhood which later Serbian activists would frequently use, one that claimed that all people speaking the štokavian dialect of the South Slavic languages are part of a Serbian nation.

The development of ethnography in the Monarchy corresponded to broader European developments. In the early nineteenth century, ethnography and archeology had developed across Europe as one means of learning more about imperial subjects, often so that policies could be developed to civilize them.¹¹⁵ The results of ethnographic research aimed to present either the continuity of imperial rule over its subjects, or the necessity of a new imperial government to rule the subjects in order to help them develop in a modern age. Bojan Baškar convincingly demonstrated that “the West and the Central-East European ethnology and anthropology had been playing both the nation-building and the empire-building roles.”¹¹⁶ Nation-building and empire-building corresponded and worked together as empire admitted and sometimes valued

¹¹¹ Tony Bennett, “Museums and ‘the People,’” in *The Museum Time-Machine: Putting Cultures on Display*, ed. Robert Lumley (London: Routledge, 1988), 70.

¹¹² Patrick Carroll, *Science, Culture, and Modern State Formation* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006), 168.

¹¹³ James B. Bukowski, “The Catholic Church and Croatian National Identity: From the Counter-Reformation to the Early Nineteenth Century,” *East European Quarterly* XII, no. 3 (1979): 335.

¹¹⁴ Edin Hajdarpašić, *Whose Bosnia? Nationalism and Political Imagination in the Balkans, 1840-1914* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2015), 24.

¹¹⁵ Christopher Evans, “Delineating Objects : Nineteenth-Century Antiquarian Culture and the Project of Archaeology,” in *Visions of Antiquity : The Society of Antiquaries of London, 1707-2007*, ed. Susan Pearce (London: Society of Antiquaries of London, 2007), 269.

¹¹⁶ Bojan Baskar, “Small National Ethnologies and Supranational Empires: The Case of the Habsburg Monarchy,” in *Everyday Culture in Europe: Approaches and Methodologies*, ed. Máiréad Nic Craith, Ullrich Kockel, and Reinhard Johler (Hampshire: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2008), 67.

the idea of the existence of various cultures within its territory. By categorizing and cataloguing its different peoples the empire created a space for nationalisms to develop. At the same time nations used this imperial interest in nations to build their own place within the empire.

When later in the nineteenth century ethnography was put into local contexts, it also served as a means to research folk culture which was perceived to be the authentic voice of the nation that was allegedly dying out. The rural way of life soon became a dominant stereotype of national culture.¹¹⁷ One of the reasons for such a perception was that the processes of urbanization and industrialization, associated with ideas of modernization, were perceived as radical transformers of local customs and styles of life. The main idea behind such ethnographic projects was to find the past in the present.¹¹⁸ This idea, that the past could be found in the current rural population corresponded closely to ideas of nineteenth century archeology which considered that the past could be excavated from the earth. Such ideas also represented a kind of nostalgia for a pre-industrial way of life whose proponents considered that pure national cultures had survived without experiencing any “foreign” influences from their very beginnings until the industrial revolution.¹¹⁹ Paradoxically, national culture was also considered to be long-lasting and resistant to changes over longer spans of time, yet it suddenly was also considered to be endangered by the development of industry and industrialization. Consequently, the only possible solution to preserve dying cultures was their collection, systematization and presentation in museums. As Tony Bennet demonstrated, cultures became the “object of government, as something in need of both transformation and regulation.”¹²⁰ Such transformation and regulation shifted in the second half of the nineteenth century from private initiatives to state institutions.

Kršnjavi developed a few ethnographical projects himself. In 1881, the Arts Society in Zagreb wanted to organize an exhibition of artifacts for the Arts and Crafts Museum, which was

¹¹⁷ Samuel D. Albert, “The Nation for Itself: The 1896 Hungarian Millenium and the 1906 Romanian National General Exhibition,” in *Cultures of International Exhibitions 1840-1940 - Great Exhibitions in the Margins*, ed. Marta Filipova (Dorchester: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2015), 121.

¹¹⁸ Annie E. Coombes, “Museums and the Formation of National and Cultural Identities,” *Oxford Art Journal* 11, no. 2 (1988): 61.

¹¹⁹ Germain Bazin, *The Museum Age* (New York: Universe Books, 1967), 235.

¹²⁰ Tony Bennett, *The Birth of the Museum: History, Theory, Politics* (London; New York: Routledge, 1995), 19.

in the phase of re-opening to the public after the earthquake. Kršnjavi was one of the Society's founders and its main creator of projects which will be discussed in the next chapter. The Society sent requests to various village municipalities for the artifacts and their descriptions, but the response was poor. So Kršnjavi decided to go on a mission to the Slavonian region himself and the following year he published his travelogue *The Slavonian Papers*.¹²¹ He was interested in the home crafts (Hausindustrie) and particularly in textile production and dyeing.¹²² His main conclusion in *The Slavonian Papers* was that these home crafts could only be preserved in the context of Zadrugas. Zadrugas were older social institutions of peasant cooperatives particular to the regions of Slavonia, Strymnia, and the Military Frontier. Zadrugas were understood to be collective institutions that could resist the egoism of modern capitalism. Part of politicians and scholars who wanted to preserve Zadrugas interpreted them as early medieval Slavic institutions, while others who wanted to abolish zadrugas criticized them as feudal institutions which were organized with the help of large landowners.¹²³ Although Zadrugas officially ceased to exist in 1889, some of them were already dysfunctional, while others continued after 1889 to function as Zadrugas despite the law.¹²⁴ Kršnjavi argued for the maintenance of Zadrugas because he considered that the ongoing division of peasant lands into individual parcels impoverished families and destroyed craft production. Consequently, he presented and interpreted domestic crafts as collective endeavors, not as the work of individuals. He also believed that living in Zadrugas gave special inspiration for art.

Divisions are a death-kick to the local craft... we want people to remain agricultural, and to pursue useful craft production which will secure their existence when misfortune strikes. This is possible only if families remain in Zadrugas, only when all Zadrugas together are doing the same work, when the whole village turns into a big factory during the winter.¹²⁵

¹²¹ Izidor Kršnjavi, *Listovi Iz Slavonije* (Zagreb, 1882).

¹²² Tihana Petrović, "Iso Kršnjavi kao etnograf," *Etnološka tribina* 22, no. 15 (1992): 150–51.

¹²³ Ivančica Marković, "Podjela i Raspad Kućnih Zadruga u Slavoniji u 19. Stoljeću," *Scrinia Slavonica* 9 (2009): 222–23.

¹²⁴ Marković, 224, 229; Josip Defilippis, "Razvoj Obiteljskih Gospodarstava Hrvatske i Zadrugarstvo," *Sociologija i Prostor: Časopis Za Istraživanje Prostornoga i Sociokulturnog Razvoja* 43, no. 1 (2005); Dragutin Pavličević, *Hrvatske Kućne/Obiteljske Zadruga I. (Do 1881.)* (Zagreb: Golden Marketing - Tehnička knjiga, 2010); Dragutin Pavličević, *Hrvatske Kućne/Obiteljske Zadruga II. (Nakon 1881.)* (Zagreb: Golden Marketing - Tehnička knjiga, 2010); Ognjeslav Utješanović Ostrožinski, *Kućne Zadruga - Vojna Krajina* (Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 1988).

¹²⁵ Kršnjavi, *Listovi Iz Slavonije*, 57.

Local elementary school teachers later received Kršnjavi's travelogue as a gift and as an initiative to encourage them to collect ethnographic material and terminology. I found a reference to another of Kršnjavi's research missions in the records of the Crafts school. In a document from 1884, the departmental head of Religious Affairs and Education Ivan Vončina had asked Kršnjavi to conduct a research mission in Brod, today Slavonski Brod, and to offer his expertise on how best to organize a textile school there.¹²⁶ Similarly, I found a short mention of a mission to Hungary and Transylvania in 1884, to Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1885, and to Scandinavia in 1889 where he researched craft schools.¹²⁷ I did not find any traces of the missions in Kršnjavi's papers, nor in the government documents.

Importance of architecture and restoration to nationalism

Kršnjavi was also involved in several projects that sought to restore historical buildings as part of a broader cultural nationalism. As we have seen previously in the chapter, Kršnjavi adopted such a liberal approach to nation-building through aesthetics during his education in Vienna. The main idea behind such an approach was to create visual identity of the nation by presenting both its uniqueness and its similarity to its Western counterparts. Restoration of the Zagreb cathedral provides a good illustration on Kršnjavi's thoughts regarding problems of architecture and restoration in its relations with the nation. Kršnjavi considered that the Zagreb cathedral had also lost its original character thanks to the later baroque additions, perceived as German. The restoration offered an opportunity to create a distinct style that reflected the Croatian nation's power and above all, its autonomy. Historical architecture was thus important for Kršnjavi since he considered it to be an expression of the collective will of previous generations of the nation and as a medium through which the previous generations communicated their lives and moral advice to newer generations. In Kršnjavi's view, historical monuments represented the

¹²⁶ DAZ, fond 135 Obrtna škola, 19.8.1884./432

¹²⁷ Ferdo Pajas, *Hrvatsko Društvo Umjetnosti i Njegovo Djelovanje Od Osnutka 1878. Godine Sve Do Konca 1917. Godine* (Zagreb: Tisak nakladnog zavoda Ignata Granitza. The book was printed, but it was not published., 1918), 94.

past more realistically than did written records because he considered them to be works of the entire population, unlike written documents that were a result of individual endeavors:

Architecture is therefore the pure expression of a way of thinking, not only of individuals, but also of the whole folk... Architecture showed how people think, how they understand the world, and God; monuments of architecture are clearly written pages of human history, their ruins teach us many things in the moral and special life of previous generations which we could not find in any written document.¹²⁸

Kršnjavi thought that neo-gothic styles and gothic restoration elements were the most suitable styles for restoring historical monuments in Croatia. The gothic style was also considered to be the expression of the popular taste of medieval communes in opposition to the taste of aristocracy.¹²⁹ Such reasoning was motivated by the idea that the nation should be widened to all strata of society and should not be reserved only for elites and aristocracy. This view was firstly expressed by architect Franz Sitte during the 1848 Revolution as an opposition to imperial classicism.¹³⁰ Kršnjavi did not consider gothic style to be exclusively German, but argued for its French origins.¹³¹ "As Germans followed Frenchmen slowly each time, it was the same in this case. While they were still arguing in Germany, whether to build in Romanesque or Gothic style, in France Gothic style art was already renewed..."¹³² Kršnjavi argued that Gothic style had spread to Croatia and Hungary from Dalmatia in its Italian variant, but he also noticed German influences in the northern parts of Croatia.

The Gothic style was transferred by Italians to Dalmatia, Croatia and Hungary. All buildings in Dalmatia rely on Italian gothic, whereas buildings in Zagreb, and Varaždin, in Slavonia and in Orahovica and Šarengrad rely on German gothic. There are signs on the Zagreb Cathedral that it was built by German workers. All aisles are of the same width and that is a German motif.¹³³

¹²⁸ HR-HDA 804.6.3.3.41, Uvod u povijest umjetnosti, 10-11.

¹²⁹ Lauren M. O'Connell, "Constructing the Russian Other: Viollet-Le-Duc and the Politics of an Asiatic Past," in *Architectures of Russian Identity, 1500 to the Present*, ed. James Cracraft and Daniel Rowland (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2003), 100.

¹³⁰ Carl E. Schorske, *Fin-de-Siècle Vienna. Politics and Culture* (New York: Vintage Books, 1981), 65.

¹³¹ Dragan Damjanović, "Polychrome Roof Tiles and National Style in Nineteenth-Century Croatia," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 70, no. 4 (2011): 475.

¹³² Kršnjavi, *Listovi Iz Slavonije*, 14.

¹³³ HR-HAD, 804..5.2.1, Povijest kulture u dobi renaissance, 30.

During his research in Slavonia in 1881, Kršnjavi examined not only folk art, but also local architecture. He was particularly interested in wooden architecture, which he speculated, could have represented the spirit of the nation from the distant past. Such architecture was important for Kršnjavi for he believed that its elements were expressed once again, much later, in the gothic style. Kršnjavi's idea of the transfer of constructive elements from wooden architecture to the later architectural styles was probably influenced by German architect Heinrich Hübsch (1795-1863) and his work *On Greek Architecture*, published in 1822.¹³⁴ The most famous example of Kršnjavi's and Bolle's work was their previously mentioned restoration of the Zagreb cathedral in a neo-gothic style after it had been severely damaged by the earthquake in 1880. The cathedral was originally constructed in the gothic style in the thirteenth century, but stood on older Romanesque foundations probably from the late eleventh or early twelfth century. Throughout the centuries several adaptations were made to the cathedral. After the earthquake, Kršnjavi and Bolle started removing elements which they considered not to be originally gothic. Kršnjavi saw the earthquake as an ideal opportunity to correct the mistakes of previous restorations of the cathedral. For Kršnjavi the restoration project took on a national significance. He urged people through newspaper articles to donate money for the restoration and to overcome their egoism and selfishness, arguing that the cathedral was a common possession of the people: "... that monument [the cathedral] is the common possession of the Croatian people, as the Cologne cathedral is the common possession of all German people...".¹³⁵

Construction of the Cologne cathedral had begun in 1248 and was finished only in 1880 with the financial help of the Prussian government. German nationalists called the Cologne cathedral a national monument whose symbolic value could unify and reconcile the German nation. As Astrid Swenson argues, Cologne was perceived by nationalists to have lost its German character under French influence. The main aim of the Cologne Cathedral's restoration was to reestablish its Germanness and to reflect the power of the new German Empire towards France.¹³⁶

¹³⁴ Barry Bergdoll, "Archeology vs. History: Heinrich Hübsch's Critique of Neoclassicism and the Beginnings of Historicism in German Architectural Theory," *Oxford Art Journal* 5, no. 2 (1983): 3.

¹³⁵ Izidor Kršnjavi, "Stolna Crkva u Zagrebu," *Narodne Novine*, no. 28 (1882): 441.

¹³⁶ Astrid Swenson, "Cologne Cathedral as an International Monument," in *Rewriting German History. New Perspectives on Modern Germany*, ed. Jan Rüger and Nikolaus Wachsmann (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), 30–33.

Emmanuel Viollet-Le-Duc (1814-1879) was one of the first to introduce the gothic revival and the idea of a “radical” restoration of monuments. The role of the restorer was not to repair monuments, he argued, but rather to give them their most perfect form, despite the fact that such form may have never existed before. Restoration was thus a creative process which enabled restorers to add new elements which they believed reflected the original style of monuments or the ones which were seen as necessary to convey contemporary messages of the particular monument to the audience. “To restore an edifice is not to maintain it, repair it or refashion it; it is to reestablish it in its complete state which may never have occurred at any given moment.”¹³⁷ In 1880, during their reconstruction of the Zagreb Cathedral, Kršnjavi and Bolle discovered that a main portal had been built over the original portal, so they destroyed the newer portal. This action was inspired by Le-Duc’s teachings that newer layers of architecture should be removed.¹³⁸ Other scholars, like the Vienna-based art historian Alois Riegl, argued in contrast that newer elements should be preserved, since they are “the visible surfaces registering the movements of historical time.”¹³⁹ Consequently for Riegl, time became a “phenomenon embedded in artifacts” and artifacts were the “visual constructions of time.”¹⁴⁰ Contrary to Riegl, Kršnjavi considered art to be an expression of the spirit of time (and thus the national culture), not only in an aesthetic sense, but also in the sense of social values and morals. “Difference between old and new art is not only difference of shapes, but also difference of spirit. Spirit needs to be known, if we are to understand differences of shapes.”¹⁴¹

In this view, the role of architecture was especially important as the main basis for the development of other artistic forms. Restoration of monuments was hence the restoration of an imagined spirit of past times. Kršnjavi’s pursuit of neo-gothic restoration conjured an implicit idea of the restoration of an imagined medieval democracy and the development of a Croatian nation in which all social classes were interconnected. Kršnjavi and Bolle also considered the restoration of monuments to be a patriotic duty to show appreciation for the past. Much like Viollet-Le-Duc,

¹³⁷ Jones, “Theodore Vacquer and the Archaeology of Modernity in Haussmann’s Paris,” 169.

¹³⁸ Jones, 166.

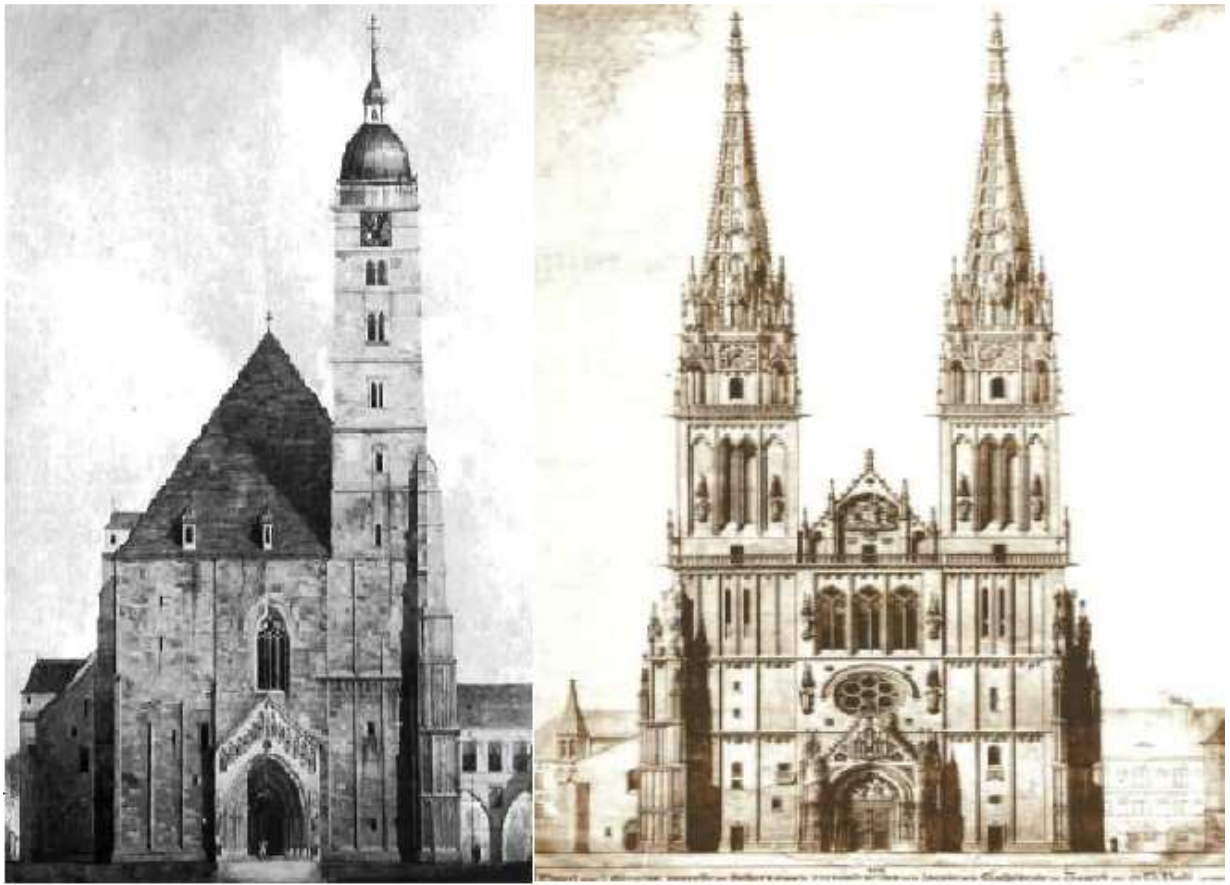
¹³⁹ Michael Gubser, *Time’s Visible Surface: Alois Riegl and the Discourse on History and Temporality in Fin-de-Siècle Vienna* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2006), 24.

¹⁴⁰ Gubser, 142.

¹⁴¹ Izidor Kršnjavi, *Znamenovanje Poviesti i Arkeologije Umjetnosti* (Zagreb: Tisak dioničke tiskare, 1878), 10.

Bolle's main aim was to restore buildings to their original conditions and to remove the "scars of later periods." Historian and conservator Gjuro Szabo was so annoyed with Bolle's restoration that he coined the term "boletika" after World War I by which he meant "an annihilation of monuments by restoration."¹⁴² For Szabo, like Riegl, later architectural additions were of equal importance to the original elements, whereas Bolle had considered later additions to be historically and artistically insignificant.

¹⁴² Damjanović, *Arhitekt Herman Bolle*, 125, 641.



The Zagreb Cathedral before and after restoration.

Le-Duc also taught that churches should face open, public squares and spaces, an idea that Kršnjavi and Bolle also adopted. The biggest controversy regarding this issue was their removal of Bakač's tower from the front of the Zagreb cathedral in 1906. Bakač's tower was part of the fortification of the Zagreb cathedral built in the early sixteenth century by a governor of Zagreb diocese Toma Bakač. Kršnjavi and Bolle argued for the removal of the tower since it blocked a clear view of the newly restored cathedral's main façade.¹⁴³ Their opponents, led by the head of the National Museum Josip Brunšmid, argued against the removal of the tower because of its historical importance. Other prominent names that sided with Brunšmid and publicly argued against Kršnjavi's and Bolle's proposal to remove Bakač's tower were the literary critic Vladimir Lunaček and the antiquarian and historian Ivan Tkalčić.

Lunaček argued that all historical styles up until the end of the eighteenth century should be preserved on monuments and that parts removed should be stored in museums, not destroyed. In cases when several architectural styles were present, restoration should be done in the predominant one.¹⁴⁴ In Lunaček's view, the baroque style was important for Croatia since it proved Croatian affiliation with the Catholic Church. This view was a shift from the previous understandings of importance and origins of historical styles, because it did not aim to prove the unique national development of a particular style, but rather placed the nation's artistic and moral development in the context of the Catholic Church. The rationale behind this argument was nevertheless to present Croatia as part of Western cultural circles, but no longer through a classical tradition, as had been argued by Kršnjavi.

It [the cathedral] had been affluent with the historical monuments and with its baroque shine because our history is one historical part of the Catholic Church... Nowadays our cathedral has no differences from newly-built churches. Tradition has been stopped and that cannot be undone; with this restoration tradition has been fully lost forever.¹⁴⁵

¹⁴³ HR-HDA, Untitled paper in the section Drugi projekti hrvatskog društva umjetnosti, 804.1.9.

¹⁴⁴ Zlatko Jurić, Martina Strugar, and Franko Ćorić, "Rasprave o Bakačevoj Kuli u Zagrebu 1901. Godine: 'Taj Nezgrapni, Ružni Toranj...' Ili '...Karakterističan Primjer Sredovječnog Utvrđenog Braništa,'" *Portal - Godišnjak Hrvatskog Restauratorskog Zavoda 2* (2011): 71.

¹⁴⁵ Jurić, Strugar, and Ćorić, 73.

In this view tradition was a historical artefact and a materialized spirit of the nation from the past which had been preserved. Kršnjavi also considered the development of architecture in Croatia to be part of a broader European phenomenon and not a fully autonomous style, and he argued that it offered evidence of Croatian participation in the culture of the West. Kršnjavi argued that historical development of architecture in Croatia was “not particularly national, but equal to the development of such forms in those countries from which the builders that constructed those monuments came from; and they were usually Italians and Germans.”¹⁴⁶ Consequently, in such a view, Croatia belonged both to the Mediterranean and to Central Europe.

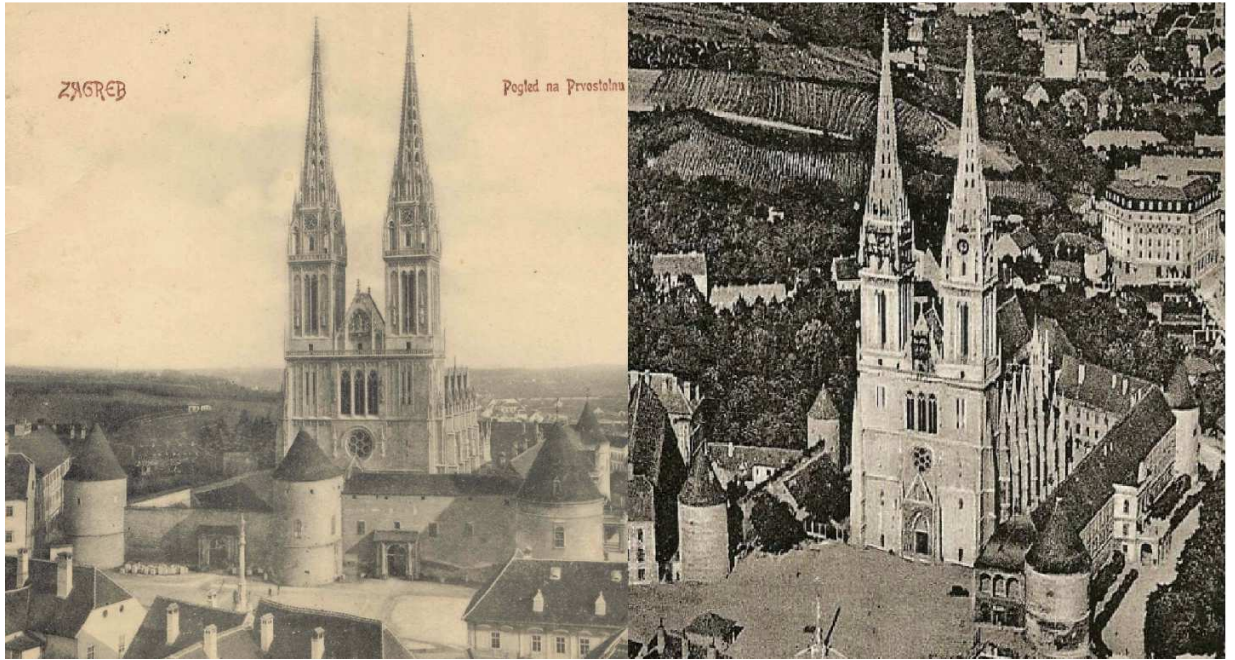
Returning to Bakač’s tower, Kršnjavi argued that the tower was not historically important because it was not part of the original medieval fortification, since it had been erected two hundred years after the rest of the structure. Kršnjavi followed Le-Duc’s teachings and attributed importance only to so-called “original elements,” while the other historical additions seemed to him unimportant, unlike the views of Lunaček who, as previously mentioned, considered all elements up to the early nineteenth century worth preserving. Kršnjavi also argued for the removal of the tower due to aesthetic reasons since the tower was:

not beautiful: wide, short, semicircular; it does not contain any architectural or decorative forms-it is a simple tower [...] and it hides the beautiful façade of the church which had been renovated at great expense and the dedication of the bishop, clergy, local government and Croatian people.¹⁴⁷

The debate centered upon the interpretation and valuation of the past. While one group interpreted specific areas of the past as unwanted and argued for the removal of all its traces, the other group argued for the preservation of all elements regardless of origins. In the end, the tower was removed.

¹⁴⁶ Jurić, Strugar, and Ćorić, 83.

¹⁴⁷ Izidor Kršnjavi, “Bakačeva Kula,” *Narodne Novine* 144 (1901).



The Zagreb Cathedral before and after the removal of Bakač's tower.

Kršnjavi's education in Vienna, with the additional influence of his professor Rudolf von Eitelberger, played an important role in shaping his liberal worldview and the ways he sought to influence society. Kršnjavi adopted typical mid-nineteenth century liberal thinking reflected in the idea of the superiority of the intellect and the ability to reach consensus with others through public discussions and the power of persuasion. As did other liberals, Kršnjavi thought he possessed the ultimate solution for social conflicts, a tool to mitigate confrontations if applied. Such thinking further cemented Kršnjavi's stubbornness, self-righteousness and his unwillingness to consider proposals or ideas that were contrary to his personal beliefs.

During his studies, Kršnjavi also adopted a new approach to reform, an approach that was mostly unfamiliar at that point in Croatian politics. His approach involved shaping society through media such as museums, education or art policy, with the belief that such policy would bring about the material and moral progress of the nation. As we will see in the next chapter, Kršnjavi followed Eitelberger's advice and organized an arts and crafts museum and school, while continuing his work at the University.

3. Kršnjavi and Arts Society

The Establishment and Work of the Arts Society

In 1868, Kršnjavi had proposed to the authorities that they establish an Arts Society (*Društvo umjetnosti*) in Zagreb. After returning to Zagreb in the late 1870s, he learned that his proposal had finally been accepted, although the society had not yet been set up. He decided to found it himself in 1879 and he was duly elected its director. Count Ivo (Ivan) Buratti (1825-1911) was elected (honorary) president, Croatia's first professional historian Franjo Rački became the Vice President and Kršnjavi was also made the secretary. Later in 1905, Kršnjavi became the president, until the establishment of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes in 1918. The Society organized exhibitions and acquired works of art, but it also tried to create institutional support for young artists. The main goal of the Society, however, was to popularize art among a wider audience.¹⁴⁸

The aims of the Society, according to its official rules and regulations, were to improve *national* art and artistic crafts, to stage exhibitions by local and foreign artists, and to encourage the moral and material support of young talented artists and craftsmen. In practical terms the Society also sought to protect the copyright claims of its members, to maintain contacts between national and international artists and similar artistic societies, and to organize parties and popular lectures for the broader public. The society's other professional goals were to organize exhibitions of artworks of older schools, to acquire or commission new artworks, to gather graphic copies of famous paintings, to help with art sales, and to establish art schools for the greater population. Owners of an artwork sold by the Society paid the society a 5% commission fee. The artistic committee of the Society also made decisions on which works were to be bought. In case of a breakup of the Society, all works would be given to the Academy of Arts and Sciences.

Based on how much one paid, there were three different types of memberships: establishing member, regular member and participating member. Establishing members paid a

¹⁴⁸ HR-HDA, Pravila društva umjetnosti u Zagrebu, 804.1.1.2.

fee of 100 or more forints and their membership was for life. They were also annually given original national works of art or good reprints of classical works. Other members could acquire artworks through regular lotteries which were organized by the Society. All members had the right to participate in regular meetings and a free family entrance to exhibitions organized by the Society.

Up until the mid-nineteenth century, although the situation varied from place to place, such learned societies had been exclusive organizations for the higher nobility. As Arnold Thackary demonstrated, learned societies served as cultural spaces where various identities could be expressed.¹⁴⁹ Science for such aristocrats was in Rita Krueger's words "an alternate realm both separated from the dangers of modern political and social life and yet able to provide the solutions for political and social problems."¹⁵⁰ In this way science was meant to cure and strengthen the national community. The main topics discussed in such societies were questions of progress, national competitiveness and industrialization. As Claudia Schweizer informs us, the main idea behind such societies had also been to lower political tensions and stimulate productivity at the beginning of the nineteenth century by focusing on culture and other seemingly non-political subjects. Since political associations faced a great risk due to imperial repression at the beginning of the nineteenth century and were in fact often outlawed, learned societies turned out to be a good alternative because they were not so strictly monitored. Although the scholarly works such societies produced went through censorship, censors were less strict because the topics did not seem political, while the ruling circles even supported some of the projects.¹⁵¹

Although the Arts Society in Zagreb functioned in a later period, the topics it discussed remained the same as those discussed in earlier societies. Learned societies, including the Arts Society, soon became arbiters of public knowledge and were often asked to give their expert

¹⁴⁹ Arnold Thackray, "Natural Knowledge in Cultural Context: The Manchester Mode," *The American Historical Review* 79, no. 3 (1974): 686.

¹⁵⁰ Rita Krueger, *Czech, German, and Noble - Status and National Identity in Habsburg Bohemia* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 90.

¹⁵¹ Claudia Schweizer, "Migrating Objects: The Bohemian National Museum and Its Scientific Collaborations in the Early Nineteenth Century," *Journal of the History of Collections* 18, no. 2 (2006): 189–90, 197.

opinion on questions of national or imperial importance.¹⁵² In the second half of the nineteenth century, learned societies started attracting the new upper middle class of university professors, archeologist and the like, which resulted in a less exclusive character of societies. Learned societies became critical sites of social intersection where a new class of professional academicians could establish social contacts with the aristocracy and clergy, while hoping to acquire financing for their excavation projects, printing of books, ordering artworks etc.¹⁵³

Unlike the more exclusive earlier learned societies, the Arts Society was socially inclusive from its beginnings. At the time, Zagreb had almost no wealthy middle class, and particularly not one interested in promoting and subsidizing art. So, the Arts Society strove to attract anyone willing to invest money. Croatian elites were also less economically powerful than their counterparts in other parts of the Monarchy or Europe, and this had resulted in a lower number of learned societies in the eighteenth and early nineteenth century. The Arts Society was also a place where a younger generation of intellectuals interacted socially with an older generation of aristocrats and clergy. The clergy usually formed the core of the early learned societies throughout Europe since they were usually better educated.¹⁵⁴

Intellectuals like Kršnjavi and Lacko Mrazović (1849-1881) used the economic power of aristocrats and the clergy such as Baron Ljudevit Vraniczany (1840-1922), who allowed the first art exhibition in 1879 to take place in his palace, or Bishop Strossmayer, who financed various projects and gave part of his collection of folk textiles and church inventory to the Arts and Crafts museum. In general, aristocrats and rulers in the nineteenth century tended to transfer their collections from private houses to regional centers and capitals in order to make them more accessible to a broader public. Consequently, the basis for collecting changed from individual curiosity and endeavor to collective research and to the preservation of so-called national wealth, while newly formed institutions used these collections to educate the broader public. The main

¹⁵² Krueger, *Czech, German, and Noble - Status and National Identity in Habsburg Bohemia*, 94.

¹⁵³ Arthur MacGregor, "Forming an Identity : The Early Society and Its Context, 1707-51," in *Visions of Antiquity : The Society of Antiquaries of London, 1707-2007*, ed. Susan Pearce (London: Society of Antiquaries of London, 2007), 45; Rosemary Sweet, "The Incorporated Society and Its Public Role," in *Visions of Antiquity : The Society of Antiquaries of London* (London: Society of Antiquaries of London, 2007), 94.

¹⁵⁴ P. J. A. Levine, *The Amateur and the Professional: Antiquarians, Historians and Archaeologists in Victorian England 1838-1886* (Cambridge University Press, 2003), 48, 54.

difference between private and public collections in the 19th century was, as Michael Ames informs us, that private collections exhibited what belongs *not to you, but to someone else*, while collective collections represented *your shared personal belonging* as a member of a nation.¹⁵⁵ This led to the, as Rita Krueger put it, “public consumption of national culture and national myth.”¹⁵⁶ The main goal of such institutions was to show the continuity and longevity of the nation which could be preserved, portrayed and celebrated. As Richard Handler and Eric Gable argue, museums are based on an idea that it is possible to preserve a past which represents nation in a romantic way of living in accordance with nature.¹⁵⁷ Maya Gervits demonstrated that it was of particular importance to make museums accessible to the public, since the mission of museums was “not only to preserve art treasures, but also to educate people, help them become more spiritual and morally guided, and to mold them into good citizens and patriots.”¹⁵⁸ Since the most representative artifacts were exhibited, people could see and appropriate how “the nation” expressed itself through various forms and shapes, from paintings to ornaments, and different color patterns.

The Arts Society in Zagreb held its first meeting on 23rd February 1879 and it numbered twenty-six members. It is almost impossible to tell more about some names from the list, but the most prominent members of the Society were Ivo Buratti (1825- between 1907 and 1911), one of the first people to engage in the excavations of Diocletian’s palace in Split; Ferdinand Bothe (1842-1922), merchant and one of the rare craftsmen; Josip Devide (1826-1897), head of the Chamber of Commerce; Gjuro Deželić (1838-1907), poet, one of the pioneers in the establishment of the firemen squad; engineer Josip Janko Grahor (1827-1906) who, at the time, did public construction works and would soon be pushed aside by Bolle due to his lack of artistic constructing skills; painter Ferdinand Quiqerez (1845-1893) who was schooled in Germany where he established contacts with Kršnjavi and later joined him in Italy in 1876 to paint; sculptor Ivan

¹⁵⁵ Michael M. Ames, *Museums, the Public and Anthropology* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1986), 7.

¹⁵⁶ Krueger, *Czech, German, and Noble - Status and National Identity in Habsburg Bohemia*, 162.

¹⁵⁷ Richard Handler and Eric Gable, *The New History in an Old Museum: Creating the Past at Colonial Williamsburg* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1997), 4.

¹⁵⁸ Maya Gervits, “Historicism, Nationalism, and Museum Architecture in Russia from the Nineteenth to the Turn of the Twentieth Century,” *Visual Resources: An International Journal on Images and Their Uses* 27, no. 1 (2011): 36.

Rendić (1849-1932); amateur collector of textile and fabric, Felix Lay (1838-1913); one of the wealthiest merchants, Guido Pongratz; antiquarian and historian, Ivan Kukuljević (1816-1899); one of the most famous writers of the time, August Šenoa (1838-1881); doctor Antun Lobmayer (1844-1906) who would later become the official doctor of the Crafts school; Ladislav Mrazović, son of the Zagreb mayor from 1879 to 1881 who studied law but fell in love with art during his travel in Italy, and died in 1882 of phthisis; canons Lehpamer and Rački with another canon of the church of St. Mark Eduard Suhin joining soon after and engaging in the establishment of the Crafts school; head of the National museum and catholic priest Šime Ljubić (1822-1896). As is evident, the Society was comprised of members of the Croatian upper middle-class professions and the clergy. In a short time, the Society's membership grew to 100 members and would remain between 100 and 200 members until the end of the First World War. The Arts Society remained a relatively small association, with its membership limited mostly to artists and intellectuals.

The first decision of the Society was to organize arts and craft exhibitions to promote national arts and craft products. Kršnjavi also proposed to ask the Croatian government¹⁵⁹ to establish a Craft museum, although he argued for the autonomous development of art without any influence of external factors such as politics. Kršnjavi considered that art should be based on tradition and saw art as a material expression of the will and intellectual need of the people, similar to science:

One of the most important rules of historical style is traditional intellectual origin of artworks. We should never forget the main idea which is the foundation of artwork... Art is not pure luxury, but similarly to science, an intellectual need of the people.¹⁶⁰

¹⁵⁹ Term local government is used for regional Croatian government under Ban's rule.

¹⁶⁰ Isidor Kršnjavi, *Oblici Graditeljstva u Starom Vieku i Glavna Načela Gradjevne Ljepote* (Zagreb: Nakladom Društva umjetnosti, 1883), vii.

First Exhibition

The Arts' Society organized its first exhibition on the 15th of December 1879. It ran for only two weeks until the 1st of January 1880 in the palace of Baron Dragan Vraniczany (1841-1910) in the Zagreb city center. The Arts Society sent calls to newspapers, various local organizations, and individuals asking them to lend their artifacts for display at the exhibition. The Exhibition was only briefly advertised in daily newspapers and after the opening Kršnjavi and Mrazović started writing articles in order to describe the exhibits and to raise public interest. Kršnjavi also held a few lectures which were well received due to his excellent presentation skills. Around 8800 people visited the exhibition, some of them for free as members of the society with families or exhibitors. Considering that the population of Zagreb was around 25,000 at the moment, the exhibition can be considered a success. Additionally, the main goals of the exhibition were accomplished – the establishment of the arts and crafts school and museum, as well as the permanent move of Herman Bolle to Zagreb.

The exhibition consisted of paintings, Bolle's restoration plans for a church in Marija Bistrica, sculpture, needlework, folk textiles, cast artworks, carpentry, pottery, glasswork and home crafts. The main aim of the exhibition was to popularize arts and crafts in the wider society and to educate society in "good" taste. In an article on the exhibition published in the journal *Vienac*, Mrazović poetically explained that art ennobles people, giving them freedom and elevating everyday life: "Art is an important means to ennoble the importance of people."¹⁶¹ He continued, stressing the role of government in educating its citizens in aesthetics. However, Mrazović also warned that people needed to pay attention to other elements besides aesthetics, such as science, political life, and national autonomy:

Today rulers do not build palaces, raise monuments, and create art galleries, theaters, music institutes just to show their power, but because every rational government considers it its duty to awaken a sense of beauty among its citizens. Nobody would want some people to cherish only beauty and to neglect national autonomy, state life, civic freedom, scientific endeavor. It is impossible to exist without cherishing beauty,

¹⁶¹ Lacko Mrazović, "Umjetničko-Obrtnička Izložba u Zagrebu," *Vienac*, 1879, 50 edition, 798.

since it ennobles purport, soothes wilderness of passion, and raises people's thoughts above everyday existence to higher objectives.¹⁶²

Mrazović saw crafts as most important for the education of citizens because they were simpler than the higher arts such as painting, sculpture and architecture. Crafts constituted a first step in educating citizens' tastes, and higher art developed from crafts. Mrazović's views were anti-elitist, since he considered that art should be accessible to everybody as it had been before it had been alienated from people. Therefore, people should start decorating their houses, flats, and surrounding areas after being aesthetically educated:

In the same way that you do not give children the works of Gundulić [a baroque poet from Dubrovnik] and trigonometry to learn how to read and count, so if you want to educate peoples in aesthetics, you should not start by interpreting Capitoline Venus, Raphael's Madonnas or high art. You should start with artistic craft which was beyond any doubt a harbinger of high art. Today everybody thinks that art should not be only a luxury for the elites, but that it should become what it was previously – a need for everyone. How will art ever become a need, unless we introduce it in our own living spaces?¹⁶³

In order to educate both citizens and artisans in good taste, Mrazović argued for a need to establish institutions like the South Kensington Museum in Zagreb. Such institutions would also establish generally accepted aesthetic rules in order to resist trendy fashion. He considered that "traditional" designs possessed timeless aesthetic value. Knowledgeable collectors and museum curators would decide which artifacts fit and represented those aesthetic ideals, while others would be discarded.

Governments, friends of art and artisans realized that they need to follow the South Kensington Museum, if they want technical arts not to lag behind and not to harm national prosperity. Such institutes strive to influence both producers and consumers to teach them what is good. The greatest archenemy of reform is fashion, that invisible and inconceivable force, which prescribes to us which cut or color should we wear,

¹⁶² Mrazović, 799.

¹⁶³ Mrazović, 800.

which furniture or dishes should we buy. Fashion declares something to be ugly, stupid and of bad taste, which it previously said to be nice and good.¹⁶⁴

In conclusion, Mrazović argued that local circumstances were worrying in his day, since craftsmen had allegedly lost aesthetic taste or skills, and had turned to smaller importers of cheaper goods. The only way out from such a situation was to educate both craftsmen and consumers:

If we think about our local situation, sadness will grow in our hearts. Our craftsmen are mostly producing ugly products or do nothing, but have turned into merchants. They are ordering and selling goods which are usually discarded from other countries and cities... So, neither craftsmen, nor consumer are educated enough, and if education goes in the wrong direction, it will never find the right path itself. The only way to get education on the right path is by education and science.¹⁶⁵

Besides exhibitors from the Triune Kingdom of Croatia, there were also exhibitors from Vienna, Bohemia, Trieste, and Bosnia-Herzegovina. In his recollections of the exhibition Kršnjavi made it clear that he considered the whole Monarchy to be his fatherland, writing that: "...People participated from Vienna, Bohemia, Trieste, Bosnia and other parts of our fatherland."¹⁶⁶ Hungary was represented by Vilmos Zsolnay (1828-1900) from Pecs, who exhibited his majolica products. These were praised not only for their quality, but also because he managed to establish a highly successful private business. Special attention, however, was given to those of his products that were considered to be decorated in Croatian ornaments. These were held up as examples to show how Croatian craft had a great but unrealized commercial potential. Thanks to "negligence and nonchalance," *foreigners* earn money from Croatian crafts:

¹⁶⁴ Mrazović, 800.

¹⁶⁵ Mrazović, 801.

¹⁶⁶ HR-HDA, Malo mojih uspomena 804.1.3.1., 15.

