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Border-Making and its Consequences:  
Habsburg Track

BOOK OF ABSTRACTS

## Hungary

Organizer:

**Kovács, Éva**

Institute of Sociology of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences

**Egry, Gábor**

Institute for Political History in Budapest

Chair: Kovács, Éva

Discussant: Egry, Gábor

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### *The unmaking and making of imperial centers and peripheries: Hungary's new borders and Central Europe's reconfiguration*

The unmaking of the Habsburg Empire was, arguably, the largest experiment with borders in modern Europe so far. A historical state deeply embedded into the international political and economic system and fostering multiple social, political, economic and cultural relations among its institutions and citizens was dissolved. Regions and people reoriented as the Empire's population was regrouped, and its internal and external relations were reconfigured. The dismemberment of Austria-Hungary was supposed to replace imperial order and boundaries with national ones; it was justified with the establishment of more just, mutually advantageous relations between states, which had boundaries conducive to this goal. Decisions about Austria-Hungary's post-imperial boundaries were made after considering multiple factors (political, economic, administrative, cultural), which had also defined the complex regional hierarchy within the Habsburg state earlier. Apart from the two metropolises, Vienna and Budapest, centers within the Monarchy that profited from a value transfer from the peripheries and defined cultural production sometimes did not have a central place in politics. Administrative centers could be insignificant in cultural terms, while economic significance did not necessarily entail political weight for a region. Such asymmetric relations were often accompanied by ethnic division, creating a political dynamic not necessarily present within more homogeneous states. These inequalities defined the Monarchy at all levels. Yet, the recent literature treats this complexity not as foreordaining the collapse of the Monarchy, but rather as a factor that contributed to its long survival. Whatever the aims and justification of the new boundaries were, it inevitably reconfigured the Habsburg system of spatial and social inequalities. Existing centerperiphery relations were shattered or altered, and new ones established. The new borders created new peripheries (e.g. Southern Slovakia or Burgenland), reinforced and reoriented old ones (e.g. Carpatho-Ruthenia), elevated regions in the political hierarchy (e.g. Bratislava), and transformed some peripheries into economic and cultural centers without political or administrative power (e.g. Transylvania). Spatial relations shaken, the alignment of the political, cultural, social and economic relations, the crystallization of centers and peripheries within and among the new states, took time and made people and societies to adapt and adjust.

Harlov-Csortán, Melinda  
Eötvös Loránd University

*The split of Esterházy-estate at the transmitting point between Vienna and Budapest and its afterlife in two national peripheries*

The proposed paper deals with the Esterházy estate around Neusiedlersee or Lake Fertő in Hungarian. This area has been hosted for centuries the Hungarian noble family who was always loyal to the Habsburgs. The Esterházy estate served as a transmitting point between Vienna and Budapest ensuring cultural and economic support and significance to the area. The dismemberment of Austria-Hungary separated family network as well and forced these newly independent segments to have unique passes. The research focuses on the history of Eisenstadt and Fertőd as two Esterházy centres in two-types of peripheral situations. Both Burgenland and the Iron curtain region of Hungary were mainly neglected on national levels and hardly evaluated based on their previous cultural importance. The presentation covers the time period from the reconfiguration of the region by national borders to 1989 when the borders became open again. This period has many sub-segments that can be described different level of interactions or similarities. For instance, after World War II the Esterházy castle in Eisenstadt became regional political and then juridical centre (as a possible continuation of decision making location) while the castle in Fertőd at the same time transformed to be an agricultural research and educational institute (storing agricultural machines in the palace building). Both new functions used the tangible heritage but neglected the noble past. The proposed presentation investigates the diverse actors and the representational roles of the two Esterházy palaces at local, regional, national level throughout the defined time frame. Among others the usage of the built heritage, their status in the infrastructure of the region and the possibilities of the inheritors are going to be investigated. Normative texts, documentations about specific decision making processes on local and national level (including parliamentary decisions and regional resolutions) as well as visual footages will help to discover the roles and representational statuses of the two excenters. The aim of the presentation is not to provide two narrative chronological overviews but to realize a comparative studies focusing on the consequences of the border making in the region.

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Bencsik, Péter  
University of Szeged

*The New Borders as Local Economic Possibility – the Case of Post-1920 Hungary*

The 1920 Trianon Treaty deprived Hungary of most of its economic resources. The economic consequences of the peace treaty are mostly depicted as huge losses in mining, heavy industry, forestry etc. The economic connections among the successor states were mostly broken, the new borders meant also new customs frontiers. Railway lines were also cut or not operating any more. Therefore, once prosperous regional centers became new peripheries in their own country. Although it is true for the country as a whole, the situation was more complex. The new borders were by far not “Iron Curtains” and local communities could even utilize the new possibilities arising from the borderland situation. Certain people traded on contraband activities, smuggling many kinds of goods through the border. This activity was carried out either with using proper passport and border traffic facilities or crossing the so-called “green border” (i.e. illegally). As the new borderline cut estates in two in many cases, their owners were mostly enabled to cultivate their land on either side of the border. These so-called dual landowners even had the possibility to cross the border legally anywhere within the territory of their estates during daylight. They had other special concessions like transporting their crops without any customs formalities. As these landowners were mostly Hungarians, it was crucial for Hungary to protect their rights and to ensure this “close border traffic”. It is quite clear how this kind of traffic operated but local researches are needed to answer the following questions: How many people were involved in this local economic traffic? How big area was affected in this process? How often these dual landowners crossed the border? What was the relation among them and the smugglers? What was the relation among them and the border policing authorities on either side of the border? How the new border affected their living standards and their everyday life in general? Were they able to take advantage of any possibilities at the other side of the border (selling their products on local markets, hiring cheaper workforce etc.)? After all, these inter-state local activities were also important factors in maintaining connections among Hungarians living on both sides of the border, e.g. exchanging news, visiting relatives etc., so this kind of local border traffic was important not only economically but also politically.

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Ficeri, Ondrej  
Slovak Academy of Sciences

*Košice/Kassa Post-Trianon: The Legacy of Imperial-Era-Politics of Identity in a New Eastern Metropolis of Czechoslovakia*

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The city of Košice played (and still plays) in the Hungarian national narrative a role of one of prominent national places of memory. The Kurucz and Rákóczi traditions fixed the city permanently on the mental map of Hungarian national community, thus the seizure of the city by Czechoslovak authorities was (and still is) perceived by Hungarians as injustice which is a part of the broader Trianon-trauma-complex. Czech and Slovak political elites, on the other hand, assumed the Slovak origin of majority of local inhabitants, that's why the city figured on each of the plans drawing new Czechoslovak borders. In addition, the city – due to its geographical and geopolitical location – constituted an indispensable logistic point for the new republic, because it served not only as a natural gravity administrative and cultural centre for the whole region of east Slovakia, but also the one and only commuter connecting join towards Carpathian Ruthenia. To resist the pursuits of Hungarian revisionism, protagonists of which counted with Košice/Kassa being re-annexed with Hungary in every of their plans, and to legitimate possession of this strategic city on its territory, an uneasy task remained before Czechoslovak authorities: re-coding of the original image of the city from the Capital of Upper Hungary to the newly invented Metropolis of East Slovakia, and, secondly, reconstruction of ethnic identities of local inhabitants in the benefit of the new state by enforcing and/or promoting belonging to census ethnic categories different to Hungarian one – Czechoslovak, Jewish or Gipsy nationality. Moreover, to successfully accomplish ethnonational transformation of the city, a mass immigration of intelligencia and working class was supported from the west-central Slovakia and Czech Lands which did not constitute natural immigration regions for Košice/Kassa in the imperial era. However, results of Czechoslovak politics of identity and nationalization experiment remained after two decades of the interwar era ambiguous. Based on analysis of political affiliations of locals in combination with census data, it is clear that the vast majority of Košice's indigenous Slovak-speaking inhabitants identified neither with an idea of a Czechoslovak state, nor an independent Slovak nation, promoted by the Hlinka's Slovak People Party, but, in contrary, remained carriers of assimilation discourse, continuously transmitted via their cultural repertoires from the imperial era. This part of the local urban population declared themselves as Slovaks in censuses, however loyally voted for pro-Hungarian political parties which was misused by Hungarian propaganda in 1938 and constituted a legitimation argument for territorial revision of the Trianon border regarding the disputed city of Košice.

Holubec, Stanislav  
Friedrich-Schiller-Universität Jena

*From Periphery to periphery? Ambiguity of Carpathian Rus' perception within the interwar Czechoslovakia*

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I aim to analyze the changes of the perception of post-1918 Carpathian Rus from two perspectives, by the locals (with emphasis of Rusyns) and from the perspective of Czechs coming to the country after the annexation. It would be too simplifying to argue that for the Rusyns, the country drifted from one periphery to another after 1918. There were certainly strong differences in experiences of being part of Czechoslovakia or Kingdom of Hungary: Budapest and Hungarian lowland were generally perceived by Rusyns after 1918 with some nostalgia as geographically closer than Prague and more plausible for seasonal agricultural migration than Czech lands. The establishment of the borders with post-Trianon Hungary and with Poland was perceived as clear economic loss. On the other hand, the Czech administration organized at least in the post-1918 decade significant public works, autonomy has been promised, Ukrainian language was promoted by the state and equal suffrage was introduced. This all increased the selfconfidence of locals and therefore perhaps weakened their feeling of peripherality. The opinions also differed around the country: Hungarian inhabitants of Beregove felt certainly the decline to peripheral status while the inhabitants of Uzhorod/Ungvar experienced their city becoming the capital of the new country. Different attitudes existed among Rusyns of eastern Slovakia, who complained for being administratively cut from their brethren in Carpathian Rus and made to periphery of Slovakia. Another situation was among the Rusyns indentifying with the project of Ukrainian nation building, who understood the whole land as a core of the future Ukrainian state (metaphor of Piedmont was used). For the Czechs the anexation of Carpathian Rus (and also of Slovakia) meant a clear rupture in their mental maps. In the last decades of the Austrian Monarchy, their understanding of monarchy's cores and peripheries was by no means unambiguous. In the Kingdom of Hungary they paid mainly the attention to Slovaks and they rather ignored the Hungarian Rusyns. They understood the Czech lands as monarchy's periphery in terms of political power, but as monarchy's industrial core. Galicia or Bosnia were from their perspective a clear periphery within the monarchy, where the Czechs were often employed by the state as local officials. These territories were considered as underdeveloped but also as exploited by Vienna and inhabited by Slavic „brotherly nations“, therefore distant and close as the same time. After 1918 the Czechs started to understand themselves as a clear core of the country and the plan to modernize the Carpathian periphery served them as on of the reasons legitimizing existence of the their republic within Central Europe. In their own self-understanding they were equipped to such mission better than other neighbors, because they were not only close to Rusyns in terms of blood but also economically best suited to the task. Finally the Czechs not only perceived Carpathian Rus as periphery but also as strategically important territory “a bridge”, either to future democratic Russia, or at least to allied Romania. Therefore for the Czech the peripherality of Carpathian Rus was only temporal. However the forces of economy did not allow Carpathian Rus to get out from the position of economic, social a cultural periphery within the two decades of interwar Czechoslovakia.