The best products from Zsolnay's collection are the ones representing our peasant motifs. These crafts are a rich spring, which is being used by foreigners, while we let it decline in negligence and nonchalance.¹⁶⁷

One of the most interesting collections in the exhibition came from Vice-Consul Adolf Falkner from Livno in Herzegovina. He sent amateur works by silversmith Mato Todić and wood carver Sulejman Vrebac. Vrebac was a self-taught Muslim from Livno who became famous for his wood carving skills on smoking pipes, cutlery, walking sticks, and cigar boxes. For Kršnjavi, Vrebac and Todić constituted exceptions to the rule, since he asserted that normally such skills would have been lost due to a lack of institutional support from schools and museums. Although Kršnjavi was politically anti-Ottoman and anti-East oriented, he appreciated what he called the "primitive" craft schools in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Our people had very little use for Ottoman rule. Nevertheless, the Turkish government recognized the importance of crafts, so it erected numerous craft schools in different places. The schools are not subsidized institutes, but some paid craftsmen teach the others his skills. These institutes are primitive, but still they are better than nothing. Museums and schools are necessary in order to keep skills from self-taught craftsmen.¹⁶⁸

Vice-Consul Falkner commented that the lack of useful western influences can be seen in the artifacts he sent. Although Kršnjavi did not oppose western influence and the civilizing mission of the Monarchy on the Balkan Peninsula, he believed folk art needed to remain autonomous from the influences of other cultures:

Mister Falkner notices from the works he sent that western culture has not shone its useful rays there. Although it is nice and necessary for western culture to warm up the Balkan Peninsula, we still fear its influence on art. Western culture is poisoning, corrupting, and nay destroying the advantages of our naïve, healthy folk art.

¹⁶⁷ Pajas, *Hrvatsko Društvo Umjetnosti i Njegovo Djelovanje Od Osnutka 1878. Godine Sve Do Konca 1917. Godine*, 29–30.

¹⁶⁸ HR-HDA, Malo mojih uspomena 804.1.3.1., 26

Reformation and management of home crafts requires careful attention, unselfishness and skilled hands.¹⁶⁹

The main goal of the first exhibition was to display the talent of Croatian artists and craftsmen to a wider audience and to local governments, in order to preserve and reproduce it with the eventual establishment of an arts and crafts museum and school. In order to demonstrate the necessity of founding such an institution, in 1879 before the exhibition Kršnjavi published a series of articles in the journal *Obzor*. Unlike more passive museums, such as art galleries or natural history museums, which served mostly for observation and fascination, Kršnjavi lobbied for a new type of museum that should engage the observer more actively.¹⁷⁰ As Bjarne Stoklund informs us, this kind of museum emerged in the second half of the nineteenth century and “was intended to build up a collection of artifacts which could serve as a source of inspiration or as direct models for contemporary craftsmen and manufacturers, while helping to improve the taste of a public with strong purchasing power.”¹⁷¹ In Kršnjavi’s view, this type of museum would not only serve as a showroom for craftsmen to exhibit their products, but also as a place for learning new craft techniques.

Such a museum must be a central institution in which all central lines of domestic craft are gathered. It [museum] must be the heart and brain of the crafts; such a museum must be a place of agitation and its lively and practical management in direct contact with everyday life. In such a museum the craftsman will show what he knows and learn what he does not.¹⁷²

Besides being an exhibitory and educational place for craftsmen, Kršnjavi argued that the museum should also educate the wider population in distinguishing good taste. The main target of such an education was probably the newly emerging middle class, which was wealthy enough to buy craftsmen’s products. “The work of the museum must be broader, it must awaken

¹⁶⁹ HR-HDA, Malo mojih uspomena 804.1.3.1., 26

¹⁷⁰ Izidor Kršnjavi, “Organizacija Umjetničko-Obrtničkog Muzeja,” *Obzor* 111 (1879).

¹⁷¹ Bjarne Stoklund, “International Exhibitions and the New Museum Concept in the Latter Half of the Nineteenth Century,” *Ethnologia Scandinavica* 23 (1993): 87.

¹⁷² Izidor Kršnjavi, “Djelovanje Umjetničko-Obrtničkog Muzeja,” *Obzor* 108 (1879).

knowledge and taste among the population so the better taste is spread among buyers and spenders, since without it [such taste], it is impossible for crafts to penetrate..."¹⁷³

One of the means for the education of potential consumers was exhibitions. In order to acquire appropriate taste, consumers were expected to regularly visit exhibitions and observe representative objects considered to be of timeless value. Management of the museum was therefore seen as the ultimate authority that could decide which objects, styles, or techniques had artistic and aesthetic value.

...Nobody will doubt that permanent, temporary and travelling exhibitions will encourage and teach craftsmen and the general public, that completely different currents will reach the crafts, and that the general public will go in a completely different direction. Those who endure the most brutal promiscuity of colors in their flats, those who are surrounded by distaste most of their life, they will feel contemporary misbalance and they will start replacing piece by piece [their belongings] when they get used to observing not only particular pieces in the Crafts museum, but also whole, nicely decorated rooms. The influence of such exhibitions is great, while interest of the public grows by being directed by such an institution..."¹⁷⁴

The first exhibition also sought to stimulate artists and craftsmen to improve their skills in order to be able to compete with the best foreign products on the market, or as Kršnjavi wrote, "Our Croatian pride must be such that we must demand from our craftsmen that they be equal to the best foreigners, as we demand the same from our scholars and artists."¹⁷⁵ In order to raise government interest in such projects, the Arts Society propagated the economic benefits of local production both for society and economy. Such production would be of better quality and cheaper than imported goods from elsewhere. Although a main characteristic of the production would be its autarkic quality, the best products could be also exported for commercial purposes. The organizers of the exhibition also expressed the confidence that precisely because folk art was rapidly vanishing, institutions such as schools and museums were necessary to conserve it.

¹⁷³ Izidor Kršnjavi, "Umjetničko-Obrtnički Muzej," *Obzor* 104 (1879).

¹⁷⁴ Kršnjavi, "Djelovanje Umjetničko-Obrtničkog Muzeja."

¹⁷⁵ HR-HDA, Rukopis o nastanku društva i izložbama koje je priredilo, 804.1.3.3, 1/z.

Besides financing the museums and schools, the role of the government was to support craft production by ordering products from local artisans and artists. Similarly, the clergy were expected to stimulate local production, especially by ordering objects like candlesticks, altars, or baptisteries. Clergy were also to be educated in good taste so they would know how to recognize good artwork. Soon after the opening of the Crafts school and the naming of Herman Bolle as its director, such policy was implemented, and it will be discussed later in the chapter.

The Arts and Crafts Museum

One of the first aims of the Arts Society was to establish institutions to research, preserve and develop national culture further. In the nineteenth century, museums became centers of learning and collecting whose chronologically organized collections aimed to fill in existing gaps in the national history, and to create a visual encyclopedia of the nation.¹⁷⁶ In Douglas Hurt's words "they [museums] served as depositories, research centers, and educational institutions which enabled the public to interpret the past through sight, touch, and inquiry."¹⁷⁷ Collections were usually organized chronologically so the visitors had an impression of walking through the epochs of national history.¹⁷⁸

Curators of the museums therefore created a stereotypical image of the nation by their acceptance or dismissal of particular objects meant to portray the national character or, as Duncan and Wallach put it – museums "make the nation a visible reality."¹⁷⁹ The selection of objects also had political implications. Objects from particular regions, usually the ones on the borders, implied that a specific nation had a political right to that region, and that a region's material culture was undividable from its territory. In the Croatian case, the eastern regions of Slavonia and Strymnia disputed by Croatia, Hungary, and Serbia, were particularly important.

The Society developed a long-term plan both to improve the quality of Croatian crafts, and to educate the public about its national culture. Firstly, the Society organized the 1879 exhibition in order to demonstrate the necessity for the establishment of both a museum and a craft school. After the successful exhibition and after acquiring some artifacts for a permanent collection, the Society decided to rent an apartment in the Zagreb city center where it located the museum. The museum was officially opened on 20 June 1880 and it consisted of three rooms.¹⁸⁰ The exhibited

¹⁷⁶ MacKenzie, *Museums and Empire - Natural History, Human Cultures and Colonial Identities*, 2.

¹⁷⁷ Stefanie Gänger, *Relics of the Past: The Collecting and Study of Pre-Columbian Antiquities in Peru and Chile, 1837 - 1911* (OUP Oxford, 2014), 8; Douglas R. Hurt, "Agricultural Museums: A New Frontier for the Social Sciences," *The History Teacher* 11, no. 3 (1978): 367.

¹⁷⁸ Edward P. Alexander and Mary Alexander, *Museums in Motion - An Introduction to the History and Function of Museums* (Lanham: Altamira Press, 2007), 10.

¹⁷⁹ Duncan and Wallach, "The Universal Survey Museum," 454.

¹⁸⁰ Damjanović, *Arhitekt Herman Bolle*, 89.

collection consisted mostly of folk art such as carpets, wood carvings, folk textiles and pottery. Only four months later, however, the museum had to be closed due to severe damage to the apartment from the earthquake. It reopened in 1882 in another private apartment with five exhibiting rooms, until it was finally moved to the official building of the museum and the crafts school in 1888. The local Croatian government financed the museum with five hundred forints annually.¹⁸¹

In what was still a predominantly rural Croatia, the average museum visitor was probably familiar with many of the every day objects exhibited in the museum. Therefore, we can suppose that such a museum would not be of particular interest to persons who had contact with the countryside. One piece of evidence for this claim is a detail from Kršnjavi's *Slavonian Papers*. During his research in the eastern Slavonian town of Tovarnik, one woman approached Kršnjavi when he was sketching a traditional wooden house wondering why he was replicating such an ugly and unimportant object.¹⁸² Most likely, the audience the museum aimed for was not only a domestic one, but also an international one. Its purpose was to present the people of Croatia as a coherent cultural community with a specific material culture and history. Such an image would help create Croatia as a political subject and could enable the Croatian elites to be equal members in various political discussions of the Monarchy, especially in discussions about possible territorial reorganization or political autonomy.

As Michael Wallace demonstrated, museums "set out to preserve and celebrate fast-disappearing craft and rural traditions. They commemorated, and fabricated, the life of 'the folk', visualized as a harmonious population of peasants and craft workers."¹⁸³ Consequently, 'the folk' was considered to be the "progenitors of timeless ideals and values."¹⁸⁴ Unlike art galleries, whose role was to glorify individual genius and high culture, craft museums celebrated a classless society, collectivism, and the genius of the nation.¹⁸⁵ As Daniel Woolf informs us, objects in these

¹⁸¹ HR-HDA, Rukopisne bilješke o otvorenju muzeja, 804.1.6.2, 84, 86.

¹⁸² Kršnjavi, *Listovi Iz Slavonije*, 77.

¹⁸³ Michael Wallace, "Visiting the Past: History Museums in the United States," in *Presenting the Past - Essays on History and the Public*, ed. Susan Porter Benson, Stephen Brier, and Roy Rosenweg (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1986), 145, 148.

¹⁸⁴ Wallace, 148.

¹⁸⁵ Duncan and Wallach, "The Universal Survey Museum," 457.

museums were exhibited in order to show a history of their use by humans.¹⁸⁶ Although museums wanted to present themselves as preservers of the authentic and the historical nation, Michael Ames rightly points out that museums are paradoxically “both anti-historical and unnatural not in the sense of being opposed to history and nature, but in that they control and subordinate both in contemporary definitions of social reality.”¹⁸⁷ As elsewhere, the main aim of the museum in Zagreb was also to preserve the rapidly disappearing folk culture which was considered to reflect a Croatian national character:

People create folk motifs as [they create] songs, although they are not aware of it, they invest their soul and national character into them... Our age has the duty to save worthy artistic traditions from oblivion, since we cannot produce our own style.¹⁸⁸

Style was considered to be the proof of authenticity with its forms understood to be a material expression of a people’s will.¹⁸⁹ In Kršnjavi’s view, the common ideals of the people lead to the creation of a particular style that is reflected in their folk art. Such an interpretation implicitly suggested that there was a consensus among previous generations, a consensus which had been interrupted at some point in the past, and needed to be re-established in the future. “When the whole population has common ideals, then it will have folk art.... Folk art can only be an expression of strong underlying feelings of the people.”¹⁹⁰ Kršnjavi believed that style should be based on tradition, while being fully aware of the ideology invested in the production of the artwork. “The main law of historical style is that the artwork should be made based on tradition. The principal idea, which is the basis of the artwork, should never be forgotten.”¹⁹¹

¹⁸⁶ Daniel Woolf, “Of Nations, Nationalism, and National Identity: Reflections on the Historiographic Organization of the Past,” in *The Many Faces of Clio: Cross-Cultural Approaches to Historiography*, ed. Edward Wang and Franz Fillafer (New York: Berghahn Books, 2006), 85.

¹⁸⁷ Ames, *Museums, the Public and Anthropology*, 9.

¹⁸⁸ Ćiro Truhelka, “Drvorezbarstvo,” *Glasnik Društva Za Umjetnost i Umjetni Obrt* 1 (1886): 9, 15.

¹⁸⁹ Kimberly A. Smith, “Real Style: Riegl and Early 20th Century Central European Art,” *Centropa* 5, no. 1 (2005): 23–24.

¹⁹⁰ HR-HDA, 804.6.3.3.39, O fantaziji i čuvstvima.

¹⁹¹ Dragan Damjanović, “Iso Kršnjavi i Arhitektura Historicismizma u Hrvatskoj,” in *Iso Kršnjavi - Veliki Utemeljitelj*, ed. Ivana Mance and Zlatko Matijević (Zagreb: Institut za povijest umjetnosti/ Hrvatski institut za povijest, 2015), 243.

As Bratislav Pantelić pointed out, style was (and still is) considered to be “a sublimation of the ‘spiritual’ characteristics of the nation, since only forms derived from the national past and containing national attributes and symbols are thought to preserve national identity.”¹⁹² The search for style was therefore a search for the dominant character of the nation.¹⁹³ Kršnjavi considered style as a spiritual force which remained the same in various artistic forms:

Our folk art shows us not only historical developments of technique, but also the natural progress of basic and aesthetic principles, which remain the same life-force among the people in the simplest and most complex works of art.¹⁹⁴

The afore-mentioned inability to produce a contemporary artistic style can therefore be seen as the result of the previously unexplored tradition and insufficient knowledge of the main ideas surrounding the artworks. In order to research, explore and improve traditions, the museum “...must represent real and wholesome knowledge of our folk craft, with both our weakness and excellence.”¹⁹⁵ Therefore, the museum needed to create a significant number of exhibits.

The museum collected folk art in several ways. Part of its collection was bought from private collections, while part was acquired during ethnographic missions or ordered directly from producers. Besides national folk art, the museum ordered copies and photographs from various similar museums throughout the Monarchy, Germany and Norway. Sara Tas rightly argues that the acquisition of foreign works for national collections was seen as a patriotic act to enrich national culture. Such works could later inspire artists to produce “national” artworks.¹⁹⁶ Similarly, all the exhibits in the Arts and Crafts Museum in Zagreb were meant to serve as auxiliary teaching tools for the education of craftsmen, since the craft school held its classes in the museum. Museums like this one not only served as exhibitory complexes but also as sites of education.¹⁹⁷

¹⁹² Bratislav Pantelić, “Nationalism and Architecture: The Creation of a National Style in Serbian Architecture and Its Political Implications,” *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 56, no. 1 (1997): 35.

¹⁹³ Jo Tollebeek, “Historical Representation and the Nation-State in Romantic Belgium (1830-1850),” *Journal of the History of Ideas* 59, no. 2 (1988): 340.

¹⁹⁴ Izidor Kršnjavi, *Dvije Radnje o Umjetnosti* (Zagreb, 1876), 39.

¹⁹⁵ Kršnjavi, “Umjetničko-Obrtnički Muzej.”

¹⁹⁶ Sara Tas, “Between Patriotism and Internationalism Contemporary Art at the Musée Du Luxembourg in the Nineteenth Century,” *Journal of the History of Collections*, 2014, 236.

¹⁹⁷ Bazin, *The Museum Age*, 232.

Paradoxically, given the importance placed on acquiring foreign objects, the relationship between nationalism and internationalism was also closely interconnected in this period.¹⁹⁸

Similar arguments were expressed in the Sarajevo journal *Prosvjeta* (Education) by an anonymous writer in the article “Success of Our Artists” in 1896. The author viewed art and education as the most appropriate means for the promotion of the nation and its capabilities.

The greatest products of human spirit are works of art. If today this is mainly achieved through education, thus through the progress of spirit, then artworks, as products of the greatest spiritual progress, should become the most appropriate means through which we can express national purposes. Indeed, history teaches us, as well as modern experience, that the world often started showing interest in people because of their art products, in which the greatest ability of the people is reflected.¹⁹⁹

An important part of this promotion of nationhood through culture was to claim the affiliation of the Croatian nation to the so-called “cultural” nations that belonged to the history of Western Europe, in contrast to those allegedly barbarian nations—usually connected to the East—who supposedly lacked “history and culture.”

The foreign world has realized that through the observation of artworks, the people who produced them are worthy of living, that they are not barbarians, that they can be useful members of humankind, and that their subjugation or destruction cannot be allowed. This influence of foreign opinions over the artworks can be beneficial; every nation likes to use this means because it is the most decent and noble way of fighting for the happiness of one’s own nation.²⁰⁰

Kršnjavi and his contemporaries attempted to prove Croatia’s affiliation with the West from the earliest periods of history up until present times, despite periods of interruption, usually connected with Ottoman occupation. Foreign rule was presented as one of exploitation, which had usually prevented the nation from fully realizing its potential and talent. Kršnjavi’s goal was to reaffirm Croatian national culture as an integral part of a broader European community of

¹⁹⁸ Tas, “Between Patriotism and Internationalism Contemporary Art at the Musée Du Luxembourg in the Nineteenth Century,” 238.

¹⁹⁹ “Uspjeh Naših Umjetnika,” *Prosvjeta* IV, no. 11 (1896).

²⁰⁰ “Uspjeh Naših Umjetnika.”

“cultural nations.” For this reason, it was necessary to establish museums as “indispensable attributes of any civilized state, essential elements of any civilized nation.”²⁰¹

²⁰¹ Gervits, “Historicism, Nationalism, and Museum Architecture in Russia from the Nineteenth to the Turn of the Twentieth Century,” 35.



Auer, Robert. *Building of Royal National Male Crafts School in Zagreb. [and The Arts and Crafts Museum]*

The Second Art Exhibition

The Society organized a second art exhibition in December 1881 in the palace of the Academy of Arts and Sciences. Unfortunately, almost no documents remain that refer to it, except for short newspaper articles and a few lines in Kršnjavi's memoirs. Unlike the first exhibition, in which international exhibitors were allowed to participate, the second exhibition was organized only for national exhibitors. A majority of the exhibitors were peasants, since there were few active professional craftsmen in Croatia at the time.

Besides individual exhibitors, the exhibition interestingly also showed works by prisoners of the Lepoglava penitentiary as a collective. The penitentiary sought to educate prisoners in simple crafts so that they could find work after being released. This would make the penitentiary not just a place of punishment, but also a place of rehabilitation where prisoners were morally reeducated through education in craft skills. Although the Arts Society appreciated such projects, one letter suggests that they considered the Lepoglava penitentiary products to be of insufficient artistic value.²⁰² In order to establish sufficient artistic value, prisoners would also need to have proper theoretical education, besides practical work.

During the exhibition, Kršnjavi held two public lectures in order to attract more visitors. His first lecture was about folk art with a special emphasis on the Russian case. He chose the Russian case to show how Russian villages were organized in peasant collectives to produce folk art. Folk art was seen as an additional source of income which peasants could earn during the winter months when it was not possible to work in agriculture.²⁰³ In the second lecture, Kršnjavi spoke about Indo-European ornaments. Although the original lecture has not been preserved, in 1886 Kršnjavi published an article on a similar topic in the *Herald of the Museum for Arts and Crafts*. Here he argued that Indo-European influence is not so important as the common Roman

²⁰² DAZ, Obrtna škola 135, sig. 22013

²⁰³ *Narodne novine*, 291 (1881), page numbers damaged.

and Byzantine ones. Thus, European ornaments had a similar character and this could be seen in the similarity of Hungarian, Romanian and Saxon ornaments to the Croatian ones.

...forms of ornaments of those various peoples are in many ways identical or closely related. The artistic expression of those various peoples is the same because it comes from the same source... Even when I was only familiar with publications and unsorted collections in the Austrian museum, I doubted the theories of Russian writers who claimed similarities of artistic motifs from the community of Indo-European peoples in their great-fatherland. What is familiar to us from Schlieman's findings prove that sources for the home crafts should not be sought in a faraway [Indoeuropean] past, but rather much closer. It seems more probable that the last common culture of European people is the source of those motifs, and not the faraway first one. So... I expressed a hypothesis that all such treasure will be a heritage of classical culture that we inherited partially from Romans and partially by mediation of the Byzantines.²⁰⁴

By discounting the idea of a common Indo-European fatherland, Kršnjavi traced the similarity of ornaments instead to a common European culture of antiquity. Such an argument implicitly suggested that the territory of Croatia had once been an integral part of specifically "cultural nations." Although such connections had been lost at some point, the similarity of the ornaments should have proven that Croatia belonged to the circle of so-called "cultured nations" once more. This view also implicitly rejected the Pan-Slavic idea which was promoted by Russia.

The goal of the second exhibition was the same as for the first one – to preserve national folk art from oblivion by organizing schools and museums to support it. One of Kršnjavi's memoirs quotes a short excerpt of a speech Rački held at the meeting of Arts Society shortly after the exhibition had ended. In it Rački advocated better preservation of folk art and its protection from foreign influences which could distort the original character of Croatian folk art. Rački was more of a nationalist than the majority of Arts Society members and he considered the nation in more organic terms:

People everywhere are particularly interested in their culture, and we should start protecting our folk art from disappearing since it is sick from foreign motifs and losing its original character... This exhibition showed all the advantages and disadvantages of folk textile production. Therefore, we should initiate working habits, skills and taste of

²⁰⁴ Izidor Kršnjavi, *Izabrana Djela* (Vinkovci: Riječ, 2000), 264–65.

the people... It is necessary to organize craft schools in which this beautiful talent of the people could be developed and improved.²⁰⁵

Kršnjavi was also concerned about the disappearance of folk art, and he considered the collection and research of folk art to be useful for the future. In general, national activists like this considered their work to be a turning point that would give the nation considerable future advantages. Kršnjavi also worried that the people had lost the skills for domestic craft production. Consequently, it was necessary to collect and exhibit these possessions owned by the people.

Domestic craft's roots have been cut down, and it will disappear in the near future. What we are collecting and publishing now, will be useful afterwards... It cannot be deduced that the domestic craft is disappearing when we observe what the people own, but rather when we witness what people produce.²⁰⁶

Kršnjavi saw folk culture as a reflection of a people's individuality, but unlike some nationalists, he also appreciated Western influences, although he also believed that they caused alienation between the elite and common strata of society:

Sadness is even greater when we see that a part of the national individuality is disappearing with the decline of artworks in which it was reflected...Although we speak and appreciate our national language, we do not feel unity with the people; foreign civilization, to which we owe plenty of intellectual fortune, has brought us one negative consequence. We have become alienated from the rest of the people on a spiritual level, so we do not understand each other anymore.²⁰⁷

Knowledge of national history and a strengthened collective memory were two means of overcoming such alienation between elites and ordinary people on a daily basis.²⁰⁸ The Arts Society's initiatives could thus be seen as a means of renegotiating a national Croatian identity

²⁰⁵ HR-HDA, Rukopis o nastanku društva i izložbama koje je priredilo, 804.1.3.3, 31a/95

²⁰⁶ Kršnjavi, *Listovi Iz Slavonije*, 55.

²⁰⁷ Izidor Kršnjavi, "Gradjevni Narodni Styl," *Glasnik Društva Za Umjetnost i Umjetni Obrt* 3 (1887): 1.

²⁰⁸ Bo Strâth, "Myth, Memory and History in the Construction of Community," in *Myth and Memory in the Construction of Community: Historical Patterns in Europe and Beyond*, ed. Bo Strâth (Bruxelles: P.I.E.-Peter Lang, 2000), 22.

and creating a new sense of community. Tony Bennet argues that for this reason culture became “an object of government, something in need of both transformation and regulation.”²⁰⁹ The establishment of the museum and the school was a means by which such transformation and regulation could be achieved. By the end of the nineteenth century, many European states had nationalized or gained control over the mechanisms for implementing cultural policies which had previously been in the hands of various individuals, learned societies and voluntary associations. In the Croatian case, the museum and the school established by the Arts Society, came exclusively under state control in 1888. At the same time, the Arts Society became the official governmental body responsible for all artistic and architectural expertise commissioned by the government.

²⁰⁹ Bennett, *The Birth of the Museum*, 19.

The Crafts School

In the early 1880s, Kršnjavi had campaigned at the Ministry of Religious Affairs and Education, run by Ivan Vončina, for the establishment of an arts and crafts school as well as for a museum. Once established, the museum and its school were run for the first six years by the Directory of the Arts Society. Later in 1888 the local Croatian government took over this function from the Arts Society. The first members of the Directory that ran the two institutions were Kršnjavi, Bolle and Suhin. The Directory was obliged to hand in reports and proposals to the Arts Society which forwarded them to the local government if they agreed with the proposals. The local government in turn would contact the Arts Society, which would forward its demands or its approval to the Directory. Although the School and the Museum were independent institutions which were only subsidized by the local government, all their actions needed to be approved by the local government. The local government donated 24 000 forints to the Arts Society for the expenses of the boarding school (11,700), the functioning of the School (10,000), for unpredicted expenses (1,500) and for the Museum (2,500).²¹⁰ Besides the local government, the municipal authorities of Zagreb also helped to establish the school with a gift of two thousand forints and later an annual contribution of 500 forints.

For those first six years, Kršnjavi worked unpaid as the head of the institution. Later Kršnjavi admitted that with regard to the School, he was more concerned with the education of artists, but had concealed his intentions for artistic craft. "We were laying foundations of Croatian art in the craft school by educating artists. All my intents were hidden under the gown of artistic craft."²¹¹ The first generation of the crafts school consisted of twenty pupils - fifteen Roman Catholics, three Orthodox and two Jews. The school was situated on the Dolac square, but moved the next year to Ilica Street due to lack of space and poor conditions. In 1882, a wealthy Zagreb merchant Guido Pongratz donated a construction site to the Arts Society for the school and the museum. The construction of the building went relatively slowly, due to the lack of funds, and the

²¹⁰ DAZ, Obrtna škola 135, sig. 22013

²¹¹ Pajas, *Hrvatsko Društvo Umjetnosti i Njegovo Djelovanje Od Osnutka 1878. Godine Sve Do Konca 1917. Godine*, 99.

school only moved to the new building in 1888. The School consisted of a dormitory, classrooms and workshops for stone carving, foundry and minting. It was divided into four sections – for art, architecture, engineering and chemistry.²¹² Courses and practice sessions were held in statuary, stone carving, ornamental and figurative decoration of locks, metal-casting, decorative painting, textile production, enamel, decoration of ceramic vessels, and carpentry.

Due to a lack of funds and educated teachers, the engineering and chemistry department were never opened. Additionally, more people were permitted to choose their preferred classes, on the condition that they had some previous education in crafts. From the application forms, it could be seen that most applicants applied to take painting classes. Since no other documents besides the applications have been preserved, the outcome of these classes remains unclear. Nonetheless, it can be seen that the students perceived painting to be the easiest way to gain future employment. In 1884, the school opened departments for decorative painting and wood-carving, followed by pottery and furnace-making in 1885. The school gave most attention to the department of architecture since the Directory believed that architecture would stimulate the production of other related forms of arts and crafts.

Since Kršnjavi considered education a key part of his nationalist politics, he worked hard to implement his ideas in the crafts school. The school was meant not to educate youth only in practical skills, but also to instill in them a sense of collectivity and moral obligation. In order to establish a sense of collectivity, the craft school was organized as a boarding school. Therefore, education could be practiced all the time and pupils were obliged to wear official uniforms. It was also obligatory for pupils in the craft school to regularly attend religious services and classes. As Kršnjavi put it, “a boarding school enables strict discipline and teaches order, tidiness, good work habits and eagerness, but also enhances success in acquiring knowledge.”²¹³ In Kršnjavi’s view, a sense of collectivity was one means to fight the influence of materialism which he alleged was individualizing society and destroying appreciation for the common good:

²¹² HR-HDA, Osnutak obrtne škole u Zagrebu, 804.1.7.

²¹³ *Stenografički Zapisnici Sabora Kraljevina Hrvatske, Slavonije i Dalmacije* (Zagreb: Tisak Zemaljske tiskare, 1889), 170.

What can our country expect from a youth which is so entrenched in materialism that it sees only a complicated chemical process in love? What is love for homeland then? Where are the foundations for unselfish work for the common good? Where are the wells for feeling the duty that needs to be zealously done?²¹⁴

Therefore, gifted children from the lower strata of society were often admitted because they were considered easier to educate. In the long term, it was expected that the craft school alumni would later educate youth in their own workshops with the help of the local government, although it is not clear whether this hope was ever realized. A crafts education was also meant to create a middle class of independent workers and to divert students from pursuing white-collar jobs in education and the state bureaucracy.

It is not only about helping contemporary craftsmen, but more about how to divert the younger generation from aspiring to the scholarly path, and also to open new ways to them. Namely by the establishment of a Royal National Crafts school in Zagreb, a generation should gradually be educated, which would be competent to create a new force for domestic craftsmen and to break through with its intelligence a rational functioning of crafts, and to elevate the material wealth and image of that class.²¹⁵

Kršnjavi was highly critical, especially after the period of his rule as departmental head (1891-1896), of people who pursued jobs in the bureaucracy only because it provided them with a secure income and social benefits. In this way, educational efforts to produce love of community aimed to create political patriotism towards the Monarchy and the nation. Instead, people should aim to create small local businesses and a kind of individualistic independence in order to acquire practical and useful knowledge.

There should be some Americanness among our people and everybody should rely more on their abilities and not only search for a guarantee of their existence in permanent [state] jobs with small salaries. People should acquire their posts individually by practice and skilled work, through which they can live happily and in affluence.... Work, be it manual labor, artistic skills or entrepreneurship, is equally respectable as intellectual work.²¹⁶

²¹⁴ HR-HDA, Odgovor mladom kritičaru, 804.1.7, 6.

²¹⁵ *Stenografički Zapisnici Sabora Kraljevina Hrvatske, Slavonije i Dalmacije*, 166.

²¹⁶ Izidor Kršnjavi, "O Ženskom Liceju i Ženskoj Stručnoj Školi," *Napredak* 30 (1891): 507.

The development of arts and crafts production was seen by men like Kršnjavi as an alternative to the heavy industrialization of the bigger European cities. Heavy industry with factories was seen as dehumanizing and as a creator of a proletariat. Factories were also seen as polluters of cities and disturbers of aesthetic appearance.²¹⁷ In all of these ways it was believed that factories distorted art and good taste.

Industry would be necessary to our land in order not to replace, but to fill in our current sources of income. Industry has its own threats. It does not come to my mind to wish for our land those troops of proletarians who nowadays disturb Europe by forcefully trying to revive the idea of communism.... Craft is possible without proletarians, such craft that ennobles its workers – artistic craft. Our national artistic craft shows how much talent our people have....²¹⁸

Consequently, Kršnjavi and others viewed the minimal industrialization of the Triune Kingdom as an advantage since it preserved the environment and prevented people from working in dehumanizing conditions. As we have seen previously, Viennese imperial circles similarly argued that slower industrialization of the Monarchy was an advantage since it preserved more authentic forms of folk life in comparison to more industrialized Western empires.

The school was officially opened on 12 December, 1882. The ceremony started with the Holy Mass, led by the directory member Eduard Suhin, for both officials and pupils. Afterwards, the ceremony continued at the crafts school. Firstly, as a member of the directory, Kršnjavi held a speech that emphasized service to the nation:

The role of the craft school is not only to educate good craftsmen, but also good citizens who will be good example of honor and real unselfish patriotism; who will be role models for others; who will obtain the recognized place in the artisan class that they deserve. For this reason, we have organized the boarding school.²¹⁹

²¹⁷ Mrazović, "Umjetničko-Obrtnička Izložba u Zagrebu," 800.

²¹⁸ Izidor Kršnjavi, "Kako Da Nam Se Domovina Obogati," *Vienac* 20 (1874): 312.

²¹⁹ HR-HDA, Malo mojih uspomena, 804.1.3.1., 36.

The school was officially opened by the departmental head of Religious Affairs and Education Ivan Vončina with the following speech:

Among so many boys who applied to this institute, you were chosen, my dear youth, by the famous directory, to be the first cadets of the crafts school. This is a great boon and honor for you. Boon, because the country has given you full provision, so you could educate yourselves as skilled craftsmen and honorable men; honor, because you have been given the great task to be the first Croats armed with knowledge and skills who will enter the unkempt field of artisan life as workers and teachers, to spread everything good and beautiful among people, that you have heard, seen, researched and been taught here. With these words, I declare the school opened.²²⁰

During the first year, the living conditions for pupils were quite bad. Some of them lived in hospitals, since the boarding school did not have enough space, but some pupils ended up in hospital due to poisoning from bad well water. The pupils ate at a charity soup kitchen until 1884 when the school was transferred to another location²²¹ The reason for transferring the school to a new location was to improve the poor living conditions and inadequate working spaces. The government allowed a new class of twenty-four pupils to enroll in 1884.²²² Out of these twenty-four places ten were reserved for pupils paying fees of two hundred forints; four places went to pupils paying fees of three hundred and sixty forints; five received scholarships from the recently incorporated region of the Military Border to the Triune Kingdom; finally, five scholarships were secured for poor pupils.

²²⁰ HR-HDA, Malo mojih uspomena, 804.1.3.1., 37.

²²¹ DAZ, Obrtna škola 135. The documents are without any special numeration and titles, most probably used for internal correspondence.

²²² DAZ, Obrtna škola 135, sign. 22013.



Tišov, Ivan. *Workshop of The Crafts School*.

From the first class of the craft school students, three names stood out – Ivan Tišov who later became a painter, Robert Frangeš Mihanović and Rudolf Valdec who both became sculptors. Frangeš Mihanović had been rejected at first, but he enrolled later when the son of the orthodox priest Dušan Banjanin was expelled from the school for stealing, as well as the constant complaints of his teachers.²²³ All three later received stipends from the local government to master their skills in Vienna. Frangeš Mihanović also spent some time in Paris, while Tišov and Valdec spent time in Munich. When Kršnjavi became the departmental head of Religious Affairs and Education, he assigned all three of them important commissions for the renovation of the ministry headquarters. Pupils of the craft school were also given commissions to design and build a fence and a fountain for the headquarters.²²⁴ In 1894 Kršnjavi even came under attack in the Parliament precisely because of the luxury of the newly restored ministry headquarters. In his defense, Kršnjavi implicitly stated that such luxury was only possible because of the talent of the current and previous pupils of the crafts school. Since Kršnjavi organized, ruled and supervised the school, he implied that such artistic flourishing and production resulted from his efforts.

This luxury in my opinion has its positive sides, in fact I do not see any negative side that could be raised. While I was in charge of the craft school for six years, I saw where resources of the crafts school were used, and its treatment, so I came up with the idea of using those forces for the decoration of a public building. Therefore, I ordered bars at the locksmith workshop of the crafts school, which everyone admired; I also obtained ceilings decorated by pupils and professors of sculpture, and from carpenters I obtained one room covered in wood, for which Brod County donated wood; so, nothing was spent. Furthermore, I dared to take a painting from one fellow, a pupil of the crafts school, which he was obliged to give up for free, which he did, so I installed it in the ceiling of the building; the painting was awarded first place at the Jubilee exhibition in Vienna.²²⁵

During the king's visit to Zagreb in 1895, Franz Joseph also visited the newly restored headquarters of department of Religious Affairs and Education. where a small exhibition of Croatian artists was held. The main goal of the exhibition was to present the development of Croatian culture in cooperation with the Nagodba, but it was also a part of a strategic plan to

²²³ DAZ, Obrtna škola 135, sign. 22014, 30.10.884,/592

²²⁴ Both are still in place.

²²⁵ *Stenografički Zapisnici Sabora Kraljevina Hrvatske, Slavonije i Dalmacije*, 1865.

introduce former students of the craft school as Croatian national artists that had been educated at prestigious institutes abroad with the financial help of the government.

The main aim of this so-called improvised exhibition was to show his Highness the development of Croatian material art in recent times with a few selected paintings and sculptures, and especially to demonstrate the progress of those workers in the fields of painting and sculpture that continued their education with the help of the country as cadets of the royal and national crafts school in famous art schools.... Those are namely Tišov, Čikoš and Iveković; from older generations, Marić, Medović and Bukovac; and sculptors Frangeš and Valdec.²²⁶

It is difficult to reconstruct where the first classes of pupils from the crafts school ended up, besides Tišov, Frangeš and Valdec. Nevertheless, I managed to find one document from the table of the crafts school alumni from 1886 until 1895 in the archives of the art department of the Croatian Academy of Arts and Sciences in Kršnjavi's collection.²²⁷ From the list it can be seen that approximately half of the pupils per generation remained working in the crafts sector. Usually the other half of the pupils could not be traced, and in each generation, there would be one or two people who died after finishing the school. It is likely that at least some of the pupils who could not be traced had gone to work elsewhere in Europe due to better financial conditions. Also, the number of pupils per generation varied from year to year from a low of 14 in 1889 to a high of 35 in 1888. Unfortunately, the document is only one simple graphic table so it remains unclear why the numbers of pupils varied so much from year to year.

The fact that the King rewarded Bolle and Kršnjavi for establishing the school and the museum clearly suggests that they had fulfilled the demands of the broad cultural policy of the Monarchy. Bolle was also awarded the position of architectural advisor (Baurath) by the King in 1890. This title was so important that afterwards Bolle was usually mentioned just as Baurath, without the mention of his personal name. Bolle was also given the award of Saint George by Pope Benedict XV for his efforts in the construction and renovation of churches.²²⁸

²²⁶ HR-HDA, HDLU-1984, box 16., Dopis društva umjetnosti o izložbi koja se održala prilikom posjete kralja

²²⁷ Iskaz – Obrtna škola, Kršnjavi collection, ALUHAZU, box 2.

²²⁸ Damjanović, *Arhitekt Herman Bolle*, 105, 82.

Kršnjavi's engagement in public work grew out of his efforts in cultural matters. His main intention was to participate in improving the situation of his own national community, and more broadly, by extension, that of the entire empire. Although Kršnjavi did not engage in daily political debates, his work had clear political implications, namely the creation of a nationally conscious middle-class who would be the base for moral and economic progress of the nation. He gained some support at various times from different influential circles (Strossmayer, the empire, the Croatian government, the Zagreb diocese) whose interests he managed to balance well for a while. As we will see in the next chapter, however, Kršnjavi could not balance these interests successfully in the long term and eventually he would need to choose a side. While Strossmayer had been losing political influence and income from forestry, the new Ban Khuen Héderváry and Archbishop of Zagreb Mihalović enjoyed support from both halves of the Monarchy as proponents of dualism and liberal ruling circles in Hungary. In these circumstances, it would have been easy for Kršnjavi to calculate which side could offer him more. Although Strossmayer possessed enormous wealth, Kršnjavi probably understood that his kind of private initiatives in the political arena would be superseded and taken over by state efforts.

The phase of Kršnjavi's work discussed in this chapter was characterized by his research into the folk art he believed reflected the national character, and consequently, by his active participation in matters related to the arts and crafts museum and to its school. His main concern was to find, preserve and institutionalize a common national identity. The main idea behind the creation and preservation of a Croatian national identity in turn was to show its autonomous development and also its affiliation to the Habsburg Monarchy and to the cultural nations of the West. Since Kršnjavi's work was not limited to nation-building alone, but also implied empire-building, his work was appreciated, as we have seen, among the imperial circles as well. Kršnjavi understood Croatian affiliation with empire as an affiliation with Western culture. While some Croatian activists wanted to present autonomous Croatian development and its affiliation with empire as a bridge to Western culture, imperial activists wanted to present the empire as a necessary precondition for Croatian development and participation in Western culture.

Ironically, Croatian activists saw the empire as clearly Western, although the empire wanted to fashion itself as neither West nor East, but as the mediator between the two.²²⁹

²²⁹ Judson, *The Habsburg Empire - A New History*, 319.

4. Kršnjavi and politics

“All the opposition and even Bishop Strossmayer took it amiss.”

Although Kršnjavi was closely tied to Strossmayer’s political circle until the mid-1880s, he was never directly involved in daily political discussions. Instead, his public work was, as we have seen previously, mostly related to cultural matters and his profession as an art historian. He sporadically wrote newspaper articles in the field of culture – folk art, international exhibitions, architectural restorations in the Triune Kingdom, his Italian trips etc. Despite the obvious national political context of much of Kršnjavi’s public work, he was most likely considered a non-political expert who had political supporters among Strossmayer’s circle. Strossmayer was a powerful figure. He was Bishop of Đakovo, Bosnia and Sylvania, the second largest see in the Monarchy²³⁰, and since the 1860s he was leader of the loosely connected Pan-Slavist and Yugoslav political circle. The circle’s main goals were the unification of the Southern Slavs according to the principles of Austro-Slavic federalism.²³¹ After 1873 and the revision of the *Nagodba*, Strossmayer stopped participating in active politics, but he nevertheless remained politically active by supporting various political and social initiatives he considered to serve his political goals. As a federalist, Strossmayer was also a vigorous opponent of Dualism. Having in mind Strossmayer’s political ideas about the unification of the territories populated by the South Slavs, it is no wonder that he highly appreciated any national activists, such as Kršnjavi, who could have implicitly pushed forward his political agenda and goals.

Kršnjavi had proved his national expertise previously as one of the main organizers of the Croatian pavilion during the Trieste exhibition in 1882. Two years later, he was invited to organize the Croatian pavilion for the upcoming Budapest exhibition after the Croatian Chamber of Commerce’s refusal to participate. The main reason for the Chamber’s refusal was the Hungarian intention to display Croatia not as an autonomous region/Kingdom, but merely as an integral

²³⁰ Okey, “Austro-Hungarian Diplomacy and the Campaign for a Slavonic Liturgy in the Catholic Church, 1881-1914,” 261.

²³¹ Danijel Džino, “The Perception of Croatian Medieval History by Vladimir Nazor in *Hrvatski Kraljevi* (The Kings of Croats),” *Croatian Studies Review* 7, no. 1–2 (2011): 92.

province of Hungary. The main aim of the exhibition was to present the development of Hungary since the Compromise, with special emphasis on the role of the crown and Kálmán Tisza's liberal regime.²³² Kršnjavi recounted the circumstances and explained his decision to organize the exhibition:

Immediately after Khuen Héderváry became Ban [1883], preparations started for the Budapest exhibition. The Chamber of Commerce was on strike because, after [Ban] Pejačević's downfall, they considered Khuen to be someone... who came to tame Croatia... Duke Khuen [thus] had a problem..., but Vončina recommended me, since I organized our pavilion with great success at the Trieste exhibition with H. Bolle. Duke Khuen... asked me to take over the assignment of organizing the Budapest exhibition. I accepted because I considered it stupid not to show what we can do.²³³

Kršnjavi probably saw the departmental head of Religious Affairs and Education Ivan Vončina (1827-1885) as a role model for his own possible future political career and for the advantages of political opportunism. Vončina had served as a vice governor of Rijeka county from 1861 until 1868 when he had been forcefully retired for his anti-Hungarian stance and rejection of the *Nagodba*. He nevertheless closely cooperated with Ban Ivan Mažuranić. During Mažuranić's reign, Vončina held the position of mayor of Zagreb from 1874 to 1876 when he resigned due to issues about the construction of the municipal water system. Vončina then became a member of the pro-Hungarian National party during the reign of Ban Ladislav Pejačević in 1880, and later became one of the closest associates of Khuen Héderváry after his appointment as Ban in 1883. Around that time Kršnjavi would have had two examples to compare with regard to his own future political career - Strossmayer and Vončina. Although both had been members of the National Party during the 1860s and early 1870s, their political careers were, as we have seen, very different. Strossmayer's clearly defined political goals supported by idealistic moralization placed him on the political margins with minimal chances of coming to power, despite his wealth and personal initiatives. Vončina, on the other hand, served as an example to Kršnjavi of how a more opportunistic approach and change of political orientation based on situational needs could

²³² Alice Freifeld, "Marketing Industrialism and Dualism in Liberal Hungary: Expositions, 1842–1896," *Austrian History Yearbook* 29, no. 1 (n.d.): 79.