## Czech Republic

Organizer:

**Oates-Indruchová, Libora**

University of Graz

Chair: Oates-Indruchová, Libora

Discussant:

Falk, Barbara

Canadian Forces College/Royal Military College of Canada/University of Toronto

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### ***Border-Making and its Consequences: Perspectives from the Czech Republic***

The territory of what is now the Czech Republic is a result of multiple upheavals in the course of the 20th century: state entities dissolved and formed, political regimes changed. These processes of border conflicts and demarcations were accompanied by population movements, creations of national and local border identities, border populations and border “cultures”, as well as by memory-making. The “Czech” panel at the ABS World Conference will explore a variety of Czech border imaginaries from the end of the Empire to the post Cold War. It will take a micro-historical perspective on several Czech border regions/sites as ambiguous spaces of identity, allegiance, and historical memory. The consequences and legacies of bordering and border-making on the daily lives in the locations under discussion will be of particular interest in the presentation.

Perzi, Niklas

Zentrum für Migrationsforschung (ZMF) St.Pölten

*From a National to a Socialistic Border*

At the end of the 19. century the border region Southern Bohemia/Southern Moravia/Lower Austria became imprinted by the advancing paradigm of the 'Nation'. This was embedded into the changing political and communication structures and their influence on subjective and intersubjective awareness of the agrarian village everyday life ("Lebenswelt"), its sensory worlds and actions. But the Nation only gained determinative influence when the traditional interpretations, the handed down cultural and normative integration patterns, seized to suffice for the needs of the population in dealing with everyday life. Multiethnic, Czech as well as German speaking bilingual villages were practically doubled by the separation along national-ethnic lines. Contrary to this in 1945/48 the structural basis, the socioeconomic and political structure changed along the normative guiding principle of 'Socialism' on the Czechoslovakian side of the Austrian-czechoslovakian border. The new border did not run within the village but outside of it, symbolically as well as in the physical reality of the 'Iron Curtain' against the now enemy foreign countries – the population were teached to become 'border guardians' and 'helpers of the border guard'.

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Blaive, Muriel

Institute for the Study of Totalitarian Regimes, Prague

*History vs. Geography: Winner/Loser Narratives at the Czech-Austrian Border, 1918-2018*

In the 19th century, Gmünd was a small town in Lower Austria. The construction of the Franz Josef railway (1867-1871), however, disrupted its peacefulness. Because it was standing approximately halfway between Vienna and Prague, it was decided to build in it a train repair factory; because the Gmünd inhabitants didn't want to have a noisy factory in town, it was built outside, on the other side of the river Lainsitz (Lužnice); and because Bohemia was the industrial centre of the Empire, a number of Czech workers moved to Gmünd. In the context of rising nationalist tensions between the two communities, after the defeat and break-up of the Austro-Hungarian empire, and in the name of economic viability, the newly created Czechoslovak state overtook the pearl of Gmünd's economy: the train station and the railway factory. Gmünd had never been part of the Bohemian Crown but the Allies fulfilled the Czech wishes and established the river Lainsitz/Lužnice as the border between Austria and Czechoslovakia. This taking over of historically Austrian land left very strong feelings on the Austrian side, while it led to new historical and ideological narratives on the Czech side. This paper analyses the winner/loser narratives born out of these 1918 historical circumstances, that shaped in Gmünd and České Velenice the perceptions of the "Other" ever since. It ponders to which extent this heritage competes with the influence of the Cold War, the establishment of the communist regime, the Iron Curtain, the 1989 Velvet Revolution, and the entry of the Czech Republic into the EU in 2004 and into Schengen in 2007.

Šmidrkal, Václav

Masaryk Institute and Archives of the CAS, Prague

*The memory of the war over the Teschen border region and the limits of statebuilding in interwar Czechoslovakia*

The Czechoslovak-Polish armed conflict for the disputed territory of the Duchy of Těšín/Cieszyn/Teschen that led to a seven-day war in 1919 and to a number of clashes between the hostile parties until the territory was divided between both states in 1920, represented an important point of reference for collective memory on the Czechoslovak state-building process after 1918. At the local as well as national level, the fight for this newly established borderland became a highly relevant part of the Czechoslovak victorious historical narrative as well as of counter-narratives pointing out the illegitimacy of a violent incorporation of this territory. Its disputability also revealed the germs of instability of the post-war order and the sensitivity of a state-building war in a border region. This paper will focus on the inscription of this conflict into the collective memory in Czechoslovakia as well as the strategies to counteract it by other narratives undermining the legitimacy of the situation and the way how the division was achieved. The paper will combine local and national perspectives on the strategies to reinforce the division of the territory and to legitimize the deployment of the Czechoslovak military in this operation. It will show that despite the small size of this territory, it had a great symbolic meaning as a borderland gained through a victorious war where masculinities and nationalism of the Czechoslovak soldiers as well as state's strength were publicly manifested.

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Lemmen, Sarah

The German Historical Institute (GHI), Washington, DC

*The Czechoslovak harbour in Hamburg as an unofficial Cold War border region*

Bohemia, in a sense, was indeed by the sea. In the aftermath of the first World War, the newly founded Czechoslovak republic received the right to acquire property at the harbour in Hamburg. By the end of the 1920s, an area at the Hamburg free port was leased, making Hamburg a central hub for Czechoslovak world trade. The end of the Second World War and the beginning of the Cold War changed geopolitical coordinates, but it did not change the relevance of Hamburg for Czechoslovak trade. In the midst of debates about its economic and political impact, the Czechoslovak harbour in Hamburg was kept and active throughout the Cold War. The Czechoslovak harbour in Hamburg, therefore, did not only become a Communist outpost in the West, but a very specific border region, as well. As a leased territory, and as an active harbour, its borders were open for goods and for workers from both East and West. The harbour became a loophole in the “Iron Curtain”, enabling West-East smuggling and East-West escapes. At the same time, state control was extremely high, both through vetting of all employees and through a high number of informants to state security. In this paper, I focus in a micro study on how various concepts of border regimes were implemented, and how various agents interpreted them. State security, governmental officials, representatives of the harbour, and the workers on the ground developed strategies for both upholding Czechoslovak border regimes and mediating between East and West on a daily basis.

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## Italy

Organizer:

**Verginella, Marta**

University of Ljubljana

Chair: Verginella, Marta

Discussant:

Wingfield, Nancy

Northern Illinois University

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### *Comparing post-imperial borders in history and historiography: the cases of Austria, Italy and Yugoslavia*

This panel has taken upon itself a comparative and transnational analysis of the interpretations of two complex border regions, i.e. Alto Adige (the Italo-Austrian border) and Venezia Giulia (today the Italo-Slovenian border, previously the Italo-Yugoslav one) during the 20th century. In his study, fundamental today for an understanding of border reality, P. Sahlin (1989) has documented the way in which identity in a border area is to be appraised and has shown how longstanding communities, crisscrossed by political borders, have been capable of modifying the status quo of State barriers activated both by their impassability and an ever increasing net distinction between *us* and *them as well* as working to overcome them. In the history of the political borders drawn up in the North Adriatic and Alpine area between the nineteenth and twentieth century construction operations were interwoven with others of demolition. The border, which in medieval times separated the lands of the Holy Roman Empire from those of the Republic of Venice and in modern times the Habsburg Empire from the Kingdom of Italy, in the twentieth century saw new layouts due to its being the object of contention between the bordering states, keen on realizing, in an ideal manner, the principle of the Nation-state in a multi-ethnic and border territory. The need to precisely mark out a territory belonging to the territorial State, was transformed, in the context of the national State into the need to set its own borders with a kind of permanent stability, which according to the ideology of the modern Nation state could only be engraved in nature (Nordmann 1998).

Orlic, Mila  
University of Rijeka

*Historians on the Upper Adriatic border. National perspectives vs. new approaches to the aftermath of WWII in Istria*

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In the study of the Upper Adriatic borderland – contested between the Habsburg Empire, Italy, and Yugoslavia during the 20th century – nationalist historiographies have mostly persisted on singular and homogeneous identities. In fact, the historians of this region have often referred to the nation as a fundamental unit of analysis, following the patterns of the national Eurocentric master narratives. Accordingly, since the 19th century national historiographies have identified nation, state, and territory, and have considered the use of languages as the foundation of national identities. Nevertheless, recent research concerning multiethnic and plurilingual areas, and aiming at overcoming the national framework, shows how loyalties and identifications were complex, multilayered realities, far from identifying themselves only with the national ones. Starting from this assumption, I will divide my paper into two parts. In the first one, I will investigate the long-term process of border making in the Istrian region throughout the Second postwar period, by focussing on the role of historians and national historiographies in the process of nation- and state- building. I will especially analyse the ways in which they defined and circulated narratives of “us” and “others” within opposite nationally focused patterns. In the second part of the paper, I will enquire in which sense and to what extent new historical approaches regarding multiethnic regions, such as those based on the concept of “national indifference”, can contribute to a better understanding of Istria. I will notably argue that national perspectives often offer narrow views and interpretations, and don’t take into account the complexity of the Istrian society. In that perspective, I will present some examples that show how the local population reacted to the state pressures from above and creatively produced new forms of identification, combining different (sometimes contradictory) logics of behaviours and loyalties. More particularly, I will analyze some aspects that make the transition of the Istrian peninsula from the Italian sovereignty to the newly formed Yugoslav state much more complicated than the national historiography has so far admitted, by investigating the (often contradictory) practices of identification and by adopting a perspective both from the top and from the bottom. I will therefore try to argue that the identities which were described by the national historiographies as homogeneous, exclusive, inevitable, and irreversible were instead multi-layered, hybrid, fluid, and even indefinable.

Klabjan, Borut

European University Institute / Science and Research Centre, Koper, Trieste

*"Border Building". Continuity and Change in Post-Imperial Adriatic and South Tyrol*

This paper will investigate the role of the local cultural, political and economic elites in the social construction of the Italian "eastern border" in the 20th Century. Researchers usually focus on capital cities or on States in general to analyze power relations and nation-building processes. However, in the last decade, scholars involved in the research of borders have clearly demonstrated that borderlands are not marginal but central sites for governments to articulate their visions of power. Through the examination of life stories, rhetorics and practices of leading intellectuals and other people involved in the local public sphere, the aim of the essay is to show how continuities intersected with changes in processes of "border-building". On the basis of archival material, newspapers and biographies the paper will argue that even if the region underwent radical changes in the 20th Century, the ideological foundations of socially constructed divisions between "us" and "them" were rooted in the political culture of Habsburg times and they continue to serve political purposes until the present. Moreover, the analysis will include not only the area of the northern Adriatic but will focus also on South Tyrol. This region experienced similar political changes and it represents a fruitful example not only in an imperial perspective, but also in a postimperial comparison within an Italian national frame after World War I. In this case too, the essay argues that a different approach towards these two borderlands has historical legacies that continue to shape their identities and their perception until today.

Parotto, Giuliana  
University of Trieste

*Virtual borders in the age of globalization*

Virtual borders in the age of globalization The globalization means border violation and twisting of strengthened political order. The “space” of the State, the political subject which settles boundaries, becomes thin, eroded from outward by supranational organizations (World Bank, IMF, European Central Bank) or globalized enterprises and from inside by the mass migrations which import / create boundaries inside the State, in form of cultural, religious and ethnical enclaves. Consumerist culture deleted the old boundaries which divide areas characterized by different cultural traditions; market becomes the identification space where individuals falling into identity crisis look for new identity. The worldwide web eliminates the borders between cultures on one side, on the other side becomes the space where new political and cultural borders are growing in a virtual surrounding. In this virtual space the traditional form of memory and reconstruction of history become open towards other memories which contribute to form new boundaries. In the virtual space new community take form, new visions appear, new identities, new forms of exclusion and inclusion which create new identities. The paper dwells with the technical pattern or modality and the symbolic forms establishing new political identities and new boundaries in a virtual space, particularly in relation to memory and reconstruction of different narrative traditions.

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Catalan, Tullia  
University of Trieste

*The Triestine public opinion and the question of the border in the last decades of the Habsburg Empire.*

During the second half of XIXth Century and the first decade of '900 the Italian Irredentist movement in Trieste carried on a propaganda campaign on a large scale, in order to win the affection of the local population to the cause of the Italian national identity of the city, not only in a cultural, but especially in a political perspective. This process requested time, efforts, relational abilities and involved above all the intellectual middle-class, that was the leadership of the movement, always in contact with the Kingdom of Italy. They did not have doubts about the definition of the border: for them it was natural, from a geographical point of view, teherefore visible and marked also by the cultural and national diversity. What about the idea of the border among the rest of the population? How did the irredentist movement present this issue in the local press? How did they build a new narration of it, using stereotypes and prejudices to support an image of the border as a wall against the "slav world"? What kind of images, themes and language influenced the public opinion in those years? How did common people, men and women, react to this press campaign? These questions will be the focus of this paper. My main source will be the italian local popular press, also the female and satirical ones, from the 1890 to the Balkan Wars.

Toncich, Francesco  
University of Tübingen

*Science of the Border, the Borders of Science: Scientific Research and Political Identities in the Austrian Littoral*

During the 20th century, Istria, as well as the territories and the cities of Trieste/Trst/Triest and Gorizia/Gorica/Görz, was considered a political, cultural and linguistic border region. Nevertheless, this status was not a new creation: for longer than a millennium, the north-eastern Adriatic region represented namely a “joint” between several political systems and different cultural-linguistic groups. During the 19th century, when these regions were unified for the first time in a unique political and administrative region under the Habsburg crownland “Austrian Littoral”, such definition as “borderland” remained paradoxically in cultural and scientific discourses regarding the crownland itself. In the moment when the centuries-old political borderlines between Habsburg Monarchy and Venetian Republic disappeared, on one hand the borders of the new administrative region “Küstenland” became the borders for the “Science of the Littoral”, which supported the targeted political unification of the newly created crownland; on the other hand, hints about the previous borderlines and the secular internal strong differentiation and fractures of the north-eastern Adriatic area endured in the perception of local and imperial scholars and in their scientific and cultural researches and discourses, for instance in the ethnographic and linguistic studies, classifications and representations of the high cultural and linguistic diversity of the population in the Austrian Littoral. Representations and classifications of local and imperial scholars and scientists of the 19th century, reflecting about the status of this region as an area crossed by mental shifting and overlapping division lines and processes of cultural mixtures, influenced strongly the following scientific, cultural and political ideas in the “Venezia Giulia” / “Primorska” during the 20th century.

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## Poland

Organizer:

**Augustynowicz, Christoph**

University of Vienna

Chair: Augustynowicz, Christoph

Discussant: Augustynowicz, Christoph

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### ***Border-Making and its Consequences: Perspectives from Poland***

In 1918, with the dissolution and/or essential weakening of the three empires responsible for the partitions of Poland-Lithuania in the late 18th century (Habsburg Monarchy, Prussia/German Empire, Russian Empire), the constitution of a new Polish state and its borders became a central topic in political discussions. In the meanwhile, inner borders, constituted during the „nation without state“-period of the 19th century on Polish territory, continued to have their effects. Hence, the emerging state was characterized by borders not just towards the former partitioning empires, but also by invisible inner borders (ethnic, religious, economic). Furthermore, since the year 1918 and its events constituted a significant border by itself, emerging Poland was additionally confronted with issues of chronological (memories of different generations) and functional (relation between politics and historiography) demarcation. Recently Michael G. Müller and Kai Struve used the metaphor of the fragmented republic to characterize interwar-Poland. The panel will pick up the picture of fragmentation and use it to examine the question whether and to which extent changing, moving, and shifting borders, be they visible or invisible, be they historical or virtual, are an integrated part of Polish history; the focus will be on the years around 1918. The papers should consider at least one of the following questions: In which sense and to which extent did the borders between the Empires continue their effects in Poland after 1918? In which sense and to which extent did the borders of the new Polish state interfere with entities and circumstances before 1918? Which role did history/historians play in the constitution of the Polish borders?

Dabrowski, Patrice  
Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute

*Reinforcing the Border, Reconfiguring Identities: Polish Initiatives in the Carpathians in the Interwar Period*

The multiethnic Polish Second Republic was concerned about securing its long southern border comprised by the Carpathian Mountains. The present paper presents a series of initiatives essentially emanating from the state (here: primarily the military) in the 1930s. These were designed to turn the Carpathian highlanders across the breadth of the interwar Polish frontier into loyal Polish citizens while encouraging them both to retain their own local identity (as Hutsuls, Górale, etc.) and to consider themselves part of a larger Carpathian brotherhood (the latter defined within the borders of the Polish state). In other words, the authorities sought to capitalize on what they perceived to be national indifference on the part of many highlanders by making room for their local identities within a more broadly conceived heterogeneous state of regions, one that would win the allegiance of the highlanders, in that sense reinforcing the border.

Drozdowicz, Jarema  
Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznan

*Splendid isolation. Reframing national identities through political populism in Poland*

We are told to live in the age of culture wars. This statement, in fact false or at least misleading, might be however used to frame many modern discourses on identity and the cultural conditions of many nation states. In case of contemporary Poland it takes a new dimension. The polarization of political views had never been so visible in the country and the conservative turn seems to take foothold in many areas of public life. Thus we might also observe a turn in the way national identity in Poland is being translated and reframed under these conditions. As consequence of this situation a vision of isolation and solitude is being brought to attention by many, mostly political populists. Therefore new real and imaginary borders are emerging. Most of them are being constructed to exclude the cultural "other", to paraphrase a well known anthropological term. This vision isn't however a product of modern populism, but is deeply rooted in the Polish narrative tradition. My presentation is aimed at highlighting the most significant points in the above discussion on the concept of ethnic and national identity, not just in Poland itself but also in regard to a broader context. Furthermore I will try to reconstruct or at least to trace a continuity in this way of thinking on the meaning of cultural belonging to be found in Central and Eastern European societies today.

Schmidt, Andrea  
University of Pécs

*Re-drawn Borders - Re-drawn Identities? The Impact of Border Changing to the Polish Approach on Historical Regions*

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The aim of the presentation is to demonstrate the challenges the new Polish state had to face after the unification of Poland. The Polish nation experienced the national awakening and the modernisation being divided into three parts after losing its independence in 1795. This paper analyses the visions and the debates related to politicians of the inter-war period related to the question whether the tenacity towards the historical borders can re-create the lost national identity or local identities can demonstrate the consequences of the past century. There existed two opposite visions related to the meaning of new borders and the problems of becoming an acknowledged but at the same time multiethnic state with new ways of orientation. It is also our intention to point out if the missed 19th century can give back the identity in accordance with the lost territories. The two main approaches regarding the „Piast" and „Jagiellonian" vision appeared in the international relations of Poland in the inter-war period. The two visions distinguished the role of Poles and ethnic minorities within the new borders. Poland had to experience that after being subordinated to three neighbouring powers after 1920 the Polish state itself became multiethnic state where the Polish nation became the dominant actor. In this paper I would like to focus on the impact of visions towards the lost and gained Polish territories to the political programmes regarding the cooperation among the states belonging to the Central and Eastern Europe examining whether the pending perceptions towards the Polish orientation could determine the effectiveness of such programmes and to get the answer if these visions could survive in the 20th and 21st centuries. From the Hungarian standpoint it is essential to learn from the Polish approach to understand challenges the Hungarians had to face after losing their territories based on the decision of the Trianon treaty and the idea of revisionism that influenced the Hungarian foreign policy in the interwar period.

Kaps, Klemens  
University of Vienna

*Extending Galicia into interwar Poland: Roman Rosdolsky's contribution to social and economic historiography on the former Habsburg Crownland in the Second Republic*

With the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian Empire in 1918, the former crownland Galicia became integrated in the re-established Polish state. While it could be expected that historical writing shifted its basic unit of analysis from the Habsburg crownland to the Polish society, there were continuities of historiographical writings on Galicia also after 1918. As peculiar example of such historiographical trends I will discuss the works of L'viv-born Roman Rosdolsky, a social and economic historian and a leftist activist of Ukrainian background. While taking into account Rosdolsky's political stance, the paper will focus on his historical writings that he produced between Vienna and L'viv, in tight collaboration with Austrian scholars and the doyen of Polish historiography, Franciszek Bujak. It will be highlighted how Rosdolsky's reconstruction of Galicia's economic and social history was influenced by the context of a re-established Poland and the Polish-Ukrainian tensions. Furthermore, the paper draws specific attention to Rosdolsky's socially sensitive approach in a time of increasing national and ethnic cleavages.

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Szymczak, Damian

Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznań

*The Prussian heritage? Regionalism of Wielkopolska [Great Poland] in interwar Poland*

Following the long-awaited restoration of Poland's sovereignty, the loathed borders demarked during the period of partitions disappeared gradually and surprisingly unhurriedly. This was particularly evident in the case of Wielkopolska, which from 1793 had been mostly part of the Hohenzollern monarchy (with an exception of a short eightyyear-long period between 1807 and 1815). After the victorious uprising of December 1918, Polish political leaders of Wielkopolska did not want to erase the borders with the Kingdom of Poland immediately. In fact, until 1922, Wielkopolska had a kind of an autonomous government, the so-called Ministry of the former Prussian District. The full power over Wielkopolska was in the hands of the local political elites. The natives of Wielkopolska kept a perceptible, cold distance from the Poles from Galicia or the Kingdom of Poland who wanted to settle in Poznań as officials or teachers. In the folk mentality, the old border lasted even longer. From the viewpoint of Poznań, the areas of old Russian Poland were semi-Asia, a backward country, devoid of real civilisation and inhabited by poor, uneducated population. In the magazines published in Wielkopolska, people from Poland were often presented as thieves, schemers, frauds or drunkards. In contrast, the very same magazines emphasised the virtues of the inhabitants of Wielkopolska and their alleged extraordinary properties, such as a fondness for order, punctuality, thriftiness, rectitude, diligence, law-abidingness and entrepreneurship. On the other hand, the Poles from Warsaw and Kraków believed that the population of Wielkopolska was under the influence of the German or possibly Prussian culture and mentality. In other words, the people of Wielkopolska spoke Polish but were possessed by the Prussian spirit. Noteworthy is a specific nostalgia for 'good old Prussian times' present among the lower social strata of Wielkopolska in the interwar period, a longing for times of economic development and guaranteed life stabilisation when unemployment was unheard of. The impact of the Prussian-German rule on the formation of the Wielkopolska mentality and regionalism, some forms of which are noticeable until now, is still a widely debated issue.