²³³ HDA-Razgovor s biskupom Strossmayerom, 59-60.

provide significant breakthroughs in politics. Regardless of whether Vončina had actually persuaded Kršnjavi to become more politically active at this point or whether Kršnjavi had estimated the moment to be right, Kršnjavi now decided to choose a side and to engage in daily politics. If we are to trust Kršnjavi's account, Vončina already had tried to recommend him as a candidate for parliamentary elections in 1880, but Podban [the Ban's deputy] Živković had opposed the idea.

Ivan Vončina, the departmental head of Religious Affairs and Education, liked me because I had organized the crafts school and worked well there. During the additional elections during the reign of L. [Ladislav] Pejačević, he wanted me to be a parliamentary candidate, but Podban count Živković was against it.²³⁴

After proving his organizational capabilities and reliability by organizing the craft school and the exhibitions, however, Kršnjavi accepted the National Party nomination as a candidate in Brod (today Slavonski Brod) in 1884. As the head of the National Party, the newly appointed Ban Khuen Héderváry had two main aims – personal advancement and strengthening Dualism. Being only 34 years old at the time of his appointment, the post of Croatian Ban was a test of young Khuen Héderváry and his future political ambitions. He immediately proved his political capabilities by placing the judiciary and administration under his authority and by crushing opposition and censoring their press. In 1885, David Starčević (1840-1908), one of the most popular members of the opposition Party of Right physically attacked Ban Khuen Héderváry in the Sabor. Khuen Héderváry denied that the attack had ever happened and sued David Starčević for slander. Kršnjavi gave false testimony to support the Ban's claims.²³⁵ If there was any doubt about Kršnjavi's loyalty, this act must have convinced Khuen Héderváry that he could count on Kršnjavi in the future. Starčević lost his parliamentary seat and was sentenced to six months in prison for slander.

At the same time, Khuen Héderváry weakened Strossmayer's main source of financial power by preventing the exploitation of Slavonian forests. Khuen Héderváry's main personal and

²³⁴ HR.HDA, Razgovor s biskupom Strossmayerom, 59.

²³⁵ Gross, *Izvorno pravaštvo*, 500.

political goal was to prove his governing skills by successfully ruling Croatia and by propagating its rapid development, thanks to Dualism. Ambitious and loyal men like Kršnjavi were just what Khuen Héderváry was looking for in carrying out his project. The fact that Khuen Héderváry was appointed directly from his position of Croatian Ban to the position of Hungarian Prime Minister in 1903 clearly demonstrated that imperial circles were satisfied with his twenty-year rule of Croatia-Slavonia.



Ban Kuen Héderváry in 1883.

It seems that Kršnjavi was convinced that the political circle around Strossmayer would support him regardless of his political affiliation, as long as he worked for what he considered to be the interests of the Croatian people. However, Strossmayer and his circle already started showing their dissatisfaction with Kršnjavi's choices when Kršnjavi accepted the task of organizing the Budapest exhibition in 1884. His election for the National Party in the same year was the last straw, and Strossmayer's group officially ostracized him. "All the opposition and even Bishop Strossmayer took it amiss. Rački told me they blame me for getting closer to duke Khuen."²³⁶ As Khuen Héderváry had been appointed Ban in order to pacify Croatia and promote the Dualism against which Strossmayer had been fighting since 1867, Kršnjavi's surprise at Strossmayer's refusal to support him after 1884 does seem naïve. Three days after he was elected as a parliamentary representative of the National Party in Brod County, Kršnjavi received a letter informing him of the termination of his contract in the Strossmayer gallery. Although his contract was valid for a few more years, the official reason given for the termination was a lack of money. The break with Strossmayer, however, was only the beginning. As a newly elected parliamentary representative, who was trying to prove himself loyal to his new political party, Kršnjavi had to deal more openly and immediately with specifically political questions. Kršnjavi's case illustrates that in the 1880s it was not possible to remain a politically neutral public figure balancing between the ruling party and the opposition. Political loyalty was thus a necessary precondition for the unhampered work of individual public figures and experts. Although we can question Kršnjavi's interpretation and the motives behind it, he admitted later in his memoirs that he had been mostly interested in purely cultural work, but that he had ended up in politics because he lacked a permanent job: "If they had left me alone and given me a job in the Matica or the Academy I probably would have never have thrown myself into politics."²³⁷ Now he had a job, but one that had created for him many potential enemies and opposition.

²³⁶ *Ibid.*, 60.

²³⁷ Kršnjavi, *Zapisci*, 203.

Membership in the National Party

In historiography, actors are usually classified in binary terms – liberal versus conservative, empire/imperialism versus nation/nationalism, cultural nationalism versus political nationalism etc.²³⁸ Through research on Kršnjavi, I found that in practice most of these terms are not necessarily mutually exclusive. Kršnjavi offers an example of someone who tried to make empire and nation both fit together. This position produced political problems for Kršnjavi since he was often perceived to be working in favor of imperial centers in Budapest or Vienna and contrary to Croatian national interests. Nevertheless, it seems that for Kršnjavi the nation always had the priority over the empire. This balancing between loyalties might have been problematic for Kršnjavi during the time when the empire functioned well during dualism, but after the empire experienced political crisis because of Hungarian oppositions' demands during 1903-1906, Kršnjavi's national identification overpowered the imperial one.

In the next section I argue that in fact imperialism and nationalism in Croatia corresponded for a time. As previously mentioned, Pieter Judson convincingly demonstrated that "concepts of nationhood and ideas of empire depended on each other for their coherence."²³⁹ As a convinced monarchist whose work corresponded with both empire-building and nation-building projects, Kršnjavi did not pose an ideological threat to the Monarchy. Kršnjavi's particular form of nationalism understood culture as a common spiritual force of a people living in a specific territory. His attitude toward empire, usually referred to as imperial patriotism in the nineteenth century, was grounded in a belief that the empire fostered progress and development for different cultures, and guaranteed them territorial safety from external threats. Kršnjavi viewed such a state framework as a necessary precondition for the development and prosperity of the Croatian nation, a view which to some extent was also the implicit argument of the

²³⁸ I do not support the commonly shared view that cultural nationalism is apolitical, and different from political nationalism, since every nationalism is political. Instead, I think cultural nationalism was used as an Orientalizing term, to distinguish the "peaceful" formation of the "cultural nations" of the West from the "bloody" formation of the "barbarian nations" of the East. Also, I am not convinced with the argument that the Habsburg Monarchy might not be considered as an empire, since it lacked colonies. Instead, I consider it to be the empire because of the imperial practices it was enacting, part of which are discussed in this paper.

²³⁹ Judson, *The Habsburg Empire - A New History*, 9.

Kronprinzenwerk project on which Kršnjavi also worked, and which will be discussed later in the thesis.

Since he considered Croatia insufficiently big and powerful to have an independent state existence, Kršnjavi saw political patriotism for the Empire, along with the sense of a strong state-guaranteed order, as necessary for the protection of Croatia from neighboring countries like Italy or Serbia that aspired to take its territories. In a parliamentary speech from 1890, for example, he warned the opposition that a small independent state would be an object of political intrigue for neighboring countries.

The reasons why we cannot rule ourselves lies in our insignificant numbers. Even if we were an independent state, we would be as a ball in the hands of neighboring countries, which would be thrown here and there. Then our country would be a field for the biggest intrigues, there would be chaos in the land, and we would be in a much worse situation than today.²⁴⁰

Similarly, he explained Croatia's geopolitical position in a speech in 1895, claiming that Croatia could not become independent because of the complex geographical configuration of its territory.

The state idea of an independent Croatia seems impossible to me, because we are not only too weak in numbers, but it is also impossible due to the configuration of our land. The north part of such a state (Fictional Croatia) is part of the Danube region, while the rest is a part of Adriatic region.²⁴¹

Unlike romantic historiography, which blamed internal discord and conspiracies by other states for the loss of its medieval "independence," Kršnjavi claimed Croatia's loss of "independence" had been a result of the geopolitical facts. Still, he too used the narrative of romantic historiography that saw the medieval nation as an enlarged family that had continuity

²⁴⁰ *Stenografički Zapisnici Sabora Kraljevina Hrvatske, Slavonije i Dalmacije*, 131.

²⁴¹ „Govor Izidor Kršnjavog (starčevićanski kandidat u 1. izbornom kotaru), 21.11.1895, Kršnjavi's collection, ALUHAZU, box 6.

down to the present time. To repeat his main argument, Croatia was too weak to exist independently because it was surrounded by more powerful neighbors.

Gentlemen! You are attributing the biggest injustice to our great-grandparents when you think that their inability or lack of heroism precipitated our current position. Our great-grandparents were heroes, they were sincere and good Croatians in every aspect. Therefore, if they did not manage to keep Croatia independent, the reason for that was the inability to fight all the aforementioned natural obstacles.²⁴²

Although Kršnjavi avoided instrumentalizing history for political purposes in his cultural work, he often used it in his political speeches. In that context he continued to develop his thoughts on the aforementioned question by making historical comparisons and emphasizing the necessity of Croatia's affiliation to the Habsburg Monarchy as a guarantor of Croatian territorial unity and of its economic prosperity.

A prophet regarding this question can easily be anyone who is willing to look into the mirror of the past. The same thing would happen which was happening throughout the last eight hundred and five hundred years. It would happen that the nation which would rule the Danube region would also rule the lowlands between Sava and Drava rivers, be it Magyars, Turks, Huns, or Germans. It would be so, because the Danube parts of Croatia are geographically and economically undividable from the rest of the Danube region.²⁴³

The Habsburg role as a protector of Croatian national unity, Kršnjavi continued, was most obvious in the case of the coastal areas of Istria and Dalmatia. In Kršnjavi's view, those areas would not be able to protect themselves from foreign conquerors due to geographical preconditions, but also due to a costly maritime defense system which independent Croatia could not afford. Ironically, of course, under the Habsburgs, Croatia was not united. Istria and Dalmatia belonged to the Austrian half of the dual Monarchy. Although Franz Joseph generally did not oppose the unification of Croatia-Slavonia with Dalmatia in the 1850s, after he reestablished a Parliament (the Reichsrat) in 1861, an autonomist group of Italians from Dalmatia prevented that

²⁴² Ibid.

²⁴³ Ibid.

unification.²⁴⁴ In general, monarchism was only a part of Kršnjavi's political thought and ideology that had not changed, although his other views shifted from supporting the dualist system to the idea of organizing the Monarchy on federal principles, as will be discussed later in the thesis.

²⁴⁴ Mirjana Gross, "The Union of Dalmatia with Northern Croatia: A Crucial Question of the Croatian National Integration in the Nineteenth Century," in *The National Question in Europe in Historical Context*, ed. Mikulaš Teich and Roy Porter (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 273–74.

Importance of the *Nagodba*

The National Party and its leader Ban Khuen Héderváry were the main supporters of the *Nagodba* as a necessary precondition for the development of Croatia, while the opposition claimed that only the Hungarians profited from the *Nagodba*. After Kršnjavi joined the National Party, he became one of the most persistent defenders of the *Nagodba* in many bitter debates in the Croatian parliament. This was one factor that enabled him to become departmental head of religious affairs and education only six years after joining the Party. The main question in debates about the *Nagodba* was the legal status of Croatia, namely whether the *Nagodba* had made Croatia a sovereign state or an autonomous Hungarian province, and whether the *Nagodba* constituted a state law or an international treaty between two states. While the opposition saw the *Nagodba* as an international treaty and claimed that Croatia was a sovereign state, Kršnjavi stated that the Croatian union with Hungary was the main framework for a further development of Croatian autonomy, regardless of the nature of the *Nagodba*: “Whatever you call Croatia ..., a sovereign state or a part of the community is irrelevant in my opinion. I claim that our legal, not an international, alliance with Hungary, is one of the guarantees of our further autonomy.”²⁴⁵

Kršnjavi argued that it was in Croatian interest to consider and accept the *Nagodba* as a legal contract rather than as an international treaty, because, according to this interpretation the *Nagodba*, that way it provided more legal security for Croatia. Since Hungary was the stronger state of the two, he continued, it could easily change the *Nagodba*, and in that case international law would not protect Croatia because it always implicitly worked in favor of the stronger country.

In international law every contract is agreed upon tacitly, with the clause *rebus sic stantibus*. So, if relations change and one side become stronger, it will be in its interest not to change this contract; it would not be prevented by international law because the contract would not exist any longer when it is not in the interest of the stronger side. On the contrary, a legal contract is based on the law and has a greater sanction and more security, than international law.²⁴⁶

²⁴⁵ *Stenografički Zapisnici Sabora Kraljevina Hrvatske, Slavonije i Dalmacije*, 474.

²⁴⁶ *Stenografički Zapisnici Sabora Kraljevina Hrvatske, Slavonije i Dalmacije*, 474.

Kršnjavi advised the opposition not to use the international law argument since it would only weaken Croatia's negotiating position as a weaker side. In his interpretation, the *Nagodba* expressed Croatian historical state rights and this suggested that Croatia had joined the union as an equal partner, and that its rights and traditions were respected.

Therefore, if the gentlemen always pinpoint in their speeches that our relations with Hungary are based on the international contract only, they are just weakening our position. If the compromise was only an international contract, it would reflect our power ratio towards Hungary; and surely would not look like the current compromise that developed on the basis of our state rights.²⁴⁷

His main conclusion in this parliamentary speech was to suggest that the opposition accept the *Nagodba* as a security mechanism and as a starting point for all its political actions. Kršnjavi's idea of state rights implicitly emphasized historical rights, which were recognized as a part of state rights and as such historical rights were no more matter of disputes. Although state rights were an important part of Czech- and Hungarian- nationalist political rhetoric, I have found no references by Kršnjavi to these debates. This was a new approach in Croatian politics which aimed to make a shift from theoretical parliamentary and academic debates, towards a more direct engagement in the politics of other practical fields, such as culture and education. Kršnjavi's speech was also an indirect plea to the opposition to shift its activities from endless legal debates in the Parliament towards initiatives in other fields that would be more promising. As we will see later, Kršnjavi pushed the argument even further at the turn of the century while claiming that Croatian historical rights are included in the *Nagodba* and therefore could not be used separately for daily political purposes.

Historical rights can be abolished and ignored only by those who have great power and an army, so they can establish new relations and make the world recognize those relations... Gentlemen, if you say 'The compromise is wrong, let us break it,' you are acting as the one who would break its own little and weak dam on the Sava river.²⁴⁸

²⁴⁷ *Stenografički Zapisnici Sabora Kraljevina Hrvatske, Slavonije i Dalmacije*, 474.

²⁴⁸ *Stenografički Zapisnici Sabora Kraljevina Hrvatske, Slavonije i Dalmacije*, 476.

Revision or a breakup of the *Nagodba*, in Kršnjavi's view, posed a double threat – it would provoke centralistic tendencies either from Hungary or Austria. Hungarian centralism would consequently create a party willing to create armed resistance in Croatia. Armed conflict between Hungarians and Croats would ultimately lead to centralist and absolutist tendencies from Austria.

I would consider it a mistake, if we wanted greater autonomy, because we would trigger such an effect that the central power would impose centralization even more; I would consider every success regarding centralism as a failure, because Hungarian centralism would lead to a creation of a strong political party ready for resistance... which could possibly lead to the clashes that would threaten existence of both peoples. We learned this during the years 1848 and 1849, when both peoples had fallen into deep Germanizing absolutism.²⁴⁹

Consequently, Kršnjavi argued for *status quo* and interpreted the *Nagodba* as a protection from both Austrian and Hungarian centralist politics. Interestingly, Kršnjavi pointed out how Austrian centralists had used Croatian opposition to their advantage in the past.

Whenever the centralist side made an experiment of realizing the Austrian state idea and to ruin the independence of Hungary and Croatia, the centralist Viennese government knew how to find allies in Croatia, with whom they were conspiring against the independence of Hungary and Croatia, and for the Austrian state idea.²⁵⁰

Austrian politicians were, in Kršnjavi's opinion, worse rulers than Hungarian ones because they did not allow any kind of autonomy to the provinces they were ruling. Kršnjavi was probably referring to Austrian politicians from the neo-absolutism of the 1850s, since the Austrian half of the Monarchy after 1867 was becoming more federalized. Even if Hungarians wanted to impose a decision unilaterally, the *Nagodba* was a guarantee of Croatian territorial and political individuality. Kršnjavi compared Croatia and Slavonia, ruled by Hungarians, with Dalmatia, ruled by Austrians, in order to show the disadvantages and underdevelopment of Dalmatia due to the lack of the *Nagodba* or a similar document that would give it a more active political role and more than simply a province ruled by the Empire.

²⁴⁹ *Stenografički Zapisnici Sabora Kraljevina Hrvatske, Slavonije i Dalmacije*, 474.

²⁵⁰ *Stenografički Zapisnici Sabora Kraljevina Hrvatske, Slavonije i Dalmacije*, 414.

The reason why we have not become a victim of a big military power, such a victim that our political individuality would be erased, is thanks to the compromise, so maimed by you, without which we would not have a name, without which we would be left out of the most basic accomplishments, similarly to contemporary Dalmatia where there is no Croatian language in the schools or courts.²⁵¹

²⁵¹ *Stenografički Zapisnici Sabora Kraljevina Hrvatske, Slavonije i Dalmacije*, 130.

Role of Dalmatia

Incorporated into the Monarchy only after the Napoleonic wars, Dalmatia played an important role for intellectuals throughout the Monarchy. All of them wanted to prove the legitimacy of the Monarchy's rights to Dalmatia, but from various perspectives. Dalmatia was one of the poorest regions of the Monarchy, besides the Carpathian lands of Galicia and Bukovina, with low literacy, a poor living standard, weak agriculture, and the lack of economic income from industry.²⁵² Population of Dalmatia was mostly Slavic and inhabited rural hinterlands, while political and economic power was mostly in hands of less numerous urban Italian-speaking elites. Two main political parties were the Autonomous party (Autonomisti/Autonomaši) and the National party (Narodna stranka/Narodnjaci/Aneksionisti; different from the National party in Croatia-Slavonia). *Narodnjaci* were supported mostly by rural Slavic population, while *Autonomaši* had support from people both of Slavic and Italian origin who gave more importance to their regional identity than their ethnic origins. Such older generation of *Autonomaši* similarly objected Croatian nationalism as well as Italian separatism. Most of its members died until the late 1890s and newer generation that took over turned to Italian separatism.²⁵³

Dalmatia had its own regional parliament in Zadar with 41 representatives plus two reserved seats for Archbishop of Zadar and Orthodox Bishop of Zadar.²⁵⁴ Number of Dalmatian representatives in the Reichsrat ranged from 5 until 1873, to 9 from 1873-1896, and 11 from 1896-1918.²⁵⁵ Beside *Autonomaši* and *Narodnjaci*, during 1870s there was a short-lived party named *Zemljaci* after their journal *Zemljak* (the National centrist party) which supported Viennese government and consisted of moderate members from both *Autonomaši* and *Narodnjaci*. Serb

²⁵² Cohen, *Education and Middle-Class Society in Imperial Austria*, 9.

²⁵³ Josip Vrandečić, *Dalmatinski autonomistički pokret u XIX. stoljeću*, 258-9.

²⁵⁴ Marjan Diklić, *Dalmacija u XIX. stoljeću* (Zadar: Matica Hrvatska, 2010), 96.

²⁵⁵ Ljiljana Dobrovšak, "Zakonodavna i izvršna vlast u hrvatskim zemljama od 1790. do 1918.," in *Temelji moderne Hrvatske – Hrvatske zemlje u „dugom“ 19. stoljeću*, edited by Vlasta Švoger and Jasna Turkalj (Zagreb: Matica Hrvatska, 2016), 86-87.

population of Dalmatia also formed their club in regional parliament in 1880 and closely cooperated with *Autonomaši* against *Narodnjaci*.²⁵⁶

During September 1860, Franz Joseph negotiated about the unification of Dalmatia and Croatia-Slavonia with representative of *Autonomaši* Francesco Borelli (1810-1884) from Dalmatia and Strossmayer and Ambroz Vranyczany from Croatia-Slavonia.²⁵⁷ Borelli and *autonomaši* rejected possible unification and claimed that Dalmatia was culturally and historically different from Croatia.²⁵⁸ Although *Narodnjaci* argued for the unification, they also wanted to preserve their special status in a new political unit.²⁵⁹ *Autonomaši* won 26 and *Narodnjaci* 15 seats during the first elections for Dalmatian parliament in 1861. Despite their win, *Autonomaši* soon started losing power to *Narodnjaci* which forced them to make coalitions with Austrian liberals during the early 1870s in the Reichsrat and with Serb politicians during the late 1870s in the regional Dalmatian parliament.²⁶⁰ There was also an internal division among *Autonomaši* in 1870s out of which two circles emerged – an Italian one around Split mayor Antonio Bajamonti and a regionalist one around Zadar mayor Nicola Trigari.²⁶¹

Kršnjavi's main idea was to unify Dalmatia with the Croatian lands under the administration of both Hungary and Austria. Firstly, he supported the unification of all Croatian lands under Hungary. In his view, Hungary was a state of the Croatian and Magyar people consisting of two national units.

...Hungary (Ugarska) is by the compromise a composite state in relation to Croatia (civitas composita), but the law from 1848 defines Magyarország as a simple/unified

²⁵⁶ Antoni Cetnarowicz, *Narodni preporod u Dalmaciji*, 195, 242.

²⁵⁷ Mirjana Gross, *Počeci moderne Hrvatske – Neoapsolutizam u civilnoj Hrvatskoj i Slavoniji 1850.-1860.* (Zagreb: Globus, 1985), 453.; Dinko Šokčević, *Hrvatska od stoljeća 7. do danas* (Zagreb: Durieux, 2016), 271.

²⁵⁸ Vrandečić, *Dalmatinski autonomistički pokret*, 85.

²⁵⁹ Tomislav Markus, "Trojedna Kraljevina Hrvatska, Slavonija i Dalmacija od 1790. do 1918.: osnovne smjernice političke povijesti," in *Temelji moderne Hrvatske – Hrvatske zemlje u „dugom“ 19. stoljeću*, edited by Vlasta Švoger and Jasna Turkalj (Zagreb: Matica Hrvatska, 2016), 24.

²⁶⁰ Vrandečić, *Dalmatinski autonomistički pokret*, 105, 164, 216.

²⁶¹ Marko Trogrlić and Zvonimir Forker, "Posjet Franje Josipa I. Zadru i Splitu 1875. godine. Priča o dva grada kao o dvije paradigme političkih prilika u Dalmaciji preporodnog doba," in *Dalmacija 1870-ih u svjetlu bečke politike i "istočnog pitanja"*, edited by Josip Vrandečić and Marko Trogrlić, (Zadar: Odjel za povijest Sveučilišta u Zadru, 2007.), 69.; Marko Trogrlić and Josip Vrandečić, "Dalmacija i Boka Kotorska od 1797. do 1918.," in *Temelji moderne Hrvatske – Hrvatske zemlje u „dugom“ 19. stoljeću*, edited by Vlasta Švoger and Jasna Turkalj (Zagreb: Matica Hrvatska, 2016), 500.

state (*civitas simplex*), which does not know any “community” because in a unified state all parts are part of one whole.²⁶²

Kršnjavi probably based part of his thoughts on Dalmatia and its necessary affiliation to the Habsburg Monarchy on the work of his teacher Eitelberger who conducted a state-sponsored project documenting monuments of Dalmatia in 1859 in order to prove the historical continuity of the Monarchy in Dalmatia, discussed earlier. Besides historical reasons, Kršnjavi also stressed practical geopolitical reasons why Croatia had profited from the presence of the Monarchy in Dalmatia, namely its lack of an independent defense due to financial matters and territorial pretensions of the neighboring countries:

The Littoral region of Croatia would surely be taken by the ones who already took it four hundred years ago, and who ruled the region for four hundred years. That would be any people living in Italy without possession of ports in the East... If Croatia wanted to defend its long coast against an external enemy (I shall not say this enemy must necessarily be the Italians, because we can imagine some other people inhabiting Italy), it would need to have the same fleet as the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, to be able to defend its coast. Namely, Croatia would need to maintain one arsenal, compared to the one in Pula, which would bear an annual cost equivalent to the annual GDP of independent Croatia.²⁶³

Consequently, the only force which could protect Croatian territorial unity was the Habsburg Monarchy. Although Kršnjavi wanted Dalmatia unified with the rest of the Triune Kingdom, he did not consider it possible at the time due to the lack of possible votes for said unification in the Austrian Reichsrat. Even most of politicians from Dalmatia in the Reichsrat were against the unification with Croatia-Slavonia. *Autonomaši* because of their regionalist or Italian persuasion, while *Narodnjaci* had wanted the unification, but made the deal with the ruling circles from Taaffe’s administration not to obstruct functioning of the Reichsrat in return for economic investments and infrastructural projects in Dalmatia after 1879.²⁶⁴ For this reason journal //

²⁶² Izidor Kršnjavi, “Pogled u Budućnost,” *Hrvatsko Pravo* 3295 (n.d.): 1906.

²⁶³ *Ibid.*

²⁶⁴ Stijepo Obad, “Putovanje cara Franje Josipa I. po Dalmaciji 1875. godine,” in *Dalmacija 1870-ih u svjetlu bečke politike i “istočnog pitanja,”* edited by Josip Vrandečić and Marko Trogrlić (Zadar: Odjel za povijest Sveučilišta u Zadru, 2007), 41.; Marko Trogrlić and Josip Vrandečić, “Dalmacija i Boka Kotorska od 1797. do 1918.,” 504.

Dalmata mocked representatives of *Narodnjaci* in the Reichsrat as tourists for their lack of activity.²⁶⁵ When Erazmo Barčić (1830-1913) from the Croatian Party of Right made an official proposal for this unification in 1889, Kršnjavi energetically opposed such actions.

Regarding ... the question whether we have the right to Dalmatia, and whether we want unification with Dalmatia, there cannot be any suspicions in the Croatian parliament; regarding that principle we agree with you – representatives of the opposition. That question is not a question, but a plain truth. The only question is, do we consider if it is the appropriate moment for unification...²⁶⁶

Contrary to Barčić's expectations, Kršnjavi declined possible support from representatives of the other Austrian crown lands for the small number of Dalmatian representatives in the Reichsrat for the unification with Croatia. He pointed out that even the much stronger crown lands were unable to exercise their rights fully due to the complex legal system of the Monarchy. Another issue which Kršnjavi omitted to mention was the composition of Dalmatian representatives in the *Reichsrat*. As mentioned previously, not all of them were Croatian nationalists, and a significant number of Dalmatian regionalists and Italian nationalists wanted Dalmatia to remain under Austrian rule and preserve its autonomous status.

Mister proponent Barčić says that now is the right moment because the majority in the Reichsrat is composed of such elements that are not strict enemies of Slavdom. I am wondering, how Mister proponent Barčić did not consider how it is possible that ninety-two representatives of Bohemia in the same Reichsrat cannot succeed in establishing Czech state rights; how does he think then that nine representatives of Dalmatia will succeed in the same Reichsrat, not only in the separation of Dalmatia from Austria, but also in the acceptance of Croatian historical rights."²⁶⁷

Kršnjavi also warned Barčić that neither the Czechs nor the majority of the oppositional circles would support the claim for the unification of Dalmatia with Croatia because of their own interests. In his view, the oppositional circles did not differ much from the ruling ones regarding

²⁶⁵ Vrandečić, *Dalmatinski autonomistički pokret*, 166.

²⁶⁶ *Stenografički Zapisnici Sabora Kraljevina Hrvatske, Slavonije i Dalmacije*, 262.

²⁶⁷ *Stenografički Zapisnici Sabora Kraljevina Hrvatske, Slavonije i Dalmacije*, 263.

the reorganization of the Monarchy and the privileged position of German-speaking politicians. Unlike naïve Croatian oppositional politicians, who believed that various political offers from the Monarchy could change Croatia's status, Kršnjavi realized that the majority of such actions were just a part of daily political struggles and had very little chance of changing the larger state system.

My gentlemen! You are probably relying on the notion that there will be elements among the German left who would accept to excise Dalmatia out of Austria, who would vote with the Czechs and the majority... Germans are in accord with the opinion of the main tendencies; all of them want domination. The majority among the current minority wants the German domination in Austria; Türk, Schönerer and their comrades want Prussian domination, but nevertheless domination... Do you think they would accept the excision of Dalmatia out of ... Austria, which they want to re-organize for themselves?²⁶⁸

Interestingly, Schönerer and the younger generation of more nationalist German politicians demanded in their Linz Program from 1882 that Galicia, Bukovina, Dalmatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina should be incorporated into Hungary due to their fear that the growing Slavic population would overpower Austrian Germans, although numerically Slav speakers already did outnumber German speakers.²⁶⁹ As we will see later in the thesis, Kršnjavi changed his thoughts after joining the Party of Right in 1906, and he expected that with the help of Archduke Franz Ferdinand, Dalmatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina would be united with Croatia. Although he was later disappointed in Hungary's ruling circles, it remains unclear why he expected Austrian politicians would suddenly change their minds, besides Franz Ferdinand's open lack of sympathies towards Hungary and his possible support for a South Slav settlement. Kršnjavi stated in a parliamentary speech from 1889 that Austrians exploited dissatisfied circles in Croatia in their political fights against Hungarians, which only worsened Croatian relations with Hungary.

As long as Hungarians will consider us foreigners, so long as they will treat us on the principles of foreign policy; only when they see that we feel as a lively part of the Hungarian state, then they will interact with us as a healthy body part of the state body. The Austrian state is too weak to digest the Hungarian one; it used us many times as a chisel against Hungarians, but when they did not need us, they would always throw us

²⁶⁸ *Stenografički Zapisnici Sabora Kraljevina Hrvatske, Slavonije i Dalmacije*, 263.

²⁶⁹ Kwan, *Liberalism and the Habsburg Monarchy, 1861-1895*, 134.

back to Hungary. That we are considered as citizens that can be used that way in every occasion, and in times of trouble is a perfectly normal state of affairs.²⁷⁰

Returning to the question of unification, Kršnjavi advocated for Dalmatian unification with Croatia only under the *Nagodba*, which was a guarantee of territorial integrity and autonomy in culture and politics. In his view from the 1880s, Hungarians were a more reliable political ally than Austria, which kept territories under its administration partitioned. Unlike Austria, Kršnjavi continued, Hungary had helped Croatia in incorporating the Military Border. Nevertheless, Kršnjavi would go on to change his view after he joined the Party of Right in 1906 and argue that Croatia needed to unify all its territories under Austria because of Hungarian hegemony. This will be discussed in greater detail later in the thesis.

We only knew how to remain together under the crown of Saint Stephen. All that was done for the unity of Croatian culture was done under it [the crown]. Outside the crown of Saint Stephen, we were falling apart and others took us away.... Did not Slavonia merge with Croatia under that crown? Why would Dalmatia not merge equally? Did Austria ever make larger groups? Did it merge German hereditary lands into one? Is there any rational hope that it will do it for the first time with Croatian lands? Would we ever get the Military Border from Austria without the help of the Hungarians? Dalmatian representatives still do not know that *magjaronstvo* is a Croatian patriotic idea, and how much strength lies for us in the honest and intimate friendship with Hungarians.²⁷¹

Magjaronstvo was usually interpreted as a political orientation of passive execution of Hungarian demands by Croatian politicians from the Croatian-Hungarian unionist party, and later from the National party. Kršnjavi's interpretation tried to show that Croatian politicians played a more active role in the relationship with Hungary and enjoyed many political advantages because of the alliance with Hungary. He advised his political opponents to restrain themselves from conflicts with Hungarians since it would only weaken Croatia's position and possibilities for unification with Dalmatia. Beside territorial integrity, Kršnjavi also hoped that the unification with Dalmatia would also lead to the strengthening of Croatia's position within the Hungarian

²⁷⁰ Ibid., 227.

²⁷¹ Ibid., 213.

parliament and a revision of the *Nagodba*, although such a position seemed very improbable from the Hungarian perspective.

Hungarians would be the biggest lunatics if they would allow us that unification, if we show we are their enemies. For that reason, I think that even those Croats who do not have inborn sympathy for Hungarians, should cultivate that feeling out of political wisdom.... You should ask yourself, mister editor, is it wise to call someone a traitor because he sympathizes with Hungarians from personal or political matters, although he has proven by deeds that he loves his Croatian folk and its progress.... Now everyone should become "traitors" and sharply turn to magjaron currents [for the unification]. An increase of Croatian representatives in the Hungarian parliament would strengthen our position, and there would be a revision of the *Nagodba* during the unification.²⁷²

Although Hungary had legal rights to start negotiations about the unification of Dalmatia, they never did so because of the reasons Kršnjavi mentioned, but from another perspective. Unification of Dalmatia would increase number of Croatian representatives in the Hungarian parliament and there would be revision of the *Nagodba* with which Hungarian politicians were satisfied at the moment.²⁷³ Kršnjavi warned an anonymous editor that he should not attack politicians such as Kršnjavi who were working in the interests of Croatia and cooperating with Hungarians. Instead, he ironically suggested that everyone should be led by the interest of the country first, even if it meant cooperating with someone they did not necessarily like. Although unification under the *Nagodba* was desirable, Kršnjavi did not consider it likely to happen in the near future. One of the main reasons was the political behavior of the youth that was educated to confront Hungarians, and thus caused constant political friction that prevented both nations to consider themselves as allies rather than enemies.

Aspirations towards unification with Dalmatia based on the *Nagodba* are legitimate, and justifiable, but that unification is unfortunately still a faraway ideal, so many generations will need to work before it will be fulfilled. It is an unmeasurable pity that numerous talents are destined to infertility because they invest all their energy in solving impossible questions while the most necessary political tasks remain unsolved.²⁷⁴

²⁷² Kršnjavi, *Zapisci*, 381.

²⁷³ Gross, *Izorno pravaštvo*, 387-8; Cetnarowicz, *Narodni preporod u Dalmaciji*, 139.

²⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 211.

Kršnjavi objected that idealist political activism had a very slim chance of ever being successful because it worsened existing conditions. Instead, he argued for more realistic politics in which politicians should strive to reach possible political goals. Practically, Croatian politicians should abandon debates focusing on Croatian statehood and their demands for political independence inside the Monarchy, and instead emphasize the unification of Dalmatia with Croatia under Hungary, which would consequently lead to financial and political improvement.

I consider it unnecessary, harmful and dangerous when it is pointed out that we are a state, and when aspirations for an enlargement of the state are proclaimed a justifiable ideal. It seems to me that ideals always must be possible, and that they should never be jeopardized by impossible ideals; such a possible ideal for us is improving our financial status and the unification of Dalmatia with Croatia and Slavonia.²⁷⁵

Kršnjavi opposed idealism in Croatian politics because he believed that it could jeopardize national interests. Even if politicians had the best intentions, they could create irreparable damage out of their idealism. Kršnjavi's views on the characteristics of a good politician and his criticism of idealism can be easily linked to his political behavior. He believed that obtaining power should be the main goal of every political action. Since a significant number of the Croatian politicians were idealists, Kršnjavi's opportunist approach surprised them. A great deal of Croatian politicians expected the majority of their political goals to be fulfilled, while it seems that Kršnjavi was among the first ones who showed a willingness to distance himself from some of his principles in exchange for power.

It could also be proved from historical examples, that when idealists wanted to fulfill what they imagined and passionately defended, they only made it worse because they did not know how to use appropriate means; they did not know how to use the right moment by thinking that a man could go with his head through the wall when he strongly believed in some idea. The character of a good politician is enactment of the ideal goals by possible means... The destiny of all idealists is that they are never happy when they think of something and the others do it, because it never turns out the way they expected.²⁷⁶

²⁷⁵ Ibid., 214.

²⁷⁶ *Stenografički Zapisnici Sabora Kraljevina Hrvatske, Slavonije i Dalmacije*, 265.

Although Dalmatia was one of the poorest regions of the Monarchy, despite imperial attempts to modernize the region, Kršnjavi believed unification would secure financial benefits to Croatia.²⁷⁷ Consequently, Croatia would flourish both materially and spiritually, leading to a high level of civilization like that of the West. One of the preconditions for such a transformation was cooperation with the Hungarians, also considered to be a civilized nation of the West and more developed than Croatia, while being their loyal partner in imperial politics on the Balkans and the Adriatic. Unfortunately, Kršnjavi did not develop these thoughts any further, but we can suppose he considered Croatia's role as some kind of semi-imperial force that would help Hungary in ruling the 'barbarian' territories of the East.

With an improved financial status towards Hungary, our Triune Kingdom could materially and culturally flourish, our Croatian folk could climb to a higher level of civilization. We must abandon special political roles outside common goals of our joint state, and we need to become a reliable stronghold of Hungarian politics on the Balkans and the Adriatic.²⁷⁸

In Kršnjavi's view, Dalmatia needed to unify with Croatia under the Crown of Saint Stephen due to better legal conditions. Unlike Dalmatia, which was only a province in the Monarchy as Kršnjavi argued, Croatia was a sovereign political subject because of the *Nagodba*. The *Nagodba* gave Croatia political stability, he continued, because the central government could not change its legal status without the support of Parliament. Kršnjavi thus tried to convince Dalmatians it was in their best interest to unify with Croatia, to cease being merely a province without any political autonomy, and rather to become a political subject in the decision-making processes.

I consider, gentlemen, that Dalmatia would have many reasons to unify with Croatia and Slavonia based on the nature of our legal status. Dalmatia is in the joint Austrian Monarchy, a very modest and simple province; Croatia is a member of the political community with Hungary, and is not a province. The central government can decide on the province the way it wants; it can change its constitution the way it wants; it does not apply to us, since paragraph 70 of the compromise objectively states that our legal status can be changed only by permission of the parliament.²⁷⁹

²⁷⁷ Judson, *The Habsburg Empire - A New History*, 127.

²⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 214.

²⁷⁹ *Stenografički Zapisnici Sabora Kraljevina Hrvatske, Slavonije i Dalmacije*, 267.

Kršnjavi defended the highly criticized *Nagodba* by arguing that it provided not only legal sovereignty, but also the development of national life and individuality, unlike, in his opinion, the situation in the Austrian part of the Monarchy. The Hungarian state framework was more congenial for Croatian nation-building since Croatian autonomy was permitted by the law. Kršnjavi's call for unification implicitly suggested that territorial integrity was one of the key preconditions for the creation of the homogenous nation or "spiritual community" as he referred to it.

If Dalmatia wants a more decent political level than the one it has now, it should come under the protection of the *Nagodba*. I consider, gentlemen, that Dalmatians, if they want to take care of the national enlightenment jointly, if they want to live with us not only in a political, but also a spiritual community, they can find much space in the framework of the compromise.... Our political individuality and national life are guaranteed by the law, whereas in Dalmatia it depends on the mercy and non-mercy of the Viennese government. The *Nagodba*, attacked by so many, gave us significant breakthroughs, which could only be wished by Dalmatians.²⁸⁰

It is interesting to note that Kršnjavi noticed that, even in Croatia and Slavonia, people were still very culturally heterogeneous and much work was needed in order to homogenize them; despite their being under a single administrative legal system and their exposure to the same nation-building processes. Surely, many Croatian nationalists would not agree with Kršnjavi, but this issue was not a subject of debates since Croatian nationalists had almost no arguments to claim otherwise.²⁸¹ Therefore, he would have argued that unification with Dalmatia needed to be done as soon as possible in order to bridge various cultural and political gaps, since Dalmatia was historically part of different state formations (Venetian, French and Austrian), and was also geographically separated from the rest of Croatia.

There is a place for liveliest work under this, by the law guaranteed right, in the field of cultural and material development, but there is also space for strengthening Croatian

²⁸⁰ *Stenografički Zapisnici Sabora Kraljevina Hrvatske, Slavonije i Dalmacije*, 267.

²⁸¹ For an excellent case study on heterogeneity of Slovenian population under Cisleithanian and Transleithanian administrations see Jernej Kosi, "The Imagined Slovene Nation and Local Categories of Identification: 'Slovenes' in the Kingdom of Hungary and Postwar Prekmurje," *Austrian History Yearbook* 49 (2018): 89,96.

national thought because Croatia and Slavonia are not homogenous among their non-Serb population.²⁸²

Unlike the oppositional circles who based their argument for unification with Dalmatia on historic rights, Kršnjavi warned of the possibility of various opposing interpretations. By implicitly speaking about the Croatian incorporation to the Hungarian Kingdom in 1102, he tackled the opposition's argument that Croatia should have "more" historical rights because it had voluntarily formed its union with the Hungarian Kingdom as a free state. Kršnjavi warned that Austrian jurists could easily provide other arguments working in their favor, namely that the Venetians had conquered Dalmatia and that Hungary and Croatia had lost all their rights thanks to that conflict. Not surprisingly, Kršnjavi implicitly considered the Venetian rule in Dalmatia more desirable than the Ottoman one due to Venice's affiliation to Western cultural circles.

Austrian statesmen and jurists could equally and convincingly say: Venetians took Dalmatia in the thirteenth century; Venetians held Dalmatia for four hundred years; Venetians defended Dalmatia with their own blood from the [Ottoman] destiny that struck Bosnia and Herzegovina; they therefore had not only total power, but also rights over Dalmatia, which was incorporated into the Venetian state. This Incorporation into international law is an equally valid basis for legal relations...²⁸³

Kršnjavi objected to claims that Dalmatia could simply revise its own legal status since it had been conquered by force. Instead, he argued that successful use of force is accepted and legitimate in international law. His interpretation of the Dalmatian status can also be considered an implicit warning that further discussions might also awaken Italian interests in Dalmatia because of their historic claims. Thus, the current situation was more favorable, although not ideal, since Dalmatia was at least a part of the Habsburg Monarchy.

... the matter is not whether the state was incorporated consensually; in fact, it is not even considered if the state defended itself by arms or not. Even in civil law, not all relations that were established by force are illegitimate, and even less in international law. If any state is incorporated, and if neither the contract, nor peace agreement was

²⁸² Ibid., 211.

²⁸³ *Stenografički Zapisnici Sabora Kraljevina Hrvatske, Slavonije i Dalmacije*, 264.

made, but if it is incorporated on the basis of total defeat, therefore, the legal title is made for the state that conquered the other.²⁸⁴

Here Kršnjavi pointed out that it could easily be argued that Croatian historical rights to Dalmatia had ended after the Venetian conquest. Consequently, Dalmatia could be interpreted to be a newly acquired Austrian territory from the early nineteenth century, and its mention in the official title of the emperor as merely an historical reminiscence. Since such relations were recognized by international law, some might argue that all Croatian historical rights were null.

Austrian statesmen will say that Dalmatia was conquered by the Venetians, and that the historical rights of the Hungarian kings vanished; and that Dalmatia was a Venetian country. The fact, that the title of the king of Dalmatia remained in the official Hungarian and Croatian title, is without any value....Therefore, Austrian statesmen will say, it is *nudum ius*, historical reminiscence, not any historical right.²⁸⁵

Kršnjavi warned that all the major powers had accepted the internal relations of the Habsburg Monarchy at the Vienna Congress, and thus the Croatian legal fight for Dalmatia was doomed to failure since there were no key players in the international arena that could support Croatian claims. In this he was one of the first politicians who foresaw the complexities of the Monarchy's legal system and that the same problems could be interpreted differently by interested sides in disputes. Most of the oppositional politicians acted as if they believed they could achieve their political goals by legally proving Croatian rights to Dalmatia, so Kršnjavi's parliamentary speeches must have been painfully sobering to their ambitions.

When Francis I obtained Dalmatia, he got one piece taken out from the Venetian Republic; he was not given back what he had had previously, but he got a new acquisition.... The empire of Austria was a legal subject at the Vienna Congress, where no one paid attention to the title of the Hungarian and Croatian king, which was incorporated into the title of the Austrian emperor by international law. Thus, Austria got Dalmatia, the emperor of Austria got it, not the Croatian and Hungarian king. So, they will say, we Austrians have rights to this province because our emperor acquired it.²⁸⁶

²⁸⁴ *Stenografički Zapisnici Sabora Kraljevina Hrvatske, Slavonije i Dalmacije*, 264.

²⁸⁵ *Stenografički Zapisnici Sabora Kraljevina Hrvatske, Slavonije i Dalmacije*, 264.

²⁸⁶ *Stenografički Zapisnici Sabora Kraljevina Hrvatske, Slavonije i Dalmacije*, 264.

Austrian politicians, Kršnjavi continued, always knew how to interpret historical rights to fit their interests. Paradoxically, Kršnjavi even claimed that Hungarians had actually defended Croatian historical rights during the Revolution of 1848-49, although Croatian and Austrian troops had fought together against Hungarian ones. Such an interpretation justified Croatia's current alliance with Hungary by presenting Hungarians as defenders of Croatian national interests and rights, unlike the Austrians who only cared for their personal interests.

Try to remember how Austrian politicians think of historical rights; think hard how much effort it cost, and how much courage and hard fighting it took, until the Hungarians managed to convince Austrian politicians to accept Croatian and Hungarian historical rights by coercive means. The stance of those politicians nowadays towards the Czechs would be the same towards us regarding Dalmatia. Let us not fool ourselves.²⁸⁷

²⁸⁷ *Stenografički Zapisnici Sabora Kraljevina Hrvatske, Slavonije i Dalmacije*, 264.

The flag(s) incident

After twenty-six years of absence, Franz Joseph had decided to visit Zagreb from the twelfth until the fourteenth October 1895. The main reason for the King's visit in 1895 was to see the progress Croatia and Zagreb had made since his last visit in 1869. This occasion provided a perfect opportunity for all political actors in Croatia to engage in a discussion on the nature and causes of recent Croatian development. There is no doubt that Croatia-Slavonia made economic and social progress under Hungarian rule after the *Nagodba* in 1868 and especially after Khuen Héderváry became Ban in 1883. The question was, however, who was responsible for the progress. Hungarians and the ruling National Party in Croatia, including Ban Khuen Héderváry and Kršnjavi, claimed that such remarkable progress was the result of the *Nagodba*, which had enabled better economic conditions for the Triune Kingdom. On the other hand, the Croatian opposition claimed that progress had been made only despite the *Nagodba* and that the Hungarians had financially exploited the Triune Kingdom. An anonymous author from *Obzor* stated, for example, that:

The official newspaper used the news about the ruler's visit to celebrate the *Nagodba*. It is true that his Highness will find major difference between the Zagreb of 1869 and the present one, especially in the cultural sense, but this progress was made despite the *Nagodba*, and in particular, despite the way in which the *Nagodba* is being enacted.²⁸⁸

The king's visit offered a perfect opportunity for the ruling circles in Hungary and Croatia to present the positive sides of Dualism and the *Nagodba*. In addition, Khuen Héderváry wanted to portray himself as a politician capable of carrying out even higher political positions. Opposition politicians and activists wanted to prove to Franz Joseph that Croatia was equal to its Western counterparts and should therefore be granted a right to greater political autonomy. The main dispute was whether Croatian development was a result of Hungarian rule or of its independent abilities.

²⁸⁸ "Kralj u Zagrebu," *Obzor*, no. 167 (July 23, 1895).

In a September 1895 interview in the Hungarian newspaper *Magyar-Ország*, one month before the King's visit, Kršnjavi contradicted the view of the opposition, stating that progress in the Triune Kingdom had been the result of the *Nagodba* and that it was Ban Khuen Héderváry's accomplishment that Croatia's affiliation to Hungary could finally be publicly discussed. Claims like these might have caused dissatisfaction among students who later organized riots and protests during the king's visit.

Before Ban Khuen-Héderváry lived in the palace of Bans, it was a monstrosity even to talk about Croatia's affiliation to Hungary! I am giving you the right to publish the next statement – we, as the most decisive group in the country, are trying by all means to make Croatia's affiliation to Hungary more possible. We are doing it because we are convinced that we will raise the cultural and material affluence of our land, and that all the cultural progress, that you liked as well, can be attributed to that political constellation. I do not say that this political behavior became generally accepted, but the most important thing is now a discussed topic of Croatian politics, which already has a strong political party [to represent it].²⁸⁹

²⁸⁹ "Razgovor Dr. Kršnjavoga s Košutovskim Novinarom," *Obzor* 204 (June 9, 1895).



Bukovac, Vlaho. *Portrait of Izidor Kršnjavi.*

The king's visit was part of a Kaiserreise – a dynastic state ritual whose purpose was to demonstrate loyalty to the Monarchy and to diminish local political tensions.²⁹⁰ By this point in time, Franz Joseph had become a beloved fatherly figure to many of his subjects in both halves of the Dual Monarchy. His visit to Zagreb was considered by an anonymous journalist from *Obzor* as a proof of his fatherly love: "...Croatians will welcome, greet and thank him [the King] with their traditional fervor for this new proof of fatherly love."²⁹¹ The King was almost the only cohesive element supported by various parts of society that were otherwise openly in conflict, such as political parties, religious and ethnic groups. Ironically, however, political tensions began to escalate prior to Franz Joseph's arrival in Zagreb. The night before his arrival, the management of the railways decorated the main train station with Hungarian flags. It remains unclear whether the act was carried out by someone close to the new Hungarian government in order to provoke incidents during the King's visit or whether it was just meant to present Croatia as a part of Hungary. In either case, Khuen Héderváry surely wanted to avoid street riots while presenting his project of a new modernized Croatia to the King.

When a group of students removed the flags during the same night, they were caught by railway workers and injured during a subsequent fight. The management of the railways had also ordered yellow sand to be brought from Rakos Palota in Hungary, to be spilled on the ground for the king's first step.²⁹² This was a symbolic act conveying that the king's first step was taken onto Hungarian soil. One proof that such symbolic acts held major importance in Zagreb was surely Vlaho Bukovac's ultimatum to the Croatian government a year later that the area around the Croatian pavilion for the Budapest millennial exhibition in 1896 must be spread with soil from Croatia.²⁹³ During the Budapest millennial exhibition, for example, visitors could also buy a piece of soil from the ruins of the Pusztaszer monastery around which the first parliamentary assembly

²⁹⁰ For an excellent analysis of imperial celebrations and the role of Franz Joseph see Daniel L. Unowsky, *The Pomp and Politics of Patriotism. Imperial Celebrations in Habsburg Austria, 1848-1916* (West Lafayette, Indiana: Purdue University Press, 2005).

²⁹¹ "Kralj u Zagrebu."

²⁹² *Obzor* 248 (October 28, 1895).

²⁹³ Vinko Zlamalik, *Bela Čikoš Sesija: Začetnik Simbolizma u Hrvatskoj* (Zagreb: Jugoslavenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti: Društvo povjesničara umjetnosti SR Hrvatske, 1984), 76.

of the Magyars was held in 1895-6.²⁹⁴ Thus, soil became inextricably connected with the nation and its constitution by the end of the nineteenth century since it was believed that the soil contained national history embodied in artefacts and connected the nation's past with the present time.

On the day of the king's arrival, the same group of protestors who had removed Hungarian flags from the railway station the night before also threw rocks at the Orthodox Church and the Serbian bank because Serbian flags had been hung from their windows. Serb politicians in Croatia were an important lever of Khuen Héderváry's governance and were therefore abominated by the opposition. Khuen Héderváry had granted various concessions to Serb politicians in Croatia after his appointment as Ban in 1883 because he needed to create a parliamentary majority after a group of representatives had seceded in 1880 to form the Independent National Party. By the time of the next elections in 1887, the Ban managed to secure a sufficient number of votes in the parliament without Serb representatives. Khuen Héderváry, nevertheless, continued to use Serb politicians against the Croatian opposition, securing their loyalty with various posts in the state administration and bureaucracy.²⁹⁵ It seems that the Serbian flags were hung on personal initiatives similar to the Hungarian ones on the train station. At the session of the Zagreb City Council before the king's visit, both the governmental envoy and the president of the Orthodox community Stanković had in fact opposed the installation of the Serbian flags during the king's visit. After part of the Serb community had objected to the decision, Stanković had replied: "I am also as good a Serb as you, but I am also a Croatian citizen, and as such I cannot accept the hanging of the Serbian flag."²⁹⁶

While these incidents were going on, the King opened the Croatian national theater, the school forum, and the newly restored and enlarged musical academy. All these buildings had been built in almost one year and Franz Joseph was the one to officially finish the construction process by setting the last stone of each building, using a special hammer designed by Robert Frangeš.

²⁹⁴ Bálint Varga, *The Monumental Nation. Magyar Nationalism and Symbolic Politics in Fin-de-Siècle Hungary* (New York ; Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2016), 30.

²⁹⁵ Nives Rumenjak, *Politička i Društvena Elita Srba u Hrvatskoj Potkraj 19. Stoljeća - Uspon i Pad Srpskoga Kluba* (Zagreb: Hrvatski institut za povijest, 2005), 545, 549.

²⁹⁶ *Obzor* 240 (October 18, 1895).

Such a symbolic act had its roots in imperial ceremonies from earlier eras where everything had been done by the ruler's will.

The opening ceremony at the school forum began with a group of children dressed in traditional Croatian national costumes dancing traditional dances. Afterwards, Kršnjavi held a short speech in which he accentuated the importance of education for the development of patriotic feelings and loyalty to the dynasty.

This building should fill the spirit of youth, who decided to study, with noble ideas due to its architectural style and elements, to ennoble and clear youth's feelings, and to arouse feelings for honor, dignity, and beauty. The most beautiful fruit of this ennobled spirits and hearts of the youth will be faithfulness and attachment to the hereditary ruler and real patriotic love.²⁹⁷

Franz Joseph briefly replied with his usual comment: "The building is very practical, and the parade of school children was very pretty and patriotic. Thank you."²⁹⁸ Later in his memoirs, Kršnjavi wrote positively of the king's visit trying to portray the ruler and the event as a success, while omitting the incidents that happened during ceremonies.

His Highness rewarded me in an extraordinary way. He was in such a good mood that was even rarely seen by his close group of servants. For three full days he was only visiting my institutions. Man is being educated for his faithfulness to the King. Love for the King is being truly understood only when you stand next to your ruler, and when you have an opportunity to make him joy. Then personal contact is being set up electrically.²⁹⁹ Mercy and kindness of my King remains inerasable.³⁰⁰

²⁹⁷ "Kršnjavijev Govor Pred Kraljem," *Obzor* 237 (October 13, 1895).

²⁹⁸ "Kralj u Novih Srednjih Učilištih," *Prosvjeta* 20 (1895): 618.

²⁹⁹ Word electrically does not make any sense in original Croatian text.

³⁰⁰ Kršnjavi, *Zapisci*, 90.



Bukovac, Vlaho- *Vivat rex!* (The painting depicts the opening dancing ceremony at the school forum with Khuen Héderváry, Franz Joseph and Kršnjavi in the background)

During the opening ceremonies, however, yet another group of students dressed in the official uniforms of the Zagreb Franz Josef University paraded from the university building to the main square and burnt the Hungarian flag in front of Ban Jelačić's statue. The figure of Jelačić held a highly symbolic meaning, since Croatian nationalists considered him to be a hero who had helped to save the dynasty and to stop the Hungarian revolution in 1848-49. While burning the flag, the students praised both the King and Jelačić and condemned the Magyar policy of dominance and assimilation.³⁰¹ An anonymous journalist from *Pester Lloyd* reported that the process of flag burning lasted only a few minutes and that one of the students said these words: "We are coming to the statue of that person who fought for the dynasty and against the Magyars, to burn the flag of that people who always fought against the dynasty, by which we affirm our dynastic way of thinking."³⁰² These students' actions intended to show Croatian affiliation to the dynasty, empire and the rule of law against alleged Hungarian obstruction.

Kršnjavi was held responsible for having provided the university uniforms to the students and therefore forced to resign from the cabinet by Ban Khuen Héderváry, although he remained for a few more months in his departmental position. There is no hard evidence, however, for the deeper reason behind Kršnjavi's resignation. All possible explanations derive from very loose evidence, speculations and rumors. According to Kršnjavi's memoirs, the Ban told him immediately after the incident that he would need to resign, but only a few months later, so that it would not look as if the Ban had openly blamed Kršnjavi for the incident or was seeking revenge. Rumors about Kršnjavi's responsibility for the incident did not appear in *Obzor* until March 1896, almost five months after the incident happened.

Although we can speculate about the real reasons behind the Ban's decision to force Kršnjavi to resign when he did, because there are no sources proving the Ban's direct intentions, Khuen Héderváry might well have feared the loss of his own position due to the recent political changes in Hungarian politics. At the beginning of 1895, the older generation of Hungarian liberals

³⁰¹ Sarah Kent, "State Ritual and Ritual Parody: Croatian Student Protest and the Limits of Loyalty at the End of the Nineteenth Century," in *The Limits of Loyalty: Imperial Symbolism, Popular Allegiances, and State Patriotism in the Late Habsburg Monarchy*, ed. Laurence Cole and Daniel L. Unowsky, 1 edition (New York: Berghahn Books, 2009), 162, 170.

³⁰² *Obzor* 239 (October 17, 1895).

who supported Khuen Hederevary lost power after twenty years, and a new, more radically nationalist government was formed under Dezső Bánffy (1843-1911). A similar shift had taken place in Austria a few years earlier which was marked by the rise of populism, grass-root mobilization and a gradual move to mass politics. As Balint Varga informs us, Bánffy firmly believed that the nationality question in the Hungarian part of the Monarchy could only be resolved by repression and that economic and cultural progress would lead to the integration of the various groups inhabiting Transleithania into loyal Magyars. For that reason, he organized a special department with the main role of monitoring and reporting suspicious non-Magyar national activists.³⁰³ Bánffy decided to accompany Franz Joseph during his visit to Zagreb to convince the Emperor of the success of Hungarian politics of assimilation of Croatia to the Magyar nation through economic progress and cultural policies, although Bánffy's rule would later be marked by demands for more Hungarian autonomy from Vienna. It is no wonder that the flag incident infuriated Bánffy and that Khuen Héderváry was uncertain of his relations with the new government in Budapest, especially since he was perceived as the emperor's confidant, and after his unsuccessful formation of a Hungarian government in 1894.³⁰⁴

Kršnjavi mentions in his memoirs another possible and less likely reason for his resignation. In an 1896 discussion, journalist Julius Kupfer allegedly mentioned that Ban Khuen Héderváry had been envious of the good relations between Franz Joseph and Kršnjavi during the King's visit. At one of the opening ceremonies, a court official had apparently said that Kršnjavi could possibly become the new Ban, a remark that was allegedly overheard by Khuen Héderváry.³⁰⁵ Although this remark tells us much more about Kršnjavi's ambitions than Khuen Héderváry's fear of losing the post, it is not the most likely reason for Kršnjavi's dismissal. As mentioned earlier, the young and ambitious Khuen Héderváry understood his position of Croatian Ban as a chance to prove himself worthy of higher political posts in the Monarchy. Without debating whether Croatia-Slavonia had indeed developed because of or despite Khuen Héderváry, its progress was clear since the time of last king's visit in 1869. Regardless of the flag

³⁰³ Varga, *The Monumental Nation. Magyar Nationalism and Symbolic Politics in Fin-de-Siècle Hungary*, 15,9.

³⁰⁴ Filip Šimetin Šegvić, *Patriotizam i Bunt: Franjo Josip I. u Zagrebu 1895. Godine* (Zagreb: Srednja Europa, 2014), 93.

³⁰⁵ Kršnjavi, *Zapisci*, 138.

incident, Khuen Héderváry had successfully presented his project to the king and proved his readiness to serve a higher political post. Kršnjavi had a significant role in Khuen Héderváry's project with his own ambitions and initiatives firstly as a parliamentary representative and later as the departmental head of Religious Affairs and Education. After the king's visit, Kršnjavi became unnecessary since Khuen Héderváry's project came to an end and the Ban was ready for some higher political position.

Kršnjavi seemed not to be worried at the moment by the loss of his position, since he had been discussing with the Ban the possibility of becoming a Croatian representative to the Budapest parliament, or becoming the head of the state-owned publishing house. It is likely that Kršnjavi thought Khuen Héderváry owed him a favor because of the false testimony he had given for him in 1885 and also because he had proven his loyalty and competence. Although Kršnjavi was indeed loyal, his main problem was a surplus of ambitions. From such a perspective it is obvious why Khuen Héderváry did not appoint Kršnjavi as the head of the state-owned publishing house, but it remains unclear why the Ban opposed Kršnjavi's appointment to the Budapest parliament knowing that the position of Croatian representatives was only a matter of prestige and carried no political importance. In Kršnjavi's view, Khuen Héderváry appointed the main state prosecutor, Otto Krajčović, to be his successor since the latter could easily find some incriminating evidence against Kršnjavi, should he ever decide to join the opposition.³⁰⁶

In a speech to Parliament in late November of 1895, it appears that Kršnjavi was convinced that he would remain a prominent member of the National Party, despite the probable loss of his position. He again explained to the opposition the benefits of the *Nagodba*, and the negative consequences which Croatia had experienced because of incidents such as the flag burning.

You should stop all those fights against the settlement, because the Hungarians will be suspicious towards us when they see we are trying to shake our alliance, so they will also become belligerent. Consequently, their interest must be to weaken us, and not to strengthen us.³⁰⁷

³⁰⁶ Kršnjavi, 116.

³⁰⁷ „Govor Izidor Kršnjavog (starčevićanski kandidat u 1. izbornom kotaru), 21.11.1895, Kršnjavi's collection, ALUHAZU, box 6.

Kršnjavi pointed out again that Croatia was too small to fight against the Hungarians, and that anti-Hungarian incidents can only provoke reprisals:

...as a financially or physically weak man cannot take the position which is available to the strong one, the weak nation cannot have the same ambitions as a big nation, but needs to be satisfied by the relations and circumstances...and strive to make his people more progressive and happier in such framework. I am horrified to mention what you are forgetting – especially the ones which caused the demonstrations – which is, that national individuality can also die as human individuality...³⁰⁸

In order to protect “national individuality,” Kršnjavi urged cooperation with Hungarians, instead of antagonism:

From the worries, caused by my patriotic feeling for the country, I do not want to change anything about the existing legal status, but on the basis of it work together with the Magyar people for the material and spiritual progress of our people.³⁰⁹

In Kršnjavi’s view such cooperation would result in the material and cultural progress of the nation. He believed that people would accept the Hungarian state’s policies due to such progress. This view corresponded with the official view of Hungarian liberal elites who considered that progress in economy and culture would inevitably lead to national integration and creation of Magyars of the Transleithanian population. The main difference, however, was that Hungarian liberal elites believed this policy would make Magyars out of Croatians, while Kršnjavi believed it would build the power of an autonomous Croatia within Hungary.

...we think that the Hungarian (Ugarska) state idea cannot be dispersed by agitation, pressure, or force, but only with culture and material wealth.... The Hungarian (Ugarska) state idea will have its followers and conquer all the people which will follow it gladly, if the state idea will be dispersed on the wings of cultural, material, and intellectual progress, as we already started.³¹⁰

³⁰⁸ Ibid.

³⁰⁹ Ibid.

³¹⁰ Ibid.

Even though Kršnjavi established, reorganized and financially funded various institutions and societies dealing with culture and science, Khuen Héderváry's greater project for Croatia had clearly failed during its presentation to Franz Joseph in Zagreb. After all, at the very moment when Kršnjavi had addressed Franz Joseph in his office newly restored in classical style and accompanied by singing and recitals of songs from Ancient Greece, the students had burned the Hungarian flag to protest what they called Hungarian oppression. This act had signified, more generally, that Khuen Héderváry's modernization project was not as successful as he had hoped it was. More broadly, the incident reflected the simultaneity of two opposite approaches to politics. While Kršnjavi and Héderváry dealt in mid-nineteenth century political practices of deference to power, relying on the influence of high culture and keeping a narrow franchise reserved for the elite, new kinds of political activism had emerged with vastly different outlooks. These new activists based their work on the nationalization of the broader masses, appealing to more diverse strata of society, including students, workers and rural populations.

As we will see below, the Hungarian opposition in Budapest also used and nationalized this scandal in order to weaken Khuen Héderváry's position inside Hungary. Here I will try to demonstrate how an isolated incident, made by a small group of activists, became nationalized for purposes of daily politics and power struggles within Hungary.

Nationalization of the incident

According to the Viennese newspaper *Neue Freie Presse*, soon after the flag burning incident, Ban Khuen Héderváry was accused in Hungary of being responsible for the incident, due to his lack of strictness. *Pesti Naplo* went further and accused Khuen Héderváry of a complete failure of his pacifying mission in Croatia.

It has been shown that Khuen Héderváry's mission in Croatia truly failed. He did not pacify the land, nor stop belligerency against Magyars, nor endeavors for the independence of the Triune Kingdom. He liked to be praised and made into a star, as a statesman who created wonders and twinned one-hundred-year-old foes. He was considered to be a dexterous statesman and for that reason he acquired the King's trust, but one day showed it was all worth nothing.³¹¹

In general, Khuen Héderváry was perceived in Hungary as an Austrophile due to his previously mentioned good relations with the Court. Khuen Héderváry was a new type of politician who emerged and functioned within the complex dualist structure of the Monarchy. He had been appointed to Croatia to strengthen Dualism.³¹² Since the situation in Hungarian politics had radicalized in the mid-1890s, however, the Hungarian opposition gradually objected more openly to Dualism. This opposition escalated during 1905-1907 over issues about the common military such as the language of command. As we will see, the opposition used the flag incident in Zagreb to criticize both dualism and Khuen Héderváry, while arguing for the abolition of the *Nagodba* and Croatian autonomy. In his memoirs, Kršnjavi mentions one occasion when Khuen Héderváry's wife had talked openly about Hungarian distrust toward the Ban.

There are different rumors about the Ban's austriophilia. Rumors say that the Ban has a lively feeling for the common Monarchy, but considers himself Magyar. The Ban's wife said at the dining table in Hedervar that such a way of thinking was the result of the education.... The Ban's wife, therefore, does not consider her husband to be a legitimate member of the Hungarian race. Other Magyars think the same, and this is the reason why they do not trust him.³¹³

³¹¹ "Osvrt Na Kraljeve Dane," *Obzor* 241 (October 19, 1895).

³¹² Šimetin Šegvić, *Patriotizam i Bunt: Franjo Josip I. u Zagrebu 1895. Godine*, 15.

³¹³ Kršnjavi, *Zapisci*, 48.

The Neue Freie Presse accused the whole Hungarian leadership of a complete failure to implement the Croatian-Hungarian Settlement effectively, and consequently, of weakening Hungary in the upcoming decennial negotiations for the revision of the Austro-Hungarian Settlement.

The king's visit should have served as the last brick in the building of the Croatian-Hungarian settlement, so that the state of Saint Stephen would present itself as a coherent unit for the upcoming debates about the Austro-Hungarian Settlement. Now instead of this magnificent picture of inner satisfaction and brotherly unity, we have such disappointment! This is because of the incapability of the people who are heads of the state.... It is no wonder that the Magyar flag is being burned in front of the king's eyes and its ashes are thrown into the wind, beside such government.³¹⁴

The Berliner Kreuzzeitung immediately nationalized the entire incident by generalizing the group of protesters as the whole Croatian nation. Soon after, the Hungarian opposition began doing the same from the other pole of the political spectrum.

During the demonstrations under Jelačić's monument, where the students ceremoniously burned the Hungarian flag and praised the same military leader, who defended the dynasty against the anti-dynastic Magyars, the real thinking of the Croats against Hungarians erupted in primary force, despite the iron fist, by which the Croats are trying to be inculcated into an unbreakable affiliation to the Hungarian crown.³¹⁵

Similar speeches implying that the whole population was responsible for the protests could also be heard in the Hungarian parliament in Budapest. Opposition politician Ferenc Kossuth stated: "This part of Zagreb youth represented the public opinion in Croatia..." He continued by criticizing Franz Joseph's stance towards the protests and the "humiliation" of Hungary:

The king thanked the patriotic and dynastic enunciations, while for four full days Hungarian flags and symbols were being insulted, while the population greeted the

³¹⁴ "Iz Neue Freie Presse," *Obzor* 241 (October 19, 1895).

³¹⁵ "Osvrt Na Kraljeve Dane III," *Obzor* 242 (October 21, 1895).

King of Hungary on the streets by whoop: 'Long live the Croatian king!' Although, as far as I am aware, there has been no Croatian king since Saint Ladislaus.³¹⁶

The question as to whether the King was the King of Hungary or of Croatia was one of the main disputes between Hungarian and Croatian politicians and scholars. Before further analysis, it is important to clarify the terms used in the Croatian language for a better understanding of the debates. As mentioned earlier, there is a difference in the Croatian language between the Kingdom of the Lands of Saint Stephen (Ugarska) and the Magyar crown land (Mađarska). Consequently, the King of Ugarska was also the King of Croatia. In political debates, Croatian politicians often “forgot” to mention the King of Ugarska and referred to the King as exclusively Croatian. Similarly, Hungarian politicians “forgot” to mention the King of Ugarska, as shown in the aforementioned quote, and referred to the King exclusively as Magyar/the King of an ethnic Magyar state. Such misinterpretations aided Hungarian politicians and scholars in strengthening their ongoing project of Magyarization and political centralization, while the Croatian side wanted to emphasize its autonomous status and sovereignty based on historical rights. The Hungarian policy of integrating non-Magyars after 1867 did not settle nationality disputes as was hoped, but radicalized the leaders of the non-Magyar ethnic groups in Transleithania.³¹⁷

Hungarian deputy Gabriel Ugron implicitly interpreted the incident as some kind of medieval duel with the main focus on insulted honor and dignity. Consequently, he asked for a guarantee that such incidents would not happen in the future:

Since the Hungarian flag was insulted and since Hungarian honor and dignity were assassinated, here we can discuss only modalities which are necessary to grant us satisfaction and security that such events would not be repeated.³¹⁸

Ugron proposed that the Hungarian flag should be hung from Jelačić's statue while local government and army forces would greet it accompanied by the military orchestra.

³¹⁶ “Magjari O Hrvatima,” *Obzor* 244 (October 23, 1895).

³¹⁷ Varga, *The Monumental Nation. Magyar Nationalism and Symbolic Politics in Fin-de-Siècle Hungary*, 15.

³¹⁸ “Magjari o Hrvatima,” October 23, 1895.

Representative Albert Appony pushed the argument for settlement further. He asked that besides punishment, a feeling of worship for Hungarian flag be instilled amongst the people. Of course, Appony did not explain exactly how this was to be enacted:

Punishment cannot establish order in this case, nor make political and moral consequences go away. Besides the punishment, which is self-evident, the settlement must be such as to reach the fantasy and heart of the population by eclectic means, and to establish the respect for the insulted flag.³¹⁹

Although the city council of Zagreb apologized for the burning of the “brotherly” flag, Apponyi remained unsatisfied. The main reason for his dissatisfaction was that the city council of Zagreb considered the Hungarian flag only as “brotherly,” and not as their own:

The representatives of the Zagreb city council do not know, that the Hungarian [Magyar] flag is not the flag of a brotherly people, but also their own; that it is the flag of the Ugarska state, whose place cannot be represented by a Croatian provincial flag, but that it is only allowed by the law to use Croatian-Slavonian flag next to the Hungarian.³²⁰

Discussion about the nature of the union between Croatia and Hungary was further developed by representative Denes Pazmandy (1848-1936). Pazmandy was more moderate in his speeches than the aforementioned representatives, but he too considered Croatia to be an inseparable part of Hungary:

They [Croats] are thinking that they are living with Hungary [Ugarska] in friendship based on a convention, which can be canceled, in some kind of friendship which is equitable.... The passports in Croatia are being issued in the Croatian and French languages, not in the name of his Highness the King of Hungary, but in the name of his Highness – the Austrian Emperor and apostolic King of Hungary [Ugarska], Croatia, Slavonia and Dalmatia. Every Croatian abroad is considered a Croatian citizen because of this passport, and because of this passport the foreign public must think that a Croatian sovereign state exists. Croatia is a land with broad autonomy, but it is still a province.³²¹

³¹⁹ “Magjari o Hrvatima,” *Obzor* 245 (October 24, 1895).

³²⁰ “Magjari o Hrvatima.”

³²¹ “Sjednica Ugarskog Sabora Od 23 o.m.,” *Obzor* 245 (October 24, 1895).

All the afore-mentioned examples show how an incident provoked by a small group of people, which lasted only a few minutes, was nationalized by politicians and the press to apply to the whole population of Hungary and Croatia. Because of further provocations by politicians, an international conflict ensued between politicians in the two crown lands. The political debates and intrigues left an impact on Khuen Héderváry since he immediately took a sick leave due to stomach problems shortly following the incident. He first went to Austria and then afterwards to Italy.

On 8 April, 1896, *Obzor* reported that Kršnjavi had officially resigned. *Obzor* stated that the main reason for the resignation, according to *Pester Lloyd*, was a misuse of public construction credits. Although I did not encounter any detailed descriptions of the alleged misuse, I found one document in Kršnjavi's collection at the art department of the Croatian Academy of Arts and Sciences entitled "For the Construction of Schools." In this document, more detailed information on the funding of the school forum can be found.³²² According to the document, dated 1 May, 1894, the school forum cost 533,000 forints. The government had contributed 440,000 forints, and the loan was 93,000 forints. Out of the total 440,000 forints, 200,000 was paid in cash from the ministry, 80,000 was donated by the city of Zagreb, and 100,000 was earned by selling the military barracks building. An additional 20,000 was taken from the 1894 budget, and 40,000 was taken from the 1895 and 1896 budgets.³²³ Therefore it is unlikely there was any misuse. Although there is no explicit proof, it seems, as I argued above, that Kršnjavi had been forced to resign due to Khuen Héderváry's animosity.

Nevertheless, Kršnjavi remained loyal to the National Party for the moment, and expected that he would be awarded some higher position in the state bureaucracy or in politics. He was annoyed with his undefined political status in the National Party and wanted a more active role because he did not consider the reason for his dismissal to be something serious. Interestingly, Kršnjavi considered his political behavior to be consistent, claiming that he had only followed one

³²² „Za gradnju škola,“ Kršnjavi's collection, box 2.

³²³ Ibid.

political idea, although we have seen that he had managed previously in his career to balance himself between two political parties.

I am annoyed when... I am being told that I should be happy when I do not need to deal with politics, but I am not happy. I am a political animal; I cannot see why they consider me politically dead when my political thoughts prove the point, which I have never even slightly changed.³²⁴

After Khuen Héderváry ceased to be Ban in 1903, the National Party rapidly lost power and soon disappeared from the political arena. Khuen Héderváry was the only Ban after the *Nagodba* who had managed to keep his position for a longer period (1883-1903) by skillfully balancing between the various political currents both in Croatia and in the Monarchy. The year 1903 was also marked by a series of street riots in Zagreb that were initiated by the opposition, and in which much personal and state property of the ruling circles was vandalized. Kršnjavi feared that his own house might be attacked by the rioters, despite the fact that by this point he had been politically inactive for a few years. The riots were most likely organized by Josip Frank and his Party of Right, which Kršnjavi would join three years later in 1906.³²⁵ The whole situation reflected the two different approaches to national politics we have already encountered. Kršnjavi was thinking of possible monumental projects to aid the national cause after he might return to power once again, while simultaneously being locked in his house and fearing for his property due to the mob outside. Contrary to Kršnjavi's elitist approach, Frank and his followers mobilized various dissatisfied strata of society and used them for their political causes against the ruling circles.

After the National party collapsed and the project of bringing Hungary and Croatia closer lost its significance, Kršnjavi's political opportunism led him to join the Croatian party of Right, in which he considered he would have the best chances of regaining a position of power. Although Kršnjavi considered Hungarian egoism to be the main reason for the failure of the earlier project of ruling with Hungary, we have no evidence to imply that these policies created a deeper sense

³²⁴ Ibid., 369.

³²⁵ Kršnjavi, *Zapisci*, 276–78.

of relationship with Hungary among most Croatians, and the very expensive project remained based mostly on the desires of the elites. Even the elites that were the pillars of such a project quickly abandoned it and soon found new political allies and ideologies.

The politic of supporting sympathy towards Hungary [Mađarska] in Croatia so that the term 'Hungarian state' [Ugarska] would be related to the national, cultural and material progress of Croatia – building upon such foundations – that politic, that I supported, is impossible because the Hungarians are blinded by narrow-minded egoism – they are short-sighted.³²⁶

³²⁶ Ibid., 353.

5. Kršnjavi's university lectures

After resigning from departmental head position in 1896, Kršnjavi spent a year in retirement before he started teaching at the university again. His lectures ought to be seen as doing politics by other means, that is, as an attempt to form and influence students' political and ideological views. Kršnjavi's main teaching interest had been the themes of state patriotism, the emergence of nations and the roles that both high and everyday culture played in these processes. I argue that Kršnjavi used historical examples in his lectures both in order to find solutions for contemporary problems, while also trying to influence future outcomes in national matters by influencing his students. Most of the lectures used in this chapter were given in the late 1890s or in 1900 during the time Kršnjavi had been marginalized in the National Party and was politically inactive. Needless to say, Kršnjavi's lectures in this period are no different from his teaching and work in general, although he had more time to carefully prepare for the lectures and work with the students in the late 1890s.

In his lengthiest lecture titled *History of Culture in the Times of the Renaissance*, held during the winter term of 1897/8, Kršnjavi tried to theorize the preconditions for the development of nations and the role of culture in such a process. His lecture was interdisciplinary and it examined various topics such as art, history, theology, literature and philosophy. In the introduction to the lecture, Kršnjavi explained the main terms he used, such as culture and civilization, as well as his methodology. He defined culture as a product of civilization characterized also by the higher spiritual needs:

Culture follows only after civilization. Culture is a higher level of civilization. In general, these two terms intermix. Civilization is that form of human development when the society started to organize itself out of modest beginnings and the culture is where the higher spirit is developed.³²⁷

Considering Kršnjavi's work on the systematization and institutionalization of *national* knowledge, it is obvious that Kršnjavi had thought that his times constituted a turning point in the

³²⁷ HR-HDA, Povijest kulture u dobi renaissance- 804.5.2.1., 1.

history of the Croatian nation's elevation from the state of civilization to the state of culture. In this context, arts and crafts needed to be reminders of the "modest beginnings" and a sign of civilization, while other cultural endeavors such as the development of arts, literature and science needed to represent culture and higher spiritual needs.

Returning back to the lecture, Kršnjavi explained two main approaches to the research of culture and the two main authorities in such research – those of Henry Thomas Buckle and Thomas Carlyle. Contrary to Carlyle's focus on great men as factors of change, Kršnjavi considered Buckle's approach of focusing on the masses more fruitful.

Buckle's thought leads to the detailed research of the masses. That is a difficult problem because it is already difficult to meet and understand one man. Mass looks like a unique man sometimes. It has its own soul. Masses can be led by one noble man, but also vice versa. People can sometimes be seduced by great ideas. Similar to sea waves, masses are subjugated to certain laws that elevate them to great heights or lower them to depths. Study of such psychology of the masses is a very grateful and instructive theme.³²⁸

It is no wonder that Kršnjavi accepted Buckle's approach which aimed to explain causes under which nations decline or progress. Kršnjavi's interest in such an approach was meant to provide practical knowledge which would enable him to analyze the contemporary problems of Croatian society and to correct them based on historical knowledge and historical case studies. It was also important to transfer such valuable knowledge to students in order to ensure the progress and management of the nation in the future. Carlyle's approach probably did not attract Kršnjavi's attention since it could only have provided some common characteristics of great men, but could not be used as a useful tool on how to govern wider masses unless in the position of power.

Universal history, observed in large contours, shows us that significant people cannot raise themselves much above masses. It seems to people otherwise, but they are mistaken, especially when they study history, that those people are not far ahead from the masses in which they live. In Buckle's view, great universal laws are ruling the masses. Therefore, we will consider that he is right, instead of Carlyle.³²⁹

³²⁸ HR-HDA, Povijest kulture u dobi renaissance- 804.5.2.1., 2.

³²⁹ HR-HDA, Povijest kulture u dobi renaissance- 804.5.2.1., 3.

Although Carlyle's *On Heroes, Hero-Worship, and the Heroic in History* had been originally published in 1841, excerpts of the work started being translated in Croatian and Serbian journals at the turn of the century. In 1903, the work was published in Belgrade. As Edin Hajdarpasic informs us, the work was used to justify the pursuit of political goals through violence among the youth.³³⁰ Such violent youth was perceived by the national activists to be leaders of the usually disinterested and passive society or in Carlyle's terms *heroes*. As a convinced liberal following the rule of law and state order, Kršnjavi surely opposed political action through violence and disobedience of state rules. His discussion and rejection of Carlyle probably aimed to divert his students from this kind of aggressive behavior of the youth. Kršnjavi's praise of Buckle was not only scholarly, but had the practical purpose of instilling a sense of rule of law and state order among his students. In his *History of Civilization in England* Buckle argued that the world is organized according to universal laws, currently unknown to the observers, with historians as the main explorers of these laws. Thus, the historians' task was to govern the world based on their practical knowledge and their expertise about causality. Kršnjavi justified Buckle's approach as rational and schematic, believing with him that historians could predict and govern the future.³³¹

In regard to nature, apparently the most irregular and capricious events have been explained, and have been shown to be in accordance with certain fixed and universal laws. This has been done because men of ability, and, above all, men of patient, untiring thought, have studied natural events with the view of discovering their regularity: and if human events were subjected to a similar treatment, we have every right to expect similar results.³³²

The fact that historians had not yet fully discovered the universal laws that rule the world, Buckle continued, was because of their complexity, but also because of the flawed methodology of the previous generations of historians. In order to grasp such a complicated historical reality and find rules for the seemingly chaotic order, historians should learn from the scholars of natural sciences.

³³⁰ Hajdarpasic, *Whose Bosnia? Nationalism and Political Imagination in the Balkans, 1840-1914*, 152.

³³¹ On impossibility of historians to predict future see Charles Tilly, "Cities and States in Europe, 1000-1800," *Theory and Society* 18, no. 5 (1989).

³³² Henry Thomas Buckle, *History of Civilization in England*, vol. 1 (London: Spottiswoode and Co., 1864), 6.

This expectation of discovering regularity in the midst of confusion is so familiar to scientific men, that amongst the most eminent of them it becomes an article of faith: and if the same expectation is not generally found among historians, it must be ascribed partly to their being of inferior ability to the investigators of nature, and partly to the greater complexity of those social phenomena with which their studies are concerned.³³³

Further in the lecture, Kršnjavi explained why systems that encouraged individualism and the power of great men had been obstacles to the establishment of stable societies. The main reasons against such political systems was their revolutionary character, Kršnjavi continued, and their constant need to conquer new territories. In Kršnjavi's view, ideal conditions for the progress of people in all fields of life are those which develop over a long period of time without any significant interruptions. That is why Kršnjavi objected to the misinterpretation of Carlyle's work with calls for violence as a way of political fight because he considered that political and social change can be made only gradually through open discussion and political consensus. This way of thinking was typical for mid-nineteenth century liberals who presupposed that political consensus would be reached only when they managed to convince their opponents to accept liberal ideas which they believed were the only possible solutions.

Kršnjavi used parables in his lectures. Although parables had probably been used as a tool for easier presentation of certain topics to the students, the use of parables may also be a sign that Kršnjavi assigned himself the messianic role of revealing the truth to his students. Most likely Kršnjavi adopted such an idea of intellectual superiority and a belief of possessing the *truth* which is the only possible solution for the existing problems during his studies and socialization among the liberal Viennese circles.

The life of a people can be explained by a parable. One such important parable is that of comparing the life of the people with a sea surface. When the people are in an equilibrium of social and political forces, then the sea is quiet. Just as gale and dark clouds change the face of the sea, so the people get confused in revolution, be it those in literature, in social relations or politics. Such were conditions in Italy at the beginning of the fifteenth century, where the strongest individuals, the rudest fighters entered fights with each other. Each strong individual in such sea is like a wave and in those

³³³ Buckle, 1:6.

times strong individuals in Italy fought and tried to submerge other individuals to themselves.³³⁴

Adopting Burckhardt's argument about the birth of modern culture in Renaissance Italy that then spread throughout Europe, Kršnjavi used the example of Italy as a case study to present to his students the preconditions for the establishment of the Italian nation and its culture.³³⁵ Kršnjavi paid special attention to the role of language, religion and political unity in the nation-building process. He concluded that all of the aforementioned elements were not necessary preconditions for the creation of the nation. Kršnjavi dismissed the language factor in the nation-building process, since the use of Italian was not wide-spread and Latin was the more dominant literary language.

I will classify this epoch as a cultural section, and for that reason we cannot take any other example but Italy since it is the seat and the cradle where culture developed and spread to the other people.... People, the term people in general, is a very interesting problem. If we are to talk about Italian folk we first must know what the term represents. Is folk a community being connected with the same language? If so, then Italians would not be the people, since the Italian language was rare at the time and it was being written mostly in Latin. But if only that would be a measurement of the people, then we would need to say, they were not one folk.³³⁶

Despite the lack of political unity, Kršnjavi continued, the wars among the small Italian states during the renaissance period had created conditions for the development of culture, because the rulers had autonomy to decide on local customs. Nevertheless, Kršnjavi opposed such political systems since he believed them to cause moral and social anarchy. The main problem of the small Italian states, in Kršnjavi's view, was the instability caused by constant wars between the dukes which finally led to the creation of the larger political units. This argument implicitly justified Croatian incorporation into the Habsburg Monarchy since the small states were perceived to be incapable of independence.

³³⁴ HR-HDA, Povijest kulture u dobi renaissance- 804.5.2.1., 50.

³³⁵ Jacob Burckhardt, *Die Kultur Der Renaissance in Italien* (Stuttgart: Reclam, 2014), 102,161.

³³⁶ HR-HDA, Povijest kulture u dobi renaissance- 804.5.2.1., 50-51.

Such individuals who held power in their hands had been numerous in Italy, and then a process occurred among these individuals, that occurs usually in nature when the stronger one eats the weaker one.... So, the bigger states were created... but there is no united big state at the time in Italy. We are interested in the relations we have found in Italy of the time, so we will take a look at it more carefully since we can resolve all cultural occurrences from such conditions.³³⁷

Once more, Kršnjavi explained contentious issues using parables, comparing the political system of small states to the sparse woods. Both the advantages and disadvantages of such a system was that it enabled individuals to develop freely either in good or bad ways. The main problem of such states, however, was their military inability to defend themselves from their more powerful enemies. Incorporation into larger states was thus seen as a limiting factor, retarding cultural development, while providing political stability. This interpretation had implicit connotations for the Croatian case. Although Croatia had developed an autonomous national culture in the Middle Ages, it had also profited from its inclusion in the Habsburg Monarchy, since the Monarchy provided it with political security and prohibited the highhandedness of the local leaders. To support this claim, Kršnjavi used the example of Germany before and after the unification of 1871, claiming that German unification had stopped cultural development, while strengthening national identity and providing a more stable political framework.