## Ukraine

Organizer:

**Mischke, Jakob**

University of Vienna

Chair: Mischke, Jakob

Discussant: Zhurzhenko, Tatiana

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### ***Border-Making and its Consequences: Perspectives from Ukraine***

One of the etymological meanings of the word Ukraine is „at the border“. In the course of Ukraine's history a constant (re)negotiation of belonging to different territories and nation states took part, so borders played an important role in the live of its population from early times on. Be it in processes of migration, when Ukrainians left and still leave for other countries to search their luck and try to improve their livelihood abroad, be it mental borders that people draw to reassure themselves in the process of finding a (national) identity, or the process of defining state borders against neighbors in order to build up an own state.

Kaltenbrunner, Matthias  
University of Vienna

*Contesting spaces: The globally connected Western Ukrainian village*

What analytical framework do we need in order to study villages shaped by intensive and long-lasting migration processes in the 20th century? I tackle this question by scrutinizing six villages situated in Eastern Galicia, a historical region that has been part of the Habsburg Empire prior to 1918 and is now the westernmost territory of Ukraine. Migrants - who in my case study all went to Canada until 1939 – and non-migrants left behind in the villages were closely interconnected to each other by manifold networks. This kind of interconnectedness proved to be amazingly persistent and did not lose its function even decades after the migration processes themselves had come to an end due to political or economic caesurae. In order to fully grasp this phenomenon, it is necessary to synthesize migration and village history, striving towards a "microhistory of the globally connected village". Thus, the question is how the relational social space of the village, constituted by networks between migrants and non-migrants, permeated or even deconstructed a politically negotiated space marked by the state borders of interwar Poland and the Soviet Union alike.

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Oberreiter, Michaela  
University of Vienna

*From territorial autonomy to national statehood: the Ukrainians of Eastern Galicia and national self-determination*

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The idea of national self-determination as a means of drawing (state) borders, as well as the idea of the ethnic-cultural nation as the foundation of the state, emerged in the second half of the 19th century, when they were presented in the works of the legal scholars S. Mancini and J. C. Bluntschli. In the multinational Austro-Hungarian Monarchy the concept of national self-determination soon gained ground among the various peoples. Already in the Austrian constitution of 1867 an effort had been made to solve the nationality question in the empire: Art. 19 declared all nations equal and granted to each of them the right to enjoy their nationality and language, but due to its vague wording this law could not settle the nationality conflicts in Austria. At the end of the First World War, national self-determination became the leading principle in drawing the new post-war borders. When at the Paris Peace Conference the map of Europe was redrawn, the new post-war states were to be constituted in accordance with the principle of national self-determination. Among the peoples fighting for the right for national self-determination were also the Ukrainians of Eastern Galicia, whose striving for a separate legal entity based on nationality, a Ukrainian province in Austria, went back to the very beginning of their political organization in 1848, when they raised the demand of the partition of Galicia and the establishment of a Ukrainian crown land. This remained their main demand until late October 1918. During the years of the First World War they intensified their striving for territorial autonomy in Austria, underlining this with the argument of national self-determination. Especially the conclusion of the Brest Peace Treaty with the Ukrainian People's Republic in early February 1918 led to an increased political activity among the Eastern Galician Ukrainians in pursuit of national self-determination in the form of territorial autonomy under Habsburg rule, for example during demonstrations and in the Austrian parliament. On November 1st, 1918 the Ukrainians seized power in Eastern Galicia and proclaimed their own independent nation state, the Western Ukrainian People's Republic. When the question of Eastern Galicia was negotiated at the Paris Peace Conference and before the League of Nations, the Galician Ukrainians tried to defend their statehood against Polish claims to Eastern Galicia with the argument that the proclamation of the Western Ukrainian People's Republic had been the realization of their right to national self-determination, before the Allied and Associated Powers finally ruled Eastern Galicia to be part of the Polish state. In my presentation I would like to show the striving of the Ukrainians in Eastern Galicia for national self-determination and how the perception of national self-determination and the aims concerning their legal-territorial status of the Eastern Galician Ukrainians changed over the course of time from mere national-territorial autonomy as part of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy to national statehood. Another aim of my presentation is to show how different perceptions of national self-determination arising from different concepts of the nation among the Allies on the one hand and the peoples of Central and Eastern Europe on the other hand influenced the decision of the Paris Peace Conference in the Eastern Galician question, which led to the failure of the aspirations towards national statehood among the Ukrainians of Eastern Galicia.

Remestwenski, Yuriy Dmitrijevic  
University of Vienna

*Galicia and the End of Ukraine 2017: How today's Galicians perceive linguistic, cultural and political borders of and inside Ukraine*

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Over the last five years, multiple events attracted international attention towards Ukraine. One of those was the European Song Contest 2017 which took place in Kyjiv promoting itself with the slogan "Celebrate Diversity". There can be probably no doubt that the post-Soviet Ukraine and its society are highly heterogeneous structure from numerous perspectives. The recent research shows that the Ukrainians show significantly varying attitudes towards linguistic, historical, societal matters depending on various factors like age, education, region, settlement type. Especially the Maidan revolution 2013-2014, the Russian aggression and the reaction to those events inside the Ukrainian society showed that the diversity can not only be worth celebrating; it can also be challenging. The core region of today's Ukrainian nationalism is claimed to be Galicia due to the nation-building processes which took place in this region under the Habsburg rule. This conception of Galicia and its role is a widespread discourse among both anti-Ukrainian and pro-Ukrainian actors of the past and presence. The last decades showed multiple attempts of political employment of common stereotypes about mental, linguistic and cultural differences inside Ukraine's society. A special place in this system of collective attitudes takes Galicia's linguistic culture, the system of attitudes about the own and other's language and its speakers. Galicia's significant role as the cradle of modern Ukrainian nation increased the political attention degree payed for this region and its linguistic culture. However, the problem of stereotypes and other attitudes is frequently the fact that they are doubtful. In my PhD project, I research on the question to which extent do the common Ukrainian stereotypes about Galicia and its linguistic culture can be empirically proved. In my presentation, I will present a work-in-progress report of my survey focusing on the question how the inhabitants of today's Galicia imagine the contemporary Ukraine, its nation, culture, linguistic and regional differences. The current state of the survey is based on perception of 75 respondents aged 18-85. The project builds on the common method of attitudes research, so-called "semantic differential method" which demonstrated its affect in various social psychology and sociolinguistic studies.

Grabmaier, Ilona  
University of Vienna

*The construction of belonging of people “left behind” within the context of female labour migration in western Ukraine*

Although it is widely acknowledged among scholars of transnational migration that the outflow of people does affect and influence both those who migrate and those who stay behind, the issue of how notions of belonging of people “left behind” are altered or transformed through the migration of family/community members and different forms of exchange (e.g. an exchange of ideas or the exchange of economic remittances) resulting there from, is still undertheorized. My aim in this conference paper is thus to reflect upon possible modes in which to grasp the different ways in and levels at which people “left behind” construct, deploy, negotiate, transform or are attributed notions of belonging within the context of female labour migration in western Ukraine. Taking concrete care practices and consequential relations as a starting point for the production, maintenance or dissolution of different forms of ‘relatedness’, I will relate theoretical anthropological approaches concerned with the construction of belonging to data collected during fieldwork in a village in western Ukraine in 2017 and 2018. In this sense, I frame western Ukraine as a “borderland” not in historical terms, but as connected to different localities around the globe due to transnational (labour) migration.

## Croatia

Organizer:

**Obad, Orlanda**

Institute of Ethnology and Folklore Research in Zagreb

Chair:

Protrka Štimec, Marina

University of Zagreb

Discussant:

Newman, John Paul

National University of Ireland, Maynooth,

### ***Border-Making and its Consequences: Perspectives from Croatia***

The Habsburg legacy in Croatia today is received in a paradoxical manner, as nostalgia and criticism alternate. The post-imperial, Central European identity, together with its erasure of national borders, was found discursively useful in the country's path towards the European Union, in which many ex-Habsburg countries were already full members. At the same time, the more nationalistic discourses associate the "four Bs" – Beč (Vienna), Buda/Pest, Belgrade and Bruxelles – with some of the devastating (post)imperial, (post)socialist and (neo)colonial circumstances of the everyday lives of Croats, whose search of independence seems to be never-ending. This panel aims at examining some of the roots of these discourses by taking up two mutually intertwined perspectives of the Croatian post-imperial, Habsburg legacy. The first one is concerned with *harder*, solid, state borders which are materialized through legal acts and official documents, and which were, in the case of Croatia, several times redefined throughout the 20th century. The other is concerned with *softer* borders of a more ghostly nature, which emerge even in the contemporary discourses of (postcolonial-like) contact zones of this European semi-periphery. The panel is multidisciplinary, containing papers from law, history and literary theory, so that it will be diverse both in its methods and theoretical perspectives. The Habsburg legacy in Croatia today is received in a paradoxical manner, as nostalgia and criticism alternate. The post-imperial, Central European identity, together with its erasure of national borders, was found discursively useful in the country's path towards the European Union, in which many ex-Habsburg countries were already full members. At the same time, the more nationalistic discourses associate the "four Bs" – Beč (Vienna), Buda/Pest, Belgrade and Bruxelles – with some of the devastating (post)imperial, (post)socialist and (neo)colonial circumstances of the everyday lives of Croats, whose search of independence seems to be never-ending. This panel aims at examining some of the roots of these discourses by taking up two mutually intertwined perspectives of the Croatian post-imperial, Habsburg legacy. The first one is concerned with *harder*, solid, state borders which are materialized through legal acts and official documents, and which were, in the case of Croatia, several times redefined throughout the 20th century. The other is concerned with *softer* borders of a more ghostly nature, which emerge even in the contemporary discourses of (postcolonial-like) contact zones of this European semi-periphery. The panel is multidisciplinary, containing papers from law, history and literary theory, so that it will be diverse both in its methods and theoretical perspectives. The panel will be chaired by an expert in politics in 19th and 20th century in Croatia, and discussed by an expert in the legacy of the Great War and Habsburg Monarchy.

Kosnica, Ivan  
University of Zagreb

*Change of state, change of citizenship or how new state redefined access to citizenship: the case of Croatian-Slavonian area in the monarchical Yugoslavia (1918-1941)*

Citizenship is a complex concept that includes status, rights, and identity dimension. As a multidimensional concept, it is vital for a certain society and legal system. Besides as a multidimensional concept, citizenship is also a kind of border. Those who have it are included while the others remain excluded. The complexity of the concept and a concept as a border also mean that there is no one but rather many borders that affect each dimension of citizenship. Further, especially challenging for citizenship as a border can be change of state regime. Then we regularly testify redefinition of previously established concept of citizenship and the borders related with it. Previous notions give us starting point for the analysis of citizenship as a border on the territory of the first Yugoslav state from 1918 on. In the research, we will concentrate on Croatian-Slavonian legal area, one of six legal areas in the First Yugoslavia. The research focus will be on one aspect of citizenship, namely on possibilities of access to citizenship. Here we will analyse how the new Yugoslav state redefined access to citizenship and compare new legislative solutions and practical regime with regime valid in Croatia- Slavonia before 1918, when this land was part of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy.

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Bobinac, Marijan  
University of Zagreb

*"Impresa di Fiume": Projecting New Borders after the Collapse of the Habsburg Empire - A Reading of Viktor Car Emin's Novel Danuncijada (1946)*

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In accordance with the Croatian-Hungarian Settlement of 1868 the city of Rijeka/Fiume was attached to the Kingdom of Hungary as *Corpus Separatum* – an act which caused a permanent crisis in relations between Budapest and Zagreb. The disintegration of the Austrian-Hungarian Monarchy in October 1918 eventually led to a conflict between Italy and the emerging South Slav Kingdom, both of which claimed their right to the city with a relative Italian majority and a considerable number of Croats and other ethnicities. During the international negotiations over the future of the city – there arose also a third option concerning an independent city-state – Rijeka/Fiume was occupied in September 1919 by Italian irregular nationalists led by the poet Gabriele D’Annunzio. “*Impresa di Fiume*” (“Fiume exploit”), how this action of the decadent, but also extremely martial author and his followers was labeled by historians, is at the center of the novel *Danuncijada* (1946) of the Croatian writer Viktor Car Emin. Presenting the story from different points of view (“autonomists”, Croats, D’Annunzio himself), Car focuses particularly on different aspects of liminality: in historical, national, ethnic, symbolic and virtual sense. Although his narration flows in a rather linear and traditional manner, Car nevertheless succeeds in portraying socio-spatially construed mindscapes among the representatives of all conflicted sides. In addition, his novel offers an insight into the postimperial situation in contact zones of previous ethnic conflicts and into D’Annunzio’s grotesque-violent, in some respect also aestheticizing restaging of prefascist ideas and practices as well.

Hamersak, Filip

Miroslav Krleža Lexicographic Institute, Zagreb

*Dissolution of 1918 - Tracking the Consequences (Croatian Perspective)*

Speaking in broad terms of historical (material) and virtual (immaterial) borders, the presentation will strive to reconstruct the most striking instances of discontinuity associated with the outcome of the World War One. Within that scope, as a starting point both pre-1918 hopes and post-1918 results concerning varying modes of territorial and political organization are analyzed, including varying ethno-national concepts as well as internal and/or external migrations. Based on the unstable political framework, changing cultural representations are also to be addressed, starting with divided official, public and private memories on the World War One events, and ending with more elusive generalizations pertaining to supposed mentalité differences according to East–West, North–South or other axes. Where possible, main tendencies will be tracked up to this day, i. e. through times of Habsburg Monarchy, both Yugoslavias, Independent State of Croatia and the Republic of Croatia.

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Car, Milka  
University of Zagreb

*We "were neither Croatians, nor Illyrians nor Slavs, but 'imperial royal frontiersmen". On the Phenomenon of the Border in August Šenoa and Miroslav Krleža*

Starting from the thesis that, apart from their capacity for description, literary texts also show the potential to construe reality, this contribution focuses on selected narrative, essayistic and poetological texts by canonical authors such as August Šenoa and Miroslav Krleža. In so doing, the article focuses on the demonstration and literary representation of border phenomena in Austria-Hungary (Šenoa) and their gradual change in the post-imperial age after the Great War (Krleža). Calling into question the imperial narrative on the Military Frontier, image of the Ottomans in the late 19th and early 20th centuries and connected national and homogenizing discourses infused by processes of *othering*, the article analyzes changes in the understanding of the border as well as their ideological implications, with special regard to the thesis that borders are construed as an impossible feat of separating the self from the Other.

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## Romania

Organizer:

**Kührer-Wielach, Florian**

Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München

Chair: Kührer-Wielach, Florian

Discussant:

Scharr, Kurt

University of Innsbruck

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### ***Border-Making and its Consequences: Perspectives from Romania / Moving Mountains: The Carpathians after 1918***

As a consequence of the unification of the Hungarian territories co-inhabited by Romanians (Transylvania, Partium, Banat) with the Kingdom of Romania in the year 1918, the Carpathians moved to the centre of the emerging “Greater Romania”. Until then, the central parts of the mountain massif had marked the external frontier of the Danube Monarchy and especially of “millennial Hungary”. The enlarged Romanian state as well as the diminished Hungarian state therefore needed to actualize their national master narratives. Romania, which found its territorial gains internationally acknowledged at the Paris Peace Conference in 1919/1920 had to face the challenge to practically and mentally unify both sides of the Carpathians. In this panel, the focus is laid on the change of the role of the Carpathians after 1918 from a border mountain range into an integral part of the Romanian state territory and the discursive and practical long-term consequences of this shift: How to transform an established boundary zone into the hinge of a state and its changing society? How is its symbolic capital exploited for the national integration process? How does the Hungarian discourse react to this process? To what extent can we find the patterns of a “phantom border” (“Phantomgrenze”) alongside the Carpathian’s ridge, continuing to demarcate the “Habsburg” west on the one side and Walachia and Moldova in the south and the east? How do ethnic and religious minorities cope with the “moving mountains”? How does Romanian, Hungarian and German literature address this problem? Which complementary narratives emerge concerning the efforts of topographic and symbolic demarcation and integration as e. g. rivers as a connecting element? With the example of the Romanian Carpathians after 1918 the proposed panel will address crucial questions concerning the causal relationship between geographic “barriers” and their functionalization and attribution as demarcation lines. Thus, a comparative discussion about the persistence of imperial coining along a “phantom border” reaching from Poland via Ukraine towards the Balkans will be encouraged. Moreover, this approach opens the perspective to entanglements and interdependences to question mono-ethnic discourses. On the other hand, the issue of social and national integration as a post-imperial phenomenon will be broached by featuring a “longue durée” approach right up to the present.

Asiminei, Romeo

"Alexandru Ioan Cuza" University of Iasi

### *Carpathians: Electoral boundary within Romania?*

The Romanian electoral space is a construction that reflects political, social and cultural developments. The almost fifty years of communist regime (1947-1989) altered political culture, electoral system and pluralism, influencing the political scene even in the postcommunist period. The communist period has settled in more than a century of electoral exercises, mostly in different borders. The Organic Regulations which came into force on 1st of July 1831 in Wallachia and on 1st of January 1832 in Moldova provided the electoral framework for election of the National Assemblies (*Adunări Obștești*) (the equivalent of the Parliament) and Town Councils (*Sfaturi orășenești*). Transylvania, Banat, Crișana, Maramureș and Bukovina benefited, after the reforms triggered by the European revolutions of 1848 enjoy representation on an elective basis at regional level (the Transylvanian Diet, the Diet of Bukovina). In 1919 the first parliamentary elections were held in the emerging "Greater Romania". How is this legacy reflected in the current Romanian electoral space? To what extent are the Carpathians an electoral boundary within Romania? How homogeneous are the Romanian electoral behaviors in the post-communist period? These are the questions that we propose to answer in our presentation.

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Dácz, Enikő

Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München

*The Literary Metamorphosis of the Carpathians. German, Romanian, and Hungarian narratives*

When analysing the Carpathians as one of the central and constant symbols in the literary reflections of Transylvania the presentation starts from W. J. T. Mitchell's thesis, according to which "landscape is a medium of exchange between the human and the natural, the self and the other. As such, it is like money: good for nothing in itself, but expressive of a potentially limitless reserve of values." (W. J. T. Mitchell: *Landscape and Power*, Chicago and London, 2002, p. 5) In this sense the mountains as a symbol alter with the changing national master narratives that are partly reproduced and constructed in literary texts. The presentation aims to focus on the Carpathians as they were constructed in the Romanian, Hungarian and German literature in Transylvania in the interwar period, analysing texts connected to Braşov, a city fringed by the peaks of the Southern Carpathians known for its multi-ethnic culture. The focus lies on selected novels and poems from authors like Adolf Meschendörfer, Heinrich Zillich, Lajos Aprily, Ferenc Szemlér, Ştefan Baciú or Mihail Sebastian. Adolf Meschendörfer's periodical *Die Karpathen* (1907-1914) represents the starting point of the reflections as it aimed to contribute to the dialogue between the three main Transylvanian nationalities and is the only successful literary project in this respect. The mountains appear not only in the title of the journal, but are also an iterative motif in several published texts and illustrations. In a second step, and after a brief look to the periodical *Klingsor*, selected novels and poetry are to be discussed, in order to see, how after 1918 the Carpathians get political and historical connotations in Hungarian and German literature while losing its political character in Romanian.

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Diaconu, Mădălina  
University of Vienna

*The symbolism of the mountain in the modern Romanian culture*

In the modern Romanian philosophy, mountains are relevant for the Romanian identity only indirectly, in relation to undulating movements, permeable borders, seeking refuge from history and living in an intimate relation with the environment. 1. Undulation: Lucian Blaga and Dan Botta assigned an undulating movement to the Romanian mental geography; even before them, Vasile Conta's ontology was based upon a universal wavy pattern. Blaga recalls in this respect the beginning of the pastoral ballad *Miorița*, which the German translation places in a mountainous landscape. However, a closer look at the ballad and Blaga's own interpretation emphasize that its rolling landscape is rather hilly than mountainy. 2. Isolation and archaism: The isolation in the mountains enabled the survival of archaic cultures not only in the Carpathians (Mircea Eliade). In particular the aforementioned *Miorița* would suggest a "cosmic Christianity" and a particular attitude to destiny, which Eliade considers to be typical for the Romanians. 3. Circulation over borders: Nevertheless, the physical geography of the Carpathians did not impede the circulation of people, animals and ideas. Classical in this respect is the legend about the foundation of the principality of Moldavia, which emphasizes the continuity between a hunting culture and a pastoral one (Eliade). 3. Refuge and retreat: Also Romanian intellectuals (Constantin Stere, Liviu Rebreanu) currently associated the Carpathians with a safe refuge from invaders and repression, from the eve of the Middle Age until the anti-communist resistance. The crossing of the mountains, that had been the previous response to political or religious persecutions, lost its meaning after 1918. Finally, like in other cultures, the mountain is a suitable place for the quest for wisdom or holiness (Nicolae Steinhardt, Constantin Noica, Rafail Noica).

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Roth, Catherine  
Université de Haute-Alsace, Mulhouse

### *Die Karpaten als geologisierte Grenzen dreier Nationen*

Im letzten Jahrzehnt des 19. Jahrhunderts stützen die Siebenbürger Sachsen ihre durch den Verlust der vornationalen Privilegien erschütterte Identität anhand verschiedener Medien, die auf den ersten Blick unpolitisch erscheinen. Dazu gehört der Siebenbürgische Karpatenverein, der sich bald als kryptopolitisches Instrument nach dem Vorbild des Deutschen Alpenvereins entpuppt. Die Sachsen sind Vorreiter und bis zum ersten Weltkrieg die in den Bergen aktivste Nation. Das Wandern wird von ihnen und den anderen Nationalitäten beinahe als sächsischen Nationalsport verstanden. Daher verleihen sie den Karpaten ausführliche symbolische Bedeutungen, und an erster Stelle die einer befestigten Grenze, eines Bollwerks der Westlichen Zivilisation gegen Osten und Balkanismus. Außerdem macht auf impliziter Weise der Wanderverein die Konturen des verlorenen Selbstverwaltungsgebietes wieder sichtbar, vor allem auf den Wanderkarten. Schließlich erfindet der Verein mit den Karpaten „natürliche“ Grenzen und eine sehr lange Dauer (nach Braudels „lange Dauer“), eine geologische, versteinerte Zeit, wo die Geschichte so alt wird wie die Karpaten selbst. Als die Karpaten 1920 ein inländisches Relief in Rumänien werden, adaptieren die Sachsen ihre explizite Rede, um den neuen Staat nicht zu verstimmen. Aber die impliziten Bedeutungen bleiben, wenn noch versteckter als vorher. Die anderen Nationalitäten entwickeln andere, konkurrierende Bergmetaphern. Zwischen den Zeilen wird ein auf Bergsymbolik basierter Wetteifer lesbar: Die Karpaten sollen sowohl untereinander unvereinbare, geologisierte Grenzen als auch die Vorzeitigkeit jeder siebenbürgischen Nationalität veranschaulichen.