...every small state lives for itself and each ruler's personality decides on customs. It is similar as sparse woods where every tree can grow freely both in length and width. There is no doubt that this is a state of weakness, a state of political misery. Such a small state becomes the target of its big neighbors, but it is beyond any reasonable doubt that creation of the small centers is better for the development of culture and science, in fact even more valuable than the big states. One great statesman said in the year 1870 that he was afraid the German culture would decline to the level of a Prussian sergeant. Indeed, Goethes and Schillers are currently not being born.³³⁸

Kršnjavi continued to use the German example in order to prove his point that participation in the national army and a shared past were the most crucial elements in the nation-

³³⁷ HR-HDA, Povijest kulture u dobi renaissance- 804.5.2.1., 51-52.

³³⁸ HR-HDA, Povijest kulture u dobi renaissance- 804.5.2.1., 53.

building process. He used the German case too in order to make an implicit comparison with the Croatian one. Both nations lived (or still live) in more than one state, but felt themselves to be the same nation with a shared great past. The only difference was that Germans had strengthened their national identity by participating in a national army and from their national unification. The implicit message of the lecture for students was that Croatia needed a national army through which it could then acquire its national autonomy by unifying all the provinces with the Croatian speaking population. All this would strengthen a Croatian national identity. According to Kršnjavi, a national army was necessary for the protection of the state and for the homogenization of the Croatian national identity. Participation in a national army would develop state identity in an individual and motivate him to defend his country more vigorously than would a mercenary soldier. Additionally, by creating a common state identity, a Croatian army would help in overcoming various regional and religious identities.

I explained how common fights, suffering and past form a people.... One folk can live in more states, but still feel like one nation, i.e. Germans had great historical past and even more after the years 1870-1871, and their common and successful fights. [In Machiavelli's thinking] we can see... that Italian people could be helped only then when all its inhabitants would identify themselves as one people. His first and main principle was not to hire mercenary armies, but to organize a uniform people's army. The example of folk monarchy is one of the strongest means that was capable to form a nationality by raising the army directly from the population... [before Renaissance] there were still no traces of what is today a German people's army, which is indeed a great link and a solid basis for German nationality...³³⁹

To support his claim by historical example, Kršnjavi explained the rise and downfall of Roman power as a result of the national composition of the Roman army. In his view, the Roman army had been successful as long as it was based on the domestic population of shared nationality, culture and religion. The main reason for the loss of Roman power, in Kršnjavi's

³³⁹ HR-HDA, Povijest kulture u dobi renaissance- 804.5.2.1., 83.

opinion, was the Empire's gradual acceptance of *the others* in the army. This sparked its downfall due to the lack of common ideals caused by different ethnic origins and cultures of the soldiers.

Rome flourished as long as the flower of the Roman population went to war. That was until the start of the Empire. Then barbarians came and there was no more reliance on the masses of the people, but instead on barbarian mercenaries that betrayed Rome at the time of its greatest troubles in such a way that the Roman state fell into the hands of truly uncivilized barbarians. Whereas if Rome had organized itself militarily as contemporary France or Germany, it would still rule the world and the Roman state would have survived.³⁴⁰

In order to prove the importance of an army for the creation of a national identity, Kršnjavi used contemporary Italy as a counter-example of a nation that lacked a homogeneous national identity, despite existing as a nation-state. Memory of a glorious past was clearly not sufficient to maintain a national life. A national life required active maintenance and the participation among the most developed nations through culture and science. A similar view was expressed by the law professor and Minister of Education and Religion (1893-1895) Stanisław Madeyski-Poray (1841-1910):

Given the continuous development of civilization, a nation can maintain its achieved position among the nations if it contributes together with them and contributes in its own spirit to the general development of civilization.³⁴¹

Nevertheless, Kršnjavi considered culture and science inferior to war and common suffering of the people in the context of nation-building. This thinking may reflect Kršnjavi's disappointment with the current stage of Croatian nation-building since Croatia had developed science and culture, but nevertheless experienced problems. Kršnjavi, thus, might have considered that the lack of war and military experience had caused an insufficient integration and

³⁴⁰ HR-HDA, Povijest kulture u dobi renaissance- 804.5.2.1., 145.

³⁴¹ Surman, "Science and Its Publics. Internationality and National Languages in Central Europe," 47.

unification of the Croatian nation. Secession through war, Kršnjavi continued, was the only certain way to create a homogenous national identity.

The Italian people is an interesting illustration nowadays, since they do not feel sufficiently unique and strong, despite being united, because their co-existence lacks a common success.... One people can have the chance for an esteemed existence, only when participating in the circle of other nations by its virtues, its courage, its clarity and its progressive spirit. People are not being created on the basis of phrases and declarations, but with persistent work and bloody baptism. This is the reason why the Hungarian and Bulgarian experiments of separation succeeded; because blood is a strange juice. There is only one more way: culture and spiritual progress.³⁴²

As we have seen, in his lectures on the *History of Culture in the Times of the Renaissance* Kršnjavi tried to elaborate the elements necessary for the development of the nation. However, Kršnjavi did not consider national belonging the same as state belonging or patriotism. National belonging and ethnicity were, in Kršnjavi's view, a founding part of a wider concept of political patriotism, consisting of various ethnic and religious elements. His patriotic worldview therefore was not based on ethnic lines, but on political bases. In one of his untitled lectures at the Zagreb University in 1900, Kršnjavi openly admired the patriotism of Ancient Rome in contrast to the patriotism of Ancient Greece. Kršnjavi considered the ancient Greeks to be selfish, greedy and intolerant of themselves and others. "Greeks were vengeful, hated each other, ruined all the common elements, and were in principle selfish and greedy – these are the main motivations of a Greek man. Even the greatest Greek poets could not distance themselves from this worldview."³⁴³

Kršnjavi elaborated further upon Greek patriotism in another untitled university lecture in 1900, claiming that Greek patriotism was based on materialism and on the experience of living in a closed community. "Whole Greek patriotism is reduced to a common material interest of one town. Each Greek must have felt that his existence was closely related with his hometown, when

³⁴² HR-HDA, Povijest kulture u dobi renaissance- 804.5.2.1., 84.

³⁴³ "Zapis predavanja Ise Kršnjavija" – stenogram Koković, Kršnjavi's collection, ALUHAZU, box 3.

he could easily gain material income and protection there.”³⁴⁴ Kršnjavi also accused the Greeks of treating foreigners badly.

I could prove to you from the numerous perspectives that the Greeks were being totally unfair towards foreigners, and that foreigners could not find in the Greek cities protection for themselves and their property. Therefore, exile was only the loss of material wealth, not ideals. Consequently, can we say that common language, common faith, common literature and poetry are basis for the creation of one people? No.³⁴⁵

Although Kršnjavi did not openly state what is necessary for the creation of the political nation (different from ethnic nationality), he implied in the second part of the lecture that its preconditions included a strong, but tolerant central power, which would allow all the groups living on its territory cultural autonomy, and with which all the groups could easily identify and share common values. Educated in the imperial center and accustomed to life in the multicultural environment, it is no wonder that Kršnjavi admired Rome and possibly considered the Habsburg Monarchy to be its successor, whose role was also to govern different groups of people by allowing them cultural autonomy and providing state-legal protection.

Roman patriotism is truly glorious, highly developed, but it is not only national patriotism, it is also political. The Romans accepted all peoples in their state, and were not unjust to any people, but leave the peoples their individualities and let them assimilate to the Roman state by each people’s particular needs.³⁴⁶

The link between the Roman Empire and the Habsburgs was an ongoing one historically, cultivated by the family for centuries, and also linked to the fact that for centuries the family headed the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation which was always understood as claiming to be the successor of the Roman Empire in its universalist claims.³⁴⁷ The Roman Empire could easily be linked to the Habsburg Monarchy since both had various groups living within the same

³⁴⁴ “Predavanje 10.2.1900,” Kršnjavi’s collection, ALUHAZU, box 3.

³⁴⁵ Ibid.

³⁴⁶ Zapis predavanja Ise Kršnjavija“ – stenogram Koković, Kršnjavi's collection, ALUHAZU, box 3, 7.

³⁴⁷ Judson, *The Habsburg Empire - A New History*, 47,97; Charles Ingrao, *The Habsburg Monarchy, 1618-1815* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 16,18.

state formation. After the failed efforts at structural centralization and integration during the rule of Joseph II, numerous public workers (politicians, scholars, bureaucrats) started to research and deal with various cultural, linguistic and religious groups living inside the Monarchy.³⁴⁸ In the nineteenth century, governing a society as heterogeneous as the Habsburg Monarchy became more challenging due to the rising calls and actions for political autonomy or even independence. One of the means to overcome such differences was the politics of “unity in diversity” from the previously mentioned Viennese liberal circles, which also found many followers throughout the Monarchy, including Kršnjavi. This worldview was also used in Franz Jozef’s official Latin motto “viribus unitis (with united forces).” Thus, the Habsburg Monarchy was seen as the necessary frame, binding many peoples together and allowing everyone to prosper. This view was most clearly formulated in the *Kronprinzenwerk* project which will be discussed in the next chapter. Imperial scholars, including Kršnjavi, were particularly interested in the empires of antiquity since they considered such research to be a useful guideline for the Habsburg Monarchy. As Georg Vasold convincingly demonstrated, the main research questions at the time were how cultural influences were manifested outside the imperial center, the conditions under which empires might collapse, and the symptoms of their political downfall.³⁴⁹ Similarly, as we have seen, Kršnjavi saw Rome as an ideal role model for the present challenges of his time and tried to demonstrate to his students the reasons for Roman success (including patriotism and a homogenous army) as well as those reasons for its downfall (reliance on barbarian armies).

This political patriotism was only known by Romans. They somehow established that kind of political patriotism and feeling of common cooperation for the progress of the state, the sense of state order, the state culture, and general progress. This political patriotism is best defined without the national characteristics.³⁵⁰

As Pieter Judson noticed, Constantin Tomazcuk/Tomasciuc from Bukovina shared a similar worldview. He considered education to be a cohesive element for the Monarchy, and a

³⁴⁸ Judson, *The Habsburg Empire - A New History*, 29–32.

³⁴⁹ Georg Vasold, “Riegl, Strzygowski, and the Development of Art,” *Journal of Art Historiography* 5 (2011): 108.

³⁵⁰ Zapis predavanja Ise Kršnjavija – stenogram Koković, Kršnjavi's collection, ALUHAZU, box 3, 8.

precondition for the creation of an Austrian political nationality, that is, the aforementioned “political patriotism without national characteristics.”

Austria’s unity rests on the common education of all those who through education have managed to raise themselves above the level of the masses. Over time, this common education, this community of ideas has produced an Austrian political nationality.³⁵¹

Those who believed in an Austrian patriotism without national characteristics saw education as the instrument to create it. Although this idea was typical for the mid-nineteenth century liberalism and weakened after the 1880s, Kršnjavi continued his educational efforts in a similar manner believing education would lead to more “reason” in all fields of life. Ironically, mass education appears to have led to political radicalization and not to more “reason” in politics. As can be seen from the following quotation, however, Kršnjavi continued to believe that education was crucial for the incorporation of the various *foreign* elements into the nation and empire since individuals could willfully choose their identity based on personal preferences.

If we look one step further, we will come to the result that nationality is an experience of each individual regardless of tribe, religion, state and borders. Rieger is most probably German, but he lives in Bohemia and considers himself a Czech, while Smekal is most probably Czech, living in the same city, but feels himself a German. Difference is nevertheless only their conviction.³⁵²

In his *History of Culture in the Times of Renaissance*, Kršnjavi also explained how greater powers should govern smaller ones so that the both could profit. A main role of the dominant power should be to ensure material progress and cultural autonomy of the weaker one so it does not feel oppressed. Such governing should ensure loyalty to the state, that is, previously

³⁵¹ Judson, *The Habsburg Empire - A New History*, 322.

³⁵² HR-HDA, *Povijest kulture u dobi renaissance- 804.5.2.1.*, 82-83. František Ladislav Rieger (1818-1903) was a Czech nationalist politician and son-in-law of Palacky. Franz Schmeykal (1826-1849) was leader of the German liberal nationalists in the Bohemian diet.

mentioned political patriotism along with autonomous national and cultural development, as well as military protection.

I am convinced that foreign rule in a country is bearable, if it appreciates spiritual progress of the people. Every rational people must strive so that its government is being followed by great wealth and progress of the people over which it rules because it is the only way in which one folk can bare foreign protection: if the protector is good, if he works in favor of those whose tutor he is.³⁵³

As we could see, Kršnjavi considered Rome to be just such a good protector, enabling the progress and cultural development of its subjects. However, he also could provide negative contemporary and historic examples. The main characteristic that both historic and contemporary cases of bad governing had in common was the exploitation of their subjects, without taking into consideration their subjects' needs and requests. Although Kršnjavi implicitly suggested exploitation by the ruling power was acceptable, it should nevertheless have been done, in a fair manner by accepting the local people's autonomy and development so that they would continue to obey the ruling power and consider it to be their own. Also, the dominant power should have a long-term plan for the acquired territories, since forceful exploitation was proven to be failure and short lasting based on historical examples.

English people act that way, but when they did not act that way in North America, then they lost it, just as Spain will lose Cuba because they do not know how to ensure the material and spiritual progress of their subjects.... Frenchmen and Spaniards that ruled Italy during Machiavelli's time considered Italy as a land to be robbed due to their greed. They came as a battalion of robbers and they could not have come as enlighteners because Italy was more civilized than they.³⁵⁴

Such usage of the past was particularly important for Kršnjavi's work with students at the University of Zagreb, since he tried to transfer his pro-monarchic and nationalist worldview to the future intellectuals and public workers of Croatia. In his lectures, he often referred to his students

³⁵³ HR-HDA, Povijest kulture u dobi renaissance- 804.5.2.1., 87.

³⁵⁴ HR-HDA, Povijest kulture u dobi renaissance- 804.5.2.1., 87.

as “future harbingers of Croatian culture and Croatian spiritual life.” Similarly, in his first lecture in 1878, given to the students of theology in Zagreb on the history of religious art, Kršnjavi told the students:

You, my gentlemen, have chosen the holy profession of being leaders and teachers of the people, and for that reason, your duty is to show the people how to be good servants of the supreme master. You must be to our people, what standard-bearer is to army. You must be first, you must be salt of the society, not only in a biblical sense, but also in a classicist sense. If anybody needs to long for the widest possible knowledge, it should be you.³⁵⁵

Another important aspect of Kršnjavi’s educational efforts at the University was to instill in his pupils a pro-monarchic stance, as shown by the examples of Ancient Rome and Greece. Kršnjavi’s positive stances towards the king and the Monarchy were also likely formed as a result of his having been educated in liberal circles in Vienna and influenced by Eitelberger. Kršnjavi tried to educate his own students in a similar manner, despite the ways the political context of the early 1900s shifted in a more radical populist and nationally exclusivist direction. The main idea behind the worldview of the liberal Viennese circles of the 1850s and 1860s, including Kršnjavi’s, was that it was possible to shape public opinion through the education of the wider masses.³⁵⁶ Although these teachings were adopted by some of the intellectuals of the next generation, they failed to reach the wider masses. As Diana Reynolds Cordileone notes, Eitelberger considered that the establishment of the craft schools throughout the Monarchy would amortize rural nationalism.³⁵⁷ Instead, the wider masses were nationalized by various public workers with whom they had direct everyday contact.³⁵⁸ Even if the liberal politics Kršnjavi had been following had a lot in common with his imagined projection of the Roman Empire, he

³⁵⁵ “Poviest Crkvene Umjetnosti - Kršnjavi (Uvodno Predavanje Dr. I. Kršnjavi-a Čitano 30.Travnja 1878. Bogoslovcem IV Tečaja),” *Katolički List* 18 (February 5, 1878).

³⁵⁶ Cohen, *Education and Middle-Class Society in Imperial Austria*, 10.

³⁵⁷ Reynolds Cordileone, “The Austrian Synthesis: Folk Arts and Viennese Craft 1878-1900,” 12.

³⁵⁸ In both halves of the Dual Monarchy public school teachers were often among the most nationalist people in a community. Pieter M. Judson, *Guardians of the Nation: Activists on the Language Frontiers of Imperial Austria* (Cambridge, Mass., London: Harvard University Press, 2006), 13, 23–24.

failed to notice that the political context of his time had changed from the one of his education in Vienna.

Being politically *dead* after his forced retirement, and facing the sudden loss of all the social importance Kršnjavi had enjoyed as departmental head, he now used the university lectures implicitly to complain about politics and to heal his trauma. One example of this is his evocation of national activists whom he characterizes by their rationality and historical knowledge, and whose role should be to formulate and enact public policies. It is easy to notice that Kršnjavi was probably referring to himself as one of the enlighteners and engineers of the masses. As with other great men, Kršnjavi considered that he had possessed the required qualities for the general progress-practical knowledge of the past, which would enable him to engage in the long-term planning for the nation's future.

We should never disregard great influence that highly standing people transfer to the masses. The ways that cultural currents will flow through the decades or centuries depends on the understanding of the main figures who stand ahead of their society. If the champions of society are in harmony with rationality, with logics of history, then their success is undoubtable. If they are in disagreement, then they can lead the people for a long time through the evil ways, but the reaction will turn against them.³⁵⁹

Kršnjavi could not help speaking implicitly during the lectures about his own position of departmental head and the problems he had experienced with Croatian artists. Most of the artists had fought with Kršnjavi during the time he served as departmental head because of his strict and numerous requirements for state-commissioned artworks. A majority of the artists grouped around Vlaho Bukovac and his modernist style opposed Kršnjavi and his classic academic style of painting. Bukovac and the others created the Croatian secession in 1898, precisely during the time Kršnjavi taught his *History of Culture in the Times of Renaissance*. The secession produced a rise of sharp public polemics regarding the nature of art. Kršnjavi used his university lectures to justify his position and try to convince students that his views were the only valid ones. He compared Renaissance patronage to contemporary times, albeit without using any names, even though it must have been clear to the students he was speaking about himself. Kršnjavi stated that

³⁵⁹ HR-HDA, Povijest kulture u dobi renaissance- 804.5.2.1., 173.

Renaissance patronage had been successful because the patrons had commissioned artworks based on the people's needs, which was the same way that Kršnjavi tried to present his art commissions. "Those who want to be great patrons, they need to follow their own people, otherwise they will meet the greatest resistance."³⁶⁰

Kršnjavi considered his commissions to be based on the people's needs, but he blamed the younger generations in whose favor he considered he was working, for the refusal of this need. Kršnjavi presented his work as for the collective society, while he saw the work of younger artists as too individualist. The only thing that puzzled Kršnjavi was the final outcome of the opposing conceptions on art. He considered his policy to have benefited the nation in the long-term, although he was also afraid the newer generations could ruin his work.

...that lies somehow in the whole essence of things, that forceful support of arts for those generations on which it is being enacted must be in contradiction. I contemplated this matter seriously coming to the conclusion that this strict patronage policy represents a subjectivity too strong and with the best of intentions and that the accentuation of the patron's subjectivity invokes the reaction of the protégées. They are resisting and they are happy when they get rid of him, that they do not need to work on his dictate. After such patronage, sharp reaction easily occurs and destroys everything good that the patronage had formed.³⁶¹

Nevertheless, it should be mentioned that Kršnjavi could also be quite liberal in his university lessons and expressed his receptivity to the different opinions of his students, probably relying on his power of persuasion to influence their thinking. He encouraged their critical thinking and professional "objective" writing.

In historical research there are no established dogmas, so there can be no heresy. Do not believe in historical events until they are proven. Think critically about each expression. Criticism is the soul of history. Listen critically what I tell you, compare, think, and oppose.... The main thing is – think with your heads, shake off your prejudices and suppositions, and stay away from suggestions of others.³⁶²

³⁶⁰ HR-HDA, Povijest kulture u dobi renaissance- 804.5.2.1., 176.

³⁶¹ HR-HDA, Povijest kulture u dobi renaissance- 804.5.2.1., 178.

³⁶² "Kritična metoda u povijesti," Kršnjavi's collection, ALUHAZU, box 3.

In his memoirs, Ćiro Truhelka, director of the National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina, remembered how both Kršnjavi's lectures and his encouragement of talented students had impressed him.

Out of all of the professors, Kršnjavi impressed me considerably, although I did not know back then what kind of role he would play in my life, and that he would create a path for my future work and progress. He was a great, humoristic lecturer, without a hint of pedantry, and he knew how to get students to engage in his work.... He was always a benevolent friend and he encouraged everyone who showed talent and an interest for his profession.³⁶³

As I have demonstrated, the main goal of Kršnjavi's lectures was to create, or at least to influence, his students' worldview, that is, to make his students into good citizens of Croatia in particular and of the Habsburg Monarchy in general. For this reason, he was mostly interested in the ways that nations and empires were created, and the reasons for their flourishing or downfall. His main conclusions were that successful nations had been based on the historic spiritual community with shared culture and science, with the participation in the national army as the most important homogenizing element. Such nations were the constituent elements of larger empires that ensured their territorial sovereignty and further development. Another important aspect for the creation of nation was urban cohabitation of the various classes of society.

Based on historical and contemporary examples, Kršnjavi tried to present as successful those empires which had ruled justly and taken care of their subjects by stimulating their further progress, instead of their exploitation. Such a policy was meant to create a common feeling for the empire of the various ethnic and religious groups or, as he phrased it more precisely, *political patriotism* consisting of various local identities. This way of Kršnjavi's thinking can easily be traced to his liberal education in Vienna. As his professors had done, he tried to enlighten his own

³⁶³ Ćiro Truhelka, *Uspomene Jednog Pionira* (Zagreb: Izdanje Hrvatskog izdavačkog bibliografskog zavoda, 1942), 20.

students so that they could become the pillars of society governing various national and social processes. On the one hand, the reasoning behind such an educational policy was that education was crucial for the prevention of rural nationalism, while, on the other hand, education was seen as one of the means for the creation of loyal citizens with the ideological apparatus which would prevent the influence of populism and daily political conflict. Although the character of political participation had changed and broadened since the time of Kršnjavi's education in Vienna in the late 1860s, he nevertheless continued to work inside the same paradigm as his teachers had, believing that it was possible to educate enough people with a similar worldview as his own. The only major difference between Kršnjavi and his professors in educational approach was in the implicit political messages he created. The majority of his professors had been cosmopolitans who had wanted to educate their students in political patriotism and loyalty to the Monarchy. To this Kršnjavi added another sub-level of education in matters related to the nation. Nevertheless, Kršnjavi and his professors failed to notice that education is always in arrears and that the political circumstances changed faster than the educational system. Their educational efforts were, thus, one step behind since they were not preventive, but reacted to the changing political circumstances and rising nationalism.

Kršnjavi's attitude towards the Monarchy and its heterogeneous population reflected closely imperial politics of unity in diversity in which he was educated. It is no wonder that Kršnjavi had been chosen to edit the last volume of the *Kronprinzenwerk* – an imperial encyclopedia cherishing the mosaic of people inhabiting the Monarchy and fostering their further development.

6. Kršnjavi as editor of *Kronprinzenwerk*

After the 1848 Revolution, imperial circles commenced various projects with the main purpose of legitimizing the new more centralized Austrian Empire. In order to suppress emerging nationalisms which were then perceived as subjective, imperial circles encouraged an objective scholarly approach which was believed to be a counterweight to the myths of the newly emerging nations within the Monarchy as well as one of the means for the development of a shared imperial consciousness among the wider strata of society.³⁶⁴ One such project after the revolution was the *Ethnography of the Austrian Monarchy* by Karl von Czörnig (1804-1899), published between 1855 and 1857 in three volumes. The main argument of the work was that all crownlands were inhabited by heterogeneous populations differing from each with regards to religion, ethnicity and culture and that none of the nations could claim exclusive rights to specific crownlands.³⁶⁵ Such a view corresponded to the official mid-nineteenth century imperial politics of *unity in diversity*. Joseph Alexander Freiherr von Helfert (1820-1910) expressed similar thoughts in 1853 when he was working in the Ministry of Education as a Permanent Under Secretary. His idea of national history was the imperial history of the entire population of Austria under the Habsburg rule which lived intermixed and formed a uniform whole that could not have been divided or separated:

[national history] as an overall history of a population which belongs territorially and politically together, is tied together by the same authority, under the protection of the same law. For us, Austrian national history is the history of the entire Austrian state and all of its people, all the tribes which are different by origin, education and customs moving on the wide territory of the empire appearing as its organically intertwined parts.³⁶⁶

³⁶⁴ Johannes Feichtinger, "'Staatsnation', 'Kulturnation', 'Nationalstaat': The Role of National Politics in the Advancement of Science and Scholarship in Austria from 1848-1938," in *The Nationalization of Scientific Knowledge in the Habsburg Empire (1848-1918)*, ed. Mitchell G. Ash and Jan Surman (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 67.

³⁶⁵ Judson, *The Habsburg Empire - A New History*, 243–44; Marianne Klemun, "National 'Consensus' As Culture and Practice: The Geological Survey in Vienna and the Habsburg Empire (1849–1867)," in *The Nationalization of Scientific Knowledge in the Habsburg Empire (1848-1918)*, ed. Mitchell G. Ash and Jan Surman (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 88.

³⁶⁶ Klemun, "National 'Consensus' As Culture and Practice: The Geological Survey in Vienna and the Habsburg Empire (1849–1867)," 88.

Another similar project initiated by the imperial circles was *The Austro-Hungarian Empire in Word and Picture* (*Die österreichisch-ungarische Monarchie in Wort und Bild* - also known as the *Kronprinzenwerk*). Unlike Czörnig's ethnography which dealt with religious and linguistic groups, the *Kronprinzenwerk's* main focus were the particular crownlands. The *Kronprinzenwerk* was initiated by Crown Prince Rudolf in 1884 and was published between 1885 and 1902. It was published in 24 volumes with contributions from more than 400 authors and with 4,500 illustrations. There were two editions of the *Kronprinzenwerk* – Austrian and Hungarian. While the Austrian edition enjoyed commercial success, the Hungarian edition did not find a market, probably because the cultural policy it represented was not supported and advertised by the political circles in Hungary.³⁶⁷ Each crown land in the work had a discussion of its architecture, botany, geology, local customs, traditions, folk costumes etc. The idea behind the whole work was to represent ethnic, cultural and linguistic diversity of the Monarchy. The Monarchy was presented as a state that transformed individual cultures into a new common culture from which all cultures profited. The implicit argument of the series was that the Monarchy had always been culturally and linguistically heterogeneous so none of the ethnic groups can claim exclusive right to the territories.³⁶⁸

Regina Bendix rightly argued that the *Kronprinzenwerk* symbolically “wanted to undermine the idea of territorial exclusivity for individual ethnicities,” but that its authors failed to notice “the close connection between nationalism and essentialized cultural representation” that their work created.³⁶⁹ *The Kronprinzenwerk* was part of the imperial cosmopolitan state's response to increasing nationalisms throughout the Monarchy with the main belief that the accentuation of diversity would lead to more peaceful coexistence of various strata of society.³⁷⁰ As Michael Espagne demonstrates, differences among various social groups, including nations, lead to the comparison of differences, and not necessarily to the peaceful coexistence, as the

³⁶⁷ Regina Bendix, “Ethnology, Cultural Reification, and the Dynamics of Difference in the Kronprinzenwerk,” in *Creating the Other - Ethnic Conflict and Nationalism in Habsburg Central Europe*, ed. Nancy M. Wingfield (New York ; Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2003), 150.

³⁶⁸ Rampley, *The Vienna School of Art History*, 83.

³⁶⁹ Bendix, “Ethnology, Cultural Reification, and the Dynamics of Difference in the Kronprinzenwerk,” 154, 159.

³⁷⁰ Pamela Ballinger, “Multiculturalism against the State: Lessons from Istria,” in *Understanding Multiculturalism: The Habsburg Central European Experience*, ed. Johannes Feichtinger and Gary B. Cohen (New York ; Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2014), 106.

Kronprinzenwerk attempted to create.³⁷¹ Such policies also developed historical awareness among wider strata of the people by providing to them answers such as where they came from, who were their great ancestors and answers to group's particular specificities. The main idea of the *Kronprinzenwerk* had been similar to the Czörnig's ideas and to the cultural policy of neoabsolutism, and it suited the politics of the mid- rather than the end of the nineteenth century. While both works tried to negate claims of particular groups for greater political autonomy or independence, Czörnig's work had developed historical consciousness of difference and the *Kronprinzenwerk* implicitly added the concept of territorialization of particular groups to the discussion by its very negation.

The last volume of *Kronprinzenwerk* was devoted to Croatia and Kršnjavi served as its editor. Previous volumes had already featured areas such as Istria and Dalmatia that were claimed by Croatian nationalists.³⁷² It is interesting to note that it was pointed out in the last volume, that it was also the seventh volume on the lands of the Saint Stephen's crown. Unlike previous imperial projects which were usually conducted by imperial scholars and bureaucrats, the *Kronprinzenwerk* invited scholars from each crownland because of local expertise and to present themselves in the work, although the final word was in the hand of the Austrian and Hungarian editorial boards.³⁷³

The Croatian volume was divided into four parts – history, people, culture and descriptions of particular towns and regions. The history section was divided into three parts – history of antiquity, history of national rulers and the Arpad dynasty, and history of the Anjou dynasty until the beginning of the modern period. As an addition to the historical overview, there was a special article on church relations with the Serb population. The section “people” consisted of three

³⁷¹ Michel Espagne, “Comparison and Transfer: A Question of Method,” in *Transnational Challenges to National History Writing*, ed. Matthias Middell and Lluís Roura (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 39.

³⁷² For an outdated article full of factual errors see Vitomir Belaj, “Die Darstellung Der Kroaten in Österreichisch-Ungarischen Übersichtswerken,” in *Ethnographie in Serie. Zu Produktion Und Rezeption Der “österreichisch-Ungarischen Monarchie in Wort Und Bild*, ed. Jurij Fikfak and Reinhard Johler (Vienna: Verlag des Instituts für Europäische Ethnologie, 2008); For a complete misunderstanding of the *Kronprinzenwerk* and its criticism from the point of view of contemporary historiography see Ivan Pederin, “Dalmacija u Djelu Die Österreichisch-Ungarische Monarchie in Wort Und Bild,” *Radovi Zavoda Povijesnih Znanosti Hazu u Zadru* 46 (2004).

³⁷³ Vilmos Heiszler, “Ungarischer (Magyarischer) Nationalismus Im ‘Kronprinzenwerk,’” in *Nation Und Nationalismus in Wissenschaftlichen Standardwerken Österreich-Ungarns, ca. 1867-1918*, ed. Endre Kiss, Csaba Kiss, and Justin Stagl (Vienna, 1997), 72.

articles discussing folk religion, family relations and housing, folk crafts, and folk music. The section dealing with culture discusses Croatian and Serb literature, and Croatian art and education. The last section gives brief descriptions of the land and economic relations; forestry and hunting; regions of Primorje (Littoral region of the northern Adriatic), Lika, Turopolje, Zagorje, Podravina, Slavonia, Posavina and Syrmia; cities of Zagreb, Senj, Žumberak/Sichelburg, Požega, Osijek; and natural wonders such as the Plitvice lakes, Kalnik hill, and the granite hills of Moslavina.

In general, Kršnjavi's introduction was a brief, poetic geographical description of the land. The country was described and illustrated in terms of small picturesque towns which lacked modernization. Kršnjavi praised the role of the Habsburgs in modernizing these places by introducing infrastructural elements such as railways and sewer systems. Such argumentation was typical for all of the Kronprinzenwerk volumes – all regions and crownlands were inhabited by diverse peoples that peacefully coexisted with the Habsburgs who served as their protectors and who worked to modernize the less developed subjects and regions. However, Kršnjavi's introduction drew bitter criticism from many Croatian nationalists, since he stated at the outset that Croatia and Dalmatia were two separate geographical units. In his view, Croatia and Slavonia were part of the Danube region, while Dalmatia was a part of the Mediterranean.

Croatia, Slavonia and by state right appurtenant Dalmatia form in a geographical sense two completely different units. Contemporary Croatia and Slavonia belong to the Danube region... while the coast with Dalmatia and the islands belongs to the Adriatic.... The main rivers of the land, as natural traffic links, do not separate Croatia and Slavonia from Hungary, but connect them together with thousand-year-old joys and sorrows. Mountains that stretch from West to East, connect the land with the Central European alpine world so that namely contemporary Croatia is closely geographically linked to Styria and Carniola up to Carinthia.³⁷⁴

³⁷⁴ Izidor Kršnjavi, "Einleitung," in *Die Österreichisch-Ungarische Monarchie in Wort Und Bild - Croatien Und Slavonien*, ed. Izidor Kršnjavi, vol. 24 (Wien: Druck und Verlag der kaiserlich-königlichen Hof- und Staatsdruckerei, 1902).

Dinko Politeo (1854-1903)³⁷⁵ criticized Vlaho Bukovac's allegorical picture at the beginning of the volume depicting Hungary and Croatia as two women. He was dissatisfied because Croatia was depicted as the weaker woman being hugged by a stronger one, namely Hungary. Interestingly, he did not attack Bukovac for painting such a picture, but only Kršnjavi for publishing it. Bukovac had probably accepted the commission out of financial need, since he was the one who had made the aforementioned ultimatum that Croatian artists must exhibit in a separate pavilion from Hungarian ones (the pavilion whose surrounding area was covered by the soil imported from Croatia) for the Millennial exhibition in Budapest in 1896.

Fascicule [the volume of Kronprinzenwerk] starts with an allegorical painting by Vlaho Bukovac that depicts Hungary and Croatia. There are two women above whom the crown of Saint Stephen is levitating. Hungary is a proud woman being held full of dignity, whereas Croatia is a soft and cuddly woman, swimming in joy because Hungary hugged her, took her under her aegis and protection, and shook her hand. It is probable that this picture agrees with a particular system, but it does not agree with history, national thought, and Croatian honor.³⁷⁶

Since the woman representing Croatia was depicted with the herald of the Triune kingdom, Politeo attacked Kršnjavi for omitting Dalmatia from the volume.

The woman representing Croatia is recognized by the herald of the Triune kingdom. If that is so, why does the volume not deal with the whole Triune kingdom, but only with Croatia and Slavonia? This is a contradiction which cannot be patched up, unless we proclaim a principle that science and books must sacrifice truth to every political system.³⁷⁷

³⁷⁵ Dinko Politeo was a journalist from Dalmatia. He was editor of Independent National Party journal *Obzor* from 1889 to 1894 and Croatian Party of Right's journal *Hrvatska*. In 1896, Politeo lost sight, but continued to publish by dictating his articles.

³⁷⁶ Dinko Politeo, "Na Obranu Hrvatske Proti Isi Kršnjavomu," *Obzor* 194 (1900).

³⁷⁷ Politeo.



Picture 1: Vlaho Bukovac – Allegorie: Hungaria und Croatia.

Source: Izidor Kršnjavi, "Der Zeit Der Nationalen Herrscher Und Die Herrschaft Der Arpaden," in *Die Österreichisch-Ungarische Monarchie in Wort Und Bild - Croatien Und Slavonien*, vol. 24 (Wien: Druck und Verlag der kaiserlich-königlichen Hof- und Staatsdruckerei, 1902), 27.

It is interesting to note that Istria was not a subject of discussion regarding the possible unification of Croatian territories among Croatian national activists. Kršnjavi did not refer to Istria in the volume and no one attacked him because of it. Politeo also criticized Kršnjavi's division of Croatia and Dalmatia based on these different geographical characteristics. In Politeo's view, geographical characteristics did not influence the unity of the land, but only its human influences. He argued that Kršnjavi and other political opponents were implicitly responsible for Croatia's territorial division.

But geography did not prevent us from being a unified and free state. Does geography prevent it nowadays? No, it is being prevented by the sad destiny of the times, it is being prevented by people such as Doctor Kršnjavi. If all of us Croats had our stances, we would all be free and unified despite Velebit [mountain that separates the coast from inlands], as we already were.³⁷⁸

Politeo would not divide concepts of geographical and political unity, and therefore tried to point out the logical inconsistencies of Kršnjavi's argument that Croatia shared a geographical unity with Hungary and Slovenia. In Politeo's view, the geographical unity of Croatia and Slovenia should lead to the creation of a joint political body. Since Kršnjavi did not draw such a conclusion, Politeo accused him of working in the interests of Hungarians.

But Doctor Kršnjavi does not derive what he should - all the consequences out of his theory. He stops there, where the system requires it. He admits that Croatia is geographically connected with Styria and Carinthia, but does not proceed further. That fact should lead him to form a folk and political community of Croats and Slovenes. But Doctor Kršnjavi knows that those in Budapest do not want it, so he does not even mention Slovenians. Our newest and most modern historian knows to stop where he needs to.³⁷⁹

Another similar point of controversy was Kršnjavi's short note in the *Kronprinzenwerk* about Croatian relations to Dalmatia in which he stated that Croatia and Dalmatia are part of the same Kingdom, although under the current political division they were being separately

³⁷⁸ Politeo.

³⁷⁹ Politeo.

represented. He explicitly stated that this note should be included in both the Austrian and Hungarian editions and this tells us that he probably worried that the Hungarian editorial board would try to misinterpret the Hungarian translation of the volume in favor of a more Hungarian version.

We observe that the relations of Dalmatia to Croatia and Slavonia described in this volume are presented as separated kingdoms according to actual state law, although according to paragraph 65 of article 30 from the year 1868 they constitute an integral part of the Kingdom of Croatia, Slavonia and Dalmatia and virtually one [crown] land of the Hungarian crown. These relations must therefore be discussed both in the Austrian and Hungarian parts of the volume.³⁸⁰

The main dispute between Politeo and Kršnjavi was Dalmatia's place in the Croatian state. While Kršnjavi argued that Dalmatia was currently under Austrian administration, although Croatian by state right, Politeo claimed that Dalmatian representation in the Austrian Reichsrat was contrary to state right which he considered interrupted.

Doctor Kršnjavi justifies in one footnote a monstrosity and states that Dalmatia is considered by contemporary state right as a Kingdom represented in the Reichsrat. Is it possible to change state right from day to day? Croatian state right in Dalmatia exists and has lived since the Croatian state was established. The fact that Dalmatia is being represented in the Reichsrat is contrary to the state right... Dalmatia is, anyway, an integral part of Croatia since the Croatian state's existence, and that is way before the Hungarian one. The Croatian state is established in Dalmatia and Croatian kings were crowned by the crown as the kings of a powerful, Christian and cultural state, even back in the times when Magyars were just arriving to Europe.³⁸¹

The majority of nationalist activists in the nineteenth century were concerned with proving and pointing out Croatia's historical legal rights. It was a reflection of the social mindscape that a nation that could prove that its historical rights were older was more legitimate and this justified its current political claims. Also, if historical rights were successfully proven by nineteenth

³⁸⁰ Izidor Kršnjavi, "Der Zeit Der Nationalen Herrscher Und Die Herrschaft Der Arpaden," in *Die Österreichisch-Ungarische Monarchie in Wort Und Bild - Croatien Und Slavonien*, vol. 24 (Wien: Druck und Verlag der kaiserlich-königlichen Hof- und Staatsdruckerei, 1902), 27.

³⁸¹ Politeo, "Na Obranu Hrvatske Proti Isi Kršnjavomu."

century standards, the nation would be considered as an “historical people” which justified its rights to an autonomous political existence. The bitterest academic debates from the late nineteenth century among Croatian and Hungarian historians had centered on precisely this question of historical rights. In one letter from 1872, Bishop Strossmayer, patron of various national associations and a prominent exponent of the Yugoslav idea, had directly advised historian Franjo Rački. “In a similar discussion, please point out our historical rights as much as you can, Hungarians are terrified of it. It is a sign that they are weak in this field, so we should point it out as much as we can.”³⁸²

Returning to the geographical division of the Triune Kingdom, Kršnjavi used geographical specificities such as the Sava and Drava rivers, hills and karst in order to create a separate character for Croatia and Slavonia that was distinct from Dalmatia. In his view, geographical conditions were also reflected in people’s characters depending on the geographical conditions of where they lived. He divided the people of Croatia into five groups based on region – Zagorje (Northern Croatia), Posavina (people around the Sava river mostly in South-Central Croatia), Podravina (North-eastern Croatia), Lika (the former Military Border), and the Serbs, although they inhabited all the regions.

People from Zagorje were portrayed as blond, of medium height with bright eyes and strongly developed feelings for the respect of the law and justice. They were well organized and would easily rebel if someone did not respect their rights. In order to support this claim, Kršnjavi cited various peasant rebellions from the region and interpreted them as fights against breaches of law. Contrary to the Croatians from Zagorje, Croatians from Podravina and the Posavina region were portrayed as a dark-haired, easy-going and emotional. Croats from Lika were presented as tall, strong, resilient, traditional and unwilling to adapt to novelties. They were also presented as working in the forests outside their hometowns where they would earn money to support families back at home.³⁸³

³⁸² Mladen Ančić, “Kako Danas Čitati Studije Franje Račkoga?,” in *Nutarnje Stanje Hrvatske Prije XII. Stoljeća*, by Franjo Rački (Zagreb: Golden Marketing - Tehnička knjiga, 2009), XIV.

³⁸³ Kršnjavi, “Einleitung,” 11–12.

These regional stereotypes were more picturesque and provisional, rather than racial. Nevertheless, racial stereotypes did exist among Croatian national activists.³⁸⁴ One of the most notorious of these was the one developed by the Serbian geographer Jovan Cvijić during the First World War in which he claimed the Dinaric race was comprised of barbaric Highlanders and more civilized Lowlanders.³⁸⁵ One of the reasons for such difference was political. While Cvijić's Balkanist discourse distinguished between people of the Balkans and the Western world, Kršnjavi's sought to present Croats from various regions as possessing the same culture as their western counterparts, mostly with regard to "civilization" as it related to respect for laws and an organized state. Thus, Kršnjavi saw differences with Serbs as cultural whereas some other nationalists saw it as racial. Kršnjavi portrayed the Serbs in Croatia similarly to the Croats, as sharing common folk traditions and language, but separated by their usage of Cyrillic script and the Orthodox religion. In Kršnjavi's view, the difference between Catholicism and Orthodoxy was not only theological, but also cultural:

It is not the dogmatic nuances that should be considered as the point of division, but more probably it is the centuries' long membership in two different cultural circles, to western Catholic and to Greek eastern orthodox, that separate the Croats and the Serbs, despite using the same language.³⁸⁶

By making such a division, Kršnjavi implied that the Croats belong to the nations of the West, possessing their own culture and history, while the Serbs were grouped with the barbarian nations of the East, lacking culture and history. Nevertheless, one of the advantages of the traditional Serbian lifestyle was its preservation of folk poetry, songs and crafts, contrary to "more cultural" Croats that had been exposed to foreign cultural forms because of their participation in the intellectual life of the West.

Although the Croats differed among themselves regionally, Kršnjavi also claimed that they shared common characteristics – honesty, reliability, religiosity, compassion and morality. In

³⁸⁴ Nevenko Bartulin, *The Racial Idea in the Independent State of Croatia - Origins and Theory* (Leiden: Brill, 2014).

³⁸⁵ Danijel Džino, "Subverting Braudel in Dalmatia: Religion, Landscape and Cultural Mediation in the Hinterland of the Eastern Adriatic," in *Across the Corrupting Sea - Post-Braudelian Approaches to the Ancient Eastern Mediterranean*, ed. Cavan Concannon and Lindsey A. Mazurek (Dorchester: Routledge, 2016).

³⁸⁶ Kršnjavi, "Einleitung," 13.