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## Austria

Organizer:

**Schwell, Alexandra**

Alpen-Adria-Universität Klagenfurt

Chair: Schwell, Alexandra

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### ***Border-Making and its Consequences: Perspectives from Austria***

Borders and boundaries play a pivotal role for how Austria has been positioning itself on the map of Europe. Until the end of World War I, Austria had been the center of the Habsburg Empire - the multi-ethnic European paragon or the peoples' prison, depending on one's perspective. The new borders that were created after the dissolution of the Habsburg Empire remain contested, and almost all border regions laid down in the Treaty of Saint Germain after World War II continue to be virulent, creating a legacy that continues to shape present-day everyday life in many respects. Moreover, the Iron Curtain during the Cold War had created a strict barrier between Austria and some of its former crownlands; only when the curtain was lifted after 1990 new opportunities but also old and new fears emerged. Finally, since summer 2015, the so-called "refugee crisis", Austria and Austrian border policies have been playing an ambivalent role in managing migration and asylum in Europe. The panel welcomes proposals for papers on any of the following areas, but by no means confined to these: How continue borders to shape Austria and create points of friction? How did they exert an impact on Austria's image of self and other, its history and present day, and on identities and feelings of (national) belonging? What kinds of bordering and debordering practices are emerging and installed? Which new forms of solidarity, citizenship, but also of exclusion are envisioned for a European future? What kind of Europe is in the making?

Szogs, Nina  
University of Vienna

*Austria's Return Policy. Political Constructions of the 'Good' and the 'Bad' Returnee*

Return migration is a central and often neglected part within the realm of migration research. In the current political situation remigration or repatriation is the form of border crossing that the European Union as well as national governments increasingly focus on and are eager to further extend. This includes financial support for returnees, pre-departure counselling and reintegration programmes in countries of origin and specifically also extending means of coercion. Both voluntary return and forced return are pushed by the Austrian government by increasing incentives to leave Austria on the one hand and by the threat of punishment on the other hand. The current national and EU policies do not only further weaken the important concept of voluntary return but also divide people into “good” returnees and “bad” returnees – thereby enforcing the dichotomy of the “good migrant” and the “bad migrant”.

The paper examines the impact of a changing return policy on the realities of migrants in Austria that (1) hold a residence permit and are interested in returning voluntarily to their country of origin and (2) on those that must leave Austria due to a negative asylum procedure.

Tyran, Katharina Klara  
University of Vienna

*Borderland Burgenland - Fences and frontiers on the eastern Austrian periphery*

This paper will focus on the interpretation, coverage and discursive connection of the latest border barriers in the Austrian most eastern province Burgenland ensuing the European refugee crisis in summer 2015, with former migration, bordering and debordering processes in this area. Since the establishment of Burgenland – as one out of many consequences in the aftermath of WWI and the dissolution of the Habsburg monarchy – this territory was characterized by various bordering and de-bordering processes: the disputes regarding the boundary line until 1921, the disintegration following the Nazi German *Anschluss* of Austria, its reestablishment in October 1945 and the erection of the Iron Curtain in 1957, the end of the Cold War and opening of the latter in 1989 as well as the EU-expansion in 2004. The latest shifting point became the summer and autumn of 2015, with again instituted border control, army patrols and fences alongside Austria's Eastern Border, following the European migrant crisis. I will assess the corresponding official and public discourses, and apply a comparative approach by evaluating the media coverage within Burgenland's minority groups. Especially within the ethnic and linguistic identification discourses of Croats and Hungarians in Burgenland, the mentioned shifting, opening and closing of borders in this territory are constituting and important references. Therefore, I am interested in the reaction to and interpretation of the latest border management changes.

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Hoffmann, Georg  
Haus der Geschichte Österreich

*Grenzen und Grenzerfahrungen. Konzeptionelle Überlegungen zur Ausstellung der Thematik Grenzen im Rahmen des Hauses der Geschichte Österreich*

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Als im Jahr 2015 die österreichische Innenministerin am österreichisch-slowenischen Grenzübergang Spielfeld, angesichts einer drohenden Flüchtlingskatastrophe, von einer „Errichtung einer Festung Europa“ sprach, beförderte sie spezifische Grenzdeutungen innerhalb einer Situation, in der „Grenze“ zu einem brisanten und hochemotional diskutierten Begriff geworden war. „Grenze“ hatte darin freilich mannigfache Bedeutungen: als Linie oder Raum, als etwas Konkretes respektive Gedachtes oder Symbolisches, als aus- und abgrenzender Mechanismus, als Übergangs-, Ausweisungs- oder gar Abschreckungsraum, als Grenze, die in Köpfen entstand oder in diesen wieder niedergerissen wurde. In den Diskussionen formten sich spezifische Wahrnehmungen und Deutungen aus, die – festgemacht am Thema Flucht – vor allem auf ein Dies- und Jenseits von „Grenzen“ abstellten. Dieser Umstand und die breite und bis heute anhaltende gesellschaftliche Diskussion öffnen dabei auch den Blick auf lange Entwicklungslinien. Sie provozieren historisch-analytische Fragestellungen nach der Vorstellung, Schaffung, Ausformung, Bedeutung, Manifestation, Diskussion und Veränderung von „Grenzen“ und Grenzwahrnehmungen in spezifischen Kontexten und Zusammenhängen. Es sind nun genau jene Fragestellungen, denen sich auch das 2017 neu gegründete Haus der Geschichte Österreich (HdGÖ) widmet, wenn es diese Thematik unter dem Begriff „Grenzerfahrungen“ zu einem Leitthema der für 2018 konzipierten Ausstellung „100 Jahre Republik Österreich“ macht. Eingebettet ist dies in die generelle Betrachtung der Entwicklung von Demokratie sowie der Ausformung und Veränderung eines auf Österreich und Europa bezogenen Bewusstseins. Der Vortrag greift nun dieses Leitthema in all seiner Bedeutungsvielfalt auf und beleuchtet es auf mehreren Ebenen. So wird in einem ersten Schritt auf die Bedeutung von „Grenze“ in Ausstellungen eingegangen, um so Schwerpunktbetrachtungen zu erzeugen, die letztlich mit Überlegungen des Hauses der Geschichte zusammengeführt werden. Der zweite Schritt sieht eine eingehende Betrachtung der konzeptionellen und gestalterischen Planungen des Themas „Grenzerfahrungen“ vor und durchleuchtet auf welchen Ebenen und über welche Fragestellungen der Vielschichtigkeit wie auch der aktuellen Brisanz des Themas Rechnung getragen wird. Dabei wird allem den Fragen nachgegangen, wie dieses Thema in eine Ausstellung integriert, mit welchen Zugängen es versehen und wie es mit übergeordneten Erzählsträngen verbunden werden kann. In einem dritten Schritt wird der Fokus sodann auf das für die Ausstellung gewählte Modul der Befragung von „Orten“ gelegt, die sich aus unterschiedlichen Gründen mit der Wahrnehmung von Grenze verbanden und dabei Mehrfachzuschreibungen und - Wahrnehmungen respektive - Veränderungen aufweisen. Drei ausgewählte, kurze Fallbeispiele ergänzen diesen Schritt: Der bereits eingangs erwähnte Ort Spielfeld spannt den Bogen von der Neuziehung von in Köpfen bereits vorhandenen und an Sprachfragen festgemachten Grenzen 1918/19 über Grenzwahrnehmungen und - Funktionen in kriegerischen Konflikten 1991 bis hin zum Aufbau von Grenzen in Köpfen 2015. Kollerschlag repräsentiert als zweites Beispiel über unterschiedliche Durchlässigkeiten und Umdeutungen von Grenzfunktionen symbolische Aufladungen von Grenzwahrnehmungen im Rahmen der Ausbildung eines österreichischen Opfermythos nach 1945. Der Grenzpass Brenner lässt wiederum eine Analyse von Gleichzeitigkeiten von Wahrnehmungen und Definitionen, von Trennendem und Gemeinsamem am konkreten Exempel der Schaffung eines europäischen Transitraumes und dem Ausbruch regionaler Krisen zu.

Weissensteiner, Monika  
Hamburg University/Utrecht University

*Small place, large issues: border-makings in the Austrian-Italian borderland*

Through the Treaty of St. Germain after World War I a new borderline was established between what was to become the Republic of Austria and the Kingdom of Italy. As a consequence the southern part of the Tyrol region, which had been part of the Habsburg Empire became part of Italy. The small locality named "Brenner/o" located on this border is today's main pass for the movement of people and of goods across the Alps. It is a tiny place that in its history has however witnessed important developments concerning the (un)making of borders and their consequences in and for Europe. During the so called "migration" or "refugee crisis" Austria introduced new bordermanagement measures to counter irregular entries. The British newspaper '*The Guardian*', reporting on this issue also from "south" of the border, titled that this very region, once symbol of Europe's peaceful cohesion would be turned into an emblem of Europe's disintegration. In this paper I will depart from this very small place, a tiny border town and a borderland which has been recognised as Italian province with Autonomy Status - due to its German speaking minority - and since 1998 is part of a European cross-border region. I will present fragments of European history that played out in this particular borderland since the 1918 border-re-drawing, by discussing border (un)makings in, as well as migratory movements through, this region. At the end I will conclude with the more recent border makings and migratory movements and situate the local experiences within some of the larger European and global issues at stake.

## Slovenia

Organizer:

**Zajc, Marko**

University of Primorska, Koper

Chair: Zajc, Marko

Discussant: Zajc, Marko

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### ***Border-Making and its Consequences: Perspectives from Slovenia***

The concept of phantom borders is supposed to entail the former political borders that still structure the modern world. In many cases the historical spaces (in our case Habsburg Monarchy) persist or "keep returning" in some way or another. Where precisely is "the phantom" hiding when it comes to administrative borders? It seems that it is inherent to the border itself. We can envision modern borders as a historical/social phenomenon with its own "height", "width", "length" (as well as "weight"). Borders are not merely virtual lines on maps and markers in the field: they can be seen as "virtual spaces" with a horizontal and vertical dimension. The horizontal encompasses the social influence of the borders, while the vertical includes the various historical layers. They may awaken, merge with the present and live a new, phantom life. Therefore we should pay attention to the historical circumstances in which the border formed (either as a concept or as a "line" in the field and in the spatial projections). As far as formation is concerned, we should not only imagine the global or regional spatial consolidations after significant turmoil and wars, but also the changing of the border in the long term as well as the "minor" border alterations. Borders are not something that is set in stone permanently and may only change occasionally, but rather an ongoing process. Borders of the present-day Republic of Slovenia represent an interesting case for researching of aforementioned questions. Some sections of the border could be defined as consequences of state consolidations in the 20th century, while others as a Habsburg administrative legacy. In proposed panel, we will combine four approaches: political history of the region, border studies, geography of borders and environmental history. Two micro border regions will be taken under the scrutiny: Southern Carinthia (presentday Slovenian-Austrian border) and Žumberak (present-day Slovenian-Croatian border). Special attention will be given to the importance of the Habsburg administrative legacy (cadastral municipalities) for the border-making after the dissolution of the empire and to the interaction between border changes and environmental issues after 1918.

Bahovec, Tina

Alpen-Adria-Universitat Klagenfurt

*Body, Mountain, Line: Border Images and Border Discourses in Carinthia 1918 to 1920*

With the dissolution of the Habsburg Empire and the emergence of the new states of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes and the Republic of Austria, the border in the former crownland Carinthia with its Slovene- and German speaking population was disputed. After armed conflicts between autumn 1918 and summer 1919, the border question was to be resolved by a two-stage plebiscite as laid down by the Paris Peace Conference and the Treaty of St. Germain. Southern Carinthia was divided into two plebiscite zones. Zone A in the south was to vote first; zone B, including the capital Klagenfurt/Celovec, only in case the result of the plebiscite in zone A was in favor of Yugoslavia. On 10 October 1920, Austria won 59 per cent of the vote and Yugoslavia 41 per cent, thus zone A and Carinthia as a whole became part of Austria. Subsequently, this border making process played a central role in both Slovene and Austrian historiography and remembrance culture. The article analyses discourses on borders and symbolic border construction in the years 1918 to 1920, as well as some continuities and changes in these discourses after 1920, using textual and visual sources such as Slovene and Austrian newspapers, pro-Yugoslav and pro-Austrian propaganda brochures and caricatures. It aims to show images and discourses that shaped the perceptions of borders in people's minds, and to contribute to a general reflection on the ambiguities of bordering in multinational regions. The three main chapters focus on the following topics: Firstly, from a general Slovene perspective, the people as represented through a collective people's body, whose integrity is perceived as threatened by new borders that cut into the flesh of the body. Secondly, the mountain ridge Karawanken/Karavanke, which in the Austrian plebiscite propaganda is seen as a natural, God-given border. As such it allegedly separates and protects Carinthia from the Balkans and also fosters the creation of a unified "Carinthian people". Thirdly, the demarcation line between the plebiscite zones A and B, a temporary border under a strict border regime between June 1919 and August 1920, which is often visualized by barbed wire guarded by a soldier. The demarcation line with its consequences for the local population served as an argument in the plebiscite propaganda and also provides a micro-example for a border as a zone of conflict and contact.

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Zorn, Matija – Mikša, Peter

Research Centre of the Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts, Ljubljana – University of Ljubljana

*The Rapallo Border Between Italy And Yugoslavia After The First World War: From A National Border To A Phantom Border*

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On November 12th, 1920, a treaty was signed between the Kingdom of Italy and the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes (SHS) in the Italian town of Rapallo, setting the border between the two countries. Italy obtained a third of Slovenian ethnic territory. The new border cut through the Slovenian population and separated it; until 1943(47), a third of today's Slovenian territory, or over 300,000 Slovenians, were cut off from Yugoslav Slovenia. The border changed people's lives completely and many lost their source of income because of it. Poverty gave rise to smuggling. The border roughly ran along the watershed between the Black Sea and Adriatic basins; along the high mountains of the Julian Alps in the north, along the prealpine hills in its central part, and along the Dinaric mountains in the south. After the border was settled in November 1920, it was officially marked with boundary stones. It was divided into seventy sectors, which were separated from one another by the main boundary stones (It. *cippo principale*), numbered 1 to 70 in Arabic numerals. They were just over one meter tall and featured the clearly visible consecutive Arabic numeral of the section, the letter *I* on the Italian side, and the letter *J* (SHS till 1929) on the Yugoslav side. In addition to these labels, a consecutive Roman numeral was also added below a line. In addition to the line pointing towards the previous and next boundary stone, the top surface also showed north. There were more than 5,000 boundary stones altogether, and a quarter or fewer have been preserved. Despite the agreement reached on the border, both sides began fortifying it "for the needs" of future border disputes. The first fortifications were built by the Italians in the 1920s. Fortification on the Italian side increased after January 1931, when the Italians started building a larger number of forts and barracks above and below ground connected into the so called "Alpine Wall". At that point the Yugoslav side also began thinking about fortifying the border. The first initiative already appeared in 1926, but major fortification did not start until 1935. That was when the construction of the so called "Rupnik Line" began as a line of defense against potential Italian attacks. After the Second World War, the border between Italy and Yugoslavia moved to the west and significantly closer to the western Slovenian ethnic border. In addition to the material remains, the border, which in fact only lasted for just over two decades, also left visible marks on Slovenian regional affiliation. In this regard, today's Slovenians most often identify themselves with the former provincial borders of the Habsburg Monarchy, which were abandoned nearly a century ago. The only region in Slovenia where this type of regional affiliation is no longer used is on the former Italian side of the Rapallo border in the former Habsburg province of Carniola.

Miller, Nicholas  
Boise State University

*Zumberak as a Refugee Camp*

My paper will examine the movement of Orthodox Christian refugees from Bosnia to the Habsburg Monarchy in the 1530s and their settlement in a district called Žumberak. It will build on an article I published in April 2017 on the origins of the settlement. In this case, I will experiment with the notion that Žumberak can be compared to a refugee camp. My assumption is that this comparison will bear fruit in two ways: first, it will help us understand the unique characteristics of the Žumberak Uskok settlement over the long term, and second, it will provide insights into the effects of long-term refugee settlement. I do not propose to argue that Žumberak is in fact a refugee camp; rather, that in playing with this idea, we can draw deeper insights into the two phenomena described above.

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Kosi, Jernej  
University of Ljubljana

*Creating loyal citizens in annexed Hungarian territory: Yugoslav state institutions and Slovene voluntary associations in post-Trianon Prekmurje*

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When in late autumn 1918 Austria-Hungary ceased to exist, Slovene national activists living in the lands of former Imperial Austria staked claim to several areas in the name of Slovene nation. In November 1918, following the establishment of the State of Slovenes, Croats, and Serbs in Zagreb, a self-proclaimed National Government for Slovenia began organizing military forces, taking over the existing administrative apparatus and successfully gaining control of the majority of the Crownland Carniola as well as southern Styria and small sections of Carinthia. However, Slovene politicians and civil servants in charge of the newly created Slovene government in Ljubljana were far from being satisfied with territorial gains. They believed that there were still many unredeemed “Slovene territories” that should come under the control of Slovene administration. Proposals in the Slovene nationalist press made similar demands, with concerned Slovene journalists and other patriots promoting additional territorial prospects. In the tumultuous weeks leading up to the Paris Peace Conference that opened in January 1919, Slovene newspapers began spreading the idea that Slovenes were inhabiting the part of the Kingdom of Hungary. Several thousand Slovene compatriots allegedly lived in two western Hungarian counties, Zala and Vas/Železna. The notion of Slovenes living in Hungary was in autumn 1918 not novel. On the contrary, its proponents could already support this assertion with widely accepted linguistic findings and more significantly with some ethnographic knowledge on the supposed “Sloveneness” of the region that had been accumulating since the mid-nineteenth century. During the second half of the nineteenth century, Slovene nationalists even coined a specific, if unofficial, term for that part of the imagined Slovene national space — Prekmurje (literally “the land on the other side of Mura/Mur River”) — denoting the area's connectedness to “Slovene” regions of Styria along the Mura/Mur River between Radgona/Radkersburg and Ljutomer/Littenberg. Owing to influential Slovene politicians from Styria, one of them a former president of Yugoslav Club in Reichsrat, Anton Korošec (1872–1940), Prekmurje was put on the Yugoslav delegation's list of territorial demands at the Paris Peace Conference. Though the Yugoslav diplomats were initially unable to convince Great Powers of the legitimacy of their claim to Prekmurje, the political climate changed greatly after the outbreak of the Hungarian Revolution. In August 1919, the Yugoslav army was permitted to occupy the area. The following June, the Treaty of Trianon that was forced upon Hungary confirmed permanent annexation and incorporation of occupied Hungarian territory into Yugoslavia. In the presentation, I aim to describe how the network of newly created state institutions and voluntary associations endeavored to integrate local Slavophone population in the new social and political context. By analyzing administrative sources and local newspapers, I intend to present how in the interwar period the arriving Slovene civil servants strived to spread a sense of loyalty to the state and bolster feelings of belonging to the Slovene nation among members of the deeply shattered local communities of Prekmurje.

Snoj, Anton  
University of Ljubljana

*"Our Kosovo Shall Be Avenged as Well!" Speeches Held in Primary Schools at Patriotic Ceremonies in the Yugoslav Kingdom*

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State elementary schools in the first Yugoslavia aimed to provide students with patriotic education so that they become nationally conscious and committed Yugoslavs. The underlying theme of speeches held at ceremonies in Ljubljana's primary schools was alongside the emphasis on the Serbian history also the battle for the Littoral and Carinthia that remained outside the borders of the new state. Teachers cleverly linked Serbian history through the motif of revenge on hostile nations with Slovene and Yugoslav future. Almost a third of the Slovene population lived in foreign countries; consequently, speech-makers considered the Yugoslav unification to be flawed. They regarded revenge and incorporation of much-desired territories as a materialization of freedom for their "unredeemed countrymen" and for themselves. In December 1918, when Alexander I promised to sort out the so-called ethnographic borders of the kingdom that were transgressed by foreigners, teachers informed their students about it. From that point onwards, they were reminded of revenge on many important occasions, e.g. during the celebration of the "Unification Day" or on the day of King Alexander's assassination. Teachers had to follow general instructions for patriotic celebrations that came from Belgrade. Due to the unsolved national question they were allowed to improvise in the case of subject matters that were not defined in detail or forbidden. The nation could only be Yugoslav, and Slovenes were merely a tribe. Teachers were thus not allowed to use the term "Slovene nation" in their speeches, but they were allowed to refer to ordinary "Slovenes". Speeches held on Vidovdan (St. Vitus Day) in 1925 and 1926 summarized fervent thoughts used when teaching children. This holiday was pronouncedly celebrated as the day of vengeance on oppressors. Serbs avenged their victims twice already, and Slovenes were yet to avenge theirs. Teachers thus wanted to demonstrate to the pupils that Slovenes were ready for a new world which was heralded by the end of the World War. They attempted to justify their inactivity in the formation of their own state, with which the official propaganda reproached Slovenes and Croats, and thus directly encourage children to defend the whole of Yugoslavia that was under threat along the greater part of its border. All this led to an education that taught primary school students that taking blood-stained revenge on Germans and Italians will solidify Slovenes/Yugoslavs and bring them final unification and happiness. Slovenes demonstrated in full their great political activity and fighting spirit only after the disintegration of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia.

## Serbia

Organizer:

**Šimunović-Bešlin, Biljana**

University of Novi Sad

Chair: Šimunović-Bešlin, Biljana

Discussant: Šimunović-Bešlin, Biljana / Ilić Marković, Gordana

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### ***Border-Making and its Consequences: Perspectives from Serbia***

The participants in the panel will present and interpret the multifaceted consequences of the Austria-Hungary collapse from the perspective of the Serbs who lived in the southern part of Hungary which almost overnight became northern part of newly established Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes. That region was in 1918 called Serbian Vojvodina and since 1945 has a status of the Autonomous Province of Vojvodina within the Republic of Serbia. The structure of the panel and the approach will be interdisciplinary. Participants will interpret a wide range of archival sources and narratives on the issue of border-making in 1918: diaries, memories, memoirs, fiction, travelogues, poetry, professional discussions, newspaper articles and polemics, and others.