Kršnjavi's view, such unique and traditional Croatian virtues, along with membership in the Hungarian kingdom, were the main reasons why the Croatian population had kept its political and national individuality, despite unfavorable geographical conditions. It is interesting that Kršnjavi was not attacked for this paragraph in the Croatian press, since it could have served as one more proof of why the Hungarians had chosen Kršnjavi to be their editor.

The two and a half pages of Kršnjavi's introduction, which can be found in the Picture Archives and Graphics Department of the Austrian National Library, were probably censored and did not ultimately appear in the printed version of the book. The main issue with the omitted pages had to do with Kršnjavi's claim that the Serbs and the Croats had lived in Galicia before migrating to their countries in the Middle Ages.³⁸⁷ Such claim was taken from 10th century work *De Administrando Imperio* written by Byzantine emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus.³⁸⁸ This argument was probably left out since it could have caused public discussions about Serbs or Croats potentially commanding historical rights in Galicia, while also undermining the general claim of the *Kronprinzenwerk* that all peoples of the Empire always lived intermixed with each other. Another problematic issue in the omitted pages, probably because of Hungarian complaints, was Kršnjavi's claim that the name Slavonia only appeared after the formation of the Kingdom of Hungary and thus could not have been the integral part of Hungary as claimed by Hungarian nationalists. Surprisingly similar nationalist claims are still being used today by some Hungarian scholars such as Vilmos Voigt to Požega County "under occupation by the Habsburg Monarchy" precisely in the Dualist period.³⁸⁹ Although Voigt's meaning is difficult to derive, he probably sought to prove how Slavonia had been 'wrested' from Hungary in the sixteenth century, or by the Habsburgs after the failed 1848 revolution, but he failed to note that Hungary had ruled Slavonia since the compromise and until the collapse of the Monarchy.

³⁸⁷ ÖNBG, Kwr 24, man 10-Manuskript fragment-Übersetzung vermutlich ausgecheidene Seiteneines Beitrags von Izidor Krsnjavi, 19. Pictures Archives and Graphics Department, Austrian National Library.

³⁸⁸ Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De Administrando Imperio*, ed. Gyula Moravcsik and Romilly J.H. Jenkins (Washington: Dumbarton Oaks, 1967), 148.

³⁸⁹ Vilmos Voigt, "Suspension Bridge of Confidence: Folklore Studies in Jewish-Hungarian Scholarship," in *Modern Jewish Scholarship in Hungary - The "Science of Judaism" between East and West*, ed. Tamás Turán and Carsten Wilke (Berlin: De Gruyter Oldenbourg, 2016), 111.

The next article of the volume *Prehistory and the Roman times* was written by Kršnjavi's former student and colleague in the Arts and Crafts museum Ćiro Truhelka. His main aim was to argue that the Croatian territories had been part of a larger European culture since ancient times without temporal disruptions, even though they had not always been inhabited by the Croats. He constructed such continuity through similarities between Croatian Neolithic archeological findings, their western counterparts that were replaced by Illyrian and Celtic cultures, and, finally, by connecting these territories to the Roman Empire.³⁹⁰

Although he did not explicitly state it, Truhelka's incorporation of the Roman Empire to his argument was probably meant to prove the affiliation of the Croatian territories to, what was considered at the time, the last common culture of Europe. Even though the Croats did not inhabit the land at that time, being a part of cultural Europe could be proven on various levels by continuity of ornaments or architectural forms that the Croats could have adopted from the domestic population and used further after their migration to the region. The fact that they were intellectually capable of learning such complex knowledge, should also have secured their place among the cultural nations. Such a view opposed the one that argued that the Croats had arrived in the completely empty and desolated region of Dalmatia (there is a metaphor of Dalmatia as an empty house) expressed by Franjo Rački, which had been adopted by the majority of historians. While Truhelka wanted to show continuity and membership in the cultural sphere of the Roman Empire, Rački wanted to show how the Croats had migrated to an empty territory, so that no other nation could claim those territories.

The next article in the volume, *The Time of National Rulers and the Rule of the Arpads* by Kršnjavi, was highly criticized. Although the question of the unification with Hungary and the role of Thomas Archdeacon's writings will be discussed in the next chapter, I would like to point out some details related to the time of national rulers. The original Croatian term *narodni vladar* (national ruler) is hardly translatable to English because it has twofold meaning – the ruler of the folk/people, and the ruler coming from the folk/people. Such terminology implied that the Croats

³⁹⁰ Ćiro Truhelka, "Urgeschichte Und Römische Zeit," in *Die Österreichisch-Ungarische Monarchie in Wort Und Bild - Croatien Und Slavonien*, vol. 24 (Wien: Druck und Verlag der kaiserlich-königlichen Hof- und Staatsdruckerei, 1902), 15–27.

had lived in a golden age of tribal state organization under the ruler of a national dynasty that ruled together with its people. According to this idea, power had been the common possession of the whole population, and this implied a democratic character of the nation. Nevertheless, it was also sometimes argued that particular political groups had weakened state power by placing their personal interests before national ones, implying that only a moral order of society can lead to material wealth. The title of “national ruler” was soon replaced by a more racial term – “ruler of national/folk blood.” Kršnjavi also used the term “ruler of national blood,” although he never developed any racial descriptions and connotations related to it.

Returning to the article, Kršnjavi gave a very brief description of Croatian history during the reign of the national rulers and the Arpad dynasty. Interestingly, he gave only slightly more space to the Croatian duke, Zdeslav, who ruled for only two years (878-879) with the help of Byzantium, and fell as a victim of a conspiracy. In Kršnjavi’s view, Zdeslav had been an important ruler because he had managed to unify almost all of Croatia, even if it remained theoretically divided. Under Zdeslav’s rule, Dalmatian coastal towns had stopped paying a tribute to Byzantium, however they had continued to pay a lower tax as a sign of Byzantium’s sovereignty.³⁹¹ Most likely, Kršnjavi’s intention was to point out the importance of ruling a territory even if it was still nominally under another power, as well as to underline Croatian historical rights to the Dalmatian coastal towns which were subjects of dispute between Croatian and Italian national activists.

Ironically, as we have previously seen, Kršnjavi was attacked for writing separate histories of Croatia and Dalmatia in the *Kronprinzenwerk*, although the majority of his historical article deals exclusively with the Croatian medieval history of Dalmatia. It would have been impossible for Kršnjavi or anyone else, to write about early Croatian medieval history without discussing Dalmatia since there was almost no documentation for the other regions of Croatia. If anything, Kršnjavi should have been “accused” of only writing the history of Dalmatia and for omitting the rest of Croatia. Generally, Kršnjavi presented Dalmatia as an integral part of the Croatian Kingdom. It remains unclear whether the Austrian and Hungarian editorial boards were aware of

³⁹¹ Kršnjavi, “Der Zeit Der Nationalen Herrscher Und Die Herrschaft Der Arpaden,” 34.

Kršnjavi's editorial strategy or not, or whether they just lacked interest in it, since his was the last volume of the series. Nevertheless, in the aforementioned three pages from Kršnjavi's introduction a short part stating that Croatia had accepted Hungarian king Coloman as their own king as opposed to having been militarily conquered by Hungarians was omitted probably at the Hungarian editorial board's suggestion.³⁹²

The last part of the historical section was written by Ivan Bojničić and provided an overview of Croatian history from the late middle ages until contemporary times. The article lacked interpretation and consisted only of brief chronological data. Bojničić did not even interpret the conspiracy of Nikola Šubić Zrinski and Fran Krsto Frankopan (1664-1671) against the emperor as a struggle for independence, which was one of the favorite arguments of anti-Austrian Croatian national activists. Nevertheless, Bojničić did adhere to the political demands of the moment on the last two pages of the article. First, he stated: "Modern Croatia stands on the side of historical rights and is, however, under the rule of all those factors through which it secured natural development of national individuality."³⁹³ Since Bojničić held anti-Hungarian stances, he probably used the phrase "all those factors" as a compromise with the editorial board and Kršnjavi. According to this view, he presented Croatia as an autonomous unit which had managed to develop and preserve its national character/identity because it was part of larger state formations with Austria and Hungary. Bojničić also tackled the problematic nature of Croatia's union with Hungary in the following way. In his view the Triune Kingdom had formed a political community with Hungary, but that it constituted a separate territory and population:

The realms of Croatia, Slavonia and Dalmatia constitute together with Hungary and its adjoining lands one and the same political community (Gemeinsamkeit), however Croatia-Slavonia possesses a distinct territory, and its inhabitants are one political nation.³⁹⁴

³⁹² Kwr 24, man 10-Manuskript fragment-Übersetzung vermutlich ausgecheidene Seiteneines Beitrags von Izidor Krsnjavi, 20.

³⁹³ Ivan Bojničić, "Von Den Anjou Bis Zur Neuzeit," in *Die Österreichisch-Ungarische Monarchie in Wort Und Bild - Croatien Und Slavonien*, vol. 24 (Wien: Druck und Verlag der kaiserlich-königlichen Hof- und Staatsdruckerei, 1902), 82.

³⁹⁴ Bojničić, 83.

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

Finally, Bojničić concludes that Hungary wants the reunification of Croatia with Dalmatia, and that Croatian culture developed recently due to dualism as well as because of the Croatian-Hungarian Nagodba. The first of these claims managed to be approved by the Hungarian editorial board, although Hungary was probably the last one to fight for the incorporation of Dalmatia into Croatia, especially under Croatia's conditions. Even if such unification was debated, it's more likely that Dalmatia would have to have been incorporated into Hungary as a separate crownland with its own administration. The second argument, that of the recent development of Croatian culture, was probably suggested, or maybe even imposed by Kršnjavi, since contemporary Croatia needed to be presented as a successful result of Ban Khuen Héderváry's modernization program. As discussed previously, Kršnjavi had been the key figure in Héderváry's failed pacification and modernization project related to cultural matters. Since Héderváry was still in power at the time of publishing of the *Kronprinzenwerk*, such argumentation was probably intended to show Kršnjavi's loyalty to the Ban and the National party; it was obvious to both the domestic and international public that Héderváry's project was much different than what Ban originally wanted to present.

Kršnjavi similarly argued further in *Kronprinzenwerk*, in the article *Croatian Art*, that recent artistic developments were a result of strengthening Croatian political individuality.³⁹⁵ He implicitly suggested that this development was a result of the Croatian-Hungarian compromise

³⁹⁵ Izidor Kršnjavi, "Die Croatische Kunst," in *Die Österreichisch-Ungarische Monarchie in Wort Und Bild - Croatien Und Slavonien*, vol. 24 (Wien: Druck und Verlag der kaiserlich-königlichen Hof- und Staatsdruckerei, 1902), 152.

and the rule of Ban Khuen Héderváry. One could argue that paradoxically, Khuen Hedereváry's project to pacify Croatia had been more successful in the realm of politics, (since he had managed to weaken the opposition), than in the cultural realm. Although the development of Croatian art needed to present Croatia as a more or less autonomous land of the Crown of Saint Stephen, Croatian and Yugoslav identity had also developed and been further strengthened through art during this period. As we have seen earlier, the leader of Croatian artists, Vlaho Bukovac, had been adamant in his request for separate pavilion for Croatian artists at the Millennial exhibition in Budapest in 1896. Similarly, a group of Croatian artists had refused to exhibit in the Hungarian pavilion during the Rome exhibition in 1911 after the Hungarian government refused to allow a separate entrance to the Croatian part of the pavilion. In the end they had actually exhibited their works in the Kingdom of Serbia's pavilion. Contrary to Khuen Héderváry's expectations, the development of Croatian art did not tie Croatia more closely to Hungary or to the Monarchy, but further developed cultural and political differences.

Although Kršnjavi tried to present the development of Croatian art as a sign of Croatia's political individuality, it seems he did it only for political reasons. In one of his public lectures in 1896, Kršnjavi also analyzed the preconditions for the development of art and came to a diametrically opposite conclusion. Here he argued that art develops from patriotic or religious feelings, without the influence of political systems.

...one question imposes itself: what is the source of great art? Is it in the political situation of a country? Is it in social relations? Arts and crafts flourished in the most absolutist states of antiquity, as well as in the freest lands of all ages – like in Egypt, Rome, and the East. Social relations had no influence... Slavery in Egypt had the same impact as freedom and wealth in America... One of the greatest and most important sources is religion... The second source is patriotism. Whichever statesmen wants to elevate the people on a higher level of culture, he must advocate for art and crafts. The one that ennobles needs will also enlarge them, but greater needs are also a sign of higher civilization.³⁹⁶

Neither of the afore-mentioned arguments by Kršnjavi's can be considered to have been his strict conviction since he used both for specific audiences. The first argument was used to present Croatian culture as a result of political individuality to the international audience, while

³⁹⁶ "Upliv Umjetnosti Na Obrt (Predavanje g. Dr. Ize Kršnjavoga)," *Narodne Novine* 223 (1896): 3.

the second argument was used for the domestic public. Kršnjavi's lecture needed to show to a domestic audience that art continues to develop, regardless of political circumstances, and that Croatia developed its art because of national and religious sentiments, despite unfavorable historical circumstances. Nevertheless, as we can see from the conclusion in the previous quotation, art needs to be constantly maintained and improved in order to continue confirming the nation's participation in Western civilization. Both examples show us how Kršnjavi had no problems in adjusting his discourse to specific situations and how he consciously added hidden political messages to such discourse, even if expressing opposing opinions on the same matter.

Returning to the article, Kršnjavi continued by giving a brief overview of Croatian art history from the middle ages until his time. Again, his main concern was to show Croatian art to be a part of Western culture. His discussion of Croatian medieval history of art cited only religious art from Dalmatia, which served Kršnjavi well to prove Croatian participation in Western Christianity and Western culture. Similarly, the article dealing with various cultural and scholarly institutions needed to prove that Croatia had reached that phase of civilization where it could autonomously manage its past and present like other western nations. Kršnjavi also implicitly praised himself in the article while presenting contemporary Croatian artists who studied in the Crafts school and later continued their studies abroad with the help of the local government. Similarly, he provided an illustration in the volume of his former departmental headquarters, which he had restored.

The articles in the *Kronprinzenwerk* were written in the impersonal form and without the names of authors, who were instead only mentioned in the table of contents. The main purpose of such a style and form was to provide an illusion of coherent and objective knowledge which could not be disputed. The *Kronprinzenwerk* volume on Croatia was meant to serve as a kind of encyclopedia which could provide universal and objective knowledge to a foreign audience, although it remains unclear who the expected audience was. Since the *Kronprinzenwerk* was only published in German and Hungarian, the work could only be read and understood by people who had achieved higher than average education. Besides linguistic issues, were semantic ones. The work transmitted complex messages through various literary and artistic forms. Potential readers needed to have certain prior knowledge and a scholarly apparatus in order to fully understand

the *Kronprinzenwerk* and its implied messages. For this reason, it seems that even if an average individual with knowledge of German or Hungarian could read the work, they would most likely not have understood its implications, and would have read it mostly out of curiosity, or simply because the volume dealt with their crownland.

Most probably the *Kronprinzenwerk* was intended for a narrow group of elites such as state bureaucrats, politicians and academics in order to be a repository of useful knowledge, and something more fulfilling than simply cherishing the multicultural empire. Such knowledge could later be used to govern people or engage in political and academic debates. Also, given that the *Kronprinzenwerk* was sold by subscription, middle-class audiences were expected to buy it as a kind of encyclopedia to have on their bookshelves, whether they read it or not. The work clearly projected imperial power and was part of the empire-building project. This imperial power aspect was partly reflected in the fact that the representatives of the crownlands could not, and did not, oppose being represented in the work. They could only try to negotiate the character of their region's portrayal, or particular authors could secretly express their own views in the work and hope the editorial boards would not reject it.

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

The *Kronprinzenwerk* clearly reflected the idea that the concepts of empire and nation were thought to be inseparable still, at the beginning of the twentieth century, and by most of the intellectuals who had participated in the project. The work, besides legitimizing the empire through fostering of various regions and cultures, also fostered the growing identities of the regions and cultures it dealt with. Although the main aim of the project was to suppress nationalism, numerous nationalists participated in the project so paradoxically nationalism was even furthered instead of losing importance. Similar to other liberal projects, *the Kronprinzenwerk* was led by the idea of intellectual superiority and the ability to convince its readers of the ultimate truth through the power of persuasion.³⁹⁷

The *Kronprinzenwerk* and its ideas were already outdated by the time the project reached completion with the volume on Croatia and Slavonia in 1902, and would have been better suited to the mid nineteenth century. Although the Monarchy in general and the *Kronprinzenwerk* in particular wanted to discourage the popularity of rising nationalisms by interpreting local identities in a different manner, both unintentionally fostered nationalism further. The main problem of imperial policies was that they reacted to the already existing problems causing the problems not to be solved, but deepening them further. The *Kronprinzenwerk* project as well as other empire's policies gave legitimation to nationalist ideas of cultural differences by trying to catalog diversity.

Nevertheless, the *Kronprinzenwerk* fit Kršnjavi's imperial worldview and his idea of dealing with politics by other cultural means perfectly. Although Kršnjavi might not have supported *Kronprinzenwerk* in every way, he probably accepted the editorial role for opportunistic reasons

³⁹⁷ Bendix, "Ethnology, Cultural Reification, and the Dynamics of Difference in the *Kronprinzenwerk*"; Zoltán Szász, "Das 'Kronprinzenwerk' Und Die Hinter Ihm Stehende Konzeption," in *Nation Und Nationalismus in Wissenschaftlichen Standartwerken Österreich- Ungarns, ca. 1867–1918*, ed. Endre Kiss, Csaba Kiss, and Justin Stagl (Vienna: Böhlau, 1997); Heiszler, "Ungarischer (Magyarischer) Nationalismus Im 'Kronprinzenwerk'"; Justin Stagl, "Das 'Kronprinzenwerk' — Eine Darstellung Des Vielvölkerreiches," in *Das Entfernte Dorf. Moderner Kunst Und Ethnischer Artefakt*, ed. Ákos Moravánsky (Vienna: Böhlau, 2002); Hans Petschar, "Über Die Konstruktion von Identitäten - Vergangenheit Und Zukunft Im *Kronprinzenwerk*," in *Migration Und Innovation Um 1900: Perspektiven Auf Das Wien Der Jahrhundertwende*, ed. Elisabeth Röhrlich (Wien, Köln, Weimar: Böhlau Verlag, 2016).

in order control Croatia's presentation to the domestic and foreign public. Although the volume on Croatia was probably of no political importance to the highest decision-making elites of the Monarchy, Kršnjavi nevertheless succeeded in his political intentions to present Croatia and Slavonia (and implicitly Dalmatia) as an autonomous and separate crownland (state) with its own independent institutions, culture and territory. The fact that Kršnjavi felt the need to *trick* the empire and its bureaucracy in order to fulfill his national purposes also illustrates cracks that started appearing in the dualist structure of the empire that will culminate few years later. Kršnjavi's loyalty towards the empire gradually started losing importance, while his national loyalty started predominating in his way of thinking and work. His participation in the project illustrates his belief in the liberal importance of culture, debate and scholarship for determining political solutions.

Kršnjavi as professional historian

One of the unresolved and frequently debated political topics in such turn-of-the-century debates was one of Croatian medieval statehood. As we will see further in the chapter, Kršnjavi was forced to join the debate because of his writings. Nevertheless, Kršnjavi gladly argued with his opponents because he believed in a liberal manner that the strength of his argument will convince his opponents to accept his views, and consequently provide political solution for the problem. Without going too far into medieval political relations, my aim is to briefly point out how nineteenth century activists politicized the concept of Croatia's medieval statehood. Croatian statehood was used in political debates to present the early medieval Duchy of Croatia as a modern and independent democratic state practicing its sovereignty. Such views differ radically from the claims of modern historiography. Recently Mladen Ančić's study showed that in fact the early medieval Duchy of Croatia had very little space for independent decision-making in both the political and religious spheres since it was controlled by the Franks and was a part of a larger imperial state formation known as the Imperium Christianum. Also, most decisions in medieval Croatia had been made by the ruler and a narrow circle of military and administrative elites.³⁹⁸ Such political relations had been far from the democratic vision that national activists expressed.

For an easier understanding of the whole debate about the article, I will give a brief overview of the history of the last decades of the eleventh century in the Kingdom of Croatia. After death of Petar Krešimir IV in 1074, Dmitar Zvonimir usurped the throne and sent the only living member of the former dynasty, Stephen II, to a monastery. Zvonimir was married to queen Jelena who was a member of the ruling Arpad dynasty in Hungary. After Zvonimir's death in 1089, Stephen II ruled until 1091 and died without an heir. One of the local magnates Petar Svačić probably proclaimed himself king and ruled for a short period of time in southern Croatia. He was killed in 1097 when he attacked the royal escort of Norman queen Buzila. Kršnjavi questioned the existence of Petar Svačić since he had only been mentioned in only one Hungarian chronicle from

³⁹⁸ For further discussion see Mladen Ančić, "Franački i Langobardski Utjecaji Pri Stvaranju i Oblikovanju Hrvatske Kneževine," *Starohrvatska Prosvjeta* 43, no. 3 (2016).

the thirteenth century, a chronicle that Kršnjavi interpreted as having been compiled and misinterpreted from various older chronicles.³⁹⁹ In a review of Kršnjavi's article, Ćiro Truhelka supported Kršnjavi's hypothesis and pointed out that neither Archdeacon Toma nor any other Croatian source had mentioned Petar Svačić again.⁴⁰⁰ Although the Hungarian king Coloman had been proclaimed the Croatian king in 1102, a question remained whether he had in fact conquered Croatia or made an agreement with the Croatian nobility.

The majority of information about the late eleventh century can be gleaned from Archdeacon Toma's work *Historia Salonitana*, from the thirteenth century. *Historia Salonitana* was written in order to show the continuity of the Split diocese with that of ancient Salona.⁴⁰¹ As Mladen Ančić points out, Toma, as learned member of the Latin clergy, always sided with the law and obeyed the rules. Thus, Toma attributed special importance to the kings who represent heads of societies and base their power and authority upon their royal blood. Toma therefore gives special importance to the Croatian case due to the loss of the royal blood which was perceived as a decapitation of society based on medieval understandings.⁴⁰² In the fourteenth century appendix of Archdeacon Toma's *Historia Salonitana*, an anonymous author had added a story popularly known as the *Pacta Conventa*. The story tells us how the main twelve tribes of the Croatian nobility had signed a state contract with Hungarian king Coloman to form a union between the two kingdoms, and how Coloman in return promised to respect Croatia's autonomous status and the nobility's privileges. This story supported the argument that Croatian autonomy had emerged on the basis of historical rights and was not the product of the ruler's concession.

Most historians today agree that the *Pacta Conventa* is a fourteenth century forgery which served the Croatian nobility to negotiate its status under the new dynasty of Anjou, which came to power in 1301, although it might have been based on earlier tradition. Hungarian historians

³⁹⁹ Izidor Kršnjavi, "Prilozi Historiji Salonitani Tome Arcidjakona Spljetskoga," *Vjestnik Kraljevskog Hrvatsko-Slavonsko-Dalmatinskog Zemaljskog Arkiva* II (1900): 163–65.

⁴⁰⁰ Ćiro Truhelka, "Qualites et Cum Quo Pacto Dederunt Se Chroates Regni Hungariae," *Glasnik Zemaljskog Muzeja u Bosni i Hercegovini* 7, no. 12 (1900): 585.

⁴⁰¹ Mirjana Matijević-Sokol, "Toma Arhiđakon Splitski (1200.-1268.) - Nacrtao Jedan Portret," *Povijesni Prilozi* 14 (1995): 124.

⁴⁰² Mladen Ančić, "Image of Royal Authority in the Work of Thomas Archdeacon," *Povijesni Prilozi* 22 (2002): 33.

too claimed from the start that the *Pacta Conventa* was a forgery and that Coloman militarily defeated the Croatian kingdom. Stjepan Antoljak rightly pointed out that the *Pacta Conventa* stopped being a topic of discussion among Hungarian historians after 1918, which shows that many of the debates about it were mostly related to contemporary politics.⁴⁰³ Kršnjavi could also easily trace works on unification from the 1860s to political struggles related to the reorganization of Croatian relations with Hungary: “This understanding from the sixties that was lively debated in the political brochures, when the new relations between Hungary and Croatia were made, cannot stand objective historical criticism.”⁴⁰⁴ Unlike Rački and others whose historical works intermixed with his political agenda, Kršnjavi could easily separate his political activism from his historic writings. Although the circumstances have changed from the mid-nineteenth century, this can be clearly seen in Kršnjavi’s article from 1900 on the fourteenth century archdeacon Toma of Split where he directly criticized Rački’s writings for their specifically historical shortcomings. Kršnjavi could easily trace Rački’s writings to the political debates between Croatian and Hungarian elites in the mid-nineteenth century.⁴⁰⁵ Similarly, he could clearly notice historical anachronisms when they appeared in these writings. In this particular case, he criticized Rački because he used term “political party” to describe medieval groups.

... there cannot be a trace of a people’s or an anti-people’s party in those times, because nationalisms did not exist back then. Rački is transferring modern terms to the past when he speaks of national feeling and an anti-people’s party.⁴⁰⁶

Kršnjavi’s article provoked a bitter reaction from some of the Croatian academic community and intellectuals that accused him of national betrayal and anti-national politics. Contrary to both opinions on the nature of the unification, Kršnjavi argued that the Arpad dynasty

⁴⁰³ It is interesting to note that even in 1987 one of the most prominent medievalists Tomislav Raukar noticed that Croatian historiography on middle ages is still deeply rooted in the nineteenth century tradition. Ironically, Raukar’s main aim in the same article was to stimulate new historiography of the middle ages with more accent on the common history of the South Slavs. Stjepan Antoljak, *Pacta Ili Concordia Od 1102. Godine* (Zagreb: Sveučilišna naklada Liber, 1980), 23; Tomislav Raukar, “Hrvatsko Srednjovjekovlje Između Tradicionalne i Društvene Povijesti,” *Historijski Zbornik* 40 (1987): 316,322.

⁴⁰⁴ Kršnjavi, “Prilozi Historiji Salonitani Tome Arcidjakona Spljetskoga,” 145.

⁴⁰⁵ Kršnjavi, “Prilozi Historiji Salonitani Tome Arcidjakona Spljetskoga.”

⁴⁰⁶ Kršnjavi, 154.

had legitimate hereditary rights to the Croatian throne because of Queen Jelena, even if they had been established through the use of military force:

All those who claim that Croatia was conquered by force, thought that Coloman had to fight against some other king. We proved this is not true. Even if this evidence is not enough, hereditary right enacted by force would nevertheless be fully legal.⁴⁰⁷

Kršnjavi approached *Pacta Conventa* from a legal perspective and divided it into two parts – the preservation of the private possessions of the nobility, and the nobility's exemption from paying the part of the taxes. *Pacta Conventa* could not be a legal contract between two states, he argued, since it did not discuss any of the issues that pertained to major state relations (such as the coronation ceremony), laws of succession, or church relations.

In this charter there are no foundations that could be taken as a state-legal settlement of the relations between Croatia and Hungary. There is no foundation in the way to elect or crown a king; there is no foundation of the succession of a throne; no regulation by which the twelve tribes should have special rights for governing the land... there is no sign of the governing of counties, whether they should only be elected, or elected and confirmed afterwards, or just appointed; important church-legal questions are not mentioned. All this would be discussed in a charter by which the relations of Croatia and Dalmatia to Hungary would have been settled.⁴⁰⁸

Therefore, *Pacta Conventa* could not be considered a legal contract between two states, but rather an excerpt from some unknown special law which the king had wanted to specify further. Such privilege could be given, Kršnjavi continued, regardless of whether Coloman was a conqueror, an elected, or a hereditary king. Kršnjavi's argument was a novelty since he denied *Pacta Conventa*'s importance for the regulation of state relations between Croatia and Hungary. Following Kršnjavi's approach, all potential interpretations and subsequent responses of Hungarian historians on this issue would have held no meaning for contemporary political struggles.

⁴⁰⁷ Kršnjavi, 166.

⁴⁰⁸ Kršnjavi, 143–44.

The first quarrels regarding the nature of Coloman's rise to the throne in Croatia, with regard to Kršnjavi, came in 1899. Kršnjavi had, at the time, been editing the *Kronprinzenwerk* on Croatia and Slavonia, and he asked Ivan Bojničić, the director of the State Archives, to write an overview of early medieval Croatian history up to the year 1102. Bojničić naturally repeated the Croatian nationalist version of the story based on the *Pacta Conventa*. The first problem arose when Bojničić refused to make corrections regarding his claims about the unification of Hungarian and Croatian Kingdoms for the Hungarian edition of the *Kronprinzenwerk*. Kršnjavi then asked Vjekoslav Klaić, professor of history at the University of Zagreb, to write a new overview, but Klaić immediately refused. Nevertheless, Bojničić wrote an overview of the period of Anjou rule in the Kingdom of Croatia, as we have seen in the previous chapter. After Bojničić's and Klaić's rejections, Kršnjavi decided to write the overview himself. In his overview, Kršnjavi presented both a Croatian and a Hungarian version of the unification, and left it up to the readers to decide which version was the more plausible.⁴⁰⁹ Kršnjavi argued that there were numerous interpretations, each with political implications, so he simply provided an overview of the documents for the period before 1102.⁴¹⁰

Interestingly Kršnjavi did not show such neutrality when he reprinted in the *Kronprinzenwerk* two paintings, *Dubravka* by Vlaho Bukovac and *Four Sirmia martyrs* by Celestin Medović, which had been taken to Budapest by Hungarian minister-president Banffy in 1895, with the excuse that motifs of Dubrovnik and Srijem portrayed in the paintings were Hungarian. Kršnjavi considered that his reprints in such publication as *Kronprinzenwerk* proved Croatian political rights over Dubrovnik and Srijem:

These paintings were seen by the minister-president Banffy during the king's visit to Zagreb in 1895, so he requested that both paintings should be ceded to the Budapest gallery, because Dubrovnik and Sirmia were Hungarian since ancient times. I have

⁴⁰⁹ Vlasta Švoger, "Izidor Kršnjavi u Listovima Na Njemačkom Jeziku Na Prijelazu Iz 19. u 20. Stoljeće," in *Iso Kršnjavi - Veliki Utemeljitelj*, ed. Ivana Mance and Zlatko Matijević (Zagreb: Institut za povijest umjetnosti/ Hrvatski institut za povijest, 2015), 122.

⁴¹⁰ Švoger, 124. This kind of methodology, which presupposes that documents can "speak", is still visible in the part of Croatian historiography.

reproduced both paintings in a volume on Croatia and Slavonia in the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy in Word and Picture, and so I annexed Dubrovnik and Srijem once more.⁴¹¹

Even before the *Kronprinzenwerk* was published, Kršnjavi was attacked by the journal *Obzor*. Since Kršnjavi was not a professional historian, an anonymous writer attacked him as a dilettante and claimed he was working in favor of the Hungarian editorial board. Alois Mertens from the *Agramer Tagblatt* also accused Kršnjavi working for the interests of the Hungarian committee and for asking Bojničić to make corrections in his article.⁴¹²

Is Doctor Kršnjavi, who is not a historian, capable of his assignment? ... What our answer would be can easily be understood by rumors that are being transmitted – that Doctor Kršnjavi is mature for political requirements of the Hungarian editorial board.⁴¹³

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

Highly respected mister editor! I consider on the basis of "feelings of scientific freedom" that as a professor of history of culture at a Croatian university, I am not only allowed to deal with Croatian history, but that it is also my duty. Please be patient and you will see that I have been working hard with the sources and with the personal observation of monuments in Dalmatia. It was not my intention to write a poor summary from Klaić's and Smičkilas' historical books.⁴¹⁴

⁴¹¹ Pajas, *Hrvatsko Društvo Umjetnosti i Njegovo Djelovanje Od Osnutka 1878. Godine Sve Do Konca 1917. Godine*, 121.

⁴¹² Alois Mertens, "Kroatien Im Kronprinzenwerke," *Agramer Tagblatt* 203 (1899).

⁴¹³ "Patvorenje Povijesti," *Obzor* 204 (1899).

⁴¹⁴ "Vrlo Štovani Gospodine Uredniče," *Obzor* 208 (1899).

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

To support our claims, our informants state one point on which Kršnjavi and the editorial board agreed. How did Coloman become king of Croatia? Hungarian historians and jurists always reply: he acquired it militarily. Our historians answer: Croatia willfully elected/chose him, and the two-sided contract was agreed upon between the king and the people. That contract has not reached us in its original form, but we have the testimony of Toma Archdeacon...⁴¹⁵

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

There are various points of disagreement among our and Hungarian historians, but this one is fundamental for our state-legal relations. Every time until now when there were disputes among our historians and Hungarian ones, regardless of the matter, our historians always triumphed, either because of their knowledge, or because they had truth on their side. If the rumors are true, Doctor Kršnjavi has failed and agreed with the Hungarian committee to represent the matter as if Coloman had conquered Croatia.⁴¹⁶

Ivan Ružić similarly criticized Kršnjavi for not writing history from the Croatian perspective. To increase the persuasiveness of his argument, Ružić used an example of a Hungarian historian

⁴¹⁵ "Patvorenje Povijesti."

⁴¹⁶ "Patvorenje Povijesti."

who “supported” the Croatian side. In his reply, Kršnjavi answered that such scholarship is a political issue and has nothing to do with history, nor it is the job of historians to deal with. The job of a historian, in Kršnjavi’s view, was to “grasp the historical truth without taking into consideration the consequences of daily politics.”⁴¹⁷ This approach obviously confused the general public which was used more to a nationally biased history in the service of daily politics. The best illustration of such a mindscape is shown in an honest question by Josip Pasarić who asked Kršnjavi in the *Agramer Zeitung* whether he stood on the Croatian or Hungarian side. Kršnjavi answered that he did not know a Croatian or a Hungarian side when it came to history, but only the authority of the sources.⁴¹⁸ On the other hand, Kršnjavi’s view of sources “speaking for themselves” and requiring no interpretation, was typical for the nineteenth century historians trying to write an objective history. Nevertheless, Kršnjavi’s *Contributions to Historia Salonitana* provided various interpretations of medieval sources such as the critical reading of chronicles or the legal and linguistic analysis of sources. Kršnjavi was either not aware of it, or intentionally used objectivity in the discourse outside of academia.

Politeo, similarly, criticized Kršnjavi for writing history that suited Hungarian requests. His main concern was to prove that Croatia and Hungary had always been separate states, as well as to point out that the writing of history was an inevitable part of creating the national consciousness.

Croatia was always a state separated from the Hungarian state, and it will continue to be so despite Kršnjavi’s history. He can present history, or even better: create new history in a way [Buda] Pest ordered it; but he does not erase the real history with it, and even less, national consciousness...⁴¹⁹

Since history was important to forming national consciousness, Politeo suggested that a special board should have been organized for the *Kronprinzenwerk* volume on Croatia, consisting only of Croats, since the Hungarian editorial board would inevitably present Croatia as

⁴¹⁷ Izidor Kršnjavi, “König Koloman an Der Tagesordnung,” *Agramer Zeitung* 215 (1899): 1–2.

⁴¹⁸ Kršnjavi, 1.

⁴¹⁹ Politeo, “Na Obranu Hrvatske Proti Isi Kršnjavomu.”

subordinate to Hungary. Such nationalist views presupposed that the history of a country could only be written by its native members, while others who tried to deal with the same issues were all perceived as potential enemies of the nation with hidden intentions. In such a social constellation, Kršnjavi was seen as an enemy since he was cooperating with the adversary Hungarian editorial board. It is interesting to note that the Viennese editorial board was usually omitted from these debates, as if it had no power in editorial policy or was even seen as the allies in the political struggle against the Hungarians.

Returning back to the anonymous author, the main goal of the article was to prevent Kršnjavi from editing the volume further. The ending pathetically stated that Kršnjavi's editing policy opposed the original vision of Crown Prince Rudolf. It seems unclear to which audience the article aimed, since it was written in Croatian it was highly improbable that the article would reach any person possessing authority to replace Kršnjavi, or to influence the Viennese editorial board. Since Kršnjavi was at the time marginalized in the National party, his political defamation also made little sense.

We urge the ones that can to mediate so that monumental work will not be marred by one big non-truth, which will rightfully make the entire Croatian folk nervous; that folk which welcomed with such excitement our dearly deceased Regent and to whom he showed lively condolences and affinity. If he was alive, he would not have allowed Croatian history to be presented this way.⁴²⁰

This turn of the events probably lead Kršnjavi to write a more detailed work about *Historia Salonitana*, named *Contributions to the Historia Salonitana of Split's Archdeacon Toma, in 1899 and 1900*. He sent the *Contributions* to various scholars in Croatia and abroad, asking them for opinions. Publication of the *Contributions* provoked immediate reactions. The most detailed criticism came from historian Dane Gruber (1856-1927), who published a booklet entitled *From older Croatian history*.⁴²¹ By carefully reading Gruber's answer, we can see that Gruber could not only grasp what Kršnjavi was writing, but also that Kršnjavi's writing outside the classical nationalist historiography was alien and incomprehensible to him. The main goal of the Gruber's

⁴²⁰ "Patvorenje Povijesti."

⁴²¹ Dane Gruber, *Iz Starije Hrvatske Povijesti* (Zagreb: Tisak Kr. zemaljske tiskare, 1901).

booklet was to present events from medieval Croatian history as an expression of the collective will of the people and of their allegedly democratic character.

The King of one Kingdom (Hungary) raises an army to conquer the other kingdom for himself (Croatia), because he considers that he has heritage rights to the throne. The people of the other kingdom immediately mobilize themselves, to defend their kingdom from the king of foreign blood... Everyone will think that Croatian nobility, represented by the twelve tribes, that is – the entirety of the Croatian people, debated with Coloman about the political rights of the Croatian people in that serious and crucial moment, when they were ready to accept the king of foreign state as their own...because a united nation with a strong army surely would not have accepted Coloman for its ruler.⁴²²

Like Rački, who had used the concept of contemporary political parties when arguing about medieval political factions, Gruber also used a term of political rights while trying to prove the sovereign and independent decision-making status of the Croats. The medieval Croatian Kingdom was presented as being fully sovereign and able to decide its own destiny. “Croats were conscious of their independence throughout the ages, so they could express that consciousness in especially important moments.”⁴²³ Since *Pacta Conventa* only mentioned members of twelve noble families from Croatia, Gruber presented them as “parliamentary representatives” that had been elected by the entire population.

Gruber claimed that Croatian Bans had been elected by the whole folk in a democratic way. Such an argument enabled him to construct a story which fit his political agenda regarding the unification of Croatia with Hungary. Gruber suggested that the king and the Ban do not necessarily need to have the same political goals since kingship was a hereditary function while the Ban was democratically elected and responsible to the people. Even if the king acted in an undemocratic manner, the Ban would control and correct his behavior, since the Ban was strictly following the democratically expressed will of the people.

Petar Svačić ruled as the Ban because of the people’s will, since they elected Bans, and therefore he did not need to be king’s confidant... it is also possible that Zvonimir did not think of securing the throne for his wife, who was a foreigner and who would be

⁴²² Gruber, 8.

⁴²³ Gruber, 15.

succeeded by foreign rulers, namely her Arpad relatives, even more since the legal heir of the throne Stephen II was alive and in a monastery. Therefore, the question of inheritance was not actual as long as he lived.... Did the ban need to accept the king's intention, if he considered it lethal for the state? Definitely not, and he kept his opinion that it was better for a local person to be a king, than a foreigner.⁴²⁴

In order to construct such an argument, Gruber omitted a few important facts. Firstly, it was not certain whether the Croatian king Petar murdered in 1097 was the same person as Petar Svačić who had been Ban during Zvonimir's rule. Furthermore, Gruber did not mention that Zvonimir had usurped the throne after the death of Petar Krešimir IV and sent his heir, Stephen II, to a monastery. Although Zvonimir had disrupted the legitimate inheritance rights of the dynasty, Gruber presented him as the one fighting for the state's interests, that is, the continuation of native-born Croatian rulers. Since Zvonimir's role could easily be questioned, Gruber had constructed his argument around the role of Ban Petar Svačić who he claimed represented the collective will of the people and who could oppose the ruler's will because of his democratic legitimacy. Gruber presented Zvonimir as a good ruler in order not to disrupt national honor, but Petar Svačić was in fact the national hero since he had died fighting against foreigners as an elected leader of the folk. Kršnjavi rightly noticed that these historians presented all historical figures from Croatian history in a positive way, without criticizing them.

Nevertheless, all this is being retold and made more beautiful, probably because our faraway history needs to be seen only through pink glasses. Opposition is allowed only to contemporary governments; in a faraway past all governments were ideal and political opponents in fact become some type of national saints; all of them need to be discussed only in A-minor key.⁴²⁵

Gruber's interpretation that the people would have minded having a "foreign" king as their own is highly problematic.⁴²⁶ Although there is no certain evidence for it, we can suppose that the population of the eleventh century had no, or very limited encounters with the king.

⁴²⁴ Gruber, 31.

⁴²⁵ Kršnjavi, *Izabrana Djela*, 44.

⁴²⁶ For further discussion see Ivo Goldstein, "Dinastija Arpadovića i Ranosrednjovjekovna Hrvatska.," in *Zvonimir Kralj Hrvatski: Zbornik Radova*, ed. Ivo Goldstein (Zagreb: Hrvatska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, 1997).

Their contact with state power was mostly limited to interactions with local “state bureaucracy” that collected taxes or performed other duties in the name of the king. Therefore, for an average person, the king must have appeared an abstract and distant concept, unless there was a direct contact via the king’s visits to particular places. Given such social relations, the kings were likely perceived as “foreign,” regardless if they were coming from Croatia or Hungary.

Gruber’s depiction of Croatia as a democratically and militarily powerful medieval state was meant to prove that Croatia had not been conquered militarily by the Arpad dynasty, but rather had voluntarily formed a union with Hungary. The purpose of such an argument was to show that Croatia had not lost its individuality and “sovereignty” after its unification with Hungary, but had always remained politically autonomous. Such an historical example was needed to justify current political relations, namely Croatia’s right to a political autonomy, which historians asserted was the product of historical developments and not of a Hungarian concession.

Unlike the majority of historians, Kršnjavi considered that Croatian rights to political and cultural autonomy were legally rooted in the *Nagodba* of 1868, and that historical rights had no importance in this matter. Even if historical rights were in question, Kršnjavi continued, it would have been better if Croatia had been “inherited” by the Arpad dynasty for the continuity of previous laws, rather than if new political relations had been established between Coloman and the Croatian nobility.

For our contemporary case, after all, the nature of relations of Croatia with Hungary during the times of Coloman is without importance; but, if somebody wants to talk about advantageous or unfavorable conditions, then it is definitely better when we can prove the Arpad dynasty inherited us and confirmed our old rights in coronation and in privileges, rather than feel we need to lie about some sort of personal union which was made in a conspiracy between Croatian tribal representatives and Coloman, behind the back of some so-called king Petar to whom only Rački gave life.⁴²⁷

Kršnjavi accused his critics of instilling a wrong picture of the past among the people and of creating national myths to use for political mobilization. He considered such national myths

⁴²⁷ Kršnjavi, *Zapisci*, 211.

harmful and worthless for political debates since they lead in the direction of political isolation due to a lack of plausibility.

So, it is necessary to lie in order to protect national rights and possessions. By this, it is said that national rights and possessions are based on untruth. Is this a healthy situation? Is it even possible? Will this secret not be revealed, even if we support it? Of what use is an untrue basis of historical rights and possessions for us, if nobody else will believe it?⁴²⁸

Such political behavior was harmful for national interests in Kršnjavi's opinion because instead of trying to improve their position under the *Nagodba*, people fought against it. Here, once again, Kršnjavi showed his pragmatism in opposition to many idealists since he considered it was better to accept the laws, which might not have been the best, and try to make some progress with them rather than systematically to oppose existing conditions.