Pavlović, Miroslav  
University of Novi Sad

*The Ottoman Middle Danube Border Towns in the 18th Century*

The Ottoman towns were separated on military and civil areas. The second ones were divided on districts with the strict and unique confessional affiliation. Breaking religious, social and status lines used to be forbidden and punishable by law. The Ottoman military fortifications on the Danube line of defense starting to lose their strict military importance during the 18th century, due to various nonmilitary entrepreneurship of their inhabitants. A Military status became just another way of representation for most powerful social and political groups. On the other side, strict lines of divided spaces in neighboring districts (mahalle) lost their strength, enabling new models of social stratification, cooperation and interdependence. The lack of powerful representatives of the central administration gave rise to local private initiatives. In an attempt to control the tax administration, loans and other monetary initiatives, some unusual alliances of Christians and Muslims started to be made. Those private initiatives contributed to dissolution of the inner boundaries in the towns. Significant increase of the local and international trade with The Habsburg Empire, was starting point for rise of a new local trade elite among peasant population, which started to dominate the surrounding neighboring areas, and finally to infiltrate the urban spaces. New elites from periphery or a hinterland started to dominate over the urban business as a predominant political force. The basic temporary military wooden fortifications with some local inhabitants were transformed into points of intercultural, trade and political exchange with an increasing pressure of population growth. Numerous joint initiatives, no matter of an urban/rural background or a confessional or a legal status of their members, led to the process of town's elites creation. During the 18th century the Ottoman towns on the frontier line and its hinterlands, started their long way into modernity.

Ilić Marković, Gordana  
University of Vienna

*Borders and the memory culture: South Slavs - through the Illyrian Movement in the Habsburg Monarchy and Yugoslavism to the present days*

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The idea of a South Slavic unity, developed from the early 19th Century within the Austro-Slavic and Illyrian movement, presented from the beginning a threat to the unity of the Habsburg Monarchy. With the outbreak of the First World War, the loyalty of civilian population and soldiers of South Slav origin, especially of Serbs, has been disputed. In the first three years of war their "decisive struggle and loyalty to the Emperor and the homeland" was affirmed, but since the end of 1917, slight change in discourse can be observed. The politicians of South Slav origin (Yugoslav Club), presented in Vienna parliament on May 30th 1917 the so called May Declaration and expressed in it their ambition to unite Slovenes, Croats, and Serbs within the Habsburg Monarchy. On the other hand, South Slavic emigrant politicians (Yugoslav Committee), signed the Corfu declaration on July 20th 1917 with the representatives of the Kingdom of Serbia. They expressed the intention of unifying the territories of the Austria-Hungary, inhabited by South Slavs, with the Kingdom of Serbia into one state. The People's Council of Slovenes, Croats, and Serbs, established in Zagreb in October 1918 was meant to be the political representative body of Slovenes, Croats and Serbs living in Habsburg Monarchy and proclaimed the State of Slovenes, Croats and Serbs on October 29th 1918. In its onemonth existence this State remains unrecognized. Council has submitted a request to the Regent Karadjordjevic for union in one state. The Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes was proclaimed on December 1st in Belgrade. The complex issue of the borders with the neighboring states has taken few years after the war to be resolved. After the war it was important to create a new identity of the citizens, a sense of belonging to the new state and a new nation. The memory of the Great War in which the South Slavs were soldiers on the opposite warring sides has being suppressed. The idea of the South Slavs as a one nation with the three names was emphasized in the historiography but on the other hands the narratives (literature, press, etc.) which addressed the war diminished over time. In the interwar period Slavs, Hungarians, Germans, Italians, Albanians and the members of the other ethnic groups in multinational Yugoslav state were in the middle of the cultural and political vortex. Only twenty years after the Great War, the borders of Yugoslavia, both external and internal, were changed again during and after the Second World War. The issues of the internal borders break loose and explode in 90s of the 20th Century, and Yugoslavia ceases to exist. In the contemporary narratives (press, but also in the historiography, textbooks and literature), both in former Yugoslav states and in other countries worldwide, these historical events are often (mis)interpreted, especially in populist discourse. The need for continuous intercultural dialogue and conscious look at the consequences of the border making which took place 100 years earlier seems to be undisputable.

Koljanin, Dragica – Čović, Paulina  
University of Novi Sad

*Teaching and learning the state language, history and geography in the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes*

In 1918 where during the centuries was the Habsburg Monarchy, many new states emerged. Political, social and cultural order in many former parts of Habsburg Monarchy was permanently altered. Newly founded Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes was confronted with the consequences of the enormous material destruction during the war. Simultaneously, the national, legal, political, economic, religious, cultural, and educational differences that existed in certain parts of the new state had to be overcome. This endeavor was complex and difficult as the Yugoslav state was a predominantly agrarian, and burdened with general scarcity. An important prerequisite for overcoming the provincial differences and achieving general merging was the creation of a unique national identity of the citizens. Educational system, especially primary education, was perceived at that time as the most convenient medium for the achievement of that goal. In this respect, the territory of today's Vojvodina was a region exceptionally important for Yugoslav authorities, since it consists of the former parts of Austria-Hungary, namely Southern Hungary. The population in that region was heterogeneous: multinational, with multiple religions, multilingual... Within the borders of Yugoslav state, the everyday life of the inhabitants in that part of former Habsburg Monarchy was greatly changed. The changes were especially obvious in the educational system which was developed since the 18th Century according to the general principles of educational policy of the Habsburg Monarchy, later of Austria-Hungary. Educational policy in Yugoslav kingdom was directed toward overcoming the Habsburg cultural and educational legacy and adapting to new circumstances, especially in this area. It could be said that in 1918 conflict between tradition and reality was obvious in classrooms and schoolyards in the region of today's Vojvodina. Those were the places where national, lingual, religious dimensions of the identity, both of the children (students) and adults (representatives of the state authorities, textbook authors, teachers, parents etc.) were reassessed and redefined almost every day.

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Šimunović-Bešlin, Biljana  
University of Novi Sad

*College teachers and students as guardians of the Yugoslav northeastern borders in 1918*

The first higher education institution in today's Vojvodina, the Faculty of Law in Subotica, was established after the First World War and the creation of the Yugoslav state. The Faculty has had very important national and political mission, that could be evaluated as even more relevant than its cultural and educational aims. In the 1920s two departments of the Belgrade University were founded far from the royal capital, one in the northeast and one in the southeast of the Yugoslav kingdom. New faculties have been established as autonomous institutions, with the rationale that it is necessary to provide young and talented people who live far from the university center to gain higher education. But, in reality it was expected from the Faculty of Law in Subotica (the city which was often named as "Northern Star" of Yugoslav kingdom) to become highly refined border outpost. From the university teachers and students was expected to be sophisticated guardians of the border, and to show how far northeastward reach the borders of the Yugoslav kingdom. As an answer to the strategy of Yugoslav kingdom, Hungarian government established two universities near its southwestern border. After the collapse of Austria-Hungary two famous Hungarian universities remained out of Hungary, namely in Romania (in Cluj-Napoca, Kolozsvár, Klausenburg) and Czechoslovakia (in Bratislava, Pozsony, Pressburg). The places for the transfer of those universities were carefully chosen. Those were cities Szeged and Pécs in the south of Hungary, and in the close vicinity of northeastern Yugoslav border. It is needless to say that any exchange of the university staff and the students was considered as absolutely inappropriate.

Milicević-Dobromirov, Nataša

Azbukum – Centre for Serbian Language and Culture, Novi Sad

*Crossing borders, acquiring meanings – learning Serbian and exploring the Balkans*

Does learning a new language means creating lists of new words, phrases, and grammar patterns only? Or is it a high speed merry-go-round that brings various images of a new society into which a new comer tries to adapt and get accepted. What kind of knowledge comes with a language course? If created carefully, with the intention to open the door of the new culture, a language course may become a crossing border point, a custom to which a special kind of a passport is needed – the one with long-lasting visa to the new world. This story will explore characteristics of a voyage through the Serbian language course and what sorts of things should one pack into the suitcase for a trip of this kind?

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## Bosnia

Organizer:

**Venken, Machteld**

University of Viena

*Border-Making and its Consequences: Perspectives from Bosnia / Conclusion of the Habsburg Track*

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Manzanrez, Magdaleno – French, Laurence – Kovačević, Goran  
Western New Mexico Univeristy, Silver City – University of New Hampshire, Durham –  
University of Sarajevo, Sarajevo

*Yugoslavia unraveling: Migrant crisis, terrorism & increased sectarianism and nationalism*

The prolonged war in Syria and economic distress in the Middle East and Africa has generated a flood of refugees at the borders of south and east Europe. This phenomenon has a rippling effect in the new nations carved out of the former Yugoslavia; stressing already fragile economies embolden renewed sectarianism and nationalism, including terrorism. Bosnia and Kosovo have the highest ISIS recruitment rates in the region while tensions between both the Catholic Bosnians in Herzegovina, within the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina (FBiH) and the Orthodox Bosnians of the Republic of Srpska are distancing themselves from their Muslim countrymen who seem to be influenced by the more conservative Saudis and Turks who are investing heavily in the FBiH. Adding to this crisis are the challenges to the Schengen Area border agreements of Bosnia's neighbors, notably Hungary and Poland, over the EU Ministers quota plan for migrant resettlement. Internal disputes within the former Yugoslavia have also emerged with Croatia closing border crossings with Serbia to stem the migrant influx further fueling the nationalism trends of the early 1990s.. All of this challenges the Hague Program designed for both security and the free movement across European border. Our paper address this issue from a geo-political and historical perspective.

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Sajn, Sarah

CHERPA-Science Po Aix, Aix-en-Provence

*Securitizing a European Borderland: the Bordering Effects of Memory Politics in Bosnia and Herzegovina*

Historically located at the crossroads of multiple political entities, Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH) has been constructed as a European borderland, between East and West. Since the war of the 90's, when the former Yugoslav republic was divided along ethno-national lines, its ethnic and religious diversity has been framed as a security threat. European institutions and Member States are politically, economically and military involved in the Bosnian state-building and reconciliation processes, set as part of BiH's path towards the Union. In 2014, Sarajevo was placed at the 'heart of Europe' in the opening commemoration of the WWI organized by European embassies and their Bosnian partners. The official narrative of the centenary of the assassination of the Austro-Hungarian archduke Franz Ferdinand, pledged for 'a Century of Peace after the Century of Wars' and thus suggested the positive impact of European integration on BiH's violent past. However, local authorities and activists claimed divergent representations of the past, be it from a nationalist, anti-imperialist or emancipatory perspective. While the commemoration exulted national divisions and supported neocolonial domination, it contributed to the construction of BiH as an unstable borderland which needs to be pacified. In order to propose a socio-genesis of this commemoration, the paper combines critical security studies, borderland studies and postcolonial studies to the sociology of memory and of the European Union. Based on fieldwork carried out in Sarajevo and Brussels, combining the collection of official documents, semi-formal interviews and ethnographic observation, the paper demonstrates that this attempt to institutionalize a pacified memory of the war resulted in legitimizing the European institutions' domination over Bosnian polity. In fine, it shows how memory politics participates in the securitization of a European borderland.

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