The only foundation and rampart of our national rights are laws from the *Nagodba*... One that speaks the truth about history does not demolish national rights and possessions, but those who do not acknowledge or diminish that basic law [*Nagodba*]. Telling untruthful history, representing our past in the light of deceiving jewelry does not guarantee us any rights or possessions, but is an unhealthy narcotization of the people in whom unhealthy megalomania and unrest is awoken towards factually sound political conditions... it is a noteworthy act to show to the people how to succeed in the framework of the existing law.⁴²⁹

Nevertheless, Kršnjavi's critics did not want to recognize or dispute his argument that contemporary political rights are not based on history since all the historiographic production related to these matters would be useless. Consequently, an anonymous writer in *Obzor* attacked him for diminishing national glory and greatness, as well as for working in favor of Hungarian historians who could use his writings as justification for the existing political relations between Hungary and Croatia.

We do not ask to speak of Croatia that it was mighty, that it was big, if it was not; although it is a historical truth, in which Dr. Kršnjavi does not believe, that it was free and big and great and glorious. What Dr. Kršnjavi writes, what he takes out, what he concludes, is not the truth; that can only serve as a useful means to those to whom our

⁴²⁸ Kršnjavi, 210.

⁴²⁹ Kršnjavi, 211.

past is a thorn in the eye, to whom it is invidious that we want to revise our contemporary rights on the basis of our past. When a foreigner is led by the hate that inverts our past, we condemn it, but understand it. Indeed, it is unfathomable when a Croatian son is doing the same.⁴³⁰

The anonymous author argued that the main point of the whole debate is a revision of political rights based on the history. As we have seen previously, the idea of writing professional history, which was not explicitly working in favor of nation, was alien to the public. For that reason, it was unclear to the author how someone such as Kršnjavi could have written the history of his own nation, free of the concerns of daily politics, and what the point was of such an endeavor. The author even admitted that he was used to the political misuse of the past by foreigners in order to achieve their political goals, but could not understand what the reasons behind Kršnjavi's article were.

Kršnjavi easily understood the reasons for criticisms against him – in short, the deconstruction of national myths to which people were exposed to since the earliest ages. Although he realized the importance of history education in the nation-building process, Kršnjavi considered such education should not be based on false or easily disputable knowledge. He was clearly aware that his article touched a very delicate matter, but he considered it a necessary step.

The misfortune is that historical lies are being transmitted through our school handbooks, through the generations which our folk is learning from childhood, so if someone finds the truth and spreads it around, then entire population feels hurt and thinks that the whole country will collapse.⁴³¹

It is also interesting to note how much he was convinced that he had discovered a singular and objective truth. Nevertheless, he was also aware that such a universal truth would not easily be accepted by the majority, since historians usually write what their audience wants to read.

Award to a fake historian who flatters the people is popularity, who flatters rulers – great mercy, who flatters a church – holiness; award to a historian who aims for the truth can be found in a fistful of people and only in their joy because those few smart

⁴³⁰ "Dr Kršnjavi u Kninu," *Obzor* 26 (1900).

⁴³¹ Kršnjavi, *Zapisci*, 210.

people will not praise the one who tells the truth since they will consider speaking of the truth self-evident... All that is considered to be dogmas of modern science is wrong...⁴³²

Kršnjavi explained two different approaches to history education using Spanish and American examples. Spaniards raised their children in memory of the former glory of the Spanish empire, while Americans raised their children cherishing the present due to a lack of history. Although Kršnjavi did not make a comparison, it is obvious that he assumed the majority of Croatian historians followed the Spanish example, while he himself wanted to shift to the American one. His intention was to shift education and national rhetoric away from the supposedly glorious distant past towards the contemporary situation with the *Nagodba* as a starting point and basis for any further education and progress.

There are two ways in how history can work in education. A scene should be made in which one Spaniard and one American are discussing it. The Spanish hidalgo raises his child in memory of the past and unpractically for the present. The American on contrary does not have the past and educates his child only for the present. The final result can be seen in the Franco-American war.⁴³³

Kršnjavi considered nationalist obstruction of the *Nagodba* through historiography as dangerous since it could worsen Croatia's position in later reorganizations of state relations between Hungary and Croatia. Although these state relations were not perfect, Kršnjavi nevertheless believed that Croatia financially profited under the *Nagodba*, and thus criticized the opposition for not taking the financial aspect into account: "There is nothing more childish than our oppositional politicians [...] who do not feel that every material success of Hungary is our success which directly relates to pockets of each one of us."⁴³⁴

Although Gruber's article was mediocre and highly political even by turn of the century standards, the aftermath of the whole debate earned him a teaching position as professor of

⁴³² Kršnjavi, 170.

⁴³³ Kršnjavi, 170.

⁴³⁴ Kršnjavi, 185.

Croatian history at the University of Zagreb in 1902.⁴³⁵ He was unquestionably rewarded for his patriotic work in the academic field and was supported by the opposition, while the editor of the *Vjestnik* Bojničić was invited by Ban Khuen Héderváry for a talk after he published Kršnjavi's article. Bojničić told Kršnjavi that Ban Khuen Héderváry had requested publication of only primary sources and not of polemic articles. Khuen Héderváry also requested that Bojničić submit all articles to his office for censorship before publishing them. Bojničić rejected such an idea and so Khuen Héderváry ordered him not to publish any more articles on relations between Croatia and Hungary.⁴³⁶ Both cases show how politically motivated academic texts still remained an important part of daily politics, although they had lost their exclusivity from the mid-nineteenth century. Despite Khuen Héderváry's interest lying more in contemporary politics than in history, he recognized the potential threats such debates could cause, and thus tried to avoid them. Alois Mertens from *Agramer Tagblatt* did not even try to stay in academic discourse and hide the fact that the whole debate was not an academic one; instead he claimed it was aimed towards territorial and political reorganizations of Croatian and Hungarian relations.

With what we are concerned with here is not an academic question, in neither sense only a so-called doctoral question, but a matter that cannot be denied its political emphasis in the present and future.⁴³⁷

The whole debate on the unification of Croatia and Hungary showed that both Kršnjavi and his critics lagged behind the main political currents. While political participation was enlarged by the increasing participation of various strata of society, the scholars remained rooted in elitist academic debates. Nevertheless, Kršnjavi made a clear deflection from the previous academic tradition of Croatia, which was explicitly working in favor of the nation, and dealt with daily politics. Although his work had political implications, he could clearly separate his political activism from academic writings. As we have seen, Kršnjavi could also clearly shift his historical

⁴³⁵ Kršnjavi, 183.

⁴³⁶ Kršnjavi, 178.

⁴³⁷ Alois Mertens, "Kroatien Im Kronprinzenwerke," *Agramer Tagblatt* 205 (1899).

argumentation, depending on his audience, without accidentally intermixing it, unlike his critics from the opposition.

The main intention of his article was to establish political goals by academic means, that is, to stop historical debates from aiming to obstruct of the *Nagodba* and a reorganization of relations between Croatia and Hungary. Kršnjavi's idea was to point out the uselessness of historical debates for contemporary political relations. He probably believed that his article would persuade a significant number of people and diminish tensions between Croatia and Hungary as a result. Ironically, he overestimated his power to influence the broader public, and the final effect was the opposite – tensions grew and anti-Hungarian stances emerged in the daily press.

7. Membership in the Party of Right

Shortly afterwards, in 1903 there were anti-Hungarian riots in Croatia which started when signs in Hungarian were installed on railway stations and the main railroads headquarters in Zagreb.⁴³⁸ Hungarian government led by Prime Minister Kálmán Széll resigned because of the riots.⁴³⁹ Khuen Héderváry's twenty-year rule in Croatia-Slavonia ended and he was appointed Prime minister of Hungary. Hungarian opposition criticized the ruling party, dualism and the *Nagodba* for the riots in Croatia. This coalition, led by Ferenc Kossuth, made compromise with Franz Joseph by reclining their antidualism and came to power in 1906. As Dinko Šokčević notes "what was left in its politics [Hungarian coalition's] was only bare nationalism, illusions of great Hungarian empire and intolerance towards minorities. After 1906, Hungarian coalition was incapable of keeping tactical alliance with the Croats, but they also thought that such alliance was not in their interest."⁴⁴⁰

The National party in Croatia was composed of people loyal to Khuen Héderváry and supported by older generation of Hungarian liberals which lost power in 1895 and dissolved in 1906. Since the National party lost their leader and support from Hungary, they also stopped functioning in 1906. As mentioned earlier, Kršnjavi continued being member of the National party after his retirement as the departmental head while hoping that he will get some other position he considered belonged to him for public work he had done. After the National party disintegrated in 1906, Kršnjavi decided to join another political party for which he considered had best chances of coming to power. In response to the rumors that he would join the Croatian Party of Right, Kršnjavi published an open letter in the journal *Croatian Right*, published by the Party of Right confirming them.

⁴³⁸ Marija Vulesica, *Die Formierung des politischen Antisemitismus in den Kronländern Kroatien und Slawonien 1879-1906* (Berlin: Metropol Verlag, 2012), 314.

⁴³⁹ Dinko Šokčević, "Hrvatska u trokutu mađarsko-hrvatsko-austrijskih odnosa od 1790. do 1918.," in *Temelji moderne Hrvatske-Hrvatske zemlje u „dugom“ 19. stoljeću*, edited by Vlast Švoger and Jasna Turkclaj (Zagreb: Matica Hrvatska, 2016), 609.

⁴⁴⁰ Dinko Šokčević, "Odjek narodnog pokreta u Hrvatskoj u mađarskoj javnosti (1903. god.)," *Časopis za suvremenu povijest* 37, no.3 (2005): 677.

I will tell one truth openly, and that is – every Croatian is deep down in his soul a follower of the Croatian Party of Right. Is there anyone who would not wish for our fatherland to be great and independent? Only concern for the progress of the fatherland leads us sometimes to settle down with lesser demands.⁴⁴¹

As mentioned earlier, the Party of Right (Law), led by Josip Frank, was a Croatian nationalist party with the political goal of securing an economically and politically autonomous unit made up of all the territories populated by a Croatian-speaking population in a future reorganization of the Monarchy. Frank saw Austria, and especially Archduke Franz Ferdinand's Belvedere circle, as his main allies for the enactment of his goals and as a way to repel Hungarian rule in Croatia. Since Franz Ferdinand and his Belvedere circle were an unofficial group of people with often varying ideas, it remains unclear how congruent their ideas were with the Party of Right. As Mirjana Gross noted, the Party of Right sought an autonomous ethnic unit within a federalized state, while Franz Ferdinand and his circle mostly sought to create a centralized state where none of its individual parts would exercise significant political power.⁴⁴² It seems that Franz Ferdinand supported the Party of Right out of political necessity and as a counter-weight to the pro-Hungarian and anti-Viennese Croat-Serb Coalition which came to power in 1906.

Frank's idea of cooperation with Austria was criticized by some other followers of Rightist ideology of Ante Starčević as a betrayal of his original ideals because he had opposed Austrians and Hungarians equally. Frank sought contacts with military circles in Zagreb which were not always in agreement with Archduke Franz Ferdinand and his circle. In order to secure good relations with the higher Austrian military circles in Croatia, Frank built a luxurious apartment on the second floor of the house he lived in and rented it to higher military officials during their service in Zagreb.⁴⁴³ In April 1905, Moritz Auffenberg (1852-1928) was appointed chief of the 36th infantry division in Zagreb and shortly after became acquainted with Frank. Auffenberg was the

⁴⁴¹ Izidor Kršnjavi, "Pismo Dra. I. Kršnjavoga," *Hrvatsko Pravo*, June 13, 1906.

⁴⁴² Mirjana Gross, "Hrvatska Politika Velikoaustrijskog Kruga Oko Prijestolonasljednika Franje Ferdinanda," *Časopis Za Suvremenu Povijest* 2, no. 2 (1971): 13.

⁴⁴³ Peršić, *Kroničarski Spisi*, 154.

main link between Frank and Chief of the General Staff Conrad von Hotzendorf (1852-1925).⁴⁴⁴ In one of his parliamentary speeches from 1908, Frank bluntly stated his political strategy:

I think that on the chessboard of Croatian politics, every serious politician has to count on these important factors that lay with Austria and with Hungary. One who does not take these factors into account in Croatia cannot be serious. We have to take Austria into account and work it into the combinations on our chessboard all the more because Dalmatia is over there, Istria is there, and likewise the common administration of Bosnia and Herzegovina is there.⁴⁴⁵

It seems that Kršnjavi and Frank had same expectations that the dynasty and imperial circles will help them in coming to power and gaining autonomy in exchange for their loyalty. They counted that their unconditional support of Vienna in their fights with the new radical nationalist party in Hungary will be appreciated and secure them political breakthrough.⁴⁴⁶ Party of Right surely noticed shaken system of dualism and tried to opportunistically profit out of it. Under these new circumstances, Kršnjavi now saw Austria more as a protector of Croatia from Hungarian pretensions and dominance in the same way that he had previously defended Hungarians as protectors of Croatia from unjust Austrian rule. Kršnjavi simply shifted the roles - Austrians were now the ones fighting for Croatian autonomy and Hungarians were the ones trying to break it. Although probably meant more as a figure of speech, it is interesting to note the radicalization and military language in Kršnjavi's metaphor of turning his "feather into a sword."

I am attracted to the Croatian Party of the Right, because it is the only party today in Croatia that did not abandon the idea of the integral Monarchy, and that could realize its program of an independent Croatia in a federative Habsburg Monarchy.... I will not restrain myself from joining the party of Croatian independence, as Count Apponyi, former conservative and follower of Deak's [1867] Settlement, did not restrain himself from joining the Party of Hungarian Independence, because he was convinced he would be most useful to his country in that way. He has said, as minister, that he would turn his sword into the iron feather. If it will be necessary, I will turn my iron feather

⁴⁴⁴ Gross, *Povijest Pravaške Ideologije*, 343.

⁴⁴⁵ Stjepan Matković, "Croatian Views on the Annexation Crisis," in *1908, l'Annexion de La Bosnie-Herzégovine, Cent Ans Après*, ed. Catherine Horel (Bruxelles: P.I.E.-Peter Lang, 2011), 203.

⁴⁴⁶ Mark Cornwall, "Loyalty and Treason in late Habsburg Croatia: A Violent Political Discourse before the First World War," in *Exploring Loyalty*. edited by Martin Schulze Wessel and Jana Osterkamp (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2017), 111.

into a sword so I can fight for the most fortunate position of my country in the frame of the Habsburg Monarchy.⁴⁴⁷

Although it is impossible to tell what Kršnjavi actually thought about this, it seems likely that he never blindly followed any political party or ideology. His main political goal was to occupy a position from which he could implement his policies, that is, a kind of political opportunism. In one parliamentary debate from 1889, he had openly stated: “The main characteristic of a good politician is to enact ideal goals by possible means.”⁴⁴⁸ Nevertheless, he always loyally followed the official policy of the party to which he belonged, without making open criticisms or raising disagreements. He also never revealed secrets or confidential data of the parties to which he had previously belonged, but tried instead to explain his shifts as a result of the changed circumstances. Since he held strong opinions and had wide knowledge on so many topics, it is hard to believe that he uncritically accepted political ideologies of all the parties in which he was a member. At the same time, when his interests in so many issues elicited mockery from some oppositional politicians, Kršnjavi answered that he considered it his duty to understand relations between science and art.

I must listen to the objection that I was dealing with art, philosophy, and law.... I am convinced that each man needs to broaden his knowledge, and when he is given a task, it is his duty to realize its roots as deep as his soul allows him.... The ones who can understand the relationship between science and art, they understand the goals of humanity. I do not think I reached that level, but my goal is to do each task as best as I can, so I take this criticism with gratitude.⁴⁴⁹

Kršnjavi’s interest in a variety of topics such as art, philosophy and law suggest his liberal ideal of public service rather than an interest in specific issues. As we have seen, Kršnjavi had become disappointed in Hungarian politicians in the early 1900s due to their assimilatory politics.

⁴⁴⁷ Kršnjavi, “Pismo Dra. I. Kršnjavoga.” Kršnjavi’s collection, ALUHAZU, box 5.

⁴⁴⁸ Arijana Kolak Bošnjak, “Izidor Kršnjavi Na Hrvatskim Saborima Od 1884. Do 1897. Godine,” in *Iso Kršnjavi - Veliki Utemeljitelj*, ed. Ivana Mance and Zlatko Matijević (Zagreb: Institut za povijest umjetnosti/ Hrvatski institut za povijest, 2015), 55.

⁴⁴⁹ Kolak Bošnjak, 59.

When he joined the Croatian Party of Right in 1906, Kršnjavi stated that his decision was significantly influenced by Hungarian nationalist and anti-monarchical politics.

That day when the [Budapest] Parliament was opened, during which the imperial flag was not hung on the kingly court because Kossuth was visiting, that day I was enlightened by the light, which is now turning to reality. Here Habsburg, there Kossuth! That day, when Kossuth's friends proclaimed in Belgrade that the Habsburgs needed to exit Bosnia, everyone could clearly see – Greater Croatia can only be thought of in Greater Austria!⁴⁵⁰

Kršnjavi compared the creation of Greater Croatia under the Habsburgs with his study of Dante and Dante's idea of a unification of Italy under the Habsburgs. Kršnjavi's political agenda included not simply the wish to come to power, but also to strengthen the idea of Croatian unification in political discourse in the context of a possible reorganization of the Monarchy. Kršnjavi chose the Italian example to prove the point that an idea of unified country can exist for hundreds of years before it comes to fruition.

Close friends of Italians should know that the Party of Italian Independence indeed lived for 500 years until its program was fulfilled. Is anyone mocking Dante or Machiavelli nowadays because they believed in a unified and great Italy during the saddest time of Italian fragmentation? Especially Dante considered the Habsburgs should accomplish this unification. Even then, there were poor souls who condemned Dante and his ideals, in fact they condemned him to death. The study of Dante awakened a faith in a possible establishment of the ideal of Greater Croatia.⁴⁵¹

In an article "A Look Into a Future" from 1906 Kršnjavi explained what this might look like. In his view, Croatia should be a separate unit in the Habsburg Monarchy with a strong common king who would defend Croatian territorial integrity and support Croatian expansion towards Bosnia and Herzegovina. Such thinking corresponded more broadly to the idea of reorganizing the Habsburg Monarchy on federal principles with a stronger ruler, that Archduke Franz Ferdinand and his Belvedere circle of politicians, military men and intellectuals supported.

⁴⁵⁰ Stjepan Matković, "Izidor Kršnjavi i Njegovi Pogledi Na Preuređenje Austro-Ugarske Monarhije Na Početku 20. Stoljeća," in *Iso Kršnjavi - Veliki Utemeljitelj*, ed. Ivana Mance and Zlatko Matijević (Zagreb: Institut za povijest umjetnosti/ Hrvatski institut za povijest, 2015), 80.

⁴⁵¹ Izidor Kršnjavi, "Javan Škandal," *Hrvatsko Pravo* 3259 (1906).

Although the two groups had common political contacts, it seems, based on Kršnjavi's memoirs, that the Belvedere circle never engaged the Party of Right, although Kršnjavi sporadically participated in their discussions.

We want a big independent Croatia, but within the realms of the Habsburg Monarchy, in which we demand equal status with Hungary. We want today the same as our ancestors when they elected Habsburgs, that is, the Croatian king who is a great master of the Habsburg Monarchy, who will be strong enough to defend our Dalmatian coast and to enlarge our borders.⁴⁵²

Kršnjavi clearly understood, as we have seen earlier, how Austrians could interpret laws to favor their acquisition of Dalmatia, but he did not provide any explanation of why Austria might allow Dalmatia to unify with the rest of Croatia. Also, Party of Right's general hopes of gaining equal status with Hungary while being important factor in the future reorganization of the monarchy on the basis of their loyalty seems very optimistic. Although it is not clear what Kršnjavi considered under the term "enlargement of borders," Frank left no doubt. In one of his speeches, Frank pointed out that Croatia should serve as a logistical base for the Habsburg expansion into South-Eastern Europe and as a gravitational center for other South Slavs.

Towards West, North, and East all the expansive movements are closed for it [the Monarchy]. Only South is still opened. The only way to South is across Croatia. For this reason Croatia would be more favored in this Monarchy, if there were a healthy political climate; it [Croatia] should get a significant place, it should enjoy more of its outstanding position so that with its freedom, with its cultural progress and organization, with its compact unity it will become that attracting force, which can be best used on akin peoples.⁴⁵³

As previously mentioned, Kršnjavi had long opposed Austrian dominance and imperialism because he considered it would have served only Austrian's political goals, and lead to a highly centralized state. The only dam holding back these Austrian pretensions, in Kršnjavi's view, was the *Nagodba*, which gave Croatia greater autonomy and legal protection. Although Kršnjavi changed his views, he never explained his political optimism that Austria would now abandon

⁴⁵² Kršnjavi, "Pogled u Budućnost."

⁴⁵³ Gross, *Povijest Pravaške Ideologije*, 276.

centralism and settle for a federalist structure, especially having in mind Franz Ferdinand's centralizing tendencies. For Kršnjavi, it might have looked, for example, as if Austria were becoming more federalized with the Moravian Compromise of 1904-5. Most probably, however, Kršnjavi saw Austria as Croatia's only potential ally due to the increasing radicalization of Hungarian political discourse after 1900 and Hungarians' negative stances towards the Monarchy, dualism and the Habsburgs. Franz Ferdinand's apparent sympathy to creating a south Slav unit to weaken Hungary, however unrealistic this was, probably continued to feed the appetites of the Party of Right. Hungarian separatism, in Kršnjavi's view, would lead to the break-up of the Croatian-Hungarian Compromise, and create closer ties between Croatia and Austria.

If the Hungarians will legally and parliamentarily try to get rid of the Habsburgs, then we will surely support the Habsburgs, and we will nicely and parliamentarily take separate paths from the Hungarians, the same way as they are trying to get rid of the Habsburgs.... Hungary would not be able to exist next to decentralized democratic Austria in the current state formation. If Austria were reformed on the basis of federation and freedom, it would overpower Hungary without intervention or violence, and the Habsburg Monarchy would win parliamentarily and legally, with us on its side.⁴⁵⁴

Although Kršnjavi probably never expected that the real break-up of the Monarchy could happen, he nevertheless managed to predict it. He saw dualism as an ultimately unstable system that could not survive a war since there were too many dissatisfied sides.

God help us in case the dualist system needs to pass its maturity test on a battlefield. Centralism died on the Italian battlefields; and with the collapse of dualism much more would be ruined than such an unnatural state formation.⁴⁵⁵

In order to show the disadvantages of dualism, of which he had once been a great proponent, Kršnjavi compared it to a fictional Germany. Since Kršnjavi was arguing for a federalism, based on national units, he tried to demonstrate that Germany and Switzerland owed their development exclusively to their more federalist political systems. Therefore, preconditions for any successful state were the existence of federal units with cultural and financial autonomy.

⁴⁵⁴ Kršnjavi, "Pogled u Budućnost."

⁴⁵⁵ Kršnjavi, "Austro-Ugarska Nagodba."

The *Nagodba* was no longer seen by Kršnjavi as the factor enabling development, but rather as a mechanism for financial exploitation.

Let us imagine the system of our Monarchy transferred to Germany. Let us imagine, that the state is split into two parts based on the principles of our Monarchy and that those two parts are fighting for decades on how to make a compromise, so they would not disintegrate. Additionally, let us say that in each half one state is bullying all the others... Would this kind of Germany be the same as the current one where free and independent states form a state alliance? Would not happy and satisfied Switzerland tremble in crisis if it was to be organized on the principle of our Monarchy?⁴⁵⁶

While Kršnjavi, Frank and other party members hoped for reorganization of the Monarchy on the basis of federalism or trialism with help from the Belvedere circle, Franz Ferdinand and his associates saw trialism much less positively. In a letter from April 1909, Auffenberg explained his concerns on trialism to Alois Lexa von Aehrenthal:

*Of all elements that want to establish trialism, it could be easy to create strong majority, but in my opinion they would not be capable to govern because trialism is not in interests of Hungary nor Austria... Trialism also cannot be in the interest of the ruling house because it would only be reactionary and Slavic, and would be opposed by Hungarians, Germans and all free-thinking men.*⁴⁵⁷

Role of Bosnia-Herzegovina and anti-Serbian rhetoric

Since the future of Bosnia and Herzegovina was one of the key interests of the Party of Right, Kršnjavi engaged in the public debates, arguing that Croatia had legitimate political rights to Bosnia and Herzegovina. Although Kršnjavi had supported dualism during his membership in the National party, he now began openly criticizing it, in a newspaper article entitled “*Is a Croatian Folk Legion Necessary?*” after the annexation of Bosnia in 1908. It was a perfect political excuse to change positions, since he had a strong enough reason in contemporary politics to change his

⁴⁵⁶ Kršnjavi.

⁴⁵⁷ Stjepan Matković and Marko Trogrlić (eds.), *Iz korespondencije Josipa Franka s Bečom: 1907.-1910.* (Zagreb-Split, Hrvatski institut za povijest-Odsjek za povijest Filozofskog fakulteta u Splitu, 2014.), 294.

political views, despite the fact that hardly anyone considered his political shifts to have any other reason than to support his ambitions for power.

The first crisis that threatened dualism was the annexation of Bosnia. Dualism has become a danger for the entire Monarchy. It represents the Monarchy outwardly as a double German-Hungarian state, in which political Slavs do not exist. The same Croatian political individuality that is being accepted by the Compromise from 1868, is not being accentuated outwards. In fact, it is being pushed into the background whenever possible, even inside the Monarchy. When the Habsburg Monarchy annexed Bosnia, the other countries must have seen that act as an action of the German-Hungarian state, that is, as an appropriation of one Slavic land by the Germans and Hungarians....⁴⁵⁸

Political failure of dualistic system to resolve problems of the Monarchy caused also a number of issues for Kršnjavi. He now needed to explain why he had so vigorously defended dualism and why it failed so he could justify his current stances regarding a possible reorganization of the Monarchy. Another issue for Kršnjavi was his divided and often interconnected loyalty towards the empire and the nation. While it was easy to praise both the nation and the empire during the time when dualism functioned well (from 1870s until mid-1890s) and while he was in power, Kršnjavi now needed to explain to himself and to others new political conditions. During early 1900s, more radical and nationalist Hungarian opposition started directly opposing dualism with calls for more autonomy and less care for cooperation with minorities in Transleithania. Since balance between the non-functioning empire and the nation was lost, Kršnjavi needed to choose a side and, as we have seen throughout the thesis, he chose the nation. Such choice was probably the easiest since local political arena was much more nationalized than quarter of a century earlier, while simultaneously it was much less clear what the empire was and its prospects for the future.

The main aim of Kršnjavi's article was to justify the establishment of a specifically Croatian legion that should have been incorporated into the imperial army. He supported this because he believed that the annexation would then seem to be a liberation of the Croatian people in Bosnia and Herzegovina from Ottoman rule by other Croats, and not simply a military occupation.

⁴⁵⁸ Izidor Kršnjavi, "Je li Hrvatska Narodna Legija Potrebna?," *Hrvatsko Pravo* 3893 (1908).

Such an idea was not realized due to the lack of interest from the imperial army, but also because of the lack of funds on the Croatian side. It seems that Josip Frank devised this idea, which was supported by some higher military officers, but then abandoned it in the last moment. After the idea failed, Kršnjavi was angry at Frank because he believed that his own article had ruined his public image, and that Frank should have guaranteed that the project would succeed.⁴⁵⁹

Since the regions of Bosnia and Herzegovina only came under Habsburg occupation in 1878, Kršnjavi wanted to prove that both the Monarchy and Croatia had historical continuity in the regions based on national principles and due to the Catholic population, that was claimed to be Croatian. The territories had not simply been conquered militarily but had a historical affinity to Croatia. Contrary to the official policy of the Monarchy of creating a new Bosnian nation and the rule of imperial bureaucracy in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Kršnjavi and many other Croatian nationalists objected that Bosnia and Herzegovina should have been united with Croatia and that it was Croatia's historic task to govern the country and create a Croatian nation with a mixed population inhabiting Bosnia and Herzegovina. Kršnjavi pointed out that some Czech and Slovak politicians opposed the official imperial policy in Bosnia and Herzegovina as well, and supported Serbian policy and pretensions not only as a sign of Slavic solidarity, but also to oppose Dualism and the dominance of Austrians and Hungarians. Kršnjavi asked why Croatian nationalists could not offer an effective alternative that would also gain the support of Slav politicians elsewhere in the Monarchy.

Serbian, who do not have any historical right to Bosnia, are arguing for the national principle, which showed legal creative power recently. Serbians have gained nice success with their tactics because the German and Hungarian Monarchy could not apply the same principle. The same Slavs in the Monarchy, the Czechs and the liberal Slovaks, sided together with the Serbians because they do not want one more Slavic country to be cramped under German-Hungarian rule, and to politically disappear in the dualist Monarchy.⁴⁶⁰

⁴⁵⁹ Kršnjavi, *Zapisci*, 552,558.

⁴⁶⁰ Kršnjavi, "Je Li Hrvatska Narodna Legija Potrebna?"

In order to avoid provoking political opposition from the Slavic elements to dualism and to weaken the Serbian national principle, Kršnjavi believed the Monarchy should have supported the Croatian side in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Unlike in the Dalmatian case, in which Kršnjavi claimed that international law implicitly supported the stronger side, he now changed his rhetoric, and claimed that the Monarchy should support Croatian rule and the nation-building process in Bosnia and Herzegovina in order to fulfill the national principle and weaken Serbian demands. However, Kršnjavi did not explain why the Monarchy should incorporate Bosnia and Herzegovina into Croatia based on national principles, especially because there were no signs of such plans with regard to Dalmatia, which had been under Habsburg rule for a far longer period of time.

Croats counter-posed Serbians with the Croatian idea, and strengthened the rights of the Monarchy to Bosnia, because they gave it a chance to beat the Serbian national principle with the Croatian one. It is true that the Monarchy has a big army which could defeat Serbia and Montenegro without the Croatian legion, but keeping in mind the authorities that sympathize with the Serbians, it is not the same if the Monarchy would fight in the name of German-Hungarian conquest or would fight side by side with the Croatian legion for the reincorporation of the Croatian territory for Croatia....⁴⁶¹

In another article "*On the Crossroads*," Kršnjavi blamed the dominance of the Austrian and Hungarian ruling circles for the success of the Serbian idea in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Their dominance had caused Croatian failure because imperial circles had not provided any support, Kršnjavi continued, while Croatian politicians had fought, not only for their own interests, but also for the interests of the entire Monarchy.

The idea of an independent Serbia exists on one side, and on the other centralistic, and later dualistic Habsburg Monarchy, in which two tribes – German and Hungarian – are ruling all the others. The Serbian idea meant liberation from such mastery, unification in the free Great Serbia, while the Croatian idea looked like it was meant to trap free people into a bird cage. As German and Hungarian pressure was getting stronger, Serbdom was accepted and respected even more....⁴⁶²

⁴⁶¹ Kršnjavi.

⁴⁶² Izidor Kršnjavi, "Na Razkršću," *Hrvatsko Pravo* 3873 (1908).

For Kršnjavi, Bosnia and Herzegovina were not only important because of the Croatian-speaking population living there, but also as an important geopolitical element - the natural extended hinterlands of Dalmatia. Although Kršnjavi used the term 'Bosnia' in his writings, it is obvious from the context that most of the time he was actually referring to the territories of Herzegovina, as in the case of the Dalmatian hinterlands.

I do not consider Bosnia Serbian, but rather a Croatian land, because the Croatian Kingdom has virtual rights over Bosnia. I am convinced that our Monarchy cannot withdraw from Bosnia, because without Bosnia, the hinterlands of Dalmatia, we would lose that cradle of Croatianness.⁴⁶³

Although Kršnjavi had previously argued that historical rights played no role in the case of Dalmatia's position, he now used that same argument in favor of his point. He complimented Croatian historians for proving that Bosnia and Herzegovina are Croatian lands, and he tried to show that the Catholic and Muslim populations should work together against Serbian pretensions.

Serbdom is not only political, but also confessional, a counter-Catholic and counter-Muslim program.... A big indebtedness goes to the Croatian historians for awakening Croatian consciousness [in Bosnia and Herzegovina], who enlightened the past and showed how all rights and freedoms of the people are based on Croatianness....⁴⁶⁴

Kršnjavi and later Croatian nationalist politicians, considered the Muslim population to be descendants of a Croatian nobility that had converted to Islam centuries before. Consequently, they should be considered to be a part of the Croatian nation, despite their different religion. He pointed out that the Muslim elite would also gain more advantages from an alliance with Croatia rather than with Serbia, since Croatia would continue the privileges of the Muslim elite and give them freedom of religious practice. Kršnjavi failed to notice that the imperial bureaucracy had already enacted a similar policy to maintain Muslim privilege, so the Muslim elite had no interest in switching to the Croatian side.

⁴⁶³ Kršnjavi, "Pismo Dra. I. Kršnjavoga."

⁴⁶⁴ Kršnjavi, "Na Razkršću."

As descendants of the old Croatian nobility that accepted Islam in order not to lose its possessions, Muslims sympathize more with Croats than with Serbians, who want to economically destroy and dispossess the beys.⁴⁶⁵

Kršnjavi believed that Muslims should enjoy freedom of religious practice, as did the Catholic Croats, so he objected to the claim that some members of the Party of Right were trying to attract Muslims by presenting themselves as non-religious people. Instead, everyone should respect each other's faith. The religious aspect was important for Kršnjavi since he believed that religions instilled morality in people.

Croatian national unity will bring the brotherly Muslims to our circle. If you think that you will attract them by renouncing your faith, and by becoming non-believers, you are wrong. Faith plays an important role for every Muslim, so he will only accept the people that value their own religion.⁴⁶⁶

Unlike many nationalists who considered the nation to be a community of people sharing the same religion, country of origin, genetics or racial traits, Kršnjavi considered the nation in a mid-nineteenth century German liberal concept to be a primarily spiritual community, possessing a common culture and the hope to live in one administrative unit somewhere in the future. Accordingly, anyone could become a member of whatever nation they desired to join, regardless of their ethnicity. An example of this way of thinking can be gleaned from his memoirs when referring to politician Vladimir Nikolić as "political Croat of Serb origins."⁴⁶⁷ In Kršnjavi's view, now the biggest threat to the Croatian nation was Serbia because of its linguistic similarities with Croatian and because of its state ideology.

We are not endangered by Germans, Hungarians nor Italians.... The Serbian threat is the most lethal because it pollutes and destroys the Croatian spirit; it enters the Croatian soul and destroys faith in Croatian thought, fervor for a pure Croatian future, for Croatian state right. It denationalizes Croats to stop being Croats, yet they do not

⁴⁶⁵ Kršnjavi, *Zapisci*, 660.

⁴⁶⁶ Izidor Kršnjavi, "Našoj Mladeži," *Hrvatsko Pravo* 3931 (1908).

⁴⁶⁷ Kršnjavi, *Zapisci*, 479.

become Serbs, but something other, disgusting and repugnant – Slavoserbs. ⁴⁶⁸

The term Slavoserb (slave + Serb) was coined by Ante Starčević in the mid-nineteenth century and it signified people in Croatia who were used by Serbs or foreign forces for their particular interests. Such people allegedly thought that they were cooperating with Serbs for the common good of the South Slavs. For Kršnjavi, the biggest problem of cooperation with Serbia was the loss of Croatian national interests that sought to establish a common state/administrative unit, in favor of working for the Serbian state idea.

The Serbian threat is the most dangerous because we speak the same language, which enables the non-Croatian state idea to creep unnoticed into Croatian souls.... Even if our language is the same, Serbian and Croatian state ideas oppose one another. There is not, nor could there be two political peoples that are one, even if they speak the same language, and have same religion and name... The question is who will be the master in our Croatian homeland, who will command – us or Serbs. ⁴⁶⁹

As Fernando Veliz brilliantly argued, since the mid-nineteenth century, both Serbian and Croatian political and religious elites had wanted Zagreb to become a center of a south Slavic entity. The main difference throughout the period between the Serbian and Croatian elites remained the question of power. Veliz also points out that the imperial designs of Zagreb suggested more than just constituting a crownland capital loyal to the Habsburgs, but also a gravitational center for the South Slavs which could serve as a semi-imperial center for the Eastern policy of the Monarchy.⁴⁷⁰ Although Serbia was recognized as a sovereign state, it was not perceived to be powerful enough to attract other South Slavs to it, due to its short existence, low economic standard, and lack of a high literary culture. According to Kršnjavi, for example, Khuen Héderváry had considered Serbia to be a very primitive and undeveloped country that could be

⁴⁶⁸ Izidor Kršnjavi, "O Političkom Položaju," *Hrvatska Smotra* 3962 (1909).

⁴⁶⁹ Kršnjavi.

⁴⁷⁰ Veliz, *The Politics of Croatia-Slavonia 1903-1918. Nationalism, State Allegiance and the Changing International Order*, 106,95.

ruled even by a woman - his own daughter Sofia.⁴⁷¹ Khuen Héderváry also did not consider the Serbian people to be true Europeans; that is, they were a people without culture.

Duke Khuen told me: "We Central Europeans are pretty similar." So, I asked him: "Would not your Highness draw a border on the Sava and the Danube?" Khuen laughed: "Yes. Serbians are not Europeans; in them the worst characteristics of the East and West are conjoined."⁴⁷²

Already in the 1880s, Kršnjavi had considered Serbians to be a people with a considerably lower level of culture than Croats, and he had not seen any possible threats that such a country could pose to Croatia. He even thought that the Party of Right was unreasonably harsh on Serbs since they were harmless, and that the Party's attacks on Serbs were only helping to consolidate the Serbian side.

...in my opinion, Starčević supporters' treatment of the Serbs seems inappropriate because I am convinced that the Serbs are not a stronger cultural factor than the Croats. Therefore, there is no danger that the Croats could ever be absorbed by Serbs.... I have been proving that attacks in Croatia can only consolidate and organize the Serbian part, making it more dangerous than it would have been if it was left to its natural development.⁴⁷³

Twenty years later, however, Kršnjavi started doing exactly the same thing for which he had criticized the Party of Right. Kršnjavi published several anti-Serb articles more as a result of requests from the Party of Right rather than out of his own personal beliefs, although he surely did not sympathize politically with Serb nationalists. However, his texts often criticized the Serbian political elites and their ideology, so it cannot be said what Kršnjavi exactly thought about the rest of the Serb population, especially those not actively engaged in politics. In his writings, Kršnjavi claimed that Serbia embodied all the bad the East represented – barbarousness, a lack of culture and rule of law – unlike Croatia which he wanted to present as a western, civilized nation through all his public and literary work. For Kršnjavi, Croatia played a special role in such a

⁴⁷¹ Kršnjavi, *Zapisci*, 19.

⁴⁷² Kršnjavi, 375.

⁴⁷³ Kršnjavi, 53.

binary division of the world, since it bordered the East and, implicitly, served as a dam against the spread of eastern influences.

I do not approve of the style of our combat, but I find it necessary... It is not true that Serbians and Croatians are one people. They are divided by many differences; firstly, by culture, but also by political goals. These are the differences between eastern and western culture that are a consequence of the division of the Roman Empire and the church schism. Those differences are still alive and unfortunately run directly through the middle of our country.⁴⁷⁴

After losing his political influence and after the breakup of the National Party, Kršnjavi had joined the Party of Right thinking it was his best chance to return to power. Although governments in Croatia changed almost every year, the Party of Right never managed to rule the country, despite alleged support from Austrian political circles. Most probably, the same thing happened that Kršnjavi had noticed earlier: the Austrians used Croatian politicians in their own political struggles with the Hungarians. The future king Franz Ferdinand seems to have had different views on Croatian matter. Although dating from 1910, correspondence of Alexander von Brosch (1870-1914), Franz Ferdinand's Chief of Military Chancellery, with Moritz Auffenberg sheds some light on the archduke's thoughts on Frank and his party.

...respect towards Frank and his sons is insignificant... Here [in Vienna] cooperation of Frank's party with [Ban] Rauch is not being observed with sympathy; such lack of principles with its only goal of coming to power by all possible means is not a guarantee for future. As much as my boss [Franz Ferdinand] is not delighted with new government in Zagreb [the Croatian-Serbian coalition led by former National party member Ban Nikola Tomašić], he is more pleased with it than with prolongment of Rauch's regime with the help of Frank's party.⁴⁷⁵

By the same token it seems that his own party was using Kršnjavi mostly because of his literary capabilities and his good political connections. But the Party would not give him a major

⁴⁷⁴ Kršnjavi, 637.

⁴⁷⁵ Matković and Trogrlić, *Iz korespodencije Josipa Franka*, 378.

political position. The Party of Right was mostly concerned with what Krsnjavi might have called “shallow” daily politics characterized by anti-Serbian rhetoric and debates over the possible unification of Croatia with Dalmatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina. On the other hand, Kršnjavi’s radicalization was marked more by following the Party’s political lead and personal disappointment in politics than by changing his worldview. Kršnjavi’s attitude towards the Serbian politicians and activists needs also to be observed through his education in Vienna and the liberal views he had adopted during his studies there. Similar to the liberal milieu of mid-nineteenth century Vienna, among whom he had been socialized, Kršnjavi had adopted the idea of cultural dominance, moral superiority and a belief in ultimate solutions for various social and political problems. Kršnjavi and the liberals believed that they would be able to convince their opponents through open discussions to support future reforms which would ensure the prosperity of society and prevent future social conflicts. In the same way, Austrian liberals thought they should dominate and govern other nationalities in the empire based on their abilities, Kršnjavi also believed Croats should dominate and govern other ethnic groups, with special emphasis on the most numerous Serb population, living inside Croatia-Slavonia and in the other territories such as Dalmatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina. Believing he was able to successfully influence the future of the nation with his ideas and reforms, Kršnjavi naturally experienced disappointment after the loss of political power since he had not managed to ensure a utopian future for the nation.

Similar to Austrian liberals, Kršnjavi also resorted to nationalism after his loss of political power. While Austrian liberals, who were comprised mostly of a younger generation, turned to the mobilization of wider masses, Kršnjavi nevertheless continued to function in the liberal mid-nineteenth century paradigm of top-down politics and enlightenment of the masses through education and high culture. As a person educated to admire empire, state order, and reaching political consensus through discussion, the changed political situation in Croatian politics in the early twentieth century left Kršnjavi puzzled and unable to adopt to the new circumstances marked by a gradual rise of political violence, lack of interest and solidarity for the Monarchy, and gravitation of part of the younger generation towards Belgrade and unification with Serbia. Being accustomed to function within the Dualist system, Kršnjavi could not follow nationalist

radicalization in the both halves of the Monarchy. As John Deák points out “what resulted from a restless heir presumptive—who wanted to change everything but could not—and an old emperor on the throne, was a period in which political thinkers could dream.”⁴⁷⁶ This situation provided politically marginalized Kršnjavi a last opportunity to dream and he used it.

⁴⁷⁶ Deák, *Forging a Multinational State : State Making in Imperial Austria from the Enlightenment to the First World War*, 244.

CONCLUSION

The main aim of the thesis was to show the complexities of national and imperial belonging and activism using Kršnjavi as an example. I wanted to present Kršnjavi's worldview as a byproduct, as well as a mixture, of imperial education and Croatian nationalism, and to point out how ideologies can never be fully transmitted, but are always a result of personal experience and interpretation. Similarly, as it was impossible to fully implement imperial ideology into Kršnjavi, it was equally impossible for Kršnjavi to convince others of his views about the Croatian nation and how it should be managed. Like many other nationalists, Kršnjavi believed that he played a Messianic role in the life of the Croatian nation, and that his main task was to (re)define national identity. The basic presumption behind such an idea was that a clearly defined national identity would lead to the development of a more homogenous society that would prosper with material progress and remain devoid of problems. Unlike many national activists who considered only one aspect to be crucial, usually that of history or politics, Kršnjavi used various cultural and scholarly approaches to develop his ideas about national identity.

All Kršnjavi's work focused on the future development of the nation and, hopefully, its induction into Western civilization. His preconceived worldview of politics from above and his long-term planning for the nation's future always left him one step behind. Despite changing his political rhetoric several times, Kršnjavi remained rooted in high culture and the narrow political participation of a social and cultural elite, while failing to adopt to more recent political circumstances and newer ways of practicing politics. One of the best illustrations of this might be his talk with one of his friends in 1908, recorded in his memoirs. When the friend advised him to try and talk Duke Oršić into being a candidate for the Party of Right in the next Zagreb municipal elections, Kršnjavi replied: "He [duke Oršić] must know, if he is Duke [...] then I am Doctor [...] and I am part of a spiritual aristocracy, the same way he is a part of the aristocracy by birth."⁴⁷⁷ Another example from Kršnjavi's memoirs which shows his inability to adapt to new ways of dealing with politics, is his public dispute with a clerically oriented student, Matica, in 1901. Matica apparently accused Kršnjavi of leading lectures on the history of religious art with anti-

⁴⁷⁷ Kršnjavi, *Zapisci*, 560.

clerical character and started interrupting lectures. Kršnjavi started open debate during lectures with Matica and other students believing he could change their minds with the power of his arguments. Although Kršnjavi probably managed to influence some students' opinions, Matica and some other clerical students were not convinced with Kršnjavi's arguments which made Kršnjavi embittered. "This is a typical cultural phenomenon – [...] arranged battue [by clerical circles] of one student on me. Phew! At the moment, I am being overwhelmed by feelings of revulsion."⁴⁷⁸

Paradoxically, his work often had the opposite effect than what he intended. Instead of unifying the nation, his ideas often caused bitter divisions. In a way Kršnjavi symbolized the modernization of both the Habsburg Monarchy and the Croatian nation and their failed expectations. While the imperial circles expected that modernization would resolve national and social conflicts through progress in economy and culture, the nation hoped that the reorganization of the Monarchy and new political circumstances would resolve the national problems away from political dispute towards an improvement of material conditions. Interaction between the empire and its nations generated new problems, despite the fact that representatives of both wanted to improve relations through progressive change, however defined. Although Kršnjavi did not manage to remain a part of the ruling political elite, his life shows how it was possible to become an important member of society through education in the imperial metropole and the status it brought, despite having come from a modest background. Kršnjavi's self-perception as a Messiah for the nation led him to believe that Croatia was at a turning point in history and that its proper progress relied exclusively on him. An inability to notice changes in political styles and political culture made Kršnjavi's efforts unsuccessful after the loss of his departmental head position because he focused more on how to change circumstances to fit his needs than on readily adapting to them.

⁴⁷⁸ Kršnjavi, 162–64.

Sources

Archives and libraries

Arhiv za likovne umjetnosti HAZU (ALU-HAZU)

Državni arhiv u Zagreb (DAZ)

Hrvatski državni arhiv (HR-HDA)

Österreichische Nationalbibliothek Bildarchiv und Grafiksammlung (ÖNBG)

Contemporary periodicals and newspapers

Agramer Tagblatt

Agramer Zeitung

Hrvatska smotra

Hrvatsko pravo

Glasnik Društva Za Umjetnost i Umjetni Obrt

Vjestnik Kraljevskog Hrvatsko-Slavonsko-Dalmatinskog Zemaljskog Arkiva

Glasnik Zemaljskog Muzeja u Bosni i Hercegovini

Katolički list

Napredak

Narodne novine

Obzor

Prosvjeta

Vijenac

Literature

Albert, Samuel D. "The Nation for Itself: The 1896 Hungarian Millennium and the 1906 Romanian National General Exhibition." In *Cultures of International Exhibitions 1840-1940 - Great Exhibitions in the Margins*, edited by Marta Filipova. Dorchester: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2015.

- Alexander, Edward P., and Mary Alexander. *Museums in Motion - An Introduction to the History and Function of Museums*. Lanham: Altamira Press, 2007.
- Alofsin, Anthony. *When Buildings Speak: Architecture as Language in the Habsburg Empire and Its Aftermath, 1867-1933*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2006.
- Ames, Michael M. *Museums, the Public and Anthropology*. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1986.
- Ančić, Mladen. "Franački i Langobardski Utjecaji Pri Stvaranju i Oblikovanju Hrvatske Kneževine." *Starohrvatska Prosvjeta* 43, no. 3 (2016).
- . "Image of Royal Authority in the Work of Thomas Archdeacon." *Povijesni Prilozi* 22 (2002).
- . "Kako Danas Čitati Studije Franje Račkoga?" In *Nutarnje Stanje Hrvatske Prije XII. Stoljeća*, by Franjo Rački. Zagreb: Golden Marketing - Tehnička knjiga, 2009.
- Antoljak, Stjepan. *Pacta Ili Concordia Od 1102. Godine*. Zagreb: Sveučilišna naklada Liber, 1980.
- Ash, Mitchell G., and Jan Surman. "Introduction." In *The Nationalization of Scientific Knowledge in the Habsburg Empire (1848-1918)*, edited by Mitchell G. Ash and Jan Surman. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012.
- Ballinger, Pamela. "Multiculturalism against the State: Lessons from Istria." In *Understanding Multiculturalism: The Habsburg Central European Experience*, edited by Johannes Feichtinger and Gary B. Cohen. New York ; Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2014.
- Bartulin, Nevenko. *The Racial Idea in the Independent State of Croatia - Origins and Theory*. Leiden: Brill, 2014.
- Baskar, Bojan. "Small National Ethnologies and Supranational Empires: The Case of the Habsburg Monarchy." In *Everyday Culture in Europe: Approaches and Methodologies*, edited by Máiréad Nic Craith, Ullrich Kockel, and Reinhard Johler. Hampshire: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2008.
- Bazin, Germain. *The Museum Age*. New York: Universe Books, 1967.
- Belaj, Vitomir. "Die Darstellung Der Kroaten in Österreichisch-Ungarischen Übersichtswerken." In *Ethnographie in Serie. Zu Produktion Und Rezeption Der "österreichisch-Ungarischen Monarchie in Wort Und Bild*, edited by Jurij Fikfak and Reinhard Johler. Vienna: Verlag des Instituts für Europäische Ethnologie, 2008.
- Bendix, Regina. "Ethnology, Cultural Reification, and the Dynamics of Difference in the Kronprinzenwerk." In *Creating the Other - Ethnic Conflict and Nationalism in Habsburg Central Europe*, edited by Nancy M. Wingfield. New York ; Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2003.
- Bennett, Tony. "Museums and 'the People.'" In *The Museum Time-Machine: Putting Cultures on Display*, edited by Robert Lumley. London: Routledge, 1988.
- . *The Birth of the Museum: History, Theory, Politics*. London ; New York: Routledge, 1995.
- Berecz, Ágoston. *The Politics of Early Language Teaching: Hungarian in the Primary Schools of the Late Dual Monarchy*. Budapest: Central European University Press, 2013.
- Bergdoll, Barry. "Archeology vs. History: Heinrich Hübsch's Critique of Neoclassicism and the Beginnings of Historicism in German Architectural Theory." *Oxford Art Journal* 5, no. 2 (1983).
- Bilandžić, Dušan. *Hrvatska Moderna Povijest*. Zagreb: Golden Marketing, 1999.
- Blau, Eve, and Monika Platzer, eds. *Shaping the Great City: Modern Architecture in Central Europe, 1890-1937*. Munich: Prestel, 2000.

- Bojničić, Ivan. "Von Den Anjou Bis Zur Neuzeit." In *Die Österreichisch-Ungarische Monarchie in Wort Und Bild - Croatien Und Slavonien*, Vol. 24. Wien: Druck und Verlag der kaiserlich-königlichen Hof- und Staatsdruckerei, 1902.
- Bogdanov, Vaso. *Hrvatski narodni pokret: 1903-4*. Zagreb: Izdavački zavod Jugoslavenske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti, 1961.
- Brooks Tomljanovich, William. *Biskup Josip Juraj Strossmayer - Nacionalizam i Moderni Katolicizam u Hrvatskoj*. Zagreb: Dom i svijet, 2001.
- Buckle, Henry Thomas. *History of Civilization in England*. Vol. 1. London: Spottiswoode and Co., 1864.
- Bukowski, James B. "The Catholic Church and Croatian National Identity: From the Counter-Reformation to the Early Nineteenth Century." *East European Quarterly* XII, no. 3 (1979).
- Bulić, Ivan. "Politika Hrvatsko-Srpske Koalicije Uoči Prvoga Svjetskoga Rata 1907.-1913." *Časopis Za Suvremenu Povijest* 44, no. 2 (2012).
- Burckhardt, Jacob. *Die Kultur Der Renaissance in Italien*. Stuttgart: Reclam, 2014.
- Burke, Peter. "Popular Culture in Norway and Sweden." *History Workshop Journal* 3, no. 1 (1977).
- Carroll, Patrick. *Science, Culture, and Modern State Formation*. Berkley: University of California Press, 2006.
- Cetnarowicz, Antoni. *Narodni preporod u Dalmaciji*. Zagreb: Srednja Europa, 2006.
- Coen, Deborah R. *Climate in Motion - Science, Empire, and the Problem of Scale*. Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2018.
- . "Fault Lines and Borderlands: Earthquake Science in Imperial Austria." In *The Nationalization of Scientific Knowledge in the Habsburg Empire (1848-1918)*, edited by Mitchell G. Ash and Jan Surman. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012.
- Cohen, Gary B. *Education and Middle-Class Society in Imperial Austria*. West Lafayette, Indiana: Purdue University Press, 1996.
- Conrad, Sebastian. *Globalisation and the Nation in Imperial Germany*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012.
- . "Rethinking German Colonialism in a Global Age." *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 41, no. 4 (2013).
- Coombes, Annie E. "Museums and the Formation of National and Cultural Identities." *Oxford Art Journal* 11, no. 2 (1988): 57–68.
- . *Reinventing Africa: Museums, Material Culture and Popular Imagination in Late Victorian and Edwardian England*. Yale University Press, 1997.
- Čorkalo Jeremić, Katica. "Pisac i Publicist Izidor Kršnjavi." In *Iso Kršnjavi - Veliki Utemeljitelj*, edited by Ivana Mance and Zlatko Matijević. Zagreb: Institut za povijest umjetnosti/ Hrvatski institut za povijest, 2015.
- Cornwall, Mark. "The Habsburg Monarchy." In *What Is a Nation? Europe 1789-1914*, edited by Timothy Baycroft and Mark Hewitson. New York: Oxford University Press, 2006.
- . "Loyalty and Treason in late Habsburg Croatia: A Violent Political Discourse before the First World War." In *Exploring Loyalty*, edited by Martin Schulze Wessel and Jana Osterkamp. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2017.
- Crowley, David. *National Style and Nation-State: Design in Poland from the Vernacular Revival to the International Style*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1992.
- Damjanović, Dragan. *Arhitekt Herman Bolle*. Zagreb: Leykam International, 2013.

- . “Iso Kršnjavi i Arhitektura Historicizma u Hrvatskoj.” In *Iso Kršnjavi - Veliki Utemeljitelj*, edited by Ivana Mance and Zlatko Matijević. Zagreb: Institut za povijest umjetnosti/ Hrvatski institut za povijest, 2015.
- . “Polychrome Roof Tiles and National Style in Nineteenth-Century Croatia.” *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 70, no. 4 (2011): 466–91.
- Deák, John. *Forging a Multinational State : State Making in Imperial Austria from the Enlightenment to the First World War*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2015.
- Defilippis, Josip. “Razvoj Obiteljskih Gospodarstava Hrvatske i Zadrugarstvo.” *Sociologija i Prostor: Časopis Za Istraživanje Prostornoga i Sociokulturnog Razvoja* 43, no. 1 (2005).
- Diklić, Marjan. *Dalmacija u XIX. stoljeću*. Zadar: Matica Hrvatska, 2010.
- Dobrovšak, Ljiljana. “Zakonodavna i izvršna vlast u hrvatskim zemljama od 1790. do 1918.,” in *Temelji moderne Hrvatske – Hrvatske zemlje u „dugom“ 19. stoljeću*, edited by Vlasta Švoger and Jasna Turkalj. Zagreb: Matica Hrvatska, 2016.
- Duncan, Carol, and Alan Wallach. “The Universal Survey Museum.” *Art History* 3, no. 4 (1980).
- Džino, Danijel. “Subverting Braudel in Dalmatia: Religion, Landscape and Cultural Mediation in the Hinterland of the Eastern Adriatic.” In *Across the Corrupting Sea - Post-Braudelian Approaches to the Ancient Eastern Mediterranean*, edited by Cavan Concannon and Lindsey A. Mazurek. Dorchester: Routledge, 2016.
- . “The Perception of Croatian Medieval History by Vladimir Nazor in Hrvatski Kraljevi (The Kings of Croats).” *Croatian Studies Review* 7, no. 1–2 (2011).
- Endersby, Jim. *Imperial Nature: Joseph Hooker and the Practices of Victorian Science*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008.
- Espagne, Michel. “Comparison and Transfer: A Question of Method.” In *Transnational Challenges to National History Writing*, edited by Matthias Middell and Lluís Roura. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013.
- Evans, Christopher. “Delineating Objects : Nineteenth-Century Antiquarian Culture and the Project of Archaeology.” In *Visions of Antiquity : The Society of Antiquaries of London, 1707-2007*, edited by Susan Pearce. London: Society of Antiquaries of London, 2007.
- Facos, Michelle, and Sharon Hirsh, eds. *Art, Culture and National Identity in Fin-de-Siècle Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003.
- Feichtinger, Johannes. “‘Staatsnation’, ‘Kulturnation’, ‘Nationalstaat’: The Role of National Politics in the Advancement of Science and Scholarship in Austria from 1848-1938.” In *The Nationalization of Scientific Knowledge in the Habsburg Empire (1848-1918)*, edited by Mitchell G. Ash and Jan Surman. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012.
- Fradera, Josep M. “Empires in Retreat: Spain and Portugal after the Napoleonic Wars.” In *Endless Empire: Spain’s Retreat, Europe’s Eclipse, America’s Decline*, edited by Alfred W. McCoy, Josep M. Fradera, and Stephen Jacobson. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2012.
- Freifeld, Alice. “Marketing Industrialism and Dualism in Liberal Hungary: Expositions, 1842–1896.” *Austrian History Yearbook* 29, no. 1 (n.d.).
- Gänger, Stefanie. *Relics of the Past: The Collecting and Study of Pre-Columbian Antiquities in Peru and Chile, 1837 - 1911*. OUP Oxford, 2014.
- Gervits, Maya. “Historicism, Nationalism, and Museum Architecture in Russia from the Nineteenth to the Turn of the Twentieth Century.” *Visual Resources: An International Journal on Images and Their Uses* 27, no. 1 (2011).

- Goldstein, Ivo. "Dinastija Arpadovića i Ranosrednjovjekovna Hrvatska." In *Zvonimir Kralj Hrvatski: Zbornik Radova*, edited by Ivo Goldstein. Zagreb: Hrvatska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, 1997.
- Gorman, Daniel. *Imperial Citizenship: Empire and the Question of Belonging*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2006.
- Grčević, Mario. "Vanjskopolitički Utjecaji Na Hrvatski Književnojezični Razvoj u Drugoj Polovici XIX. Stoljeća." *Jezik: Časopis Za Kulturu Hrvatskoga Književnog Jezika* 61, no. 4-5 (2014).
- Grijak, Zoran. "Korespodencija Josip Juraj Strossmayer - Isidor Kršnjavi (1875.-1884.)." *Cris: Časopis Povijesnog Društva Križevci* 8, no. 1 (2007).
- . "Uspomene i Razgovori s biskupom Strossmayerom Izidora Kršnjavoga kao povijesni izvor." *Scrinia Slavonica* 11, no. 1 (2011): 97-181.
- Gross, Mirjana. *Vladavina Hrvatsko-Srpske Koalicije 1906-1907*. Beograd: Institut društvenih nauka, 1960.
- . "Hrvatska Politika Velikoaustrijskog Kruga Oko Prijestolonasljednika Franje Ferdinanda." *Časopis Za Suvremenu Povijest* 2, no. 2 (1971).
- . *Povijest Pravaške Ideologije*. Zagreb: Sveučilište u Zagrebu, 1973.
- . "Croatian National-Integrational Ideologies from the end of Illyrism to the creation of Yugoslavia." *Austrian History Yearbook* 15 (1979).
- . *Počeci moderne Hrvatske – Neoapsolutizam u civilnoj Hrvatskoj i Slavoniji 1850.-1860.*, Zagreb: Globus, 1985.
- . "The Union of Dalmatia with Northern Croatia: A Crucial Question of the Croatian National Integration in the Nineteenth Century." In *The National Question in Europe in Historical Context*, edited by Mikulaš Teich and Roy Porter. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993.
- . *Izvorno pravaštvo*. Zagreb: Golden Marketing, 2000.
- Gross, Mirjana, and Agneza Szabo. *Prema Hrvatskome Građanskom Društvu - Društveni Razvoj u Civilnoj Hrvatskoj i Slavoniji Šezdesetih i Sedamdesetih Godina 19. Stoljeća*. Zagreb: Globus, 1992.
- Gruber, Dane. *Iz Starije Hrvatske Povijesti*. Zagreb: Tisak Kr. zemaljske tiskare, 1901.
- Gubser, Michael. *Time's Visible Surface: Alois Riegl and the Discourse on History and Temporality in Fin-de-Siècle Vienna*. Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2006.
- Hajdarpasic, Edin. *Whose Bosnia? Nationalism and Political Imagination in the Balkans, 1840-1914*. Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2015.
- Handler, Richard, and Eric Gable. *The New History in an Old Museum: Creating the Past at Colonial Williamsburg*. Durham: Duke University Press, 1997.
- Hartmuth, Maximilian. "Vienna and the Art Historical 'Discovery' of the Balkans." In *Orientalismen in Ostmitteleuropa. Diskurse, Aktuere Und Disziplinen Vom 19. Jahrhundert Bis Zum Zweiten Weltkrieg*, edited by Robert Born and Sarah Lemmen. Bielefeld: Transcript Verlag, 2014.
- Heiszler, Vilmos. "Ungarischer (Magyarischer) Nationalismus Im 'Kronprinzenwerk.'" In *Nation Und Nationalismus in Wissenschaftlichen Standardwerken Österreich-Ungarns, ca. 1867-1918*, edited by Endre Kiss, Csaba Kiss, and Justin Stagl. Vienna, 1997.
- Hurt, Douglas R. "Agricultural Museums: A New Frontier for the Social Sciences." *The History Teacher* 11, no. 3 (1978).
- Ingrao, Charles. *The Habsburg Monarchy, 1618-1815*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.

- Iz korespondencije Josipa Franka s Bečom: 1907.-1910.*, edited by Stjepan Matković and Marko Trogrlić, Zagreb-Split, Hrvatski institut za povijest-Odsjek za povijest Filozofskog fakulteta u Splitu, 2014.
- Jacobson, Stephen. "Imperial Ambitions in an Era of Decline." In *Endless Empire: Spain's Retreat, Europe's Eclipse, America's Decline*, edited by Alfred W. McCoy, Josep M. Fradera, and Stephen Jacobson. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2012.
- Jones, Colin. "Theodore Vacquer and the Archaeology of Modernity in Haussmann's Paris." *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society, Sixth Series*, 17 (2007): 157–83.
- Judson, Pieter M. *Guardians of the Nation: Activists on the Language Frontiers of Imperial Austria*. Cambridge, Mass., London: Harvard University Press, 2006.
- . *The Habsburg Empire - A New History*. Cambridge, London: Harvard University Press, 2016.
- Jurić, Zlatko, Martina Strugar, and Franko Ćorić. "Rasprave o Bakačevoj Kuli u Zagrebu 1901. Godine: 'Taj Nezgrapni, Ružni Toranj...' Ili '...Karakterističan Primjer Sredovječnog Utvrđenog Braništa.'" *Portal - Godišnjak Hrvatskog Restauratorskog Zavoda* 2 (2011).
- Kann, Robert A. *The Multinational Empire: Nationalism and National Reform in the Habsburg Monarchy 1848-1918*. New York: Octagon Books, 1964.
- . *The Peoples of the Eastern Habsburg Lands, 1526-1918. A History of East Central Europe*, v. 6. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1984.
- Karaman, Igor. *Hrvatska Na Pragu Modernizacije (1750.-1918.)*. Zagreb: Naklada Ljevak, 2000.
- Kent, Sarah. "State Ritual and Ritual Parody: Croatian Student Protest and the Limits of Loyalty at the End of the Nineteenth Century." In *The Limits of Loyalty: Imperial Symbolism, Popular Allegiances, and State Patriotism in the Late Habsburg Monarchy*, edited by Laurence Cole and Daniel L. Unowsky, 1 edition. New York: Berghahn Books, 2009.
- Klemun, Marianne. "National 'Consensus' As Culture and Practice: The Geological Survey in Vienna and the Habsburg Empire (1849–1867)." In *The Nationalization of Scientific Knowledge in the Habsburg Empire (1848-1918)*, edited by Mitchell G. Ash and Jan Surman. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012.
- Kolak Bošnjak, Arijana. "Izidor Kršnjavi Na Hrvatskim Saborima Od 1884. Do 1897. Godine." In *Iso Kršnjavi - Veliki Utemeljitelj*, edited by Ivana Mance and Zlatko Matijević. Zagreb: Institut za povijest umjetnosti/ Hrvatski institut za povijest, 2015.
- Kolar-Dimitrijević, Mira. "Ban Pavle Rauch i Hrvatska u Njegovo Vrijeme." *Povijesni Prilozi* 18 (1999).
- Košćak, Vladimir. *Josip Juraj Strossmayer - Politicar i Mecena*. Osijek: Revija, Izdavački centar Otvorenog sveučilišta Osijek, 1990.
- Kosi, Jernej. "The Imagined Slovene Nation and Local Categories of Identification: 'Slovenes' in the Kingdom of Hungary and Postwar Prekmurje." *Austrian History Yearbook* 49 (2018).
- Kraljačić, Tomislav. *Kalajev Režim u Bosni i Hercegovini (1882-1903)*. Sarajevo: Veselin Masleša, 1987.
- Kraševac, Irena. "Iso Kršnjavi i Springerova Biblioteka Za Zagrebačku Sveučilišnu Knjižnicu." In *Iso Kršnjavi - Veliki Utemeljitelj*, edited by Ivana Mance and Zlatko Matijević. Zagreb: Institut za povijest umjetnosti/ Hrvatski institut za povijest, 2015.
- Kršnjavi, Isidor. *Oblici Graditeljstva u Starom Vieku i Glavna Načela Gradjevne Ljepote*. Zagreb: Nakladom Društva umjetnosti, 1883.
- Kršnjavi, Izidor. *Božji Sirotan: roman iz 13. stoljeća*. Zagreb: Društvo sv. Jeronima, 1926.
- . *Božji Vitez: Roman Iz 13.Stoljeća*. Zagreb: Društvo sv. Jeronima, 1925.

- . “Der Zeit Der Nationalen Herrscher Und Die Herrschaft Der Arpaden.” In *Die Österreichisch-Ungarische Monarchie in Wort Und Bild - Croatien Und Slavonien*, Vol. 24. Wien: Druck und Verlag der kaiserlich-königlichen Hof- und Staatsdruckerei, 1902.
- . “Die Croatische Kunst.” In *Die Österreichisch-Ungarische Monarchie in Wort Und Bild - Croatien Und Slavonien*, Vol. 24. Wien: Druck und Verlag der kaiserlich-königlichen Hof- und Staatsdruckerei, 1902.
- . *Dvije Radnje o Umjetnosti*. Zagreb, 1876.
- . “Einleitung.” In *Die Österreichisch-Ungarische Monarchie in Wort Und Bild - Croatien Und Slavonien*, edited by Izidor Kršnjavi, Vol. 24. Wien: Druck und Verlag der kaiserlich-königlichen Hof- und Staatsdruckerei, 1902..
- . *Izabrana Djela*. Vinkovci: Riječ, 2000.
- . *Listovi Iz Slavonije*. Zagreb, 1882.
- . *Zapisci: Iza Kulisa Hrvatske Politike*. Zagreb: Mladost, 1986.
- . *Znamenovanje Poviesti i Arkeologije Umjetnosti*. Zagreb: Tisak dioničke tiskare, 1878.
- Krueger, Rita. *Czech, German, and Noble - Status and National Identity in Habsburg Bohemia*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009.
- Kwan, Jonathan. *Liberalism and the Habsburg Monarchy, 1861-1895*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013.
- Levine, P. J. A. *The Amateur and the Professional: Antiquarians, Historians and Archaeologists in Victorian England 1838-1886*. Cambridge University Press, 2003.
- Macartney, C. A. *The Habsburg Empire, 1790-1918*. First edition. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1971.
- MacGregor, Arthur. “Forming an Identity : The Early Society and Its Context, 1707-51.” In *Visions of Antiquity : The Society of Antiquaries of London, 1707-2007*, edited by Susan Pearce. London: Society of Antiquaries of London, 2007.
- MacKenzie, John M. *Museums and Empire - Natural History, Human Cultures and Colonial Identities*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2010.
- Marchand, Suzanne. “The View from the Land: Austrian Art Historians and the Interpretation of Croatian Art.” In *Dalmatia and the Mediterranean: Portable Archaeology and the Poetics of Influence*, edited by Alina Payne. Leiden: Brill, 2014.
- Marković, Ivančica. “Podjela i Raspad Kućnih Zadruga u Slavoniji u 19. Stoljeću.” *Scrinia Slavonica* 9 (2009).
- Markus, Tomislav. “Trojedna Kraljevina Hrvatska, Slavonija i Dalmacija od 1790. do 1918.: osnovne smjernice političke povijesti,” in *Temelji moderne Hrvatske – Hrvatske zemlje u „dugom“ 19. stoljeću*, edited by Vlasta Švoger and Jasna Turkalj. Zagreb: Matica Hrvatska, 2016.
- Maruševski, Olga. *Iso Kršnjavi Kao Graditelj: Izgradnja i Obnova Obrazovnih, Kulturnih i Umjetničkih Spomenika u Hrvatskoj*. Zagreb: Institut za povijest umjetnosti, 2009.
- . *Iso Kršnjavi: Kultura i Politika Na Zidovima Palače u Opatičkoj 10*. Zagreb: Hrvatski institut za povijest, 2002.
- Matijević, Zlatko. *Ljudi, Stranke, Događaji: Prizori Iz Hrvatske Političke Povijesti*. Zagreb: Golden Marketing, 2019.
- Matijević-Sokol, Mirjana. “Toma Arhiđakon Splićanin (1200.-1268.) - Nacrt Za Jedan Portret.” *Povijesni Prilozi* 14 (1995).
- Matković, Petar. *Geografsko-Statistički Nacrt Austrijsko-Ugarske Monarhije*. Zagreb: Narodna tiskara dr. Lj. Gaja, 1874.

- Matković, Stjepan. "Croatian Views on the Annexation Crisis." In *1908, l'Annexion de La Bosnie-Herzégovine, Cent Ans Après*, edited by Catherine Horel. Bruxelles: P.I.E.-Peter Lang, 2011.
- . "Izidor Kršnjavi i Njegovi Pogledi Na Preuređenje Austro-Ugarske Monarhije Na Početku 20. Stoljeća." In *Iso Kršnjavi - Veliki Utemeljitelj*, edited by Ivana Mance and Zlatko Matijević. Zagreb: Institut za povijest umjetnosti/ Hrvatski institut za povijest, 2015.
- Moravánsky, Ákos. *Competing Visions: Aesthetic Invention and Social Imagination in Central European Architecture, 1867-1918*. Cambridge, Mass., London: MIT Press, 1998.
- Mrazović, Lacko. "Umjetničko-Obrtnička Izložba u Zagrebu." *Vienac*. 1879, 50 edition.
- Najbar-Agičić, Magdalena. *U Skladu s Marksizmom Ili Činjenicama?: Hrvatska Historiografija 1945-1960*. Zagreb: Ibis grafika, 2013.
- Obad, Stijepo. "Putovanje cara Franje Josipa I. po Dalmaciji 1875. godine," in *Dalmacija 1870-ih u svjetlu bečke politike i "istočnog pitanja*," edited by Josip Vrandečić and Marko Trogrlić, Zadar: Odjel za povijest Sveučilišta u Zadru, 2007.
- O'Connell, Lauren M. "Constructing the Russian Other: Viollet-Le-Duc and the Politics of an Asiatic Past." In *Architectures of Russian Identity, 1500 to the Present*, edited by James Cracraft and Daniel Rowland. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2003.
- Okey, Robin. "Austro-Hungarian Diplomacy and the Campaign for a Slavonic Liturgy in the Catholic Church, 1881-1914." *The Slavonic and East European Review* 70, no. 2 (1992).
- . *Taming Balkan Nationalism*. Oxford ; New York: Oxford University Press, 2007.
- Ostajmer, Branko. "Kako Sam Postao Magjaron - Tri Godine u Životu Izidora Kršnjavoga (1883.-1885.)." In *Iso Kršnjavi - Veliki Utemeljitelj*, edited by Ivana Mance and Zlatko Matijević. Zagreb: Institut za povijest umjetnosti/ Hrvatski institut za povijest, 2015.
- Pajas, Ferdo. *Hrvatsko Društvo Umjetnosti i Njegovo Djelovanje Od Osnutka 1878. Godine Sve Do Konce 1917. Godine*. Zagreb: Tisak nakladnog zavoda Ignata Granitza. The book was printed, but it was not published., 1918.
- Pantelić, Bratislav. "Nationalism and Architecture: The Creation of a National Style in Serbian Architecture and Its Political Implications." *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 56, no. 1 (1997).
- Paquette, Gabriel. *Imperial Portugal in the Age of Atlantic Revolutions - The Luso-Brazilian World, c. 1770-1850*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013.
- Pavličević, Dragutin. *Buna u bivšoj Bansknoj krajini 1883*. Zagreb: Povijesno društvo Hrvatske, 1973.
- . *Povijest Hrvatske*. Zagreb: Naklada Pavičić, 1994.
- . *Hrvatske Kućne/Obiteljske Zadruge I. (Do 1881.)*. Zagreb: Golden Marketing - Tehnička knjiga, 2010.
- . *Hrvatske Kućne/Obiteljske Zadruge II. (Nakon 1881.)*. Zagreb: Golden Marketing - Tehnička knjiga, 2010.
- Pederin, Ivan. "Dalmacija u Djelu Die Österreichisch-Ungarische Monarchie in Wort Und Bild." *Radovi Zavoda Povijesnih Znanosti Hazu u Zadru* 46 (2004).
- Peršić, Ivan. *Kroničarski Spisi*. Zagreb: Državni arhiv u Zagrebu, Hrvatski institut za povijest; Dom i svijet, 2002.
- Petrović, Tihana. "Iso Kršnjavi kao etnograf." *Etnološka tribina* 22, no. 15 (1992): 149–56.
- Petrungaro, Stefano. *Kamenje i puške: društveni protest na hrvatskom selu krajem XIX. stoljeća*. Zagreb: Srednja Europa, 2011.

- Petschar, Hans. "Über Die Konstruktion von Identitäten - Vergangenheit Und Zukunft Im Kronprinzenwerk." In *Migration Und Innovation Um 1900: Perspektiven Auf Das Wien Der Jahrhundertwende*, edited by Elisabeth Röhrlich. Wien, Köln, Weimar: Böhlau Verlag, 2016.
- Porphyrogenitus, Constantine. *De Administrando Imperio*. Edited by Gyula Moravcsik and Romilly J.H. Jenkins. Washington: Dumbarton Oaks, 1967.
- Prančević, Dalibor. "Estetska i Svjetonazorska Ukrštanja i Sudari Između Ise Kršnjavija i Ivana Meštrovića." In *Iso Kršnjavi - Veliki Utemeljitelj*. Zagreb: Institut za povijest umjetnosti/ Hrvatski institut za povijest, 2015.
- Rahman, Sabrina Karim. *Designing Empire: Austria and the Applied Arts, 1864-1918*. University of California, Berkley: PhD Dissertation, 2010.
- Rampley, Matthew. "Art History and the Politics of Empire: Rethinking the Vienna School." *The Art Bulletin* 91, no. 4 (December 1, 2009): 446–62.
- . "Dalmatia Is Italian! The Politics of Art History in Austria Hungary and South Eastern Europe 1862-1930." *Balkan Studies (Etudes Balkaniques)* 44, no. 4 (2008): 130–47.
- . "The Idea of a Scientific Discipline: Rudolf von Eitelberger and the Emergence of Art History in Vienna, 1847–1873." *Art History* 34, no. 1 (2011): 54–79.
- . *The Vienna School of Art History: Empire and the Politics of Scholarship, 1847–1918*. State College: Penn State Press, 2013.
- Rampley, Matthew, Thierry Lenain, Charlotte Schoell-Glass, Hubert Locher, C.J.M. (Kitty) Zijlmans, and Andrea Pinotti, eds. *Art History and Visual Studies in Europe*. Brill Academic Publishers, 2012.
- Raukar, Tomislav. "Hrvatsko Srednjovjekovlje Između Tradicionalne i Društvene Povijesti." *Historijski Zbornik* 40 (1987).
- Rechter, David. *Becoming Habsburg - The Jews of Austrian Bukovina 1774-1918*. Oxford: The Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, 2013.
- Reynolds Cordileone, Diana. *Alois Riegl in Vienna 1875–1905*. Farnham: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2014.
- . "The Austrian Synthesis: Folk Arts and Viennese Craft 1878-1900." *Unpublished*, n.d.
- Rumenjak, Nives. *Politička i Društvena Elita Srba u Hrvatskoj Potkraj 19. Stoljeća - Uspon i Pad Srpskoga Kluba*. Zagreb: Hrvatski institut za povijest, 2005.
- Rumpler, Helmut, and Peter Urbanitsch, eds. *Die Habsburgermonarchie 1848-1918, Band VIII: Politische Öffentlichkeit Und Zivilgesellschaft*. Vol. 8/2. Wien: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2006.
- Schorske, Carl E. *Fin-de-Siècle Vienna. Politics and Culture*. New York: Vintage Books, 1981.
- Schweizer, Claudia. "Migrating Objects: The Bohemian National Museum and Its Scientific Collaborations in the Early Nineteenth Century." *Journal of the History of Collections* 18, no. 2 (2006).
- Sisa, József. "Neo-Gothic Architecture and Restoration of Historic Buildings in Central Europe: Friedrich Schmidt and His School." *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 61, no. 2 (2002).
- Smith, Kimberly A. "Real Style: Riegl and Early 20th Century Central European Art." *Centropa* 5, no. 1 (2005).
- Spomenica Na Svetčano Otvaranje Kr. Sveučilišta Franje Josipa I. u Zagrebu, Prvoga Hrvatskoga, Dana 19. Listopada 1874*. Zagreb: Tiskara Dragutina Albrechta, 1875.

- Stagl, Justin. "Das 'Kronprinzenwerk' — Eine Darstellung Des Vielvölkerreiches." In *Das Entfernte Dorf. Moderner Kunst Und Ethnischer Artefakt*, edited by Ákos Moravánsky. Vienna: Böhlau, 2002.
- Stančić, Nikša. *Hrvatska Nacija i Nacionalizam u 19. i 20. Stoljeću*. Zagreb: Barbat, 2002.
- Stenografički Zapisnici Sabora Kraljevina Hrvatske, Slavonije i Dalmacije*. Zagreb: Tisak Zemaljske tiskare, 1889.
- Stoklund, Bjarne. "International Exhibitions and the New Museum Concept in the Latter Half of the Nineteenth Century." *Ethnologia Scandinavica* 23 (1993).
- Stråth, Bo. "Myth, Memory and History in the Construction of Community." In *Myth and Memory in the Construction of Community: Historical Patterns in Europe and Beyond*, edited by Bo Stråth. Bruxelles: P.I.E.-Peter Lang, 2000.
- Suppan, Arnold. "Baron Aehrenthal, Pan-Serbian Propaganda and the Annexation of Bosnia-Herzegovina." In *1908, l'Annexion de La Bosnie-Herzégovine, Cent Ans Après*, edited by Catherine Horel. Bruxelles: P.I.E.-Peter Lang, 2011.
- Surman, Jan. "Science and Its Publics. Internationality and National Languages in Central Europe." In *The Nationalization of Scientific Knowledge in the Habsburg Empire (1848-1918)*, edited by Mitchell G. Ash and Jan Surman. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012.
- . "The Circulation of Scientific Knowledge in the Late Habsburg Monarchy: Multicultural Perspectives on Imperial Scholarship." *Austrian History Yearbook* 46 (2015).
- . *Universities in Imperial Austria, 1848-1918: A Social History of a Multilingual Space*. West Lafayette, Indiana: Purdue University Press, 2019.
- Sweet, Rosemary. "The Incorporated Society and Its Public Role." In *Visions of Antiquity: The Society of Antiquaries of London*. London: Society of Antiquaries of London, 2007.
- Swenson, Astrid. "Cologne Cathedral as an International Monument." In *Rewriting German History. New Perspectives on Modern Germany*, edited by Jan Rüger and Nikolaus Wachsmann. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015.
- Szász, Zoltán. "Das 'Kronprinzenwerk' Und Die Hinter Ihm Stehende Konzeption." In *Nation Und Nationalismus in Wissenschaftlichen Standartwerken Österreich- Ungarns, ca. 1867–1918*, edited by Endre Kiss, Csaba Kiss, and Justin Stagl. Vienna: Böhlau, 1997.
- Šepić, Dragovan. *Hrvatski pokret u Istri u XIX. i na početku XX. stoljeća*. Račice:Reprezent, 2004.
- Šidak, Jaroslav, Mirjana Gross, Igor Karaman, and Dragovan Šepić. *Povijest Hrvatskog Naroda 1860 - 1914*. Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 1968.
- Šidak, Jaroslav. *Studije iz hrvatske povijesti XIX stoljeća*. Zagreb: Sveučilište u Zagrebu, Institut za hrvatsku povijest, 1973.
- Šimetin Šegvić, Filip. *Patriotizam i Bunt: Franjo Josip I. u Zagrebu 1895. Godine*. Zagreb: Srednja Europa, 2014.
- Šokčević, Dinko. "Odjek narodnog pokreta u Hrvatskoj u mađarskoj javnosti (1903. god.)," *Časopis za suvremenu povijest* 37, no.3 (2005).
- . *Hrvatska od stoljeća 7. do danas*. Zagreb: Durieux, 2016.
- Švoger, Vlasta. "Izidor Kršnjavi u Listovima Na Njemačkom Jeziku Na Prijelazu Iz 19. u 20. Stoljeće." In *Iso Kršnjavi - Veliki Utemeljitelj*, edited by Ivana Mance and Zlatko Matijević. Zagreb: Institut za povijest umjetnosti/ Hrvatski institut za povijest, 2015.
- Tartaglia-Kelemen, Vladimira. "Pisma Izidora Kršnjavog 1874-1878. Godine." *Radovi Arhiva Jugoslavenske Akademije Znanosti i Umjetnosti* II (1973).

- Tas, Sara. "Between Patriotism and Internationalism Contemporary Art at the Musée Du Luxembourg in the Nineteenth Century." *Journal of the History of Collections*, 2014.
- Thackray, Arnold. "Natural Knowledge in Cultural Context: The Manchester Mode." *The American Historical Review* 79, no. 3 (1974): 672–709.
- Tilly, Charles. "Cities and States in Europe, 1000-1800." *Theory and Society* 18, no. 5 (1989).
- Todd, David. "A French Imperial Meridian, 1814–1870." *Past & Present* 210, no. 1 (2011).
- Tollebeek, Jo. "A Stormy Family. Paul Fredericq and the Formation of an Academic Historical Community in the Nineteenth Century." *Storia Della Storiografia* 53 (2008).
- . "Historical Representation and the Nation-State in Romantic Belgium (1830-1850)." *Journal of the History of Ideas* 59, no. 2 (1988).
- Tonković, Marija. "Izidor Kršnjavi i Fotografija." In *Iso Kršnjavi - Veliki Utemeljitelj*, edited by Ivana Mance and Zlatko Matijević. Zagreb: Institut za povijest umjetnosti/ Hrvatski institut za povijest, 2015.
- Trogrlić, Marko and Forker, Zvonimir. "Posjet Franje Josipa I. Zadru i Splitu 1875. godine. Priča o dva grada kao o dvije paradigme političkih prilika u Dalmaciji preporodnog doba," *Dalmacija 1870-ih u svjetlu bečke politike i "istočnog pitanja,"* edited by Josip Vrandečić and Marko Trogrlić, Zadar: Odjel za povijest Sveučilišta u Zadru, 2007.
- Trogrlić, Marko and Vrandečić, Josip. "Dalmacija i Boka Kotorska od 1797. do 1918.," in *Temelji moderne Hrvatske – Hrvatske zemlje u „dugom“ 19. stoljeću*, edited by Vlasta Švoger and Jasna Turkalj. Zagreb: Matica Hrvatska, 2016.
- Truhelka, Ćiro. "Urgeschichte Und Römische Zeit." In *Die Österreichisch-Ungarische Monarchie in Wort Und Bild - Croatien Und Slavonien*, Vol. 24. Wien: Druck und Verlag der kaiserlich-königlichen Hof- und Staatsdruckerei, 1902.
- . *Uspomene Jednog Pionira*. Zagreb: Izdanje Hrvatskog izdavačkog bibliografskog zavoda, 1942.
- Unowsky, Daniel L. *The Pomp and Politics of Patriotism. Imperial Celebrations in Habsburg Austria, 1848-1916*. West Lafayette, Indiana: Purdue University Press, 2005.
- Utješenović Ostrožinski, Ognjeslav. *Kućne Zadruge - Vojna Krajina*. Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 1988.
- Varga, Bálint. *The Monumental Nation. Magyar Nationalism and Symbolic Politics in Fin-de-Siècle Hungary*. New York ; Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2016.
- Vasold, Georg. "Riegl, Strzygowski, and the Development of Art." *Journal of Art Historiography* 5 (2011).
- Veliz, Fernando. *The Politics of Croatia-Slavonia 1903-1918. Nationalism, State Allegiance and the Changing International Order*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2012.
- Voigt, Vilmos. "Suspension Bridge of Confidence: Folklore Studies in Jewish-Hungarian Scholarship." In *Modern Jewish Scholarship in Hungary - The "Science of Judaism" between East and West*, edited by Tamás Turán and Carsten Wilke. Berlin: De Gruyter Oldenbourg, 2016.
- Vrandečić, Josip. *Dalmatinski autonomistički pokret u XIX. stoljeću*. Zagreb: Dom i svijet, 2002.
- Vulesica, Marija. *Die Formierung des politischen Antisemitismus in den Kronländern Kroatien und Slavonien 1879-1906*. Berlin: Metropol Verlag, 2012.
- Wallace, Michael. "Visiting the Past: History Museums in the United States." In *Presenting the Past - Essays on History and the Public*, edited by Susan Porter Benson, Stephen Brier, and Roy Rosenweg. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1986.

- Wingfield, Nancy M., ed. *Creating the Other: Ethnic Conflict & Nationalism in Habsburg Central Europe*. New York ; Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2003.
- Woolf, Daniel. "Of Nations, Nationalism, and National Identity: Reflections on the Historiographic Organization of the Past." In *The Many Faces of Clio: Cross-Cultural Approaches to Historiography*, edited by Edward Wang and Franz Fillafer. New York: Berghahn Books, 2006.
- Zlamalik, Vinko. *Bela Čikoš Sesija: Začetnik Simbolizma u Hrvatskoj*. Zagreb: Jugoslavenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti: Društvo povjesničara umjetnosti SR Hrvatske, 1984.